

Political constellations: an analysis of
the use of language in positioning
South African political parties in the
Daily Sun

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To my father, Andrew, from whom I inherited “the perverse tendency to argue for a conservative view among liberals, and a liberal view among conservatives.”

And to our heavenly Father, who bequeathed it to him.

Abstract

As a young democracy, post-apartheid South Africa has both a complex and rapidly changing political landscape, and a developing system of interconnected public spheres in which ordinary citizens engage in political discourses. In this context, this thesis examines the ways in which language is used to position South Africa's political parties in the *Daily Sun*, the country's most widely-read tabloid newspaper. It uses a complex, multi-stage method of analysis to develop tools for describing how different policy positions and moral evaluations are associated with political parties. This is accomplished through complementary analyses using Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Legitimation Code Theory (LCT).

The study describes current political discourses in South Africa as the products of a long process of historical development extending through the segregationist and apartheid eras to the post-apartheid present. It also situates the *Daily Sun* within South Africa's current media landscape and argues that the newspaper is to some extent successful in facilitating a vibrant alternative public sphere in which readers engage with the news.

The study's multi-stage method of analysis begins with a corpus analysis of all political news articles from the *Daily Sun* dating from January to June 2015. This analysis reveals various tendencies in the positioning of South Africa's three largest political parties that are investigated further in later stages of analysis.

Three selected individual articles are subjected to fine-grained analysis in an exploratory analysis stage, and three others in a targeted analysis stage. The exploratory analyses are designed to investigate the contribution of various linguistic and discursive resources to political positioning in the data, while the targeted analyses demonstrate the contribution of these resources to positioning in articles that were carefully selected to reflect as many of the trends found in the corpus analysis as possible.

These analyses enact the concept of axiological-semantic density from LCT to show the ways in which political knowledge is condensed in the articles. This condensation produces constellations of people, policy positions and moral evaluations in each article.

These constellations, in turn, give indications of the cosmologies, or organizing principles, behind the *Daily Sun*'s political news coverage. On the basis of the exploratory analyses, a multi-level translation device for axiological-semantic density is developed to describe the ways in which this concept is enacted in the analysis. The use of this translation device is then demonstrated using the targeted analyses.

This study adapts the concepts of iconization, aggregation and technicality from SFL, collectively referred to as 'mass', to show how language works to position political parties. It finds that the use of intertextual references and lexical strings makes a considerable contribution toward political positioning in the data. Repeated couplings of the above-mentioned resources in complexes (also known as syndromes) drive the process of political positioning.

The *Daily Sun* is found to report primarily on concrete actions by individual politicians, and contains little to no information on policy decisions. No one political party is favoured, but coverage tends to emphasize accusations against politicians. This may reinforce distrust in politics and a withdrawal from engagement in political processes among readers. By contrast, this study shows that engagement in South Africa's public discourses can be encouraged through stronger promotion of critical language awareness in education, the growth of civil society organizations as vehicles for dialogue and social action on matters of public interest, and a variety of initiatives by the media designed to show the relevance of policy decisions to individuals' lives and increase participation in the news-making process.

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List of Acronyms

ACDP	African Christian Democratic Party
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
AMPS	All Media and Products Survey
ANC	African National Congress
ANCWL	African National Congress Women's League
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
BBBEE	Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
BLF	Black First Land First
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
Cope	Congress of the People
Cosatu	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DA	Democratic Alliance
DISKS	Disciplinarity, Knowledge and Schooling
DP	Democratic Party
DRS	Departmental Research Seminar
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
ESD	Epistemic-semantic density
FF(+)	Freedom Front (Plus)
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GNU	Government of National Unity

HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HTML	Hypertext Markup Language
IBA	Independent Broadcasting Authority
ICASA	Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
ID	Independent Democrats
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IOL	Independent Online
ISFC	International Systemic Functional Linguistics Congress
ISMO	Independent System and Market Operator
L1.5	Mediating language of description (in LCT)
L2	External language of description (in LCT)
LCT	Legitimation Code Theory
LCTC	Legitimation Code Theory Conference
LCT-EC	Legitimation Code Theory Eastern Cape group
LCT-GHT	Legitimation Code Theory Grahamstown / Makhanda group
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
MI	Mutual Information
MI ²	Mutual Information squared
MI ³	Mutual Information cubed
MP	Member of Parliament
NDR	National Democratic Revolution
NFP	National Freedom Party
NGO	Non-governmental organization
(N)NP	(New) National Party
NUMSA	National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa
PAC	Pan-Africanist Congress
PA	Patriotic Alliance

PDF	Portable Document Format
PEAK	Pedagogies for Knowledge-Building
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
PP	Progressive Party
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SA	South Africa
SAAN	South African Associated Newspapers
SAARF	South African Audience Research Foundation
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACP	South African Communist Party
Sapa	South African Press Association
SD	Semantic density
SG	Semantic gravity
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
SOE	State-owned enterprises
TML	Times Media Limited
TV	Television
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDM	United Democratic Movement
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Overview of this chapter

Post-apartheid South Africa has often been described as an experiment in democracy (Mbembe, 2011; Gibson and Gouws, 1999; Bratton and Van der Walle, 1997). This thesis seeks to assess and provide suggestions for the improvement of one aspect of the development of this young democracy: the quality of its political discourses as reflected in the country's most widely-read newspaper, the *Daily Sun*. In particular, it describes the ways in which language is used to describe the country's major political parties and associate them with particular policy positions and moral judgements, figuratively positioning them on a map of the country's political landscape. This description not only has implications for the transformation of South Africa's public discourses but also reveals detailed insights into the use of language to accomplish political positioning and build political knowledge.

These insights are revealed through the use of two complementary analytic frameworks: Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), which studies language as a system of meaning-making resources (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014); and Legitimation Code Theory (LCT), which describes the ways in which knowledge is built in a wide variety of different practices (Maton, 2014). A complex, multi-stage method of analysis is used to enact both frameworks in the analysis of political news articles in the *Daily Sun* and advance the development of analytic tools in both. Because these two frameworks are used in very fine-grained complementary analyses of articles from the *Daily Sun*, this thesis is of necessity a lengthy report comprehensively describing the wide-ranging findings of this study.

This introductory chapter is a detailed argument for the social relevance of this study and the potential of LCT and SFL to give crucial insights into political positioning in the *Daily Sun*. The chief reasons for conducting the study are introduced in 1.2. My argument for the importance of this study is developed further in 1.3, in which I position myself as a researcher by describing my own political leanings and how these shape the motivation for the study. It is not my intention to impose my political beliefs on the data analysed in this thesis, but in this section, I aim for intellectual honesty by disclosing

my personal interests in the object of study at the outset of this thesis, so that others may evaluate their influence on the research reported on in it. In 1.4 I explain in detail the reasons for using LCT and SFL as analytic frameworks for this research as opposed to other approaches used in analysing discursive positioning. I briefly describe these approaches in 1.4.1, showing why they are incompatible with the aims of this study, and then turn to describe the contribution to this research of first LCT (1.4.2.1) and then SFL (1.4.2.2). Once these approaches are described, I show in 1.5 how they are integrated into the research questions that guide this study. This introduction ends with a description of the architecture of this thesis (1.6), outlining the ways in which I have woven together descriptions of the context of this research and its multi-stage method of analysis with reporting on the findings of the analyses of political news articles in the *Daily Sun*.

1.2 Motivation for the study

The motivation for this study is rooted in a concern for the health of South Africa as a young democracy, and more particularly, a desire to reveal and reverse trends in South African political discourses that are hindering South Africans from diverse backgrounds from coming together on equal terms to discuss how we can best live together and develop as an inclusive and cohesive society. In this study, I view democratic politics as being simply the collective decisions which a group of people, such as the inhabitants of a country, make about how to govern themselves and live together in peace. Political discourses are the discussions that these people have, using language, around such decisions. I characterize such discourses in detail in 2.2, examining their relations to knowledge as well as some of their most prominent linguistic features. The news media play a prominent role in disseminating these discourses and providing forums in which they are carried out.

It is important to note that I am in favour of participatory democracy as an ideal, and frequently refer to it as an ideal in this thesis, but am well aware that in many cases, citizens' lived experiences of democracy fall far short of this ideal; numerous examples of such cases are illustrated in South Africa's post-apartheid history (see 2.4). As a result, the use of the word "democracy" in real political discourse is not always charged with the positive meanings which I attach to democracy as an ideal in this chapter and Chapter 11.

In South Africa, the majority of the country's inhabitants were deliberately excluded from democratic decision-making, first by colonial governments and later by the apartheid regime. In 2.3 I give an extended account of the development of political discourses under these governments, which ruled the country until the country's first democratic elections in 1994. These elections gave all South Africans the opportunity to vote for their leaders, but could not ensure that all South Africans could participate in democracy on a completely equal footing, because gross inequalities in access to a variety of resources necessary to

equip individuals for democratic participation remained.

It is well-known that stark levels of economic inequality persist in South Africa more than two decades after the 1994 elections (Barnett, 2014). This differential in access to economic resources contributes to, and is compounded by, extreme inequalities in access to education: many schools in poor urban and rural areas remain dysfunctional, while previously-advantaged citizens are able to pay for their children to be educated at well-resourced, well-functioning schools (Spaull, 2013). These inequalities in access to education lead to strong inequalities in the distribution of discursive resources: wealthy, educated citizens have the linguistic competence and literacies required to argue convincingly in political discourses, while the poor standard of education for the majority leaves them without these resources.

The situation is further complicated by the multilingual nature of South African society. Although there are 11 official languages, an overwhelming majority of the country's news media, especially print media, are produced in English (see 3.4), which is spoken as a first language by slightly less than 10% of the population (Statistics South Africa, 2012). In addition, much discussion of politics in official contexts is conducted in English; for example, most of the communication in sittings of Parliament is conducted in the language (Siebörger and Adendorff, 2017). This means that most citizens must access these official discourses in a language that they speak as a second, third or possibly fourth language. This already puts them at a disadvantage compared to English first-language speakers, who are largely members of the historically privileged white minority.¹ Conversely, most members of the white minority are not proficient in one of the more than nine languages from the Bantu language family² spoken by the black African majority (Webb, 2002). This produces a situation in which it is difficult for South Africans to have public discussions about politics across ethnic lines without radical skewing of the linguistic 'playing field' toward one group or another. Most South Africans are adept at circumventing language barriers through the use of code-switching, among other linguistic resources, but this is

¹The naming of South Africa's 'races' is a potential minefield. While recognizing that the concept of 'race' is inherently problematic, in this thesis, I aim at maximal clarity when using racial descriptors, and avoid labels commonly recognized as pejorative unless describing the labels used by a particular group during a particular period. Thus in general, I refer to the 'races' commonly distinguished between in present-day South Africa as 'black African' (referring to the Bantu-language speaking people that form the majority of South Africa's population), 'coloured' (referring to people descending from a mixture of different ethnicities, including the Khoi, San, Malay, European and Bantu-language speaking ethnic groups), 'white' (referring to people of European descent) and 'Indian' (referring to people descended from the Indian subcontinent). Following established academic usage, I use 'black' to refer to 'black African', 'coloured' and 'Indian' people as a collective.

²The naming of this language group is another potential minefield. "Bantu" is the accepted name in linguistics for the sub-group of Niger-Congo languages spoken in most parts of southern Africa (Webb, 2002), including isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele, Siswati, Sepedi, Sesotho, Tshivenda, Xitsonga and Setswana among others. The name 'Bantu' was used by the apartheid government to refer to black African people, and so is generally viewed as pejorative in non-academic usage in South Africa today. However, 'African languages' is not a helpful substitute for this term as there are many languages spoken in South Africa that may be considered African which are not Bantu languages, including the Khoisan languages and (debatably) Afrikaans. Thus I retain the use of the term 'Bantu languages' for this group while recognizing that use of this term outside academic linguistics is problematic.

largely not reflected in the mainstream media, which remain stubbornly monolingual apart from a few exceptions. Thus “the present language situation is a barrier to meaningful social, political and economic transformation and reconstruction” (Webb 2002, p. 7).

One axis of inequality that has been partially addressed since 1994 is that there have been significant increases in black South Africans’ share of the ownership and staffing of the news media, although some would contend that transformation in this area has not gone far enough (see 3.4). Thus, 24 years into the democratic era, South Africa remains in a situation where there is equal access to the vote, but vastly unequal distribution of the resources needed to make one’s voice heard in political discourses, and a linguistic ecology that does not easily allow for equitable intergroup communication.

In addition to this, the political situation in South Africa could be described as something of an impasse. Democratic South Africa is a dominant party system (De Jager and Meintjes, 2013; Reddy, 2010): one party, the African National Congress (ANC) has commanded more than 60% of the vote in each election since 1994 (see Table 2.1 in 2.5). This party was the largest liberation movement in the struggle against apartheid, and many South Africans remain loyal to it for this reason (De Jager and Meintjes, 2013). In 2014 the party achieved its lowest percentage in national polls during the democratic era. In conjunction with this, voter turnout decreased steadily from 87% in 1994 to 73% in 2014 (see Table 2.1).

Research shows widespread disillusionment with politicians and political processes among the youth (Malila et al., 2013). This appears to be an indicator of widespread dissatisfaction with high levels of corruption and factionalism within the party, as well as failures in service delivery, as I argue in 2.5. This dissatisfaction reached a high point during the tenure of Jacob Zuma as president, and in 2.4 I describe how Zuma is accused of using his position as president to distribute financial resources to himself and his friends, and almost brought the economy to a “fiscal cliff” (Southall 2016, p. 73). It remains to be seen whether his successor, Cyril Ramaphosa, will be able to reverse the ANC’s fortunes at the polls.

Opposition parties’ share of the vote has grown, but the opposition remains fragmented into a wide array of relatively weak parties. This fragmentation to a large degree reflects South African society’s continuing divisions along the lines of ‘race’ and class. Established Western democracies tend to have parties that are distributed across the spectrum from left wing to right wing, and tend to be identified primarily by the ways in which their policies reflect a particular position on this spectrum (Laver, 2001). By contrast, South African political parties tend to be identified by their positions relative to different social groupings or identities. The ruling African National Congress (ANC) continues to draw on a largely black support base, while the official opposition, the Democratic Alliance (DA), is trying to shed its reputation of being the party of white privilege (Southern, 2011). South Africa’s third largest party, the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) identifies itself primarily with the (almost entirely black) working class (Niefertagdien, 2015). This

tendency is reflected even in smaller parties: the fourth largest party, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), has its origins as a party promoting the self-determination of the Zulu ethnic group, and the fifth largest party, the National Freedom Party (NFP), split off from the IFP in 2011 as a result of leadership struggles (Sithole, 2011).

This means that party support in South Africa is historically divided largely along racial, ethnic and class lines, reflecting broader divisions in post-apartheid South African society. As I show in 2.4, there remain great concerns over social cohesion in South Africa (Barolsky, 2012; Abrahams, 2016). If political party support continues to be defined along these racial and ethnic lines, then the foreseeable result is polarization which perpetuates the divisions of the apartheid past, impeding progress toward a peaceful and prosperous collective future.

However, the country appears to be at a point where there may be some change from these entrenched voting patterns. In the 2016 municipal elections, the ANC's support slumped to 54% of the vote (Independent Electoral Commission, 2016) and the party lost three key metropolitan municipalities to opposition coalitions: Tshwane (Pretoria), Nelson Mandela Bay (Port Elizabeth) and Johannesburg (Sello, 2016).³ This is an indication that some black traditional ANC voters had changed their vote in favour of opposition parties, including some in favour of the DA, which was previously viewed as a 'white' party. The 2016 elections occurred after the period which I analyse in this thesis, namely January – June 2015. I chose this period because it lay at the beginning of my PhD research project, but also because it was a time of "politics as usual" (Wodak 2009, p. 89) in between elections. Part of my aim is to find out to what extent the *Daily Sun* allows readers to compare parties based on their policy platforms, and the extent to which they reinforce traditional voting patterns by associating parties with the 'race' and class groupings mentioned above.

In short, in this research I find out what types of policy positions and moral judgements the *Daily Sun* associates with different political parties, and what the implications of these factors are for the future of the development of national democratic conversations in South Africa. Although in this section I focus on racial and ethnic identity as a possible organizing principle for the positioning of parties in the newspaper, in the analysis chapters of this thesis (chapters 7, 8 and 10), I inductively observe what things are associated with each political party: I examine what people, policy positions and moral evaluations are associated with each of the three largest political parties.

Throughout the thesis, I use the concept of public spheres as a means of describing the effects of the *Daily Sun*'s positioning of political parties on the country's democracy as a whole. The theory undergirding this concept is described in 3.2, where I argue for a view of public spheres that draws from the work of Habermas and Bakhtin. This view holds that the media have an integral role to play in facilitating a system of interconnected forums

³In 2018, the ANC regained Nelson Mandela Bay in coalition with the EFF and United Democratic Movement (UDM), after a previous coalition led by the DA disintegrated (Manona, 2018).

for discussion of matters of common interest, called public spheres, and that these public spheres, in turn, are important spaces for individual citizens' participation in democracy. Thus the ways in which political news is reported have a clear influence on the quality of democracy. In the conclusion to this thesis (Chapter 11), I give recommendations about how South Africa's public spheres can be stimulated to become more free, open and equitable on the basis of the study's findings.

My selection of political news articles from the *Daily Sun* as an object of study is motivated by the fact that the newspaper is the most widely-read in South Africa. Readership statistics indicate that on average, each edition of the *Daily Sun* is read by 4 706 000 readers or 12,3% of South Africa's adult population (South African Audience Research Foundation, 2015). The *Daily Sun* is part of a new generation of tabloid newspapers targeting South Africa's working class and lower middle class (Froneman, 2006).

Opinion is divided over the contribution of these tabloids to democracy in South Africa and established Western democracies alike. One side of the debate suggests that the new tabloids facilitate access by working-class people to vibrant alternative public spheres which function in qualitatively different ways from the mainstream public sphere dominated by the middle class. Their opponents argue that tabloids substitute serious political engagement with entertainment, causing deterioration in the quality of public spheres. These hotly contested academic debates are described in detail in 3.5. This research contributes to this debate by describing the extent to which the *Daily Sun*'s political coverage is conducive to the growth of a robust alternative public sphere. Additional factors motivating my choice of *Daily Sun* political news articles as an object of study are given in 3.4.

Thus far, I have described my motivations for analysing the positioning of political news articles in the *Daily Sun*, but in the remainder of this section, I focus on my more specific motivation for studying the language used in political positioning. Linguistically, this study is designed to address a research problem that arose in my Master's research on literacy and orality in the South African parliament (Siebörger, 2012), and more specifically, in one committee meeting analysed in this research, which is reported on in Siebörger and Adendorff (2017). In this parliamentary committee meeting, members of parliament (MPs) from the ANC and the opposition argued with each other about a point of procedure concerning whether a draft committee report should recommend that a government department's budget be passed or not. In this discussion, MPs from both sides used a variety of linguistic resources to position themselves as upholding democracy, and their opponents as being undemocratic in some way. However, in doing so, they appeared to be drawing on competing notions in their background knowledge of what it meant to be 'pro-democracy'. I traced these competing notions on both sides of the argument back to historical discourses from the apartheid era. Because of these different notions, neither side was willing or able to comprehend the other side's reasoning.

Here, differing understandings of what it means to uphold democracy led both to a gulf of

mutual incomprehension between the MPs from different parties, and to further political polarization. Thus, this committee meeting is instructive in demonstrating the divisive effects that different sets of background knowledge can have. In the meeting, a DA MP unknowingly made an extremely insightful comment on the debate, saying “We’re talking about semantics here” (Siebörger and Adendorff 2017, p.216). What his comment highlights is that the differences between particular political understandings often come down to semantics. In other words, the linguistic resources used in political discourses are used to build complex structures of meanings. These structures shape individuals’ views of politics as a social field, referred to frequently using the metaphor of the ‘political landscape’. On this landscape, they show who is positioned close to whom, who is morally righteous and who is morally repugnant and who lies in between. In this way, this previous study raises questions about how language is used to enact political positioning, and at the same time shows just how crucial this positioning effect of language is. In 1.4, I explain why I view LCT and SFL as the most appropriate frameworks in which to examine such political positioning.

Most of this research is descriptive in nature, although in Chapter 11 I adopt a more evaluative orientation, pointing out aspects of the discourses in the *Daily Sun*’s political news coverage which appear to be inimical to the development of robust public sphere discussions of political developments, and suggesting ways in which these discourses can be transformed to become more free, open and equitable. The following section explains the political position from which I do this descriptive and evaluative work.

1.3 Positioning of the researcher

As explained in 1.1, I view it necessary to position myself in relation to South African politics as a social field so that readers are aware of the ways in which this position affects my perspective on the *Daily Sun*’s political news as an object of study. In this section, I describe both my own political stance and the evaluative framework on the basis of which I critique the discourses analysed in this thesis. It is useful in this process for me to describe some aspects of how I came to these political views, and so parts of this section are semi-autobiographical. Despite this, the aim of this section is not to be self-indulgent, but to disclose my analytic perspective honestly so that readers can have a greater understanding of the motivations for this research and evaluate the research in the light of this.

A key to understanding my political positioning is that I identify myself primarily as an Evangelical Christian and secondarily as a South African. These two identities shape my political reasoning, although such reasoning should be intelligible to anyone who subscribes to other identities. I also would be identified as white in ‘race’, and a member of the middle class; thus I form part of the minority that was privileged in South Africa

under apartheid. When South Africa's first democratic elections took place, I was eight years old, but even at that age I took a keen interest in what was happening and followed the events of the election on television. I became captivated by the narrative of South Africa as a 'rainbow nation' uniting across the previous racial divides, and still am a firm supporter of the 'South African dream' of a non-racial, prosperous society that no longer reflects the social divisions and sharp economic disparities imposed by apartheid.

This disposition was encouraged by my parents. My father worked as a Methodist minister, and at the age of 10, I made a decision to commit my life to Jesus Christ, a conversion experience which is the defining moment in the life of most Evangelical Christians. Since at least my primary school years, I have held that Christianity not only satisfies individuals' spiritual needs, but also provides guidance for social ethics, and hence for politics as the way in which human beings manage their life together in society (Yoder, 1972). Many of these opinions I have developed from those of my father, including what he once described as "the perverse tendency to argue for a conservative view among liberals, and a liberal view among conservatives."

I reacted in a strongly negative way towards the ways in which Evangelical Christianity was associated by many, particularly in media publications from the United States of America (USA), with right-wing politics. In particular, I found George W. Bush's prosecution of wars in Afghanistan and Iraq after 9/11 incompatible with Jesus' ethic of love towards one's enemy (see Matthew 5:43-48, Holy Bible, ESV, 2007). I still view some Evangelical Christians' alliance with right-wing politics in the USA as a particularly dangerous example of sectors of the Church being captured by a particular political ideology, in a similar way to that in which the Dutch Reformed Church and various other churches in South Africa had disastrously supported the apartheid regime (Marks and Trapido, 1987). Instead, I agree with the well-known Christian literary critic and apologist C.S. Lewis, who argued strongly that an alliance between a group of Christians and a specific political grouping almost necessarily leads to some political views being revered as 'God's word', resulting in heresy and uncritical condoning of some of the very unchristian actions of that party (Lewis, 1941).

Equally, I am sceptical of many policy positions commonly associated with the political left, including socialism as an economic system, which appears to have failed in many states around the world throughout the 20th century; I recognize the rights of unborn human lives and oppose abortion. This means that I identify with neither end of the left-right political spectrum. Indeed, I have become critical of the use of the left-right political spectrum as a metaphor to describe political positioning. This spectrum seems to bundle together various different policy stances as being associated with the 'left' and others as associated with the 'right', without explaining satisfactorily what makes these bundles of stances cohere with each other. In each case, I find some of the policy stances in the bundle to be wise and just, and others to be far less so. This is one main reason why I use the broader, two-dimensional metaphor of the 'political landscape' in this thesis

rather than referring to the left-right political spectrum.

A strong tradition of Christian political activists and thinkers has shaped my political positioning. I am grateful for the work of Christian leaders who were instrumental in the dismantling of apartheid, especially for the way in which they made an ethic of forgiveness a central feature of South Africa's transition to democracy. The most well-known of these leaders is Desmond Tutu (Tutu, 1999), but there are many others who are widely acknowledged for their role in the anti-apartheid struggle, including Beyers Naudé (Ryan, 1990) and Trevor Huddleston (Huddleston, 1956). In the Evangelical stream of Christianity, Michael Cassidy played an important role in calling for the end of apartheid (Cassidy, 1989), and an oft-unacknowledged role in facilitating and documenting the negotiations that preceded the first democratic elections, including some events that are difficult to describe as being anything but miraculous (Cassidy, 1995). His political thought is outlined most comprehensively in a volume entitled *The Politics of Love* (Cassidy, 1990), a book which has been an inspiration to me while writing this thesis.

An Evangelical political activist from the USA named Jim Wallis has had an extremely strong influence on my political positioning. In a society which is starkly polarized along political lines, Wallis praises what he sees as positive tendencies among both Democrat and Republican politicians, and critiques both too. This is clearly evident from the title of one of his books, *God's Politics: Why the Right Gets it Wrong and the Left Doesn't Get It* (Wallis, 2005). In a more recent book, he argues in favour of both political conservatives' notion of "personal responsibility" (Wallis 2014, p. 160), the idea that it is important to encourage good moral choices in individuals; and liberals' notion of "social responsibility" (Wallis 2014, p. 163), the idea that society should expend effort and resources on uplifting its most disadvantaged members. While I do not agree with Wallis' position on every political or theological matter, I identify strongly with the main thrust of his writings: that for Christians, it is important to ensure that we are on God's side, rather than on the side of one political party or another, since every party is led by fallible human beings. In such a position, Christians can constructively critique politicians on either side of political divides, calling them to a higher moral standard, and also facilitating dialogue between opposing parties, rather than exacerbating polarization.

Two principles underlie my political thought which have a theological basis, but which could be accepted by anyone, regardless of religion. The first is the idea that all humans have inherent dignity, and therefore moral responsibility and the right to make political choices on matters that affect them. Christians ground this in the principle that all humans are created in the image of God (Genesis 1:27, Holy Bible, ESV, 2007). The second is that all humans are morally fallible, meaning that there is a need for checks and balances to prevent one person or a small group of people from gaining disproportionate power which they could use to oppress others. In Christian theology, this is expressed in the concept of original sin, which affects all of humanity (Romans 3:23, Holy Bible, ESV, 2007). Democracy is an appropriate mechanism to hold both universal human dignity and

universal human fallibility in tension, as it accords all citizens the freedom to participate in choosing their leaders, and makes those leaders accountable to the citizenry. Further, since these citizens each have incomplete knowledge, and also have their own individual moral failings, they can usually, all things being equal, benefit from constructive dialogue with each other about political matters in public spheres. This dialogue has the potential both to extend their knowledge of political developments and to sharpen their moral reasoning so that they can make better democratic choices. Such a position is supported by my philosophical commitment to critical realism, including the tenets of ontological and moral realism, both of which I discuss in more detail in 4.2.

In the context of post-apartheid South Africa, the outworking of the stances mentioned above is that I am not a member of any political party, but aim to observe and critique the actions of all South African political parties. In recent elections I have voted for the DA, although I consider myself a ‘swing voter’ and would be prepared to change that vote if I were convinced that, on balance, another party espoused more policies that I agree with and fewer that I disagree with, and that the party had the capacity to represent my views better. In one local government election, I used the three ballots to vote for three different parties. At a district municipality level I voted for the now-disbanded Independent Democrats (ID) because I thought that their social democratic policies offered a good middle path between neo-liberal capitalism and the ‘developmental state’ policy championed by the ANC, and was impressed by the rigorous anti-corruption stance taken by their leader, Patricia de Lille, at that time. At a local municipality level I voted for the DA because the ID was not represented in our small city, and I thought the party would offer effective opposition to the ruling ANC. Lastly, I voted for a ward councillor from the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), because I knew her personally and believed she would represent me better than others whom I had not met.

As mentioned above, I am strongly committed to what I call a ‘non-racial South Africanism’ in 2.3 and as a result resist the sectional racial, ethnic and class-based nationalisms that continue to influence South African political discourses, as I show throughout Chapter 2. However, I also resist the anti-immigrant sentiment that is sometimes associated with ‘South Africanism’, as described in 2.4.2.

This section also explains my personal motivations for conducting this study and the evaluative framework that I use in critiquing political discourse in the latter parts of this thesis, especially Chapter 6.4. While my religious views shape my personal motivation for adopting this framework, people from other religions or no religion should also be able to appreciate its coherence. Because I am committed to the project of building a non-racial, united South Africa, I am concerned for the health of South Africa’s democracy and its social cohesion, both of which are at risk at the present moment for reasons presented in 1.2. Because I hold that no one political party or position on the left–right political spectrum is infallible, I am interested in observing how the *Daily Sun* positions parties and policy positions, and finding out to what extent they present bundles of policy

positions as complete packages to be accepted or rejected, and to what extent they allow readers to interrogate and critique individual policy positions on their own merits. In this thesis, I view the advance of egalitarian, deliberative, participatory democracy as an important yardstick against which to measure the discourse analysed in this research. Where discourses have the effect of facilitating participatory democracy, this should be applauded and emulated; where they have a deleterious effect on participatory democracy, for example by encouraging readers to adopt prejudiced attitudes towards a different ‘race’ or social group, these discourses should be critiqued and transformed.

1.4 Theoretical approach

This section builds on the preceding one by explaining why I use LCT and SFL to investigate positioning in *Daily Sun* political news articles. In 1.4.1 I discuss various approaches used to analyse discursive positioning and point out the limitations of each of these. Following that, I describe the aspects of LCT and SFL which make them suitable for use in this study in 1.4.2. In 1.4.2.1 I show why LCT offers useful theoretical tools to plot the ways in which discourses position different stances at specific places in what Bourdieu calls “the space of possibles” (1991, p. 10). Lastly, in 1.4.2.2, I show why SFL, with its focus on language as a set of systems of meaning-making resources, is especially suitable for identifying the characteristics of language that enact political positioning.

1.4.1 Traditional approaches to positioning

I use the term ‘positioning’ to refer to the ways in which different political parties, individuals, policies and moral judgements are described in relation to each other in discourse. This term is useful because it draws on a spatial metaphor in which these items are likened to points arranged relative to each other on a two-dimensional plane, such as a map. It is such a plane that we refer to as the ‘political landscape’ in everyday speech. Such a metaphorical plane enables us to conceptualize the relationships between different parties, individuals, policies and judgements more easily, ‘at a glance’, as it were. It also allows us to visualize changes in these relationships over time as shifts in the political landscape. In this section, I briefly describe two approaches from social psychology that use the word ‘positioning’ to describe discursive processes, namely Positioning Theory and Social Representations, and point out the limitations of each for the type of analysis which I report on in this thesis. Following this, I discuss in more detail a well-known linguistic approach often used to analyse discursive positioning, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and explain why it, too, is unsuitable for the type of research reported on in this thesis. This section serves to form a backdrop against which the useful characteristics of the theoretical frameworks I do use in this study, LCT and SFL, may be perceived clearly.

Positioning Theory was developed by Davies and Harré (1990) as a means of analysing the ways in which individuals' identities are constructed through discourse. They define positioning as "the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines" (Davies and Harré, 1990, p. 48). In this paragraph, I draw largely on their description of this theory. As implied by the use of the word 'constructed', Positioning Theory draws on constructivism as an ontology: it views selves as constantly being constructed in discourse. Davies and Harré (1990) developed the theory as an alternative to use of the earlier concept of 'role' in describing identity construction. This concept, drawing as it does on drama, presents individuals as fulfilling predetermined 'scripts' in invariant 'plays', while 'positioning' gives more agency to subjects to alter the ways in which identities are produced. The theory draws on Austin's (1962) Speech Act Theory and Goffman's (1974; 1981) notions of 'frame' and 'footing'. Davies and Harré (1990) used the theory initially to examine identity construction in casual conversations, and, particularly, conversational narratives. However, the theory later became used to analyse intergroup relations in political discourses (see e.g. Rothbart and Bartlett, 2008; Moghaddam and Kavulich, 2008). Although this theory reveals much about the ways in which different identities are positioned in discourse, I find it unsuitable for use in this study mainly due to its constructivist roots. The theory presupposes that identities are constructed in discourse, while I, as a critical realist (see 4.2) am interested in investigating the knowledge which the *Daily Sun* builds about South African politics as a really-existing arena of social action. Secondly, although it draws from aspects of linguistics, it is not in itself a linguistic theory and so is not able to reveal much about how the language of texts positions political parties and individuals. In this study, I pinpoint specific linguistic features which are used to position political parties by linking them with particular political stances and moral judgements, and Positioning Theory does not have the apparatus to do this.

A second theory from social psychology which is more compatible with the aims of this research is Social Representations (Clémence, 2001). According to Sanchez-Mazas et al. (2003), whose description of the theory I draw on largely in this paragraph, Social Representations examines the ways in which societies make meanings and build knowledge. It, as a theory, draws on Habermas' (1989) notion of the public sphere, as I do in this thesis (see 3.2). According to this theory, social positioning is a "means for articulating the variations between intergroup beliefs and knowledge with the temporary crystallization of a network of meanings in a given public sphere" (Clémence 2001, p. 87).

In an example of the use of this theory in substantive research, Sanchez-Mazas et al. (2003) use responses to a survey to investigate the meanings that the notion of 'European citizenship' has for a group of Belgian students. In the first part of the survey, participants were asked to describe what it meant to be a European citizen and what it meant to be a Belgian citizen in two open-ended questions. In the second part, they had to answer a series of questions on their political beliefs, rating on Likert scales their views on various

matters such as whether they identified with the left wing or the right wing, and how often they accessed political communication. The researchers then used quantitative methods, such as a Factorial Correspondence Analysis, to correlate the frequencies of the use of various words in participants' answers to the open-ended questions with their responses to the Likert scale questions. This produced mappings showing how various words, such as "Belgian", "solidarity", "rights" and "duties" were associated with particular political positions as revealed through the responses to the Likert scale questions. Such research is similar to this study in various ways.

In Social Representations theory, as in my study, there is an emphasis on social meaning-making and the ways in which society associates various different political positions with each other. In both, language is implicated in this process of association. Sanchez-Mazas et al. (2003) used a spatial metaphor to express how groups of political stances are associated together, as do I. Both they and I use quantitative methods to explore these associations (see Chapter 7). However, Social Representations theory has no means of describing how language is used to associate different political stances with each other, which is a primary aim of this study. To describe this, I find it necessary to go beyond quantitative methods into fine-grained qualitative analysis of my data. The use of such fine-grained qualitative analysis is well-established in both LCT and SFL, the theories I have chosen to use in this study.

While both Positioning Theory and Social Representations theory are unsuitable for use in this study partly because they are not firmly grounded in linguistics, CDA is a very well-known linguistic framework which is often used to analyse positioning in discourse. Its aims are encapsulated in Fairclough's description of the objectives of his influential description of the framework in *Language and Power* (2001): "to help correct a widespread underestimation of the significance of language in the production, maintenance and change of social relations of power" and "to help increase consciousness of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others, because consciousness is the first step towards emancipation" (2001, p. 1). Characterizations of CDA in the remainder of this section draw on Fairclough's (2001) work, as he is widely acknowledged as a leading teacher and practitioner of the framework. Because CDA aims to show how language is used to produce, maintain and change social relations of power by describing how language in texts is used to encode various ideologies: these ideologies can have the effect either of reproducing particular sets of unequal power relations or transforming them. CDA's interest in transforming relations of domination gives it an explicit political motivation: in particular, CDA, along with other frameworks descending from neo-Marxist Critical Theory, divides the social world up into two categories, the 'oppressors' and the 'oppressed' (Hammersley, 1997), and seeks emancipation for those who are oppressed. This means that practitioners of CDA typically identify with the political left, although Fairclough writes that "a CDA of the right is quite conceivable" (Fairclough 1996, p. 52). This reveals the first of four ways in which CDA is incompatible with my research. I

hold that a binary between ‘oppressors’ and ‘oppressed’ is too simplistic to describe the complex political landscape of South Africa and the changes currently taking place within it, as I show in 2.5. Using such a binary would group policy positions into two distinct groupings a priori, which is extremely unhelpful when I am aiming to discover more inductively how political parties and policy positions are grouped together in the *Daily Sun*’s political news articles. Secondly, CDA’s political commitment to empowering an oppressed group of people against a group of oppressors seems to be at odds with my commitment to a non-racial South Africanism in which all have an equitable stake in the country’s future (see 1.3). While I do not deny that there is a need to empower groups who have historically been brutally oppressed in South Africa, I am concerned that the practical application of neo-Marxist approaches may continue to divide South African society instead of fostering national unity and social cohesion.

In terms of language, CDA identifies linguistic features described by various competing frameworks as having a relationship to the exercise of power through discourse. Many of the descriptions of these linguistic features are derived from SFL. For example, Fowler states that “in practice, critical linguists get a very high mileage out of a small selection of linguistic concepts such as transitivity and nominalisation” (Fowler 1996, p. 8), referring to SFL’s description of both of these features. However, CDA also uses the concept of transformations, drawing on Chomskyan generative linguistics, a competing theory of language to SFL (Widdowson, 1998). As Widdowson concludes, “This would suggest that analysis is not the systematic application of a theoretical model, but a rather less rigorous operation, in effect, a kind of *ad hoc* bricolage which takes from theory whatever concept comes usefully to hand” (Widdowson 1998, p. 137).

Fowler and Widdowson’s critiques are now at least 20 years old, and since then critical discourse analysts have, no doubt, drawn on a wide range of linguistic features in their analyses; nevertheless, this foregrounds a second aspect in which CDA is incompatible with my research. This research seeks to identify the ways in which linguistic resources are used in political positioning in the *Daily Sun*’s political news articles. No matter how broad the range of linguistic features is that CDA examines, the fact that it examines these particular linguistic features presupposes that it is they that are involved in ideological work, including political positioning. To identify new linguistic features that are used in political positioning would require one to reach outside of CDA to another linguistic theory to describe these features. Thus what is needed to identify linguistic features used in political positioning is not a framework which uses some linguistic features in the critical analysis of texts, as CDA does, but a theory which comprehensively describes the meaning-making resources that language offers, some of which may be involved in political positioning. SFL is exactly such a framework, which is why I use it in this study. In order to bridge the gap between language and its social effects, I use SFL in conjunction with a sociological theory that describes the ways in which knowledge is produced and shared, namely LCT.

A third way in which CDA is incompatible with this research is that CDA seeks to expose hidden ideologies encoded in texts, while this study seeks to find how political parties are positioned in texts on the basis of a surface reading of the text's linguistic features, and then to discover the organizing principles behind this positioning. The difference between the kind of reading advocated in CDA and the kind used in this study is best illustrated using the concept of *reading position*, described in Martin and White (2005). CDA almost always depends on a *resistant* reading position, which seeks to read "against the grain" (Martin and White 2005, p. 206), refusing to accept the text's positioning of its readers or of entities mentioned in the text and constantly treating the propositions in the text with scepticism. By contrast, in this research, I seek to code the articles I analyse as though I were reading from a *compliant* reading position, accepting the text's positioning of the reader and the politicians and political parties mentioned in the text (Martin and White, 2005). In such a way, I seek to read the texts as the *Daily Sun* editorial staff might hope a target reader will read them, so as to be as sensitive as possible to the ways in which they associate different policy positions and moral values with parties and politicians.

Both CDA and the approach I take in this study aim to describe something underlying the texts that are analysed, but here there is a subtle difference between what CDA aims to do and what I aim to do. CDA aims to find ideologies, that is systems of beliefs, ideas and values that are often revealed in what is assumed to be true in a text (Fairclough, 2001). I seek to find the organizing principles behind the positioning of political parties that I find in the texts I analyse. To extend the spatial metaphor inherent in the word 'positioning', the organizing principles I describe are the reasons why political parties are positioned in specific patterns in the *Daily Sun*'s coverage. Ideologies may be responsible for these organizing principles or they may not be; in any event, the organizing principles I aim to find are less coherent or all-embracing than ideologies, and so my task is more modest than the task that critical discourse analysts set themselves. In 1.4.2.1 and 4.4 I describe these kinds of organizing principles in much more detail.

Fourth, CDA does not offer an easy way of conceptualizing the ways in which different political stances relate to each other. Throughout this chapter, I refer to positioning on the political landscape as a useful spatial metaphor with which to think of the relations between different political parties, individual politicians, policies and moral values. While CDA seeks to reveal ideologies encoded in texts, it does not show easily how these ideologies relate to each other, possibly because of its tendency to view these in terms of a simplistic oppressor/oppressed binary. I seek to show how the *Daily Sun* maps out the political landscape, and frameworks which show relations between ideas and concepts, such as Social Representations theory, LCT or SFL, are more useful for these purposes.

In short, CDA neither offers a coherent framework for describing linguistic resources, nor a means of conceptualizing how political stances and actors are positioned in relation to each other; it neither enables the close investigation of language nor the type of investigation of socio-political trends that I carry out in this study. In the following subsection, I describe

the reasons why LCT and SFL are fitting theoretical frameworks to use in examining both these aspects of reality in ways that fulfil the objectives of this study.

1.4.2 The approach taken in this study

Three characteristics of LCT and SFL that make them highly compatible with each other and with the aims of this study are what Maton and Doran call the three Rs: both frameworks “are ‘realist’, ‘relational’ and ‘risk-taking’” (2017c, p. 615). Firstly, both LCT and SFL draw on a realist ontology: they treat both discourse and its referents as real objects of study. This contrasts with constructivist frameworks such as positioning theory, mentioned in 1.4.1. As realist frameworks, both LCT and SFL distinguish between empirically observable phenomena and theoretical knowledge about those phenomena (Maton and Doran, 2017c). This means, for example, that LCT acknowledges the existence of organizing principles underlying practices, such as the organizing principles underlying the positioning of political parties in the *Daily Sun* (Maton, 2014). It also means that SFL can refer to the existence of various linguistic systems for meaning-making which are drawn on in political positioning (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). In 4.2 I explain how this study is supported by a realist ontology which is compatible with both of these theories.

The relationality of LCT and SFL is arguably even more important to this study. By “relational”, Maton and Doran (2017c, p. 615) mean that both frameworks offer rich arrays of concepts that can express the relations between different practices. For example, LCT offers a means by which the positions of different political parties, politicians, policy stances and moral values can be expressed in relation to each other through its concepts of constellations, which is described briefly in this section. It is this relationality which gives LCT an advantage over CDA as a means of modelling how the *Daily Sun* positions political parties on the political landscape. Similarly, SFL presents linguistic resources as being related to each other in specific configurations, giving the coherent description of these resources and the ways that they combine that CDA lacks (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014).

Lastly, LCT and SFL are risk-taking in that both theories put their concepts at risk, allowing them to be used in empirical research and modified or revised as a result of the findings of that research (Maton and Doran, 2017c). This flexibility allows concepts to be adapted for use in various different contexts. For example, in this thesis, I enact one concept from LCT, *axiological-semantic density*, in ways that are useful for describing how meanings in the texts I analyse are condensed to allow for political positioning. In the process, I develop a translation device, which is a set of tools showing how the concept is enacted in my analysis (see Chapter 9). This set of tools then reveals additional information about the nature of axiological-semantic density which can be used to revise one’s understanding of this theoretical concept, as I show in 11.2.1. Similarly, in SFL I

use a set of linguistic resources named *mass* by Martin (2017), and show how these, as well as additional linguistic resources, can contribute to political positioning. In so doing, I contribute to understandings of how these resources relate to each other, as I show in 11.2.2.

These three commonalities between LCT and SFL have encouraged the use of these frameworks in complementarity in a wide variety of studies exploring the interface between language and knowledge. LCT, and Bernstein's (1977; 1990; 1999; 2000) code theory, from which it derives, has been involved in dialogue with SFL since the 1960s (Martin, 2011; Maton and Doran, 2017c). This dialogue has led to important advances in understandings of the ways in which knowledge is (re)produced in language. However, it is only recently that some researchers (see e.g. Doran, In preparation) have begun to study media discourses using complementary analyses drawing on SFL and LCT, as I do in this thesis.

In the following two subsections, 1.4.2.1 and 1.4.2.2, I briefly describe the selection of specific theoretical tools from LCT and SFL that I use in this study, and explain why these tools are appropriate and helpful in analysing political positioning in the *Daily Sun*.

1.4.2.1 Legitimation Code Theory

LCT is a framework from the sociology of education that develops both the work of Bernstein (1977; 1990; 1999; 2000) in theorizing the (re)production of knowledge, and Bourdieu's field theory (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Maton, 2014). It includes "a multidimensional conceptual toolkit for analysing actors' dispositions, practices and contexts, within a variegated range of fields" (Maton 2014, p. 17). It has an emphasis on discovering who and what knowledge is considered as legitimate within a particular social field. In each of these fields, according to LCT,

actors cooperate and struggle to maximize their relational positions in its hierarchies by striving both to attain more of that which defines achievement and to shape what is defined as achievement to match their own practices (Maton 2014, p. 17).

This means that LCT is specifically useful in conceptualizing the ways in which the *Daily Sun* builds the political knowledge of its readers by positioning different political parties in relation to a variety of different policy stances and in relation to each other.

A concept from LCT that is central to this conceptualization is *semantic density*. The following brief explanation of this concept and its use in LCT draws largely on Maton (2014). Semantic density is the extent to which knowledge is concentrated into brief expressions or sets of symbols. The statement "Poor infrastructure is a barrier to development in emerging economies" possesses relatively strong semantic density, as words such

as “infrastructure”, “development” and “economies” are shorthands for complex groups of concepts and thus carry large amounts of meaning.

Two mechanisms by which the semantic density of knowledge can be strengthened are *epistemological* and *axiological condensation*. Epistemological condensation is a process of condensing descriptions of experiences or empirical data into progressively briefer statements. For example, Einstein’s well-known formula, $E=mc^2$, has strong *epistemic-semantic density*, since it displays the results of large amounts of empirical research in a few symbols. Meanwhile, axiological condensation is a process of condensing “affective, aesthetic, ethical, political and moral stances” (Maton 2014, p. 130). For example, the word “democracy” has relatively strong axiological-semantic density, since it not only denotes a political system but is also associated with positive affective and moral values for many people. Because axiological-semantic density has to do with political stances among other types of meaning, it is this kind of semantic density that is most salient in this study. Semantic density is described in much more detail in 4.3.

Both axiological and epistemological condensation group concepts, positions, values or ideas together into *constellations* (Maton, 2014). As stars in a constellation appear close to each other from the viewpoint of Earth but may be positioned far apart from each other in space, so ideas in a constellation may be completely unrelated in reality, but appear to be clustered together from knowledge (re)producers’ perspective. In this study, I use the concept of constellations to show how political parties, individual politicians, policy positions and moral judgements are grouped together in the *Daily Sun*’s political news coverage. This concept has exceptional descriptive power in this study because it can be used to reveal the positioning of these stances in texts without reducing them to artificial binaries: an infinite number of constellations may be produced in a single text, and concepts within constellations may have complex relations with each other. For example, one constellation could be made up of a variety of smaller groups of ideas.

Constellations gain their coherence from knowledge (re)producers’ *cosmologies*, the organizing principles underlying the constellations. Cosmologies explain why certain sets of ideas are popular and powerful in a particular society and others are not (Maton, 2014). Cosmologies, then, are not equivalent to ideologies, but rather describe why some sets of ideas (which may or may not be coherent ideologies) are favoured over others. Cosmologies are one way of explaining why certain ideas gain power over others. *Epistemological cosmologies* gain epistemic power from their ability to explain and integrate large amounts of empirical knowledge, while *axiological cosmologies* allow their users to gain social power from their ability to classify diverse groups of knowers. Politicians may draw on epistemological cosmologies to legitimate their policies as being based on experience or empirical research (by saying, for example, “The Reserve Bank’s research shows that our policies could halve unemployment”), or they may draw on axiological cosmologies to identify them with the particular group whose support they are seeking (by saying, for example, “We will bring economic freedom to the black working class”). An analysis of

the constellations reproduced in media discourses has considerable potential to reveal how different actors or groups are positioned, and what cosmologies underlie this positioning. Constellations and cosmologies are described in much further depth in 4.4.

This brief introduction reveals the potential that an analysis of constellations and cosmologies has for describing the positioning of parties and stances in political discourses. The concept of constellations can be used to describe the ways in which political parties, individuals, policy stances and moral judgements are positioned in a nuanced, non-reductionistic way, and the concept of cosmologies allows one to interrogate the reasoning that is responsible for producing particular constellations. It is this potential which motivates the use of LCT in this study.

1.4.2.2 Systemic Functional Linguistics

In SFL, particular linguistic features are viewed as resources for making meanings, which text producers choose from the array of systems offered by a particular language. Hence, I refer to these features as ‘linguistic resources’ throughout this thesis. By contrast, generative approaches to linguistics (Chomsky, 1995) tend to focus on the form of grammatical structures, rather than their meanings. The brief description of the distinctive features of SFL in this section draws largely from Halliday and Matthiessen’s (2014) foundational exposition of this theory of language.

SFL distinguishes between three broad overarching functions, or metafunctions, that language fulfils. The Ideational Metafunction is used to convey ideas and representations of experiences, while the Interpersonal Metafunction builds particular relationships between the senders and receivers of texts and the Textual Metafunction organizes the meanings of texts into a linear form. These three metafunctions are used to classify the linguistic resources described by SFL into three broad groupings.

In this thesis, I began my investigation of the linguistic and discursive resources used to accomplish political positioning in the *Daily Sun* by examining the group of resources labelled as mass. This is a group of resources which Martin (2017) identifies as having a relationship with the LCT concept of semantic density. In the process of analysis I identify other linguistic and discursive resources which appear to be drawn on in political positioning, but here I introduce mass as a starting point to show the kinds of linguistic resources examined in this study. There is one type of mass for each metafunction, as shown in Table 1.1, which also shows where I discuss each of these types of mass in much further detail in Chapter 5. In the following paragraphs, I describe each briefly, drawing on Martin (2017) and illustrating each using quotations from the news articles analysed in this study.

Firstly, technicality is the type of mass derived from the Ideational Metafunction. This refers to the use of technical terms, which may be one word long or more complex phrases,

Type of mass	Metafunction	Detailed description
technicality	Ideational	5.2
iconization	Interpersonal	5.4–5.6
aggregation	Textual	5.3

Table 1.1: *Types of mass and their relations to the three metafunctions. Adapted from Martin (2017)*

such as “Independent System and Market Operator Bill” (see 5.2). Technical terms condense meanings because they typically refer to items or processes that exist inside complex taxonomies of terms which require specialist knowledge to interpret; that is to say, they are implicated in complex webs of meanings typically produced by, and for, specialists in a particular field. Technicality frequently works together with *grammatical metaphor*, a process where “a semantic category such as a process is realized by an atypical grammatical class such as a noun, instead of a verb” (Martin and Rose 2007, p. 106), for example, where the process “to allege” is realized by the noun “allegations” (see 10.3.1). Grammatical metaphor effectively condenses an entire clause into one noun: for example, the clause “The DA councillors alleged that they were assaulted by a group of ANC councillors” could be condensed into “the allegations”. Grammatical metaphor and technicality are described in detail in 5.2.

Secondly, iconization is the type of mass derived from the Interpersonal Metafunction. Iconization refers to the process by which a word or expression becomes charged with meaning relating to social identities or evaluations so that it becomes an icon which communities either rally around or rail against. In an extreme example from the data, the word “cockroaches” is used not to denote a crawling insect, but to denigrate a particular political leader, Julius Malema from the EFF. In this study, I use the Appraisal framework, developed by Martin and White (2005), to describe the social and evaluative meanings attached to expressions. This framework is complex and rich in tools for describing evaluative meanings in three areas, Attitude, Graduation and Engagement. My descriptions of these three areas draw on Martin and White’s (2005) exposition of them. Attitude is the core of the framework and describes words and phrases according to the kinds of feelings (Affect), the evaluations of people (Judgement) or the assessments of objects (Appreciation) that they express. Graduation examines how these evaluative meanings are toned up or down, sharpened or softened. Lastly, Engagement investigates the ways in which multiple voices are positioned in a text. The Appraisal framework is described in much further detail in 5.4, and contextualized within SFL theory and research on iconization in 5.5. In 5.6 I introduce discourse iconography, a framework which is useful for describing the end products of iconization.

Finally, aggregation is the type of mass related to the Textual Metafunction. It describes the ways in which meanings accumulate over the unfolding of a text through the use of at least two sets of linguistic resources, *periodicity* and *text reference*. Periodicity describes

the ways in which texts are structured into “waves of information” (Martin and Rose, 2007, p. 188), with peaks generally occurring at the beginning and end of specific structural units in the text. Text reference compresses the meanings conveyed by long stretches of text, such as full clauses or paragraphs, into a short referring expression, often a pronoun such as “this”. These resources are described in detail in 5.3.

In this study, I show that aggregation and technicality tend to strengthen iconization through co-occurrence in relationships known as *coupling* in SFL (Knight, 2010; Zhao, 2010). A coupling is a combination of meanings from different systems of language or modes of communication (Martin, 2000b). These couplings combine into recurrent patterns known as syndromes or complexes⁴ Such complexes drive the process of political positioning, as I show in Chapter 10 in particular.

This section shows that SFL offers a rich, coherent and relational theory of language which allows one to describe the linguistic resources used in political positioning in the *Daily Sun*. For this reason, it is invaluable in assisting me to respond to the research questions of this project, which are given in the following section.

1.5 Research questions

Three questions guide this research:

1. How is language used to associate different policy positions and moral evaluations with political parties in the *Daily Sun*?
2. What organizing principles lie behind the grouping of different policy positions and moral evaluations with political parties in these newspapers, in the light of South Africa’s socio-political context?
3. What are the implications of the responses to the above questions for: (a) The ways in which the use of language in political positioning can be conceptualized using Legitimation Code Theory and Systemic Functional Linguistics, and (b) The transformation of political discourses in South African public spheres?

In what follows, I give some brief comments describing the internal logic of these questions and explaining their importance in the light of the preceding discussion in this chapter.

The first research question delineates the primary focus of the empirical research conducted in this project. In this question, a keyword is “how”: in this study, I do not seek to provide a complete and generalizable impression of *what* policy positions and moral evaluations are associated with political parties in the *Daily Sun*. To do so would require

⁴‘Syndrome’ is the technical term used for this phenomenon in SFL; Maton prefers the term ‘complex’, as it has fewer negative connotations. In this thesis, I use the term ‘complex’ throughout.

analysis of far more data than I have completed in this study. Instead, what I describe are the ways in which language is used to accomplish political positioning in the newspaper. The phrases ‘policy positions’ and ‘moral evaluations’ are selected to describe two different types of thing that may be associated with political parties in news reporting. Initially, I was expecting to find that political parties would be linked with different stances on key policy debates happening in the country, such as debates on what kind of economic policy is most appropriate for South Africa at this time, from complete *laissez-faire* free-market capitalism to a socialist system. Instead, I show that far more frequently, political parties are linked to moral judgements: for example, some parties’ members are positioned as hypocritical and one party leader is labelled “a thug”, while other parties’ representatives associate themselves with positive moral qualities, such as good leadership and honesty. As explained in 1.2, the news media are crucial in giving individuals information on parties which they can use to discuss these parties in the public sphere, and these individuals’ perceptions of these parties are shaped by both the policy positions and moral evaluations associated with them in these media.

This question asks how this task of building readers’ political knowledge in certain ways is accomplished using both linguistic and discursive resources. In addition to the linguistic resources I describe using SFL, I found that certain phenomena are used in political positioning which are not necessarily features of lexicogrammar or discourse semantics, but are characteristics of discourse more broadly speaking. One such phenomenon is intertextual reference, which plays an influential role in many of the articles analysed in this study. For example, in one article, the word “cockroaches” is used to allude to the Rwandan genocide, in which Tutsis, the chief victims of the genocide, were referred to using this word (see 10.3.3). I refer to such phenomena as ‘discursive resources’, and so I use the term ‘linguistic and discursive resources’ throughout this thesis to refer to the ways in which language is used to position political parties. A summary of my response to the first research question is found in 11.2.

The second research question refers to the organizing principles behind these groupings of policy positions and moral evaluations with political parties. In 1.4.1 I explain what is meant by ‘organizing principles’ in this context: I identify the basis on which parties are associated with particular policy positions and moral evaluations, and possible reasons behind this positioning. In this study, the groupings of policy positions, moral evaluations and political parties are described using LCT as constellations, and the organizing principles behind them as cosmologies (see 1.4.2.1). These need to be interpreted in the light of South Africa’s socio-political context, that is to say, these principles are not produced in a vacuum, but arise from and relate in complex ways to the socio-political context of the country, including its apartheid and post-apartheid history, and the South African media landscape. These aspects of the socio-political context are described in much detail in chapters 2 and 3 respectively. A summary of my response to this question is found in 11.3.2.

The third research question has an orientation toward the significance of the findings of this study for future research and the future of South African political discourses. Part (a) of this question describes the chief area in which this research is conceived of as having a theoretical contribution to the frameworks it draws on. To answer questions 1 and 3(a) satisfactorily, it is necessary to adopt a complex, multi-stage method of analysis involving multiple movements back and forth between data and theory, as well as between LCT and SFL. This is necessary since new tools of analysis needed to be developed to answer question 1, including a translation device for axiological-semantic density in *Daily Sun* political news articles (see Chapter 9), and a description of the linguistic and discursive resources used in political positioning. This complex, multi-stage method is described in more detail in 1.6, and my final response to question 3(a) is described in 11.2.1 (for LCT) and 11.2.2 (for SFL).

Question 3(b) elicits practical applications from this study for the project of transforming South African political discourses. In answering this question, I adopt the evaluative framework described in 1.3, namely that all citizens should be empowered to participate in democratic dialogue about political matters in an equitable way. As the question mentions, I draw here on the notion of ‘public spheres’, which I explain in detail and develop in 3.2. In this study, I give recommendations not only for the *Daily Sun* editorial staff or other groups of media practitioners but also for other sectors of South African society, including the education system and organized civil society. These are described in 11.3.3.

1.6 Architecture of the thesis

This thesis investigates a complex phenomenon, the positioning of political parties in the *Daily Sun*, by developing tools for analysis using two conceptually rich theoretical frameworks, LCT and SFL, in the complicated social context of post-apartheid South Africa. This necessitates that this thesis, in order to be a thorough description of the study, must be quite lengthy. In the structure of the thesis there is constant movement between empirical data and theory, and between LCT and SFL, as mentioned in 1.5. The chapters vary somewhat in length, as each has different roles to play in describing how I respond to the study’s research questions.

The second research question of this thesis highlights the importance of the socio-political context in which the *Daily Sun*’s political news articles are situated. Describing this context is the task of chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis. Chapter 2 lays out the historical development of South African political discourses over the course of the 20th century and early 21st century, allowing readers, especially those from other countries, to appreciate how the debates referred to in the articles analysed in this study are continuations of the long process of the development of South Africa’s political meaning-making resources.

Chapter 3 describes the theoretical notion of ‘public spheres’ as I use it in this study, and then describes how such public spheres are developing in post-apartheid South Africa. Since this study analyses discourses in the media, a key facilitator of public sphere discussions, I describe the South African media landscape in detail, and contextualize the *Daily Sun*, as part of South Africa’s new generation of tabloid newspapers, in it. I critically examine the academic debates that have been carried out over the extent to which tabloids aid in facilitating public sphere discussions, and argue that the *Daily Sun* can and does facilitate an important alternative public sphere in South Africa.

In Chapters 4 and 5 the focus shifts from social context to explaining in detail how this research draws on theory. I describe and motivate critical realism as an appropriate ontology and epistemology to underpin this research in chapter 4, before going on to describe the LCT concepts that I use in this thesis in detail. This chapter motivates my view of political news articles as building political knowledge in specific ways by grouping different policy positions and moral evaluations together with political parties in constellations. In chapter 5 I give a detailed theoretical description of some of the linguistic resources that can be used to amass political meanings into groups in texts, drawing on SFL.

Chapters 6 to 10 report on the empirical research conducted in this study in a way which weaves between the description of methodology and reporting of findings. This part of the thesis is designed to show the methodological progression that took place over the development of the analysis through several stages, as I completed complementary LCT and SFL analyses and developed tools for the analysis of the data.

Chapter 6 outlines the carefully conceived multi-stage method of analysis that has been developed for this study, and describes the first stage, the collection of data. In Chapter 7, I describe the corpus analysis that is the second stage in the method of analysis. This analysis is used to gain a broad impression of the patterns in political positioning shown in six months’ worth of *Daily Sun* political news articles, dated from January to June 2015, and to enable the selection of articles that represent predominant trends in this positioning as the focus of fine-grained analyses in the following stages of analysis.

Chapter 8 describes the exploratory analyses, which form the third stage of analysis. In this stage, I conducted fine-grained analyses of three articles in order to fine-tune my method of analysis. This stage of analysis is reported on in detail because it produces some useful insights into political positioning in the *Daily Sun* in its own right, but also establishes a basis on which to develop a translation device for axiological-semantic density, which is described in detail in Chapter 9. Finally, the targeted analyses, reported on in Chapter 10, demonstrate the translation device in use, as well as the use of a refined set of linguistic and discursive resources which affect political positioning. These targeted analyses were conducted on three articles that were carefully selected to exemplify as many as possible of the chief trends discovered in the corpus analysis.

The result is a detailed and nuanced account of how language is used to accomplish political positioning in the *Daily Sun*'s political reporting, and a description of the organizing principles behind this positioning. This is reported on in Chapter 11, along with responses to the third research question, showing the implications of this research for the conceptualization of the use of language in political positioning using LCT and SFL, and its implications for ways in which South African political discourses in public spheres can be transformed.

Chapter 2

South African political discourses

2.1 Introduction

Any study of this nature needs to be thoroughly contextualized in the particular place and time in which it takes place for it to be able to reflect accurately the meaning-making resources that are drawn on in the political news articles under investigation, and for it to have the capacity to ‘speak back’ to its context in the form of relevant and useful findings. Therefore, the task of this chapter is to describe what is referred to in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) as the context of culture of this study; that is, the cultural norms and practices which shape and are shaped by the data analysed in this study (Butt et al., 2000). A fuller explanation of the term ‘context of culture’ and its role in SFL’s broader conception of context can be found in 5.5.

This chapter begins by describing some features of political discourse in general (2.2). This description highlights what linguists working in various theoretical traditions identify as being salient tendencies and processes in political discourse. These tendencies can then be compared with those exhibited in the news articles analysed in this study.

It is crucial for any study of South African political discourses to be well-grounded in the country’s historical context and to take into account the ways in which historical discourses shape current ones. Apartheid forms an unavoidable part of the development of the country’s meaning-making resources over the span of its history. Thus 2.3 is dedicated to describing the shape that South Africa’s political discourses took during apartheid, both among black and white communities. In 2.4, I describe how these political discourses have developed since 1994, while 2.5 is a description of the histories of South Africa’s current political parties and how they figure in these discourses, with a focus on the three largest parties, the African National Congress (ANC), Democratic Alliance (DA) and Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). These are the parties on which I concentrate in this thesis. Finally, in 2.6 I give a timeline of the six months which were the source of the articles analysed in this thesis, January – June 2015. This timeline assists in orientating the reader to the political developments that took place during this time and the relations between

them. All these sections constitute invaluable background information for my analysis and are frequently referred to in Chapters 7, 8 and 10 to describe the meaning-making resources which South African readers would bring to their interpretations of the *Daily Sun* articles analysed in this study.

In the conclusion of this chapter (6.4) I draw together different threads from this description of South African political discourses. This chapter shows that these political discourses are complex and fluid, reflecting the rapid political changes that the country has undergone in the transition from apartheid to democracy, and that they emphasize parties' social relations above their epistemic relations. This means that axiological-semantic density, the key analytic concept from LCT used in this thesis, is particularly salient in these discourses. This chapter is intended to enable international readers to have a clear conception of the complex and intriguing socio-political background that is drawn on in the *Daily Sun* to produce political constellations.

2.2 The nature of political discourse

Various characteristics of political discourse make this type of discourse particularly interesting to study from a linguistic perspective with a view to the way it produces and recontextualizes knowledge. In this section I outline several of these characteristics which prove to be a useful basis for my description and analysis of how political parties are positioned in the *Daily Sun*. This is not intended to be a definitive description of the characteristics of political discourse, but rather outlines key concerns that I develop into themes running through this thesis. I begin by defining political discourse and discussing how integral it is to the carrying out of political processes, before describing different aspects of political discourse.

Chilton defines political discourse as “the use of language in ways that humans, being political animals, tend to recognize as ‘political’” (2004, p. 201). Another way of stating this, in SFL terminology, would be to say that political discourse is any use of language which has “politics” as an aspect of its Field (see 5.5 for an explanation of Field as a register variable in SFL). This is intentionally a broad definition, and covers language use in a variety of genres, including politicians' speeches and writing about politics; media coverage about politics in various modes including radio, television, and written news articles; and political analysis, whether in the form of interviews or opinion pieces, or academic discourse in the discipline of political science; among others. In this section, I describe several commonalities which seem to exist across this wide variety of texts.

A first observation which can be made is that politics depends heavily upon what I am labelling as political discourse. If politics is the negotiation of power relations and exercise of power among humans living together in society, then it becomes clear that much of what we regard as politics takes place through the medium of language. Aristotle linked

humans' capacity for language together with their political capabilities:

But obviously man is a political animal,... in a sense which a bee is not, or any other gregarious animal. Nature, as we say, does nothing without some purpose; and she has endowed man alone among the animals with the power of speech. (1992, 1253a7, quoted in Chilton, 2004, p. 5)

Chilton (2004) uses this quotation to argue that both language and political activity can be thought of as evolving from the cognitive capacities of the human mind, rather than from social behaviour, and thus to support a cognitivist approach to political discourse. I would not go as far as this, but it seems clear that language and political activity are closely intertwined as competencies required for, and developed through, social behaviour. In fact, if we were to imagine a politics without political discourse, it would be a sort of 'caveman politics' in which coercion would be the only means of negotiating power relations and exercising power (Chilton, 2004). However, this 'caveman politics' example is useful in demonstrating that there is a distinction between politics and political discourse; from a critical realist perspective (see 4.2), then, politics is not reduced to political discourse, but political discourse does play a crucial role in politics in all human societies.

In the remainder of this section, I examine two key sets of relationships which political discourse has. The first is its relations to experience and empirical knowledge, which are referred to as *epistemic relations* in LCT (Maton, 2014). The second is its relations to emotions, moral values and identification with particular social groups, referred to in LCT as *social relations* (Maton, 2014).

2.2.1 Epistemic relations

Political discourse and politicians are much maligned for not having a firm grasp on truths in the empirical world they discuss. What is necessary is an examination of the extent to which this really is the case, and if it is true that truth tends to be relativized or de-emphasized in political discourse, to look for explanations as to why this may be.

Chilton (2004) begins such a discussion with the acknowledgement that we assume in general that the language produced by others is truthful and cooperative. If it were not so, he argues, we would not be able to detect instances in which people were being untruthful or uncooperative. This is also the basis for models of interaction such as Grice's (1989) Cooperative Principle. To extend this to the political realm, we have a general assumption that politicians are telling the truth and cooperating with others (i.e. not being deliberately obscure or evasive) unless we have good reason to think otherwise. Politicians do often make statements of fact that can be independently verified, and they use these facts to build knowledge about the topics they are discussing, and so political discourse must be viewed as having some kind of epistemic relations.

However, there is obviously much more to political discourse than simply objectively verifiable statements of fact. In his seminal work on political discourse, Connolly argues that many of the terms used in political discourse are “essentially contestable concepts” (1983, p. 255); in other words, that not only the issues at stake in political debate but also the meanings of many of the words used in the debate are subject to contestation. For example, terms such as “democracy”, “accountability”, “the rule of law” and “separation of powers” form what Connolly would describe as a “network of concepts” (1983, p. 225) that might be at stake in a political debate about, for example, the powers that the country’s president should have. He argues that the meanings of these terms cannot be decided completely by reason alone, and so in the debate, there will almost inevitably be contestation about the meanings of the terms as much as there is contestation over the segment of reality on which the debate centres, namely the powers of the president. Connolly argues that he can claim this without necessarily slipping into epistemological relativism: the claim that terms in political discourse are “essentially contestable” is a claim about the usage of these terms, not a claim that denies the existence of a reality beyond the use of the terms.

Connolly’s (1983) claim seems to be borne out through empirical research on political debates, as arguments over semantics frequently surface and sometimes are overtly pointed out by politicians, complaining “we’re talking about semantics here” (Siebörger and Adendorff, 2017). Politicians tend to use this as a strategy to play down the importance of contestations over the meanings of terms, but the mere existence of these debates flags the importance of contestations around semantics in political discourse (Siebörger and Adendorff, 2017; Chilton, 2004). In fact, Connolly’s (1983) claim reinforces two of the key assumptions of this study, namely that concepts in political discourse exist in semantic networks (which are referred to in LCT as constellations), and that these terms change in meaning, gaining and in some cases losing meanings over various timescales. These timescales include *logogenesis*, the unfolding of a single text; *ontogenesis*, the span of a person’s lifetime, and *phylogenesis*, the development of a particular group or society’s meaning-making resources (Martin, 2010; see 4.3 and 5.4). More than that, he shows how these changes in meaning are a specific point of contestation in political discourse and so are a particular area where further research is required. And if many of the terms used in political discourse are so contestable, it should be no surprise that political discourse tends to have relatively weak epistemic relations.

The contestability of concepts in political discourse also has implications for the way politicians manage their own credibility. Their audience may hold them accountable for the truthfulness of their verifiable statements of fact, and so politicians may either avoid making such statements or may aim to make them defeasible if they are accused of saying something that is not true. Holly (1989) investigates ways in which politicians violate Grice’s Cooperative Principle by disguising the intentions behind their communication. He focuses on two ways in which this may be done. One is named “the ‘running-board’

technique” (Holly 1989, p. 123), in which additional covert meanings are conveyed along with more overt meanings in a stretch of text, as though “on the running-board” (1989, p. 123) of a car, rather than inside the car itself. These meanings may be conveyed through presuppositions, implicatures, entailments or propositions that are less vulnerable to contestation because they are mentioned in subordinate clauses or nominal groups (Chilton, 2004).

For example, Helen Zille, who was the leader of the opposition Democratic Alliance (DA) at the time, criticized a plan announced by the then South African president, Jacob Zuma, by saying “It is an insider enrichment scheme disguised beneath the mantle of the so-called ‘developmental state’, a word which in ANC-speak, means precisely the opposite of what the English language intended it to.” (See the article in which this statement is reported in Appendix A.) Here Zille openly criticizes Zuma’s plan, but also critiques his party’s ‘developmental state’ policies “on the running-board”. The critique of these policies is embedded in a nominal group, where it is more difficult to question or argue with than the more overt proposition Zille is making.

A second is “the ‘phantom-meaning’ technique” (Holly 1989, p. 126) in which a statement may have two interpretations, for instance a literal one and a figurative one, and if the sender is censured for intending one interpretation, (s)he can always reply that the alternative interpretation was meant. For example, former KwaZulu/Natal Premier Senzo Mchunu said “We are in contact with King Zwelithini as we encourage him to continue calling for peace,” after Zwelithini, the traditional leader of the Zulu people, had made remarks that many people blamed for triggering a wave of xenophobic violence. On the surface, Mchunu’s utterance appears to be simply a statement that he supports Zwelithini in his calls for peace; under the surface, Mchunu may be perpetuating the idea that originally, Zwelithini was doing the opposite of calling for peace. (See the detailed discussion of an article in which Mchunu’s statement is reported in 8.3.3.)

Strategies such as these are well-established in political discourse and serve to free politicians from the constraints of having to establish a correspondence between their words and empirical reality.

While this cynicism is not new, in the 2016 United States of America (USA) presidential elections, some commentators held that there had been a noticeable increase in the proportion of verifiable statements of fact made by the candidates that were false, especially in the case of Donald Trump (Jordan, 2016). This led them to herald the arrival of “post-truth” (Jordan, 2016) politics. The label “post-truth” can obviously be interpreted as an allusion to postmodernism, in which there is a general scepticism towards any truth claims, especially those linked into metanarratives. If such a general scepticism exists, then there is little reason why one might make the effort to tell the truth. Further, Jordan (2016) suggests that in a “post-truth” society, statements are no longer judged by their truth value but rather on how much media attention they are likely to attract, including discussion on social media. He points to “how content producers of hyperpartisan Face-

book pages are growing their audiences by eschewing factual reporting and using false or misleading information that simply tells people what they want to hear” (Jordan, 2016). He adds that these discussions on social media are also increasingly being repeated in mainstream media: it is commonplace for even highbrow newspapers and television news programmes to use social media as an information source. Trends such as these show that there is a strong case to be made for the idea that political discourse is continuing to weaken in epistemic relations and strengthen in social relations.

Barnett (2002) argues that much of the public’s cynicism towards politicians has been encouraged by the popular media. He describes four stages in the relationship between political journalism and politicians during the 20th century: “the age of deference” (2002, p. 404) in which journalists were so submissive towards politicians that major scandals such as presidents’ extramarital affairs were covered up rather than reported, “the age of equal engagement” (2002, p. 404) in which journalists were prepared to challenge politicians and scandals such as Watergate were uncovered through thorough investigative journalism, “the age of journalistic disdain” (2002, p. 404) in which journalists resisted threats to their independence by looking down on politicians, and the current “age of contempt” (2002, p. 404) in which journalists are openly hostile towards politicians and overemphasize their personal moral failings.

A result of the “age of contempt” (2002, p. 404), he claims, is that individuals with strong leadership potential and moral values are less likely to pursue careers in politics, and ordinary citizens feel increasingly disengaged from political discourse. The title of Barnett’s (2002) article is “Will a crisis in journalism provoke a crisis in democracy?”, suggesting that the effects of this disengagement could be far-reaching and dire. Attitudes among South African youth appear to bear out Barnett’s predictions to some extent, as I show in 3.3. However, I argue in 3.5 that this cynicism towards politicians is only one of a variety of factors that could be influencing democratic participation and voting patterns in South African democracy, and demonstrate this using evidence from the *Daily Sun*’s political coverage in Chapters 7, 8 and 10.

Barnett’s (2002) argument can serve as a worthwhile reminder that political discourse does possess epistemic relations: statements describing empirical reality still play a significant role in political discourse. For example, Siebörger and Adendorff (2015) show how members of the South African parliament draw on true stories from their constituencies to substantiate and illustrate concerns that they raise in a committee meeting. Facts and figures are frequently used as evidence and contested in political discourse, and these are represented in certain ways. Constructivist approaches to political discourse and other approaches that reduce political discourse simply to language games between competing groups and individuals may overlook this important characteristic of political discourse, and so it is a characteristic that is borne in mind in this research.

2.2.2 Social relations

On the other hand, much can be written of the ways in which political discourse enacts relatively strong social relations. That it does so is unsurprising, since politics, as defined above, is about the negotiation and exercise of power among different individuals and groups in society. In the following paragraphs, I describe five characteristics of political discourse that enable it to have these relatively strong social relations and also enable the exercise of power through discourse.

Firstly, political discourse is a persuasive type of discourse. Political actors use political discourse to attempt to persuade others of their viewpoint or to persuade them to act in a way that increases their power. Even in examples of political discourse that do not overtly claim an intent to persuade, such as political hard news articles, receivers must entertain the sender's viewpoint, however briefly, in order to make sense of the text (Fairclough, 2001). Sornig (1989) catalogues some strategies in which language is used to persuade, and many of these are common in political discourse. They range from the use of overt signals that introduce argumentation, such as "You (really) must admit..." (1989, p. 99) to extremely covert strategies, such as when speakers intentionally adopt the accent of people they are trying to affiliate with in the hopes of persuading them to agree with them or vote for them, for instance.

Another persuasive strategy is what Sornig refers to as the exploitation of "instability of meaning and reduction of semantic content as a result of focusing and attempts at intensification" (1989, p. 98). This leads us to a second characteristic of the social relations of political discourse: it makes extensive use of the process referred to as iconization in SFL (see 5.6). In iconization, language, particularly specific lexical items, is charged with social, moral or political value and often bleached of ideational meaning, creating symbols that communities rally around or against, such as the word "democratic", or by contrast, "dictatorial". However, I argue in 11.2.2 that this bleaching of ideational meaning is not always necessarily a characteristic of iconization. Sornig (1989) mentions how intensifiers can be used to supercharge words with values, as in terms like "hyper-fundamentalist" or "ultra-leftist". In the same volume, Wodak (1989a) examines the use of iconized expressions that she refers to as political jargon in a political television talk show. She describes the development of this jargon as occurring in three steps, as follows:

1. "The jargon-word receives an *ideological meaning*, an emotionally meaningful content, and thus becomes a *catchword* (see Wodak 1987 for details).
2. "With increased use, the jargon-word becomes a meaningless, empty *vogue-word*.
3. "The jargon-word may merely enter and enrich the vocabulary of *everyday-speech* (see Regele 1986; Nunn 1974; Améry 1970)." (Wodak 1989a, p. 142)

This process is almost identical to traditional descriptions of the process of iconization. The expressions that Wodak refers to as jargon extend from single lexical items, such

as “fascistoid” (1989a, p. 148) to slogans such as “Without democracy no socialism - no socialism without democracy” (1989a, p. 151) and long nominal groups that have become iconized in some way, such as “projected hopes of the cultural revolution” (1989b, p. 157). The latter category often includes nominalizations, which introduce a variety of possibilities of other devices for covertly including some meanings into the text and excluding others. For example, in “projected hopes of the cultural revolution”, agency is obscured by not mentioning who hopes for the cultural revolution, and it is presupposed that such “hopes of the cultural revolution” exist, and therefore that “cultural revolution” is a concept that exists in some people’s minds. Text receivers have to entertain all these propositions to make sense of the text, whether or not they align with their pre-existing political ideas (Wodak, 1989b).

This demonstrates three points. Firstly, it shows that iconization, an important concept for this thesis, operates not only at the lexical level but also on larger units of analysis, such as the group and the clause. Secondly, there is a link between iconization and nominalization, which is a resource that is normally associated more with ideational meaning than interpersonal meaning. Lastly, iconization is used in political discourse to strengthen its social relations through the creation of icons that particular social groups can rally around or against. The process of iconization is described in detail in 5.6, so no more attention needs to be paid to it here except to note that it is well-established as a feature of political discourse, even from before the term gained currency in linguistics.

A third characteristic of political discourse that may strengthen its social relations is that it tends to engage participants’ emotions, in addition to their intellects. Writing from a cognitivist perspective, Chilton hypothesizes that “political discourse has specific connections to the emotional centres of the brain” (2004, p. 204). Political discourse often draws on emotions such as patriotism and fear, as well as senses of identity (Chilton, 2004). Evidence for this is clearly shown in analyses of political discourse using Appraisal (see 5.4 for a detailed description of this analytic framework) in which the sub-system of Affect plays an important role, such as Coffin and O’Halloran (2005); Martin (2000b); Siebörger (2012); Smith and Adendorff (2014b) and White (1998). This sub-system also plays an important role in the analysis presented in this thesis, as shown in chapters 8 and 10. Emotions are often drawn on in the service of persuasion. As Wodak’s (1989b) description of the development of political jargon mentioned above shows, emotional charging can be integral to the process of iconization. This use of emotion in political discourse most often has the effect of affiliating with or disaffiliating from certain groups of people (see 5.5), strengthening the social relations of political discourse.

Fourth, at a more fundamental level, Lakoff (1996), argues that politics, and therefore political discourse, is shaped by morality. He sees the USA’s political system as an ongoing clash between two different systems of morality, a conservative moral system which he labels “Strict Father morality” (1996, p. 65) and a liberal moral system which he names “Nurturant Parent morality” (1996, p. 105). These two moral systems value different

types of actions and even different types of people differently. Strict Father morality prioritizes the cultivation of self-discipline as a means of ensuring personal success, while Nurturant Parent morality values empathy toward others instead. For example, Strict Father morality would consider a wealthy, ‘self-made’ businessperson to be a moral saint; it would consider someone who “work[s] to upset the moral order” (1996, p. 171) a moral demon.

By contrast, someone subscribing to Nurturant Parent morality would be more likely to question the propriety of a successful businessperson, and instead to label someone who advocates for the rights of oppressed minorities a moral saint. Lakoff wrote, “The demon-of-all-demons for conservatives is, not surprisingly, Hillary Clinton!” (1996, p. 171), while Donald Trump would be a prototypical moral demon for someone holding to Nurturant Parent morality. Even if one disputes the strong conclusions that Lakoff (1996) arrives at, he demonstrates that disputes about morals and values play an extremely significant, and possibly a foundational role, in political discourse. These disputes are linked to relatively strong social relations: as shown in the examples of moral saints and moral demons above, different moral systems construct different hierarchies of people who are more and less moral, thus clearly specifying who is an “ideal knower” (Maton 2014, p. 32) and who is not.

Fifth, political discourse uses metaphor in a variety of ways to package meanings. Cognitive linguists such as Lakoff (1996) and Chilton (2004) observe metaphor working at deeper levels in political discourse. Chilton states that “political discourse involves metaphorical reasoning” (2004, p. 203), while Lakoff describes political discourse as being pervaded by “conceptual metaphor” (1996, p. 4). What they mean is that political discourse draws on certain metaphors embedded deeply in participants’ minds, and appropriates these metaphors in arguing for one position or another. An example would be the metaphors of “Evil as Dark and Good as Light” (1996, p. 43) or “Nation-as-Family” (1996, p. 13). Lakoff (1996) argues that the metaphor of “Nation-as-Family” is what gives coherence to the bundles of political stances referred to as “liberal” and “conservative”. It is clear from this that cognitive linguists hold that metaphor plays an extremely influential role in political discourse. In this study, I use a different theoretical framework, namely LCT and its notions of constellations and cosmologies (see 4.4) to explain the coherence of such bundles of political stances. In it, I show that metaphor plays a significant role in political positioning in *Daily Sun* political news articles (see 11.2.2).

Another way in which metaphor is used in political discourse is to map political stances. Chilton argues that “political discourse draws on spatial cognition” (2004, p. 203) and that “spatial metaphors make concepts of the group and identity available” (2004, p. 204). Stances and groups of people may be positioned on the left-right political spectrum, or in more complex cases, the spatial metaphor of the political landscape is invoked to explain how different stances and groupings are positioned relative to each other, or to put it in less metaphorical language, what the relations between different stances are. The

spatial metaphor of the political landscape is usefully similar to the spatial metaphor implied in LCT's concept of constellations, in which the relations between stances are also mapped spatially (see 4.4). Additionally, "binary conceptualisations are frequent in political discourse" (Chilton 2004, p. 202): groups and stances are often separated into simple binaries such as "left" and "right", "liberal" and "conservative", or "us" and "them". These would be reflected in LCT as binary constellations, often with one constellation carrying positive charging and the other carrying a negative charge.

While cognitive linguists interested in political discourse use binaries and spatial metaphors to describe how politics is conceptualized inside individual minds, LCT's concepts of constellations and cosmologies provide similar means to describe how knowledge, including political knowledge, is produced in society as a social phenomenon. Since this knowledge is available in various forms of texts circulating in society, it can be described as a social phenomenon without one needing to make inferences about the ways in which concepts are arranged in individuals' minds. However, what is remarkable is that political discourse includes so many sophisticated resources for expressing the relations between people and stances, and that these resonate with the concepts that LCT uses to examine such relations. Once again, this shows how political discourse tends to emphasize social relations: the more tightly different stances and groups of people are linked, the stronger the axiological-semantic density of a given stretch of discourse will be (see 4.3).

Thus there are various characteristics of political discourse which have the effect of strengthening its social relations: its inherent orientation towards persuasion, its use of iconization, its drawing on emotions, its dependence on moral reasoning, and its use of metaphor to map political stances. If, as argued in this section, political discourse possesses relatively weak epistemic relations and relatively strong social relations, then actors and texts are judged to be legitimate or illegitimate based not on the knowledge they contain, but on the ways in which they align with particular people and social groups and disalign from others. This should perhaps not come as a surprise since in a democracy, it is those who can persuade the largest number of people to align with them who win elections.

This section also shows the importance to political discourse of several of the linguistic features that are analysed in this research. Metaphor plays an indispensable role in condensing meanings (see 5.2 and 5.6). The process of iconization is central to this research, and I show how the expression of emotion, described through the Affect subsystem of Appraisal (5.4) contributes to it. Moreover, moral reasoning is essential to iconization in the political realm, as shown by instances of the Judgement subsystem of Appraisal. In short, one may expect to find that emotions, values and moral judgements are used in powerful, persuasive ways in political discourse, or in other words, that much of political discourse involves the management of what is known in LCT as axiological-semantic density, a key concept in this research (see 4.3). In the following section, I examine South African political discourses in particular.

2.3 South African political discourses in apartheid and the transition to democracy

It is crucial that any study on South African political discourses is well-contextualized in the country's political history and its current political situation. Without such contextualization, this study would lay itself open to charges of being 'ahistorical' and therefore biased in its perspective, as it would offer no means of understanding how South Africa's apartheid past shapes power relations in present discourse. This section accomplishes three related purposes. Firstly, it describes the historical context of the discourses found in the *Daily Sun* articles I analyse. This is important not only because it prevents an ahistorical bias, but also because the development of meaning-making resources concerning politics throughout the country's history has shaped present discourses. These present discourses draw on lexical items and other linguistic features that can only be understood with reference to past events and discourses in the country's history.

For this reason, in this section I describe the development of these discourses, aiming to give enough background knowledge to assist readers in interpreting the articles analysed in this thesis against South Africa's historical context. I also refer back to this account in chapters 7, 8 and 10 when necessary to explain particular lexical items or other linguistic resources used in the articles which have origins deep in this process of development. I focus on the apartheid era as a period which has had an extremely strong influence on the shape of South African political discourses in the present, and on how political discourses changed during the transition to democracy in the 1990s.

This section and the two that follow it (2.4 and 2.5) give readers a basic orientation to South Africa's current political situation. Since the *Daily Sun* tailors its content to a South African in-group with particular kinds of background knowledge, these sections do not suffice to explain all the contextual references and allusions made in these articles, but they provide a preliminary 'map' of the South African political landscape, which is drawn on and developed by *Daily Sun* political news articles in various ways, as I show in chapters 7, 8 and 10.

The relations between South Africa's ethnic groups have, for most of the country's history, been the most salient topic of political discourse in the country. In this section, I show how 'race' came to be the chief organizing principle of South African society from the beginning of the country's colonization by first the Dutch and then the British. I then show how political ideas around 'race' developed throughout the 20th century in South Africa, which can be roughly divided into three periods: the segregationist era (1902-1948), the apartheid era (1948-1994), and the post-apartheid era (1994-present), which is described in more detail in 2.4.

There have been discursive shifts along two continua in response to the changing political conditions in the country. The most salient continuum is a continuum between sectional

nationalist political ideas at one end, and non-racial ‘South Africanist’ ideas at the other. Sectional nationalisms ground one’s political beliefs and claims to self-determination in one’s belonging to a particular “nation”, a social group; by contrast, non-racialism, at least in South Africa, entails the freedom to associate with different groups of people which cut across ethnic and social divides, and cultivate similar political ideas to them. Intermediate positions on this continuum are possible: an example of an extreme sectional nationalism would be something like Zulu nationalism or Tsonga nationalism, where adherents fight for the self-determination of only their own ethnic group; a more moderate type of nationalism is African nationalism, in which adherents struggle for the self-determination and self-governance of (black) African people as a collective.

A second continuum along which discursive shifts have occurred is the continuum between capitalist and socialist economic policies. Different actors have shifted positions on these continua over the course of the country’s history, or have negotiated them in ambiguous and sometimes paradoxical ways. For example, Afrikaner nationalists during the first half of the 20th century expressed anti-capitalist sentiments at times in criticizing economically dominant English-speaking white business; however, the Afrikaner nationalist government in the second half of the 20th century saw themselves as defending capitalist South Africa against the onslaught of communism (Norval, 1996). Also among those who resisted apartheid, there have been different shifts along this continuum, and it has intersected with the nationalist / non-racialist continuum in complex ways.

2.3.1 Colonial discourses

In order to understand these discursive shifts, it is necessary to give some background information, briefly, on the history of how South African society came to be organized along ‘racial’ and ethnic lines. South Africa was first colonized by the Dutch in 1652 when Jan van Riebeeck landed at the Cape and established a port where Dutch East India Company ships could acquire fresh provisions. Thompson (1985) gives a detailed description of the colonists’ attitudes to the peoples they found living in southern Africa, from which I draw largely here. The first ethnic group that the early Dutch colonists met at the Cape were the Khoikhoi, whom they referred to pejoratively as “Hottentots”. They also found the San, who were referred to as “Bushmen”. By the end of the 1600s, the colonists had largely subdued the Khoikhoi, and commandos were formed to exterminate the San from the Cape Colony.

Society in the colony quickly became stratified by ‘race’, with the Khoikhoi who were incorporated into the colony and Malay slaves viewed as very much subservient to the Dutch settlers. Dutch colonists only encountered Bantu-language speaking black Africans many years later as the colony expanded eastwards. In the late 1700s and early 1800s, white settlers worked together to divide and defeat these people, driving them out of areas they had previously occupied. The British took over the Cape Colony in 1806

and English-speaking white people settled in South Africa in larger numbers from 1820 onwards. Their attitude to the black population, in most cases, was not much better than that of the Dutch, although from the 1850s, the vote was extended firstly to coloured and then to black African people in the Cape Colony, as the British attempted to persuade these people groups to assimilate into colonial society as subjects of the British Empire (Marks and Trapido, 1987).

2.3.2 Segregationist discourses

The segregationist era (1902-1948) was shaped by the aftermath of the Second Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902 (also known as the South African War). In this war, white Afrikaner nationalists descended from the Dutch settlers fought for the independence of republics in the Orange Free State and Transvaal, and lost to the British Empire, leading to the creation of the Union of South Africa as a capitalist state under British dominion in 1910. Louw (1994) regards this defeat as having sown the seeds for apartheid as an explicitly articulated system of political beliefs. While there were hopes among some black people that British victory would bring them greater freedoms (Norval, 1996), these were crushed as black people were denied the vote as part of the post-war settlement (Marks and Trapido, 1987). The approach to ‘race’ relations in the Union of South Africa was known as segregationism: ‘races’ were to be kept separate as far as possible, with black people to be exploited as cheap labour (Marks and Trapido, 1987). The following description of segregationism is drawn largely from Marks and Trapido’s (1987) thorough history of this period.

Segregationism had as its grounding a ‘scientific racism’ based on social Darwinism, holding that white people were more advanced physiologically and culturally than other races and so deserved to dominate them. Some leaders, such as Jan Smuts in the 1920s, tried to synthesize this scientific racism with liberalism, arguing that the black races needed to be improved to bring them up to the level of white people. Other prime ministers of the Union were not so interested in the welfare of black people. There was an economic depression following the war, which proved to be an opportune moment for political organization among black people. The depression forced together coloureds and Indians of different classes, resulting in the formation of separate coloured and Indian political organizations. Among black Africans, the ANC was established in 1912. Initially, it was a movement composed largely of Christian members of the black African petty bourgeoisie, but it grew to provide important political and intellectual leadership to the black African working class.

Afrikaners also were dissatisfied with their treatment under the Union government. Attempts were made to anglicize them by force, and economic exclusion drove many of them off their land and into urban areas, where they took up working-class jobs (Louw, 1994). During the first half of the 20th century, an Afrikaner nationalist struggle for

self-determination slowly gained momentum. There were a variety of party political shifts and realignments among white South Africans during this period. The most significant was the ‘fusion’ of the largely English-speaking South African Party with the largely Afrikaans-speaking National Party (NP) to form the United Party in 1934 (Norval, 1996). This party governed South Africa from 1934 to 1948 (Norval, 1996). The ‘fusion’ shows evidence of attempts to build a more inclusive white ‘South Africanism’ out of the two main white South African ethnic groups.

Some disaffected Afrikaner nationalists broke off from the National Party to form the *Gesuiwerde* (Purified) National Party (Marks and Trapido, 1987). Later, as Afrikaner dissatisfaction with their marginalization in the Union of South Africa grew, Afrikaner nationalist discourses gained ascendancy and some of the original National Party members rejoined the party to form the *Herenigde* (Reunited) National Party in 1939 (Norval, 1996). This party came to be the chief carrier of Afrikaner nationalist aspirations during the 1940s (Norval, 1996). The *Herenigde* National Party won the all-white national elections in 1948, taking over from the United Party, and bringing in with it the political philosophy explicitly known as apartheid. The NP finally achieved independence from the British Empire in 1961, when the Republic of South Africa was established.

2.3.3 Apartheid discourses

In the apartheid era (1948-1994), two questions drove the legitimation of a new type of political discourse, apartheid discourse: the ‘poor white’ question and the ‘Native’ question (Norval, 1996). The ‘poor white’ question was essentially a question of how to empower the (mainly Afrikaner) urban white working class economically; this was achieved through a programme of affirmative action in which certain jobs were reserved for white people (Louw, 1994). The ‘Native’ question referred to the dilemma that black people, particularly black Africans, were conceived of as essentially rural people who could be kept separate from white people in rural ‘reserves’, later known as ‘homelands’; however, their labour was needed in urban areas, and so the government needed to find ways to control their movements between rural and urban areas to prevent them from engulfing these urban areas, which were viewed as white possessions (Norval, 1996). This necessitated a large-scale legislative programme in which a vast array of laws were set up to classify citizens by ‘race’, demarcate specific areas as reserved for particular races, and extensively regulate the behaviour of black people, particularly in areas designated as ‘white’.

Apartheid discourse, as a product of Afrikaner nationalism among other movements, was centred on the ideal of the *volkseie* (a difficult-to-translate word which literally means “the people’s own”) (Norval, 1996). The following description of this concept and its practical outworking in South Africa draws on Louw (1994). Under the ideal established by apartheid discourse, South Africa was a country made up of many ‘nations’. Through the use of this concept of the *volkseie*, apartheid discourse attempted to weaken resistance

by dividing black Africans up into different tribal minorities and making a show of granting each of them the autonomy which Afrikaners themselves had struggled for. The white 'nation', with its Afrikaner majority, held the overwhelming majority of the country's land and resources, while a very small proportion of land was shared among 10 black African 'nations' in the rural homelands; coloureds and Indians were also thought to constitute distinct 'nations', although there was never any attempt to grant them separate territory. Under this strategy, black Africans could be thought of not as South African citizens but as citizens of the homelands. This was used to justify the restriction of black Africans' rights in 'white' South Africa. This strategy reached its apex in the granting of 'independence' to four homelands, the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. The apartheid state bought the loyalty of some black Africans by giving them jobs as administrators and civil servants in these homelands. In addition, a tricameral South African parliament was established in 1984 in which there was one chamber of parliament for each of the white, coloured and Indian 'nations'; prior to that, there had only been white representation in parliament (Norval, 1996). Through granting autonomy, or even 'independence' to the homelands and establishing the tricameral parliament, the apartheid state attempted to institutionalize each of the different 'nations' as an apparently self-governing entity. Thus sectional tribal nationalisms were exploited by Afrikaner nationalists to legitimate apartheid discourse.

One tribal nationalist political party from the apartheid period which survives to the present day is the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), which was the ruling party in the homeland of KwaZulu from 1975 (Sithole, 2011). The IFP struggled for Zulu self-determination and self-governance in the KwaZulu/Natal province during the negotiations in the early 1990s that led to South Africa's first democratic elections (Norval, 1996). The IFP's tribal nationalism meant that they were opposed to the ANC's idea of South Africa as a unitary state, and there was bitter political violence between the two parties during this period. The IFP is now South Africa's fourth-largest political party (Independent Electoral Commission, 2014), and remains a rival to the ANC in KwaZulu/Natal, albeit severely weakened.

2.3.4 Anti-apartheid discourses

Opposition to apartheid grew within the country, led by a variety of liberation movements including the African National Congress (ANC). In 1955, an alliance of these movements held a mass meeting named the Congress of the People and released a document known as the Freedom Charter which laid out principles for the establishment of a non-racist, democratic South Africa and served as an ideal toward which the liberation movements would strive (Marcus, 1985). The names of the organizations that formed part of the alliance give an indication of its diversity and the racialized nature of South African society at the time: in addition to the ANC, the South African Coloured People's Organization,

the South African Indian Congress, and the Congress of Democrats, a left-leaning white organization, were parties to the Freedom Charter (Marcus, 1985). The Freedom Charter called for a government of the people, elected through universal suffrage in multi-racial elections, and declared “South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white” (Congress of the People, 1955). Thus, the Freedom Charter served as an impetus for non-racialist resistance to apartheid. However, the Freedom Charter has been called a “notoriously ambiguous document” (Hudson 1986, p. 7), particularly with reference to its clauses about economics. While the Freedom Charter clearly calls for some kind of redistribution of resources, there have been numerous debates around whether it advocates socialism or communism, or a capitalist democracy with an expanded black middle class (Hudson, 1986). The ANC was allied with the South African Communist Party (SACP), and there was an overlap of membership between the two organizations, but not all ANC members adhered to communist or even socialist ideas. In fact, some ANC members resisted the endorsement of the Freedom Charter because they interpreted it as a socialist document; Nelson Mandela argued vigorously, and successfully, against this interpretation (Hudson, 1986). The Freedom Charter became a key impetus behind the ANC’s project of National Democratic Revolution (NDR) (Hudson, 1986), and the party still regards the Freedom Charter as a statement of ideals to be attained in South Africa’s democracy.

In opposing apartheid, the ANC was influenced both by African nationalist thought as well as non-racialism (De Jager, 2009). African nationalism conceives of the people of Africa, and particularly black Africans, not as an agglomeration of different tribes but as a collective that deserves the right to self-determination and self-governance. In addition to this nationalism, the ANC drew from Christian liberal democratic thought, espoused by figures such as Albert Luthuli and Oliver Tambo, as well as the communism of the SACP as their alliance partners. Both the Christian liberal-democrats and the communists believed strongly in non-racialism. Thus within the ANC and the movement to resist apartheid more generally, there were continual debates and shifts along the nationalist / non-racialist continuum. Some nationalists within the ANC broke away from the party in 1959 and established the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), believing that communists (and especially white members of the SACP), as well as the Christian liberal-democrat stream of thought in the ANC were diluting the Africanist thrust of the party and the anti-apartheid struggle (Kondlo, 2009). The PAC’s Africanist ideas could be encapsulated in the slogan “Africa for the Africans” (Kondlo 2009, p. 50). Many of these nationalists were among those who had earlier criticized the Freedom Charter. The PAC remains a political party in present-day South Africa, but is extremely weak at present, receiving only 0,21% of the vote in the 2014 national elections (Independent Electoral Commission, 2014).

2.3.5 Discursive shifts towards the end of apartheid

Further shifts along the sectional nationalism / non-racialism continuum occurred during the country's transition to democracy, according to Louw (1994), from whose work I draw in the following description of these shifts. The apartheid government declared the ANC, SACP and PAC to be 'banned organizations' in 1960 (Norval, 1996). This led to many anti-apartheid activists leaving South Africa to lead the parties in exile, while many others, including Nelson Mandela, were imprisoned. Various people and groups in South Africa who agreed with the ideals described in the Freedom Charter came together in 1983 to form the United Democratic Front (UDF), which became a *de facto* internal wing of the ANC, running resistance to apartheid from inside the country. The UDF was a broad-based alliance of more than 400 affiliated groups from different 'races' and classes, and thus explicitly espoused non-racialism. While some black African affiliate organizations still held to nationalist beliefs, these were subordinated to non-racialist ideas in the UDF as a whole. The UDF's non-racialist position allowed it to gain popularity quickly among coloured and Indian people, as well as white people who opposed apartheid. Its non-racialism also offered coloured and Indian people an alternative to being co-opted into the apartheid government's tricameral parliament system.

Louw (1994) describes how, amid both internal resistance and international pressure and economic isolation, the leaders of the NP realized that their discourse needed to shift if they were to retain political power in South Africa. From after the Soweto Riots in 1976, the NP had begun to shift from a discourse of white supremacy to one of 'separate development' in which it was held that the different 'nations' of South Africa each needed their own space to develop separately. By 1979, the NP was claiming before a sceptical international community that apartheid was dead. However, the change from the previous discourse of 'apartheid' to the new discourse of 'separate development' was simply a change in terminology. Such cosmetic changes were clearly insufficient to stem the pressure that the apartheid government was under, and by 1990, the NP leaders realized that their only hope of maintaining a capitalist state in South Africa lay in dismantling the apartheid laws and moving toward multi-racial democratic elections. In 1990, the apartheid government unbanned the ANC, SACP and PAC and released many of their leaders from prison, paving the way for negotiations about the establishment of a new democratic South African government.

The change in the NP's stance and the unbanning of the liberation movements resulted in a spectacular shift in political discourses along the nationalist / non-racialist continuum, as Louw (1994) argues. The NP suddenly needed to prepare itself for multi-racial elections in which it would need to sell itself to coloured, Indian and black African voters along with the white minority. This necessitated a rapid change in position from being a white (essentially Afrikaner) nationalist party to becoming an explicitly non-racial 'South Africanist' party embracing conservative policies and targeting mostly the middle class in

each racial group. An example of this ‘new NP’¹ discourse can be found in a speech by J. Delport, then the deputy minister of Constitutional Development in the NP government:

Prior to February 2, 1990 [the date of the unbanning of the liberation movements], the political dividing line in South Africa was based on colour. Since February 2 it has been based on values and principles. Colour no longer de-bars us from pursuing, supporting and sharing the same values and principles. (South Africa 1991, p. 91, quoted in Louw, 1994, p. 40)

Meanwhile, the unbanned liberation movements were regrouping, with ANC leaders returning from exile and prison reuniting with those who had led the UDF during the 1980s. Typically, the leaders from exile and prison were given more senior positions in the party’s hierarchy than those who had been part of the UDF. These leaders returned with older African nationalist ideas, being largely unaware of the non-racialist stance that the UDF had taken. This caused the ANC’s discourse to swing back in the direction of African nationalism. This was a trend which could easily be sustained and retain popularity with voters, as the ANC could afford to focus on campaigning for votes from the country’s black African majority and no longer needed the support of coloured, Indian and white UDF members. An example of the use of such African nationalist discourse is a quotation from a speech by Mandela at the University of Natal:

In this time of change, non-Africans often feel a sense of insecurity over their future under majority rule... We need to be sensitive to this and help all South Africans understand that the future South Africa... will ensure rights for all. (*Natal Mercury*, August 17, 1990, quoted in Louw 1994:35)(*Natal Mercury*, August 17, 1990, quoted in Louw, 1994, p. 35)

Although this quotation was intended to convince South Africans of all ‘races’ that their rights would be respected in the new South Africa, it makes clear that the future planned by the ANC was “majority rule” by a black African majority.

Thus Louw (1994) argues that the ANC and NP effectively swapped places on the nationalism / non-racialism continuum, with the ANC de-emphasizing the UDF’s non-racialism and adopting more nationalist rhetoric, while the NP, having abandoned Afrikaner nationalism, took up non-racial ‘South Africanist’ discourse. While there is some evidence supporting this argument, Louw’s (1994) account lacks nuance in some important respects. Non-racialism continued to be an important value to the ANC, as it is represented in the Christian liberal-democratic and communist traditions that the ANC drew on in addition to African nationalism, as I observe above; it could be that non-racialism was subordinated to African nationalism in the run-up to the 1994 election, but it still appears in

¹The NP officially changed its name to the “New National Party” in 1998 (Kotze, 1999), but Louw (1994) and others use the term ‘new NP’ to indicate the radical changes in the party’s discourse and policies that occurred after 1990.

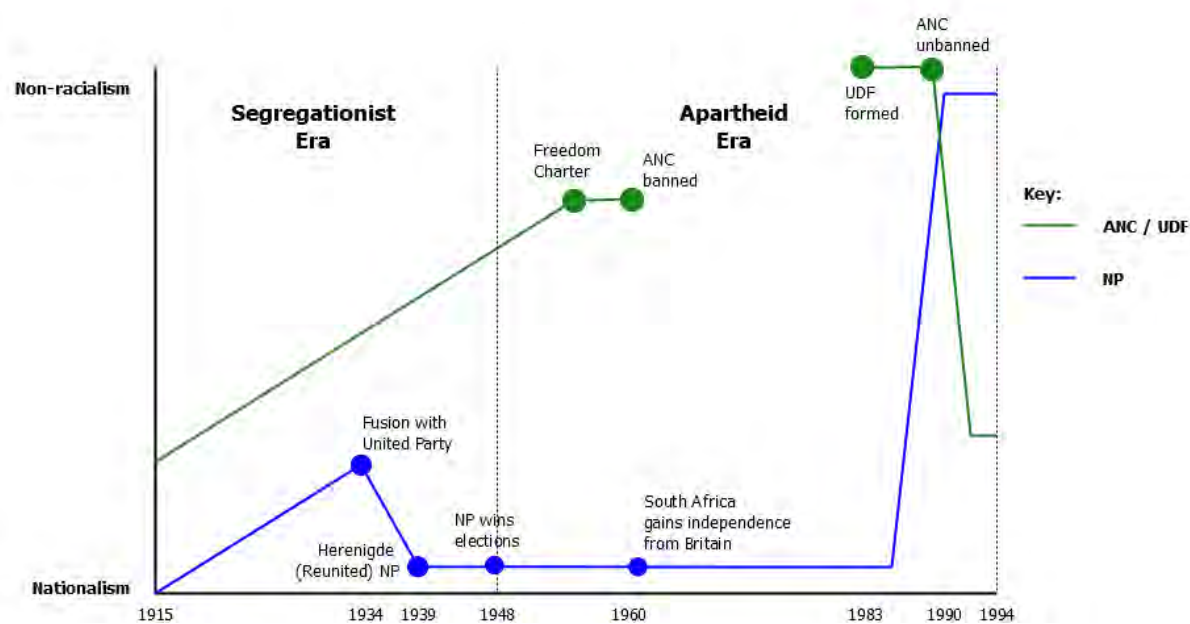


Figure 2.1: *Shifts between nationalism and non-racialism in the ANC/UDF and NP's discourses during the segregationist and apartheid eras*

the discourses of various ANC leaders at times. The NP may have adopted a non-racial 'South Africanist' discourse on the surface, but many critics would argue that this action was simply taken to protect white economic interests, as what they were advocating was a non-racial capitalist state in which few or no measures would be taken to redistribute the country's wealth.

Thus over the course of the 20th century, South African political discourses have been marked by a complex interplay between different sectional nationalisms, including Afrikaner nationalism, various black African tribal nationalisms and African nationalism on the one hand; and a non-racial 'South Africanism' on the other. Shifts of discourse along the socialist/capitalist continuum have intersected with those along the nationalism / non-racialism continuum in various ways as well. However, it is the nationalism / non-racialism continuum that seems to have been the most salient site of struggle over the basis of claims to political legitimacy. Figure 2.1 gives a rough visual representation of shifts along this continuum by the ANC, the UDF (representing the ANC within South Africa during the 1980s) and the NP during the segregationist and apartheid eras. This diagram is necessarily an oversimplification of very complex trends and represents the two parties as holding unified positions on non-racialism or nationalism at any given time, when in fact both parties, especially the ANC, embraced members with a variety of different positions on this continuum. Nevertheless, it summarizes the complex shifts described in this section.

Unsurprisingly, the negotiations over the form that the new South Africa would take were marked by much debate among roleplayers at various points on the nationalism/non-racialism continuum, and among advocates of different economic policies arrayed along

the socialism/capitalism continuum. The following section (2.4) shows how these debates continue in different forms in post-apartheid South Africa.

2.4 Post-apartheid South African political discourses

In the new South Africa, the socialism / capitalism debates, as well as the nationalism / non-racialism debates, have continued. In both of these debates, elements of the old discourses under apartheid have intermingled with debates on new questions that have been raised in response to the shape taken by the country's transition to democracy and international trends. In this section, I examine first the ways in which economic debates continued in response to the ANC's adoption of a largely neo-liberal economic programme. Secondly, I describe debates about identity and social cohesion which are a continuation of the older nationalism / non-racialism debates. In the process, I describe in some detail economic, political and discursive trends during the presidency of Jacob Zuma, who was in power from May 2009 to February 2018, including the period under investigation in this thesis, January to June 2015. In various places, I update the account by mentioning the ways in which discourses changed under Zuma's successor, Cyril Ramaphosa, who took over the presidency in February 2018 after Zuma's resignation. However, the focus is on trends that were salient during the period under investigation, meaning that I omit later trends such as the ANC's bid to speed up land reform by seeking to change the constitution to clarify the circumstances in which land expropriation without compensation can take place (Friedman, 2018).

2.4.1 Economic debates

During the anti-apartheid struggle, the ANC adopted from the SACP a "two-stage theory of revolution" (Hart 2007, p. 98) in which they aimed first to achieve political power through the National Democratic Revolution (NDR), and then to achieve economic transformation through a later socialist revolution that would redistribute South Africa's resources more evenly among the country's people. However, the outcome of the negotiations to end apartheid committed South Africa to a somewhat different economic path, as shown by Kondlo (2015). He contends that both local and foreign capitalist interests were influential in driving and setting the agenda for these negotiations. The USA, United Kingdom (UK) and Soviet Union put pressure on the apartheid government and the ANC to begin negotiations, and even the Soviet Union was encouraging South Africa to provide safeguards to international capital and white business that their investments would be secure and no mass programme of nationalization would happen (Kondlo, 2015). At the same time, Kondlo (2015) writes, business leaders from the powerful corporations making up South Africa's minerals-energy complex were meeting regularly with ANC

leaders in the early 1990s at mining magnate Harry Oppenheimer's estate in an attempt to secure a post-apartheid settlement that would be friendly to their interests. The country's financial press also played a key role in encouraging the ANC to adopt business-friendly policies (Brand, 2010). In 1993, the Transitional Executive Council, a mixture of NP and ANC leaders who were effectively governing the country in the run-up to the 1994 elections, signed an offer from the International Monetary Fund for a loan of \$850 million, and as a condition for the loan, were asked to sign a statement committing the country to a neo-liberal economic policy (Kondlo, 2015).

The key economic policy document for the new ANC government post-1994 was the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) White Paper. The RDP was billed as a strategy to uplift the country's poor black majority and laid the groundwork for large-scale projects to roll out housing and basic infrastructure to many South Africans who previously had not had access to adequate housing, water or electricity. Its contents have been described as everything from "mildly collectivist" (Southall 2016, p. 75) to "relatively benign neo-Keynesianism" (Hart 2007, p. 93) to "an essentially neo-liberal... strategy" (Adelzadeh and Padayachee 1994, p. 16).

In 1996, the RDP was by and large supplanted by a new policy entitled 'Growth, Employment and Redistribution' (GEAR), which the ANC government imposed on the country without any consultation with the public, or even with rank-and-file ANC members or the ANC's partners in its tripartite alliance, the SACP and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu). GEAR was unambiguously a neo-liberal policy, which "argued the necessity of economic liberalization, relaxation of financial controls and privatisation of state-run industries" (Southall 2016, p. 75). This new economic policy was sharply criticized by the SACP and Cosatu, among other left-leaning movements, as well as by neo-Marxist academics (see e.g. Bond, 2005; Hart, 2007). GEAR was modified over the years by a number of new policies with an alphabet soup of different names, but none have been as influential as it in shaping the country's economic direction (Southall, 2016).

Hart argues that "GEAR represented a redefinition of the NDR in terms of a re-articulation of race, class and nationalism, along with the assertion of new technologies of rule" (2007, p. 93). Under GEAR, South Africans are expected to become "entrepreneurs of themselves" (Hart 2007, p. 93), participating in the market economy. Hart argues that social welfare is only dispensed to those who have "the correct attitudes and aspirations" (2007, p. 93), although not much evidence is given to support this claim. In general, GEAR had the effect of enriching the existing white and Indian middle class, growing the black African middle class significantly with the aid of the government's policy of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), and providing little economic advantage for the majority of South Africans, much as Adelzadeh and Padayachee (1994) predicted would happen.

This was tacitly acknowledged when the government modified its BEE policy in 2003, resulting in Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) (Patel and Graham, 2012). Many commentators suggest that this change of name was largely cosmetic (e.g.

Mbeki, 2009; Ramphela, 2008; Southall, 2007), although in an analysis of deals conducted under BBEE from 2004 to 2009, Patel and Graham (2012) found that people from some previously-excluded groups such as workers and women have benefited from the modified policy. The broader impression, critics argue, is that South Africa has gone “from racial to class apartheid” (Bond 2004, p. 45), and the rhetoric of nationalism is often used to defend the government’s neo-liberal policies (Hart, 2007).

A case in point is the debates that occurred between the ANC government under Thabo Mbeki, South Africa’s second post-apartheid president, and oppositional movements and individuals on the left. Hart (2007) traces these back to a situation in 2001 in which extremely poor people paid PAC representatives small fees to occupy and build shacks on some privately owned land in Bredell, Gauteng, between Johannesburg and Pretoria. The ANC government forcibly evicted these settlers. Anger over this move helped to precipitate a growth in oppositional groups who managed to embarrass the ANC at some major events South Africa hosted, including the World Conference Against Racism in 2001 and the World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002 (Hart, 2007).

The Mbeki government launched scathing criticisms of these groups, labelling them “ultra-left” and accusing them of being in league with the “real neo-liberals” (Hart 2007, p. 95) of the opposition Democratic Alliance (DA). More and more frequently, the NDR was invoked as the ANC’s plan for liberating South Africa, and any oppositional voices to ANC policies were cast as obstructing the NDR and thereby hindering the party’s (and therefore the government’s) programme of nation-building (Hart, 2007). Thus, in LCT terms, the NDR became a powerful central signifier, and anyone criticizing the ANC was placed in a strongly negatively-charged opposition constellation which could, therefore, be cast as being ‘counter-revolutionary’ (see Siebörger 2012; Siebörger and Adendorff 2017 for a detailed analysis of similar discursive positioning by ANC members of parliament).

Following from the increased invocation of the NDR, there was increased reference to South Africa as a “developmental state” (Hart 2007, p. 96). In theory, this meant that “the state would play the leading role in partnering private capital in the pursuit of economic growth” (Southall 2016, p. 76); but in practice it meant that, among other things, the government refrained from privatizing a variety of large state-owned enterprises, including Eskom (the country’s electricity utility) and South African Airways, with the motivation of using these as engines of economic redistribution. Most of these state-owned enterprises have suffered from repeated corporate governance crises over the past 10 years, have required large government bailouts, and have frequently been used as vehicles for the enrichment of politically-connected individuals (Southall, 2016).

Part of Mbeki’s discourse of South Africa as a developmental state involved recontextualizing the NDR with reference to “a First and Second Economy” (Hart 2007, p. 96), in which the First Economy is well-developed and integrated into the global financial system, while the Second Economy is impoverished, largely informal and excluded from the First Economy. The ANC’s task thus became one of transforming and developing the Second

Economy, a task which was framed in quite paternalistic terms (Hart, 2007).

These discursive moves served to exacerbate a lack of political accountability which had begun, arguably, with the unilateral introduction of GEAR. There has also been a lack of accountability relating to corruption scandals surrounding a multibillion-rand arms deal concluded in 1998, in which Jacob Zuma, among other high-ranking ANC leaders, was implicated (Southall, 2016). This lack of accountability became a growing tendency during the Mbeki era (Southall, 2016). Mbeki eventually became a victim of this tendency: he was accused of centralizing too much power in the presidency, and of being out of touch with the ANC's predominantly poor constituency (Southall, 2016). In 2007 he was ousted as ANC president by Jacob Zuma, who had become positioned as something of an icon (see 5.6) for pro-poor elements in the party (Hart, 2007). At this time Hart wrote, "The figure of Zuma operates in many ways as a point of condensation for multiple, pre-existing tensions, angers, and discontents that until recently were contained within the hegemonic project of the ruling bloc in the ANC, and have now been diverted into newly opened fields of conflict." (2007, p. 98). Zuma was positioned as representing the liberation struggle which Mbeki was cast as having deviated from, despite the fact that he is a figure shot through with contradiction, who styled himself as a leftist and a man of the people, yet supported GEAR when it was introduced (Hart, 2007).

Following Zuma's election as ANC president in 2007, the party 'recalled' Mbeki from the presidency of South Africa in 2008, and Kgalema Motlanthe stepped in as a 'caretaker president' from 2008 to 2009, when Zuma was elected to the presidency in a national general election (Kondlo and Maserumule, 2011). Those who had hoped that Zuma would steer South Africa's economy in a leftward direction have largely been disappointed. Instead, they have found Zuma "a deeply flawed champion who had no ideological commitments except to his own survival and benefit, and to the wider advantage of his family and friends" (Southall 2016, p. 85). The following account of economic developments under Zuma draws largely on Southall's (2016) work. He argues that Zuma consolidated the "party-state" (Southall 2016, p. 3) that the ANC has established in South Africa, where the lines between the party and the executive arm of government have increasingly become blurred, with the ANC controlling not only executive government but also leadership of other government bodies and the state-owned enterprises.

Under Zuma, this party-state distributed patronage to politically-connected individuals, continuing and greatly escalating a trend that was evident from early in the post-apartheid era, and which Southall (2016) traces back to the anti-apartheid struggle. Major economic decisions frequently appeared to have been calculated to benefit Zuma's patronage network. For example, Zuma continued along a path towards concluding deals with Russia for building nuclear power stations, which threatened to over-indebt the country and pose an environmental risk, but could have resulted in sizeable enrichment for him and other politically-connected people; eventually, such nuclear deals were never signed, as Zuma was replaced by Cyril Ramaphosa as national president in February 2018, before the deals

could be concluded (Reuters, 2018).

However, the most well-known instance of his use of his office for financial gain is the upgrading of his personal residence at Nkandla, which was funded by the state. The upgrades at Nkandla were an especially contentious matter during the period under investigation in this study, causing multiple and protracted conflicts in Parliament between the ANC and opposition parties. One such conflict is described in 10.3.3. This analysis shows how Nkandla has become iconized (see 5.6) as a symbol of allegations of corruption against Zuma.

At the same time, economic growth in South Africa stagnated, with the country making only a weak recovery from the 2008 global financial crisis. Southall argued that Zuma's government was rapidly approaching a 'fiscal cliff' (2016, p. 73) in which the economic resources distributed through the state to patronage networks would dry up, while the country continued to increase its debts. A well-known example of these patronage networks is the relationship between Zuma and the Gupta family, which immigrated to the country from India in the early 1990s. An investigation by former Public Protector Thuli Madonsela uncovered many allegations of corruption linked to the Guptas, to an extent where the relationship has been widely referred to as "state capture" (Wolf 2017, p.3). Madonsela's

report documents the involvement of the Gupta family in the appointment and dismissal of ministers and directors of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) resulting in the improper and corrupt award of state contracts and benefits to the Gupta family's business empire. Members of cabinet, a former cabinet minister and other persons testified that the Gupta family offered bribes and/or posts in exchange for certain benefits. The president and/or his family members were either present or facilitated the meetings. (Wolf 2017, p.2)

Madonsela's report ordered that the president appoint a commission of inquiry into these allegations of state capture, but that the chief justice, and not the president, provide the name of the judge to lead the commission (Wolf, 2017). This commission was established, led by a judge appointed by the chief justice, in January 2018 (Gerber, 2018). Partly thanks to Madonsela's report, the term 'state capture' and the widespread corruption allegations contained in the report have become an important part of the country's political discourse.

Southall (2016) shows that to avoid a fiscal disaster, the Zuma government was looking for resource windfalls, such as through hydraulic fracturing (fracking) to extract natural gas in the country's semi-arid Karoo region, or mining on the Eastern Cape's ecologically-sensitive Wild Coast, to make up some of the country's deficits. Zuma used his position not only to channel resources to himself and his friends but also to place people friendly to him in places of power in state institutions. He also proved adept at avoiding or

side-stepping accountability for his actions, damaging institutions like the Directorate for Priority Crime Investigation (the Hawks) and the Public Protector in the process.

Zuma also severely damaged the ANC's tripartite alliance. The South African Communist Party (SACP) was seen as having been drawn into the ANC's webs of patronage and does not have much of its credibility intact since its members in government have had to accept neo-liberal policies (Southall, 2016). However, at the height of discontent with the Zuma presidency, the SACP chose to contest a municipal by-election on its own, separate from the ANC (Mailovich, 2017). More radical unions critical of Zuma left the trade union federation Cosatu, the third member of the alliance (Grootes, 2017). Since Ramaphosa succeeded Zuma as the country's president, there has been a significant degree of reconciliation between the three organizations in the alliance (Madia, 2018; Hunter, 2018).

The ANC now also faces the opposition of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), established and led by Julius Malema, who was once Zuma's protégé. The EFF cast themselves as a leftist party supporting a broadly socialist economic policy and fast-tracked land redistribution, and grew rapidly to become South Africa's third-largest political party in the 2014 general elections (Independent Electoral Commission, 2014), gaining most of their support from disaffected ANC supporters. In 2.5 I give more detail on the EFF's political philosophy and policy stances.

Increasing dissatisfaction with economic disparities and the government's perceived neglect of economically excluded communities have led to frequent service delivery protests throughout the country (Hart, 2007). Another event which has become a powerful icon of the economic inequalities in South Africa and the ANC's apparent indifference towards them is the Marikana massacre of 2012. At Marikana in the North West province, police opened fire on a group of striking mineworkers employed by Lonmin, a large platinum mining corporation, killing 34 of them (Naicker, 2016). Ramaphosa, the country's current president, was a member of the Lonmin board of directors (Naicker, 2016). Members of the ANC government, including Ramaphosa, were accused of having encouraged the police to use force against the strikers (Naicker, 2016). Eventually, Zuma ordered a public commission of inquiry into the massacre out of political necessity (Southall, 2016), but the incident reinforced in many minds the impression that the ANC was at best out of touch with the struggles of poor South Africans, and at worst in league with large corporations in exploiting them.

Thus, in economic policy debates in post-apartheid South Africa, the main faultlines lie between the DA, which explicitly supports neo-liberal policies; the ANC government which exploits the rhetoric of a 'developmental state' but which in practice has implemented largely neo-liberal policies up till the present; and the EFF and disaffected elements from the ANC-led tripartite alliance, who argue for more radically pro-poor policies.

2.4.2 Social cohesion, ‘race’ and Africanness

The nationalism / non-racialism debates of the apartheid era have transformed into debates around a new kind of nationalism in the post-apartheid era and fed into discourse around social cohesion, ‘race’ and Africanness. After 1994, a non-racial ‘South Africanist’ discourse gained ascendancy, as many celebrated the birth of the new democracy. The country was christened the ‘rainbow nation’ by Desmond Tutu, and one year later, Nelson Mandela expertly used the 1995 Rugby World Cup, which South Africa hosted and won, to foster a sense of shared nationhood among all South Africans, uniting black and white (Steenveld and Strelitz, 1998). This new ‘South Africanism’ became far more salient than the sectional nationalisms that dominated discourses for much of the apartheid era, as described in 2.3. This is not to say that these nationalisms disappeared; they simply were submerged under non-racial ‘South Africanism’ and reappeared in public discourse at particular points of tension. Debates surrounding ‘race’ and identity continue in a variety of forms throughout the post-apartheid period, and frequently prove to be divisive.

In more recent years, the post-apartheid ANC government has promoted ‘social cohesion’ as a means to continue the nation-building project of the new South Africa (Abrahams, 2016; Barolsky, 2012). Social cohesion has been linked with *ubuntu*, a traditional African philosophy that holds that ‘a person is a person because of other people’ (Barolsky, 2012). In some government publications, social cohesion is presented as a necessary counterbalance to free-market economic policies which value competition:

There is a need to more effectively focus on the tension between, on the one hand, the values of solidarity and caring, which define the kind of society we are seeking to build and, on the other, the assertive individualism that emanates from a competitive economic and social system. Militating against social cohesion are values and attitudes generated both by the possibilities of rapid acquisition of wealth for those who occupy positions of power or influence and also by the stressful conditions of extreme poverty among the marginalised. (Presidency of the Republic of South Africa 2008, p. 118)

For this reason among others, South Africa’s National Development Plan, a statement of the government’s goals for the country compiled in 2011, conceives of social cohesion as essential to building an egalitarian society (National Planning Commission, 2012).

Abrahams (2016) was involved in efforts to define exactly what social cohesion should look like in a South African context in the lead-up to the country’s celebration of twenty years of democracy. She and others argued for a broad definition of ‘social cohesion’ that was open to the idea of meeting social needs and civic activism around existing places where individuals feel excluded; however, she writes that what was eventually favoured in the government’s twenty year review was a much narrower understanding of social cohesion that amounted to little more than national pride: South Africans were to be encouraged

to wear South African symbols and wave flags to show national unity in ways akin to those seen in the 1995 Rugby World Cup and the 2010 Soccer World Cup, which was also hosted by South Africa. Abrahams argues that this very narrow concept of social cohesion as affiliating around South African symbols as bonding icons (see 5.5) benefits the ANC, as it can use it to position themselves as ‘builders of the nation’, drawing on narratives of its heritage as a liberation movement.

However, Barolsky (2012) points out that such an approach to social cohesion does very little to address the real challenges posed by economic inequality, particularly in communities where individuals feel excluded from the mainstream economy. She reports on focus groups conducted in six historically black African townships around South Africa, which investigated the relationship between social cohesion (or lack thereof) in those townships and crime levels. This research found that under economic conditions which foster competition for resources, there was plenty of evidence of fractures in social cohesion. Young men and women *phanda* (hustle), using means of dubious legality to gain the material goods they desire, and are admired for doing so. There are also clear and problematic gender faultlines in society. Men deny raping women, even though levels of gender-based violence are high. Gossip is a fractious force in communities where houses are very close together and it is easy to hear what is going on in others’ homes. There is less of a sense of community than there was under apartheid when there was a common enemy to fight. Even social cohesion and *ubuntu* have their dark sides: communities band together to mete out vigilante justice on criminals, and the cultivation of a common ‘South Africanism’ presents immigrants as the ‘other’, resulting in spates of xenophobic violence (Abrahams, 2016; Barolsky, 2012).

Another example of a debate over ‘race’ and national identity that has put social cohesion at risk is what has been dubbed “the Whiteness debate” (Rudwick 2015, p. 67) by the *Mail & Guardian*, a South African weekly newspaper. The following description of this debate draws extensively on Rudwick’s (2015) work analysing contributions to this debate. White South Africans have faced challenges in coming to terms with the degree to which they were complicit in the human rights abuses that took place during apartheid, and in negotiating their positions in the new South African society. Many have resolved these challenges by emigrating to other countries (Ballard, 2004). In 2010, ethicist Samantha Vice wrote an influential article suggesting that the appropriate subject position for white South Africans to take in the post-apartheid era is one of shame for the abuses of the past, and largely one of silence in present-day public discourse in the country (Vice, 2010). This article fuelled the Whiteness debate, with many others strongly disagreeing with her.

Rudwick (2015) analysed online comments on a blog article addressing a related question, namely whether white South Africans should be allowed to identify themselves as ‘African’. The first surprising thing about this debate, considering South Africa’s apartheid history, is that there appear to be a large proportion of white South Africans who want to identify as ‘African’. Under apartheid, this label was reserved for an op-

pressed racial group, and so few white South Africans other than outspoken anti-apartheid activists were interested in identifying themselves as African; in post-apartheid South Africa, being called 'African' has become a mark of prestige to be aspired towards. In fact, several black commenters suggested that white South Africans need to 'earn' the label 'African' by doing things such as learning about black Africans' cultures or learning to speak their languages. Others thought that it was entirely inappropriate for white South Africans ever to claim 'African' identity, given the abuses that had been perpetrated by white people during apartheid and the fact that white people still dominate the South African economy. This position is the one that Rudwick herself endorses. Here again, debates about economics intersect with those about nation and identity.

Rudwick (2015) analyses 'the Whiteness debate' as an instance of what Durrheim et al. call "race trouble" (2011, p. 27). An increasing number of such instances have arisen in public discourse in recent years. These include debates over whether statues of colonial and apartheid-era leaders should be removed, sparked by the #RhodesMustFall campaign at the University of Cape Town, which in 2015, during the six-month period under investigation in this thesis, succeeded in having a statue of Cecil John Rhodes removed from public view on the university's campus (Bosch, 2017). In addition, there was a well-publicized succession of incidents of racist speech in posts on social media and reports of racial discrimination during 2016 and the beginning of 2017 (Lujabe, 2017). In 2016 there were also protests at a variety of historically white schools protesting uniform policies regarding black girls' hair which were regarded as discriminatory (Greenblatt, 2016). Although most of these incidents happened after June 2015, the end of the period under investigation in this thesis, they revealed tensions and fissures in South African society that existed during this period and have challenged the non-racial 'South Africanist' narrative of the country's recent history.

In post-apartheid political discourse, then, what we find is that a narrative of South Africa as the 'rainbow nation', a liberated people who are learning to live together in a free and just society, is continually and increasingly being challenged by the harsh economic realities of poverty, inequality and stagnating growth that the country faces. These economic realities intersect with, and amplify, debates over 'race', nationalism and identity, especially because South Africa's economic system is still racialized, with a multi-racial middle class but an almost exclusively black working class. This was shown clearly in the #FeesMustFall protests on university campuses during 2015 and 2016, in which calls for the government and universities to provide free higher education, particularly for poor black students, were coupled with calls for the decolonization of university curricula and the inclusion of more content from Africa and the global South, linking economic considerations with matters relating to identity (Naicker, 2016). The period under investigation in this thesis, January to June 2015, set the scene for these protests. In this kind of socio-economic milieu, political discourses are unstable and rapidly changing, making it interesting and important to examine how news media position political parties in re-

lation to these discourses, and how linguistic resources are deployed to accomplish this positioning.

2.5 Political parties in South African political discourses

The role of this section is to show how political parties fit into South Africa's post-apartheid political landscape, and so to give further background which will aid the reader in understanding the relations between the parties that are mentioned in the data and analysis presented in chapters 7, 8 and 10. It shows that post-apartheid South Africa can be characterized as what is known in political theory as a dominant party system (De Jager and Meintjes, 2013; Reddy, 2010), but that this dominant party, the ANC, is losing ground to a diverse group of opposition parties, chief among which are the Democratic Alliance (DA) and Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). This is shown in Table 2.1, which gives the proportion of votes gained by the largest political parties in every general election since 1994, along with voter turnout measured as a percentage of registered voters. Parties are listed according to the percentage of the vote they gained in the most recent 2014 general elections, from largest to smallest. In this section, I describe the shifts in political discourses which gave rise to the shifts in voting patterns shown in this table. I begin by discussing the ANC's slow decline in its share of the vote and discussing two new parties that broke away from the ANC, the Congress of the People (Cope) and the EFF. Then I describe the change in fortunes of two parties that have relied on a largely white support base, the NP and the DP, which became the DA. Lastly, I describe the decline of the IFP and the split in that party which resulted in the establishment of the National Freedom Party (NFP).

The large number of relatively small opposition parties shown on Table 2.1 reflects the fact that South Africa's transitional and post-apartheid constitutions allowed for a proportional representation electoral system, in which parties are given seats in Parliament based on the percentage of the votes they receive in the general elections, rather than a constituency-based system, in which the party that wins a particular constituency takes that particular constituency's seat in Parliament (De Jager and Meintjes, 2013). The proportional representation system allows small parties to win seats in Parliament and survive politically, but also provides conditions in which the opposition is fragmented as many parties compete for the votes of a minority (De Jager and Meintjes, 2013).

This table attests to the effects of this electoral system: while the ANC's dominance has remained fairly stable during the post-apartheid period, there have been many changes in opposition politics in South Africa over this time. Two of South Africa's five largest parties in 2014 are new parties which did not exist in 2009. The NP, which became the NNP in

Party	Acronym	1994	1999	2004	2009	2014
African National Congress	ANC	63%	66%	70%	66%	62%
Democratic Party / Democratic Alliance	DP / DA	2%	10%	12%	17%	22%
Economic Freedom Fighters	EFF	–	–	–	–	6%
Inkatha Freedom Party	IFP	11%	9%	7%	5%	2%
National Freedom Party	NFP	–	–	–	–	2%
United Democratic Movement	UDM	–	3%	2%	1%	1%
Freedom Front (Plus)	FF(+)	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Congress of the People	Cope	–	–	–	7%	1%
Independent Democrats	ID	–	–	2%	1%	–
(New) National Party	(N)NP	24%	7%	2%	–	–
<i>Overall voter turnout</i>		87%	89%	77%	77%	73%

Table 2.1: *Percentage of the vote gained in South African general elections, 1994-2014. Adapted from Independent Electoral Commission (2014; 2013; 2004); Inter-Parliamentary Union (1994; 1999; 2008; 2013)*

1998 (see 2.3), was the second largest party in the 1994 elections but sustained a heavy loss of support and had disappeared from the scene by 2009. The Democratic Party became the Democratic Alliance and has gained steadily in support from 1994 to the present. Meanwhile, the IFP has lost support. The Congress of the People (Cope) performed well in the 2009 elections before virtually disappearing by 2014. In the remainder of this section, I describe how some of these trends have occurred, building on the account of post-apartheid political discourses given in 2.4.

2.5.1 The African National Congress

Many of the challenges that the ANC has faced in the post-apartheid era were introduced in 2.4. On the surface, the party remains extremely strong in its ability to use its symbolic capital as South Africa's largest and most significant liberation movement during apartheid to persuade voters to continue to support it (De Jager and Meintjes, 2013). But internally, the party is divided by factionalism, and it has sustained greater losses than its percentage share of the vote indicates. A large proportion of the drop in voter turnout from 1999 to 2014 shown on this table may be attributed to disillusionment with the ANC as a ruling party, with previous supporters deciding to abstain from voting. The 2016 municipal elections, in the year after the period under investigation in this thesis, showed a much more dramatic drop in ANC support to 54% of the total vote (Independent

Electoral Commission, 2016).

Reddy (2010) points out that it is fairly predictable, in strongly divided societies such as South Africa, that old organizations like the ANC (which celebrated its 103rd birthday during the period under investigation) should suffer from factionalism. Further, when one takes into account the ANC's status as a dominant party, it seems inevitable that at least as much jockeying for power should take place within the party as outside it, and that different interest groups within the party should battle for control of the considerable benefits that come with control of the levers of government. Two of the parties mentioned in Table 2.1 broke away from the ANC during the post-apartheid period: Cope and the EFF. Cope was formed by a group of disgruntled ANC members who had supported the Mbeki faction in the party's divisive 2007 conference in Polokwane when Zuma was elected ANC president (Maserumule and Mathekga, 2011). At its inception, Cope showed promise as a black African-majority party that could grow to challenge the ANC in elections, and indeed, it performed fairly impressively in the 2009 general elections (Maserumule and Mathekga, 2011). However, Cope failed to differentiate itself sufficiently from the ANC in its policies, and also fell victim to factionalism, with continued struggles between two factions over who was the legitimate leader of the party (Maserumule and Mathekga, 2011).

2.5.2 The Economic Freedom Fighters

The EFF appears to have been more successful in the long term as a breakaway party from the ANC. Although it achieved a smaller percentage of the vote in 2014 than Cope did in their first elections, it grew its share of the electorate to 8,19% in the 2016 local government elections (Independent Electoral Commission, 2016). As explained in 2.4, the EFF is led by Julius Malema, who was once the president of the ANC Youth League (ANCYL), and supported Zuma vigorously when he was elected in the ANC's 2007 Polokwane conference. He later changed his mind about Zuma and was expelled from the ANC in 2012 for a variety of controversial public outbursts, including one suggesting that Zuma was worse in the presidency than Mbeki (Bauer, 2012). The EFF was established shortly thereafter. Nieftagodien (2015) examines the EFF's breaks and continuities with the national liberation struggle tradition perpetuated by the ANC; the following description of the EFF's split from this party and its current political direction is based largely on his work.

The EFF's birth came soon after the Marikana massacre (see 2.4), and the party campaigns radically against the status quo that Marikana represents, and has gained support on that ticket. The party has styled itself as "anticapitalist, Marxist-Leninist-Fanonian... and, above all else, the vanguard of the working class and poor" (Nieftagodien 2015, p. 448). It is against xenophobia and is Pan-Africanist in outlook. In keeping with its name, it has adopted a militaristic image through the use of its characteristic red berets, and military titles such as 'commander-in-chief' and 'commissar'. These militaristic aspects

of its image also reveal something of a hierarchical leadership structure, which may help Malema avoid accountability and repress internal democracy within the party. The party has attracted plenty of criticism, fuelled often by fears about the movement's disruptive potential.

The EFF taps into a wave of discontent at youth unemployment and poor prospects under neo-liberal regimes that has been felt across the world. But it is also probably the most significant youth movement in South Africa since the 1990s and represents the first split from the ANC to the left since apartheid. However, what is ignored in the party's rhetoric is the ways in which many of its leaders who left the ANCYL, like Malema, amassed wealth through profiting off government tenders, casting doubt on their claims to be anti-capitalist.

As implied above, the party practises vanguardism, seeing itself as the driver of the economic freedom struggle, and so it tends to ignore the fact that many of the anti-capitalist protests that have recently taken place in the country have been organized from the bottom up. Instead, Nieftagodien (2015) argues, the party tends to swoop in and endorse these protests when they are in full flower. The EFF has also not participated in efforts organized by the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), a large union that has broken away from Cosatu, to build a united leftist movement in the country. For this reason, and also because of its hierarchical structure, the party is treated with suspicion by other leftist movements. Nieftagodien (2015) concludes that it remains to be seen whether the EFF will mature into a party with strong internal democracy, or whether it will be hampered by its own hierarchical organization and vanguardism. Despite this, its electoral successes and potential for future growth make it an extremely significant political player in present-day South Africa.

2.5.3 The (New) National Party and Democratic Alliance

Considerably different shifts have occurred among South Africa's historically 'white' political parties. The shrinking and eventual disappearance of the (New) National Party has already been noted. The following brief account of its demise draws on Southern (2015). Following 1994, the NP joined the ANC and IFP in a Government of National Unity (GNU), with its president, F.W. De Klerk, serving as one of the country's two deputy presidents. The NP withdrew from the GNU in 1996, but Southern (2015) argues that these two years as a junior partner in the GNU were disastrous for the party: it had to toe the political line set by the ANC and did not hone its skills as an opposition party. In addition, it was not as successful as had been hoped at making the transition from being a racially-based party to a non-racial party, as described in 2.3. It lost much of its traditional white support base to the Democratic Party (DP), which was seen as offering much more rigorous and effective opposition to the ANC. In 2000, the NNP merged with the Democratic Party (DP) and the small Federal Alliance to form the Democratic Alliance

(DA) (Anciano, 2016). The following year, the NNP left the DA to join an alliance with the ANC (Anciano, 2016), a move which further alienated its traditional support base. The party formally disbanded in 2005.

By contrast, the DA has continued to grow in its role as the official opposition to the ANC. It draws on a long tradition of liberal opposition politics stretching back to 1959 when the Progressive Party (PP) was formed. For 13 years, from 1961 to 1974, Helen Suzman gained a formidable reputation for opposing apartheid as the PP's only Member of Parliament (Strangwayes-Booth, 1976). In 1975, the party changed its name to the Progressive Reform Party; in 1977 it was renamed the Progressive Federal Party, and it became the Democratic Party in 1989 (Anciano, 2016). The DA, like the ANC, has had a complex and sometimes contradictory relationship with discourses of non-racialism, as Anciano (2016) argues. The following description of this relationship draws on her work. As a liberal opposition party in apartheid South Africa, the PP had an explicit commitment to non-racialism. However, the party had to abide by the 1968 Prohibition of Racial Interference Act to remain in parliament, which demanded that the party restrict its membership to whites only. One of its competitors, the Liberal Party, chose to take a principled stand and refused to restrict its membership, and so was prohibited from participation in parliament.

In the earlier years of the post-apartheid era, the DP implicitly courted the votes of the country's racial minorities, particularly white and coloured people. Its 1999 campaign slogan was "Fight back!", and this encapsulated the aggressive approach the party took towards opposition politics at the time, playing on minorities' insecurities about the ANC's African nationalist agenda (Southern, 2011). In more recent years, especially since Helen Zille was elected the party's federal leader in 2007, the DA has repositioned itself to attract more black African voters, in the hopes of becoming a party in government (Southern, 2011). At more or less the same time, the Independent Democrats (ID), a small party led by opposition firebrand Patricia de Lille, a coloured woman, joined the DA in a coalition government in the Western Cape, which arguably improved the diversity of the party somewhat. The ID officially merged with the DA in 2010.

The DA's new positioning brought with it challenges in its approach to 'race'. As a liberal party, it was committed to a universalistic 'colour-blind' approach that treated all South Africans as individuals rather than representatives of any particular 'racial' group, as Anciano (2016) describes. Thus it had opposed affirmative action and BEE policies which were based on race. However, to target black Africans as potential voters, the party needed to increase the number of black Africans in its leadership and therefore was forced to backpedal on its 'colour-blind' approach. This had repercussions for its economic policy. Historically, the DA had supported free-market policies as the best way to grow the economy and ensure economic upliftment for previously disadvantaged groups. However, these policies effectively left the existing racialized structure of the economy intact.

More recently, there was a gradual move towards support of some form of economic

empowerment for those previously excluded from the South African economy, implying an acknowledgement that some policies which discriminate by ‘race’ are necessary in the context of apartheid South Africa. In May 2015, during the period under examination in this study, Helen Zille’s term as the DA’s federal leader ended, and Mmusi Maimane was elected as the party’s first black leader. He defeated Wilmot James at the DA’s electoral congress, and one of the points of debate between Maimane and James was their respective stances towards affirmative action based on race, with Maimane in favour of it and James against. In 2018, the party released an official statement rejecting “the ANC’s model of Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment” (Selfe and Ngwenya, 2018), and briefly listing some possible alternative empowerment initiatives. However, there continues to be a hot debate among the party’s leadership about the extent to which economic empowerment initiatives should be based on ‘race’ (Sicetsha, 2018).

During the period under investigation, the DA ruled the Western Cape province, with Zille serving as premier, and also controlled the City of Cape Town municipality, with De Lille as mayor. In the 2016 local government elections, it gained control of three further metropolitan municipalities from the ANC: Johannesburg, Tshwane (Pretoria) and Nelson Mandela Bay (Port Elizabeth) in coalition with smaller opposition parties (Sello, 2016). This was viewed as a heavy defeat for the ANC and demonstrated the success of the DA’s efforts to position itself as a potential party in government.

In 2018, the DA faced some difficult challenges. The party lost control of Nelson Mandela Bay after its coalition in the city disintegrated (see 1.2, footnote 3). The DA in the City of Cape Town was divided by severe infighting in 2017 and 2018, resulting in De Lille resigning as mayor (Ensor, 2018). She subsequently established a new party, named ‘Good’ (Dlulane, 2018). The controversy around De Lille’s acrimonious exit from the party appeared particularly damaging, and it remains to be seen whether this will result in a decrease in the party’s support in the 2019 general elections.

2.5.4 The Inkatha Freedom Party and National Freedom Party

Another opposition party, the IFP, has seen its support wane steadily during the post-apartheid era, as shown in Table 2.1. This was exacerbated by a breakaway in 2011 in which the NFP was formed. Sithole (2011) investigates the reasons behind this split, and I draw largely on his work in this description of the two parties. As explained in 2.3, the IFP as a Zulu nationalist party has a history of bitter enmity with the ANC. In the post-apartheid era, the IFP has remained conservative and to a large extent, patriarchal. Its leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is a Zulu chieftain who has been characterized by an ex-party member, Gavin Woods, as “a despot in the old-style African-leader-for-life mould who has skilfully wielded power in such a way that all those around him capitulate to a protocol of deference and to a fear of his well-known outbursts” (Sithole 2011, p. 1173). Younger members have been prevented from rising in the party’s hierarchy as a result of

his continued dominance, and the fact that defectors from other parties have immediately been given high positions of leadership in the party. A long list of IFP members have become critical of the organization's internal democracy and were persecuted as a result. One of these was Zanele Magwaza-Msibi. She eventually applied unsuccessfully for a court order against her own party to prevent the IFP from expelling her, saying that she was being expelled because she wanted to run against Buthelezi for party president. After being expelled in 2011, she started the NFP, and the party did relatively well in the local government elections only three months later. After these elections, a Memorandum of Understanding between the NFP and ANC was signed, stating that the two parties would govern hung municipalities together in coalition. Some members of the NFP resisted this move, reluctant to enter into an alliance with a party that they had fought against as part of the IFP for so long. The NFP's rise can be seen as a reaction to patriarchalism and problems in the IFP's internal democracy, but it has struggled to differentiate itself from the IFP in its policies.

The NFP's existence effectively served to dilute what little remaining power the IFP had and to advantage the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal. The NFP failed to contest the 2016 local government elections because its treasurer-general did not pay a deposit to the Independent Electoral Commission on time (Olifant, 2016). This contributed to gains by the IFP in these elections. Both the IFP and the NFP are marginal political players in present-day South Africa in comparison to the ANC, DA and EFF, and so I have chosen to concentrate mainly on the positioning of the three latter parties in chapters 7, 8 and 10.

2.5.5 Summary

Thus there are indications that South Africa is heading towards a three-party system. In this system, the ANC is a dominant party which generally seems to be losing support, beset by corruption and factionalism. There are indications that some of these trends are reversing under Ramaphosa's leadership, but it remains to be seen whether the new party leadership can arrest the party's decline at the polls. The ANC continues to follow an African nationalist agenda and supports economic transformation through a 'developmental state', even though in practice, its economic policy is fairly neo-liberal. The DA as official opposition is moving from a 'colour-blind' liberalism to support of redressive measures, although there is much dispute within the party about whether these should be based on 'race'. Nevertheless, the party is beginning to win votes from black Africans disgruntled with the ANC. The EFF champions a radical socialist agenda, but concerns have been raised about the hierarchical nature of its leadership. Meanwhile, the IFP and NFP appear to be competing for a shrinking pool of more traditionalist voters in KwaZulu-Natal. There are indications that voters are beginning to leave traditional voting patterns based on social identity (for instance, voting for the ANC because one is a

black African, or for the IFP because one is a Zulu) and are moving towards policy-based voting. At the same time, though, the EFF loudly proclaims its adherence to the Black Consciousness tradition of Steve Biko (Nieftagodien, 2015) and the ANC appears to be falling back more and more on African nationalism to shore up its support. Thus while voters are breaking out of identity-based voting, parties seem increasingly to emphasizing social identities in their attempts to garner votes.

Another trend worth noticing is the decline in voter turnout shown on 2.1, from 87% in 1994 to 73% in 2014. This, in conjunction with other evidence, is a sign that South Africans are becoming more disenchanted with political parties in general. In a large-scale study of youth engagement in the public sphere, Malila et al. (2013) found that 31% of respondents report having trust in political parties. This is a trend that should be of concern to political parties. One of the benefits of my study is that it can help to investigate the extent to which the media are exacerbating this mistrust of political parties through their reporting and the extent to which they open up dialogic space for policy alternatives that are not being considered by the major political parties.

In chapters 7, 8 and 10 I show how the *Daily Sun* portrays this dynamic political landscape, and more importantly, how their political reporting opens up and closes down space for dialogue about matters of public interest in a transforming South Africa.

2.6 The period under analysis: January – June 2015

This section gives a general orientation to the political events mentioned in the analyses reported on in this thesis. Subheadings in the section refer to the headlines of these articles. The events in the period under analysis are visually represented on a timeline in Figure 2.2. On this timeline, the dates of publication of the articles are shown in bold. After each article's headline, a reference is given in brackets to the section of this thesis in which the analysis of the article is discussed. Other significant events relating to these articles are shown in italics.

ANC and DA clash! The first event reported on in these articles, in January, is a small altercation between municipal councillors from the ANC and those from the DA that occurred in Bethlehem in the Free State province. This town is described in detail in the report on the analysis of this article, “ANC and DA clash!”, given in 10.3.1. The text of this article can be found in Appendix H.1. The alleged clash happened during campaigning for a municipal by-election in the town.

Ex-buddy trashes Juju! – I doubt if he will respond – spokesman February was an extremely eventful month in South African politics, mainly due to the events surrounding the State of the Nation Address that Zuma made on 12 February in Parliament.

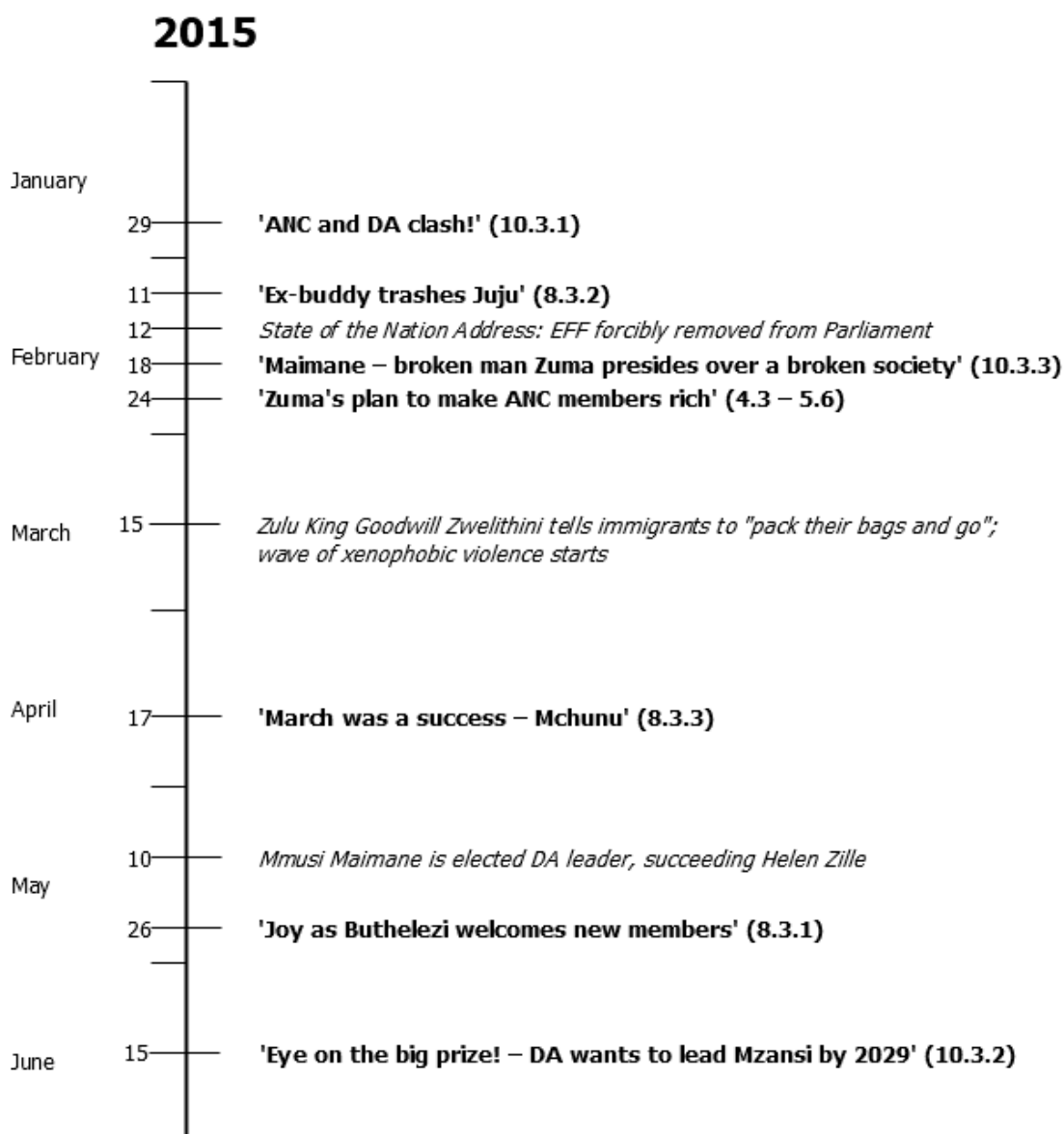


Figure 2.2: *Timeline of selected political events in the period under analysis*

The day before the State of the Nation Address, the *Daily Sun* reported on an open letter written to EFF leader Julius Malema from a former supporter of his, Gayton McKenzie, in an article entitled “Ex-buddy trashes Juju!”, reported on in 8.3.2. The text of this article is available in G.2. McKenzie is an ex-convict turned businessman and politician who had supported Malema prior to leaving the EFF and starting his own party, the Patriotic Alliance (PA), in 2013 (Meyer, 2013). His partner in establishing the PA is Kenny Kunene, another businessman notorious for hosting lavish parties, some of which sparked controversy when sushi was served off the bodies of scantily-clad woman models (Dugger, 2014). Kunene is also mentioned in McKenzie’s letter and the *Daily Sun*’s article. McKenzie’s letter is entitled “From a Thug to a Thug”, and in it, he accuses Malema of various corrupt actions, including embezzling party funds for private use.

The EFF had threatened to disrupt the State of the Nation Address, protesting Zuma’s alleged corruption in the Nkandla scandal (see 2.4.1). Pastor Ray McCauley, who leads Rhema Bible Church, a well-known Charismatic Christian mega-church in Johannesburg, attempted to mediate between the EFF and the ANC to secure an agreement by which the EFF would not carry out its threat. McCauley is quoted as commenting on his mediation attempts at the end of “Ex-buddy trashes Juju!”.

McCauley’s intervention was ultimately unsuccessful, and the State of the Nation Address erupted into chaos. EFF MPs interrupted the address, asking questions to the president regarding Nkandla. The Speaker of the National Assembly, Baleka Mbete, ordered the MPs to leave the chamber, which they refused to do, so she sent for security guards to remove all the party’s MPs forcibly, in an act unprecedented in South Africa’s democratic history (Davis, 2015).

Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society The parliamentary debate following the State of the Nation Address is described in another article analysed in this study, dated 18 February. In this article, Maimane, who was the leader of the DA’s caucus in Parliament at the time but not yet the party’s federal leader, castigated Zuma as “a broken man presiding over a broken society”. The article also reports on strong allegations made against Mbete by other DA and EFF MPs. This article, which appears in Appendix H.3 is reported on in 10.3.3.

Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich A later reaction to the State of the Nation Address is reported in “Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich”, an article which is used as an example illustrating various LCT and SFL concepts in chapters 4 and 5. The text of this article is available in Appendix A. This article, published on 24 February, is based on another article that the then DA leader, Helen Zille, wrote on the party’s website. In the article, she criticizes the nine-point plan that Zuma had outlined in his address, focusing particularly on its impact on energy policy. She argues in favour of the Independent System and Market Operator (ISMO) Bill, which had been withdrawn

from deliberation in Parliament. This bill would have opened the way for independent power producers to compete with Eskom, the country's state-owned electricity utility. Zille and the DA were in favour of such competition, but Zuma's ANC largely was not.

March was a success – Mchunu In March and April, a wave of xenophobic violence rocked the country, particularly KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng. Similar waves of violence had occurred in 1994/1995 and 2008 (Els, 2015). The 2015 wave of violence began after King Goodwill Zwelithini, the traditional leader of the Zulu people, reportedly said in a speech on 15 March that immigrants should “pack their bags and go”; Zwelithini later claimed that the media had misquoted him (Smith, 2015). More than a month later, on 17 April, the *Daily Sun* reports on a “peace march” against xenophobia that took place in Durban, the largest city in KwaZulu-Natal. The premier of KwaZulu-Natal at the time, Senzo Mchunu, an ANC member, took part in the march and commented approvingly on it in an article entitled “March was a success – Mchunu”. All of the country's major opposition parties are also reported as speaking out in Parliament against xenophobia in this article, which is discussed in 8.3.3 and reprinted in Appendix G.3.

Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members May was significant as the month in which Mmusi Maimane was elected to succeed Helen Zille as the DA's federal leader. His election and the debates that surrounded it are described in 2.5.3. In a much smaller event, IFP leader Buthelezi celebrated as more than 500 people from the ANC and NFP reportedly joined his party, at a rally in Pietermaritzburg, the capital of KwaZulu-Natal. The *Daily Sun*'s article on this event, “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members”, published on 26 May, is discussed in 8.3.1, and reproduced in Appendix G.1.

Eye on the big prize! – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029 The DA, under Maimane's new leadership, launched its new strategy, named Vision 2029, at a rally in Soweto, Johannesburg. This rally is reported on in “Eye on the big prize! – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029”, an article which was published on 15 June and is described in detail in 10.3.2. The text of the article is available in Appendix H.2. The launch event was a key opportunity for Maimane to articulate the set of values which the party would aspire to under his leadership; however, the author of the *Daily Sun*'s article describes the event itself as being poorly attended and unimpressive.

While January – June 2015 was a time of “politics as usual” (Wodak 2009, p. 89) between elections, it included various events that have had a lasting impact on South African political discourses. The interrupted February 2015 State of the Nation Address was dubbed “Shame of the Nation” by one journalist (Davis, 2015), and for many represented a low point in the development of South African democracy under Zuma's presidency. The xenophobic violence of March and April 2015 can be viewed as a recurrence of perennial problems with social cohesion in the country. Lastly, Maimane's election as the DA's first

black leader was a momentous occasion affecting political discourses surrounding ‘race’, causing observers in the country’s public spheres to ask to what extent the party’s policies would change under his leadership.

2.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I describe how political discourses shape the socio-political context in which this study takes place, looking at both worldwide trends in political discourses, and the particularities of South Africa’s political discourses as they have developed throughout the country’s colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid history. In most parts of the world, as I point out in 2.2, political discourse is intended to persuade, and draws on iconization and uses emotions to achieve this end as often, if not more often, than it uses rational argument. It also uses metaphor to map stances on ‘the political landscape’ in ways that reveal how knowledge is constellated together.

In South Africa, as noted in 2.3 and 2.4, the country’s history has given rise to a local instantiation of worldwide debates over a variety of different economic options, ranging from neo-liberal capitalism to communism. These intersect in complex ways with a long thread of debates over ‘race’, nationalism and identity, in which a similarly wide variety of stances are advocated, from narrow, tribalistic nationalisms to a non-racial ‘South Africanism’.

These debates take place in a fluid and complex party political context. As shown in 2.3 and 2.5, parties have changed their official stances on debates about economics and identity in intricate ways through the country’s history. The country’s proportional representation system has allowed a proliferation of parties to survive politically, but only a few have flourished in the post-apartheid era. The ANC continues to leverage its historical role as the largest anti-apartheid liberation movement to maintain dominance of South African politics, although that dominance is slowly eroding as opposition parties such as the DA and EFF grow. There seems to be a slow move away from race- and ethnic-based voting, even as political parties seem to be emphasizing ‘race’ more and more as questions of redress for the material injustices of apartheid are debated. In other words, voters seem to be shifting towards using policies and judgements of capacity to govern as criteria for the parties they choose, but within parties, social identities are being emphasized more, not less. Voter turnout is decreasing, and trust in political parties is low, raising questions of whether these parties are out of touch with the aspirations and needs of most South Africans.

This complex social context, shot through with inequalities, makes South Africa an interesting place to study the development of democratic political discourses in progress. The events of January – June 2015, as described in 2.6, give plenty of opportunities for studying these discourses as they unfolded. Moreover, in the following chapter, I show

that it is crucial to investigate the ways in which democratic dialogue can be deepened and broadened out to include more voices, so that citizens have a viable alternative to violence as a means of expressing their needs and desires, and are empowered to participate in South Africa's democracy.

Chapter 3

South African media and public spheres

3.1 Introduction

Just as a knowledge of the contours of South Africa's political discourses is essential to this study, so is a knowledge of South African media and their role in the country's developing democratic public spheres, and so this chapter is dedicated to building such knowledge. In the beginning, it is necessary to explain how I conceive of the relationships between political discourse, democracy and the media. Two theorists whose work is often drawn on in understanding these relationships are Habermas, who developed a model of the public sphere, and Bakhtin, whose work on dialogicality has been used to supplement some of the weaknesses in Habermas' model. In 3.2 I briefly outline their contributions to our understanding of these relationships, as well as other scholars' syntheses of their contributions. The view I adopt stresses the value of multiple public spheres in which political dialogue and knowledge-building can take place, which can be facilitated by media in a wide variety of styles, registers, genres, languages and modes of communication. In the following section, 3.3, I examine research that has been done on how public spheres have developed in the post-apartheid period. The country has been something of a case study on how participation in a new democracy can take root and grow (Barnett, 1999), making this a topic particularly worth examining. What is revealed is that more than 20 years from the beginning of democracy, South Africa has extremely uneven patterns of public sphere engagement, and disillusionment with political processes is growing, particularly among the youth.

Following that, in 3.4, I explain broadly how the South African media are composed, how large the audiences for respective media, such as radio, television, newspapers and online media are, and what ownership and regulation patterns exist in them. Within this, I consider the country's newspaper market in more detail, and the positioning of the *Daily Sun* within that market. The *Daily Sun* is a member of a new wave of tabloid newspapers established after 1994, and is read mostly by members of the country's black, working-class majority. In 3.5 I show that the extent to which this newspaper may be

said to facilitate an alternative public sphere is hotly debated. However, I argue that the newspaper does have an important role to play in influencing South African political discourses in particular ways. Thus this chapter builds on the account in Chapter 2 to develop a description of the role that the media are currently playing in South African democracy, and to form a basis for recommendations as to how they can play a more effective role in opening up space for dialogue, such as are found in Chapter 11.

3.2 Theorizing the public sphere: a Habermasian and Bakhtinian view

To answer the final research question guiding this research on the implications of this study's findings for the transformation of discourses in South African public spheres, a robust theoretical conceptualization of "public discourses" is required, one that explains what these are, and what their roles are in developing democratic societies such as South Africa. In this section I develop such a conceptualization, drawing on Habermas' (1989) idea of the public sphere, and more recent critiques of it, including some which argue that Bakhtin's ideas on dialogicality are useful for rectifying some of the deficiencies in Habermas' account. The following sections of this chapter draw on the Habermasian-Bakhtinian view of public spheres developed in this section to show how public spheres function in South African society and what roles the *Daily Sun* plays in facilitating them, or indeed in hampering their development in some respects.

In his influential book, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Habermas (1989) describes how developments in Western Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries led to the creation of spaces in which public affairs could be discussed by private individuals in such a way that "public opinion" (1989, p. 66) was formed. At the same time, ruling authorities in Western Europe were gradually growing more responsive to public opinion. Thus the public sphere, described by Habermas as "the sphere of private people come together as a public" (1989, p. 27), grew more influential and enjoyed a 'golden age' in which it was used effectively to hold authorities to account for their actions. The following description of this 'golden age' and its decline draws on Habermas (1989). Discussion of public affairs happened in a variety of different forums where people gathered, including *salons* in France, coffee houses in England and *Tischgesellschaften* (table societies) in Germany.

These forums were linked by a variety of periodicals and journals which were often distributed and discussed in them. For example, in Britain, "with [the *Craftsman* in 1726], followed by the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the press was for the first time established as a genuinely critical organ of a public engaged in critical political debate: as the fourth estate." (Habermas 1989, p. 58). The relaxation and abolition of censorship laws "made the influx of rational-critical arguments into the press possible and allowed the latter to

evolve into an instrument with whose aid political decisions could be brought before the new forum of the public” (Habermas 1989, p. 60). The tradition of publishing letters to the editor became a means by which private individuals could contribute to these periodicals, furthering public debate. Indeed, as time progressed, more and more of the work of facilitating public sphere discussions has fallen to the media, to the point where Dahlgren refers to it as a “mediated public sphere” (1995, p. 9).

Habermas (1989) believes that after the 19th century, the public sphere degenerated from the ‘golden age’ he describes due to the increasing marketization of the media, particularly in Western Europe and the USA, and the rise of public relations, in which big business sought (often successfully) to mould public opinion in ways that suited their interests. Indeed, few people see commercialization of the media as being conducive to a free and open exchange of ideas. However, it may be that Habermas’ model of the public sphere is simply not flexible enough to recognize positive consequences of commercialization and other developments which occurred over the course of the 20th and early 21st century which may, in fact, have extended access to the public sphere and grown its influence. Later in this section and in 3.5, I explore this possibility further.

Habermas (1989) sees the public sphere as a place in which opinions can be formed on matters of public interest, including but not limited to voting decisions over which political party to support. The public sphere is also a place where those with relatively little political power can hold sway with those in government by forming and contributing to broader public opinion, of which authorities have to take note in order to stay in power in a democracy. In later writings, Habermas described the public sphere as a “warning system with sensors that, though unspecialized, are sensitive throughout society” (1996, p. 359), detecting societal problems and bringing them to the attention of the state as well as other powerful actors such as big business. He enlarges on this as follows:

(I)n the diverse voices of this public, one hears the echoes of private experiences that are caused throughout society by the externalities (and internal disturbances) of various functional systems—and even by the very state apparatus on whose regulatory activities the complex and poorly coordinated sub-systems depend. Systemic deficiencies are experienced in the context of individual life histories; such burdens accumulate in the lifeworld. The latter has the appropriate antennae, for in its horizon are intermeshed the private life histories of the ‘clients’ of functional systems that might be failing in their delivery of services... Besides religion, art, and literature, only the spheres of ‘private’ life have an existential language at their disposal, in which such socially generated problems can be assessed in terms of one’s own life history. (Habermas, 1996, p. 365)

Hirschkop (2004) argues that such a warning system is particularly necessary in conditions of late capitalism, where it is easy for the powerful to ignore the suffering of disadvan-

tagged classes because liberal democracy provides the impression that they consent to the current way in which society is arranged. Habermas' quotation is particularly apposite in the context of post-apartheid South Africa, where there are clear "systemic deficiencies" (Habermas, 1996, p. 365) to be exposed in society, and where systems appear to be "failing in their delivery of services" (Habermas, 1996, p. 365), particularly toward many in the previously-disadvantaged sector of the population. Thus the public sphere has a critical role to play both in forming political opinions and building political knowledge, and in 'speaking truth to power', reminding both the government and society as a whole of how far we still need to go toward goals of reconciliation and redress in the aftermath of apartheid.

However, many critics have rightly pointed out that Habermas' model of the public sphere is inadequate to fulfil these high ideals. In the following paragraphs, I discuss four key limitations of the model which hamper its usefulness in describing democratic political discourse in real contemporary democracies like South Africa. Understanding these limitations and the ways in which a revised view of public spheres can overcome them is crucial for understanding how tabloids like the *Daily Sun* can facilitate public discussions on political matters, as I show in 3.5.

The first of these limitations concerns equality of access to Habermas' public sphere. The coffee houses, *Tischgesellschaften* and *salons* which Habermas identifies as spaces in which public discussion took place in his 'golden age' were in principle inclusive spaces in which differences in social status were ignored, and contributions to discussion were evaluated on the quality of their argument rather than the social status of the contributor. These spaces were used to challenge concepts and conventions existing in society at the time. However, as Habermas himself notes, the public sphere he describes was limited to the bourgeois: working-class people would not have felt welcome in these forums, and although the *salons* were spaces primarily designed by women for both genders, only men were allowed in the English coffee houses. Thus the purported inclusivity of the Habermasian public sphere did not stretch very far at all.

Fraser, a feminist critic of Habermas' work, argues that even if differences in social status were "bracketed" (1992, p. 119) in the way Habermas describes, this would simply advantage the socially dominant, as they have the discursive resources to make their arguments appear more cogent, as well as the power to set discursive norms in ways that advantage them. The bracketing of differences in social status would simply render the discursive power of the socially dominant invisible. Fraser (1992) persuasively argues that it is impossible to have a properly inclusive public sphere without social equality, including economic equality. This is a problem that is particularly pertinent to South Africa with its extreme social and economic inequalities.

Secondly, Habermas (1989) places some other limitations on the subject matter and mode of the discourse found in his model of the public sphere. He considers the proper topic of discussion in the public sphere to be matters of public interest, or "the common good"

(1989, p. 229), excluding what would be regarded as private interests. Fraser (1992) argues that this too is problematic, because it does not interrogate the means by which something comes to be viewed as a matter of private or public interest. She uses the example of domestic violence, which was widely considered a ‘private’ matter to be dealt with between family members and the relevant authorities, until feminists succeeded in arguing that it was a matter of public interest, initiating public discussions on it. Similarly, other instances of oppression by powerful groups, such as the exploitation of workers by businesses, may be categorized by those groups as private matters. For the public sphere to be effective in bringing about social justice and holding the powerful to account, it must have the capacity not only to debate matters of public interest but also to debate what constitutes ‘the common good’ or ‘public interest’.

Third, in terms of its mode of discourse, Habermas limits the public sphere’s repertoire to “rational-critical debate” (1989, p. 51). Such debate would happen “according to universal standards of critical reason and argumentative structure that all could recognize and assent to; appeals to traditional dogmas, or to arbitrary subjective prejudices, were ruled inadmissible” (Gardiner 2004, p. 28). However, this type of debate is the product of a very particular type of education, often accessible only to élites. In this type of idealized debate, not even figurative language or humour would have any place (Gardiner, 2004). This would exclude the satire of authors such as Jonathan Swift, who Habermas (1989) mentions as one of the pioneers of the critical press of eighteenth-century Britain, as well as much of the playful use of language and style-shifting found in most newspapers today, let alone the code-switching and colourful idioms found in South African tabloids like the *Daily Sun*, as shown in 3.5.

Lastly, Fraser (1992) shows that Habermas’ (1989) model views the public sphere as completely separate from the state. In his framework, this is necessary so that the public sphere can hold the state to account. But in reality, Fraser argues, parliaments form a “strong public” (1992, p. 134): a public in which debate on public affairs takes place which is given decision-making powers. Having such a parliament appears to be a good state of affairs for democracy. Similarly, small representative structures like ward committees or student representative councils can form strong publics in which some form of direct or quasi-direct democracy is practised. So the distinction between civil society and state needs to be blurred or problematized somewhat.

In summary, while the Habermasian model of the public sphere is useful as a starting point for a discussion of what public discourse should be and what functions it should have, it is far too idealized and partial to describe the realities of public discourse in “actually existing democracy” (Fraser 1992, p. 109). As mentioned above, various scholars suggest that Bakhtin’s thoughts on dialogicality form a useful complement to Habermas’ model, helping to break down some of its idealization and making it more applicable to real societies. Bakhtin did not set out to write about the public sphere; rather, much of his work which has been taken up by theorists of the public sphere, particularly in Bakhtin

(1981), forms part of a description of the language of the modern novel. However, his work demonstrates how language is inherently dialogical, and so is useful in showing how language is used to advance political dialogue in the public sphere. In the following brief account, I draw on the English translations of four of Bakhtin's (1981) essays, as well as Gardiner (2004) and Hirschkop (2004), two present-day scholars who examined how his work can complement that of Habermas.

Bakhtin sees language as being dialogical in at least two ways. Firstly, language is "double-voiced" (1981, p. 337). In novels, we can discern both the direct voice of characters when they speak, and the voice of the author behind them, who uses the characters' voices to weave the story of the novel together. Bakhtin (1981) notes that this phenomenon also occurs in everyday conversations: in these conversations, we both use our own words in framing our contributions to the conversation, and at the same time, we take part in constructing an unfolding dialogue with someone else, becoming 'authors of our own story', as it were. This double-voicing opens the way for heteroglossia, which is the capacity of language to include and negotiate between multiple voices. A second way in which language is dialogical lies in the relationships between different words and their histories of use. Bakhtin writes, "The word, directed toward its object, enters a dialogically agitated and tension-filled environment of alien words, value judgements and accents, weaves in and out of complex interrelationships, merges with some, recoils from others, intersects with yet a third group: and all this may crucially shape discourse, may leave a trace in all its semantic layers, may complicate its expression and influence its entire stylistic profile" (1981, p. 276). This means that the utterance "cannot fail to become an active participant in social dialogue" (1981, p. 276).

Both these senses in which language is dialogical are incorporated into the analytic frameworks used in this study, SFL and LCT, as I describe in chapters 4 and 5. The ways in which individual words are dialogical are described in SFL using the notions of individuation and affiliation (see 5.5) and inscribed and invoked Attitude in the Appraisal system (see 5.4), and in LCT using the concepts of constellations and charging (see 4.4). SFL views individuals as making particular lexical choices out of a variety of words that could potentially have been chosen (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). These lexical choices are at the same time used to affiliate with particular communities, and to individuate by distinguishing an individual's language usage from that of others (see 5.5). Thus a word "weaves in and out of complex interrelationships, merges with some, recoils from others, intersects with yet a third group" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 276).

More particularly, a word or longer expression carries with it both inscribed evaluations, which are available on the surface of the word's meaning, and invoked evaluations which are built up out of the previous associations that this word has for its users; thus dialogicality "may leave a trace in all its semantic layers, may complicate its expression and influence its entire stylistic profile" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 276). These traces are described in SFL as semantic prosodies, instances where "meaning is distributed like a prosody

throughout a continuous stretch of discourse” (Halliday 1979, p. 67), and as syndromes or complexes, which refer to “the recurrent co-instantiation of patterns of linguistic potential” (Zappavigna et al. 2008, p. 175). These terms are described in more detail in 5.4 and 5.1 respectively. In LCT, such a trace would be described as a positive or negative charging, and a word’s network of relations with other concepts as a constellation. The stronger these relations are, the stronger the semantic density of an expression becomes (Maton, 2014; see 4.4).

The system of Engagement in SFL is inspired by Bakhtin’s notion of heteroglossia, and uses the words “heterogloss” (Martin and White, 2005, p. 26) and “monogloss” (Martin and White 2005, p. 37) as key components of the system (see 5.4). Further, Engagement is used to show how linguistic choices serve to expand or contract “dialogic space” (Martin and White 2005, p. 103), the amount of space given to alternative voices in a particular text. The notion of dialogic space is an important one for the purposes of this study, as it has resonances with the Habermasian model of the public sphere (both use a spatial metaphor to refer to an imagined place where dialogue happens), as well as with Bakhtin’s work, in addition to being an analytic concept in SFL’s Appraisal framework. In addition, ‘dialogic space’ has resonances with what is referred to in LCT as “the space of possibles” (Maton 2014, p. 7), following Bourdieu (1991), in other words, the variety of possible stances on a particular matter that a text or discourse presents as available for participants to adopt.

There are various other ways in which Bakhtin’s work can be used to enrich the Habermasian model of the public sphere. One important one is that Bakhtin opens the way for the role of figurative uses of language, linguistic variation and humour to be taken seriously as contributing to dialogue. As mentioned above, the Habermasian model has quite a narrow conception of what kind of language can be used in “rational-critical debate” (1989, p. 51). By contrast, Bakhtin (1981) shows that figurative language, linguistic variation and humour play an influential role in dialogue; in fact, they are what show the traces of dialogue in language, in that they reference multiple voices, providing evidence of heteroglossia. He notes that whenever we use language, we must choose a language to use, and more specifically, a linguistic variety and style. This always involves a positioning of oneself in relation to other languages, placing oneself on “the maps of socio-ideological becoming” (Bakhtin 1981, p. 295). When we shift from one linguistic variety or style to another, we tacitly acknowledge this positioning and incorporate the voices of others into our speaking or writing.

Bakhtin’s (1981) emphasis on linguistic choice is particularly apposite in describing public sphere engagement in multilingual societies such as South Africa. As pointed out in 1.2, South Africa has 11 official languages which relate to each other in vastly unequal ways in post-apartheid society. English is the dominant language of the news media, particularly in print, although there are a few newspapers in other languages and radio stations in each of these 11 languages (see 3.4). Most black African speakers of South Africa’s nine Bantu

languages (see footnote 1 in 1.2) can speak some English; however, very few white South Africans can speak any of the Bantu languages (Webb, 2002). However, much creativity and ingenuity are exercised by individuals in negotiating this linguistic situation. Code-switching is used as a linguistic resource in almost all societal domains, and political discourse is no different (De Klerk, 1996; Slabbert and Finlayson, 2002; Ncoko et al., 2000). However, even the term ‘code-switching’ does not exhaust the range of options that South Africans have open to them in which to engage in public sphere discussions: there is a vast selection of different linguistic varieties and mixes of languages which they can use as communicative resources in such engagement.

Further, when we use devices such as parody and satire, we exploit the dialogic characteristics of language by using one voice, the voice of the ‘character’ whose words we are mimicking, and contradicting that voice with a second authorial voice that mocks or pokes fun at that particular ‘character’. This means that the public sphere should not be viewed as being only like a debating chamber in which rational arguments are exchanged; it is more like a drama in which actors take on different roles and voices, using their entire repertoires of semiotic resources, including not only language but also other modes of communication (Hirschkop, 2004). In other words, the public sphere is polyphonic. This drama is not scripted either; actors behave spontaneously and may shift roles in real time. Thus Bakhtin’s work allows us to make sense of public discourse particularly in tabloid newspapers like the *Daily Sun*, where code-switching, figurative language and linguistic play are used in complex ways to accomplish political positioning.

By extension, Bakhtin’s work also allows us to envision a public sphere where decisions are made on the basis of emotion, in addition to rational argument. As various critics point out, the subject in Habermas’ (1989) model comes across as “a rather insubstantial entity, one marked by an interchangeable, ‘minimalist’ body (mainly having to do with the human capacity for labour), subtended by a rational mind that engages in purposive dialogue and moral reflection” (Gardiner 2004, p. 31). That is to say, while Habermas acknowledges individuals’ capacity for rationality and communicative competence, he ignores many of the other aspects that make them human, including (to a large extent) gender, as well as a capacity for emotion. Bakhtin (1981), by comparison, grounds his theory in dialogue between subjects as persons. He argues that anything we say or write is coloured by our own emotions and will. This opens the way to consider how individual subjects in the public sphere act as whole people and are either persuaded of particular views or not persuaded on the basis of a complex variety of factors, in which both reason and emotion play a role. All of the abovementioned characteristics of language form part of the *reservoir* (Bernstein, 2000) of meaning-making resources available for individuals to choose from in engaging with a public sphere: its dialogicality, its potential for figurative use and humour, its variation and its ability to express and influence emotions.

Bakhtin’s work also has a contribution to make regarding the sharp distinction that Habermas (1989) draws between the private and public, as observed above. As Gardiner

(2004) demonstrates, Bakhtin (1981) shows how all linguistic behaviour emerges out of the everyday conditions of individuals' lives and is coloured by these conditions. This means that for Bakhtin, the abstract and the political emerges from the everyday, and so every matter of public interest is a matter of private interest first. This allows us to see the continuities between individuals' everyday concerns and matters of public interest, and to investigate how 'matters of public interest' come to be so. As a result, it allows for discussion about what should be admissible as a topic for debate in the public sphere in the ways that Fraser (1992) argues for.

One final critique of the Habermasian public sphere that Fraser (1992) mentions is that his model presumes that it is more desirable for democratic purposes to have one unitary public sphere rather than a variety of different publics. By contrast, in current academic discussions about the public sphere, it is widely accepted as a given that there actually exist a variety of publics in any country, and that this is not an undesirable state of affairs. For example, almost all of the contributions to the edited volume in which Fraser's (1992) essay appear (Calhoun, 1992) and another edited volume from the same period named *The Phantom Public Sphere* (Robbins, 1993) argue for or assume the existence of multiple publics (Hirschkop, 2004). Fraser (1992) argues that a variety of different publics can go some way towards levelling the playing field and facilitating democratic discussion among excluded groups in diverse societies. She names these different publics "subaltern counterpublics" (Fraser 1992, p. 123), but in this thesis, I prefer to use the more neutral term "alternative public sphere" used by Örnebring and Jönsson (2004, p. 284). Such public spheres are distinct from the dominant bourgeois public sphere, and provide spaces to which dominated groups can retreat and organize themselves to better argue their case in this dominant public sphere.

Fraser (1992) argues that the existence of a variety of publics is desirable to aid democratic discussion not only in unequal societies but even in egalitarian, multicultural societies, because different cultures have different discourse norms, and so it would be unfair for contributions from many cultures to a single public to be judged by a common or dominant set of discourse norms. This is not to say that distinctive groups based on culture, class or gender should be ghettoized in their own respective public spheres; rather, as hinted at above, Fraser (1992) envisions alternative public spheres as being open to the broader or dominant public sphere, and as spaces in which dominated groups prepare and test their arguments before presenting them in the dominant public sphere. Once again, here Bakhtin's (1981) work can be of assistance by countering the idealizing tendencies of Habermas' model. It can help us see how different public spheres can be connected together in a web of dialogicality, with discourse in one public sphere answering questions posed in another, and vice versa.

Apart from Bakhtin and Fraser, another influence on the conception of public spheres explained in this section is the New Literacy Studies. This approach posits the existence of two models of literacy which are broadly analogous to Habermas and Bakhtin's views

on language. The following description of these models is based largely on the work of Street (1993). Habermas' view is similar to the 'autonomous' model of literacy, which sees literacy as a unitary skill which is decontextualized, completely divorced from spoken communication and the conditions under which such literacy is practised. According to this view, literacy has plenty of cognitive benefits, but these can only be gained through learning literacy as a skill in one specific way, through formal education. As a result, literacy becomes reduced to one type of practice: the reading and writing of academic genres of text, such as the expository essay (Rockhill, 1993). This is analogous to Habermas' views on language in that it privileges above others one particular type of discourse which requires years of formal education to master, and so is ultimately only accessible to a small élite. It also discounts the contributions to meaning-making resources offered by hybridity of discourses, linguistic variation, and creative uses of language and other semiotic modes.

By contrast, Bakhtin's view mirrors the 'ideological' model of literacy, which views expository literacy as only one literacy practice among many, and recognizes that literacy is made up of a diverse array of competencies. These competencies are often best learned or acquired in a variety of different contexts. Different cultures have different arrays of *literacy practices*, and learners bring the literacies learned in these different practices to bear on their learning of expository literacy in academic contexts and vice versa. For example, reading the *Daily Sun* and discussing it with friends on a street corner would constitute a *literacy event* (Heath 1983) forming part of a broader literacy practice.

The 'ideological' model is similar to the broader Habermasian-Bakhtinian conception of public spheres that I advocate in this study in that it allows for greater diversity both in the range of people who are considered legitimate participants in literacy practices, and in the range of practices that are considered as legitimately contributing to knowledge-building. It allows one to analyse the contributions to knowledge-building of the entire range of linguistic and semiotic resources I mention in this section. It can be used to embrace many different literacy practices, just as a Habermasian-Bakhtinian conception of public spheres considers a plurality of interconnected public spheres. As a result, both the 'ideological' model of literacy and a broader Habermasian-Bakhtinian conception of public spheres empower those whose practices have been considered marginal at best in relation to hegemonic practices.

Thus the Habermasian-Bakhtinian conception of public spheres that I adopt for the purposes of this study provides a more democratic view of these than the original Habermasian view does on its own. It envisions public spheres as playing an important role in democratic decision-making in two ways: firstly, they help to build individuals' political knowledge and inform their voting choices, and secondly, they act as a "warning system" (Habermas 1989, p. 359), alerting broader society and those in power to problems which need to be addressed. For all to have access to such public spheres in the multicultural society of South Africa with its persistent structural inequalities, it is important that many

different publics exist. Inevitably in an unequal society, one of these public spheres will be dominant, while others will be viewed as alternative public spheres, which nevertheless have dialogic relations with the dominant public sphere. In these public spheres, there is discussion not only on matters of public interest but also on what kinds of matters should qualify as matters of public interest.

The distinction between ‘private’ and ‘public’ is blurred, but not altogether absent: some matters, such as party politics, are still seen as more ‘public’ than others. Public discourse may be carried out in many different genres and modes of expression, including everything from songs and satirical plays to parliamentary debates, in any language or mixture of linguistic varieties. It may engage both the intellect and the emotions in differing proportions. Such discourse takes place wherever people meet and talk, from “strong publics” (Fraser 1992, p. 132) such as parliament and student representative councils, to places like coffee shops and taverns. In the following section (3.3), I review research that has been conducted to show how South Africa’s public spheres are developing in the post-apartheid era.

The media play an important role in extending these public spheres beyond the reach of face-to-face interaction in many different ways. New social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp play a role in facilitating public discussion, but more traditional news media such as newspapers also are influential, whether their articles are read on the Internet or in print. In 3.4 I outline usage patterns of different communication media in South Africa, ranging from online media to more traditional outlets. While these news media facilitate public discussion through avenues like letters to the editor or comments sections on online news articles, they also fulfil an important function as sources of information, assisting in building political knowledge, and are frequently trusted by their readers as authoritative, despite the current trend towards ‘post-truth’ politics, as argued in 2.2. In this study, I show that there is intense debate as to whether the *Daily Sun* helps to facilitate a working-class alternative public sphere in South Africa (see 3.5).

3.3 The development of a democratic South African public sphere

Various theorists and researchers have examined the ways in which public spheres have developed in South Africa since 1994, contributing to a fairly extensive body of literature on this subject. Much of this literature can be divided into two distinct groups according to its object of study. One group examines the ways in which different institutional and extra-institutional groupings, such as forums initiated by the state, non-governmental organizations and social movements support (or fail to support) public discussion and deliberation. A second group examines the media’s effectiveness in facilitating such discussions. In addition, there is a marked “discursive gap” (Bernstein 2000, p. 209) between

theory and data that can be observed in this body of literature, with some articles remaining firmly in the realm of theory, and others providing helpful empirical data, but not making clear the theoretical implications of these data. In this section, I briefly weave together these different kinds of literature to give an impression of the current state of development of South Africa's public spheres and the role that the media, particularly newspapers such as the *Daily Sun*, play in this development.

As is shown in 3.2, the task of developing equitable, free and open public spheres poses a serious challenge for divided and unequal societies such as South Africa. In Barnett's words,

There is an ambivalence in the way in which the notion of the public sphere is approached in deeply divided societies: on the one hand, there is a sense that ethnic divisions and socio-economic inequality mean that an idealised model of open and inclusive debate is not feasible in post-apartheid South Africa, or indeed in post-colonial contexts more broadly; on the other hand, there is a sense that this model still serves as an ideal of how democracy can and should function. (2014, p. 2)

In the previous section, I indicated how the Habermasian ideal of the public sphere can be modified in some respects to provide a more realistic goal for societies such as South Africa. In this section, I show in more detail how the complex realities in South Africa make even this goal difficult to achieve, and also argue that continued progress towards this goal is necessary to prevent South Africa's democracy from degenerating further into a situation where engagement between the state and members of the public is characterized by violence more often than productive dialogue.

In categorizing the types of institutional spaces in which public discourse takes place, Barnett refers to a distinction between "invited spaces" (2014, p. 7) in which government calls for public comment on proposed decisions, and "invented spaces" (2014, p. 7) in which members of the public gather in opposition to government decisions. However, other literature on South African public spheres seems to suggest a more concrete three-way distinction between government-initiated consultative forums, self-organized institutional civil society and extra-institutional mass action. In the following paragraphs, I briefly describe the contribution of each of these forums to South Africa's public discourse.

In a reaction to the way in which the majority of South Africans were autocratically ruled under apartheid, after 1994 legislation was drafted to prescribe ways in which the new government was obliged to consult the public on particular decisions (Netswera and Phago, 2013). For example, long public participation processes were built into the process of drafting legislation, and each ward councillor in a municipality is required to set up a ward committee made up of individual residents of the ward (s)he represents (Netswera and Phago, 2013). However, many South Africans have lost trust in legislated avenues of

public consultation such as these for a number of reasons. Firstly, the voice of the state or its representatives is seen to dominate in many of them. For example, ward councillors chair their own ward committees, leaving plenty of room for their own opinions to be projected onto the rest of the committee (Netswera and Phago, 2013). Secondly, the strength of the ANC as a dominant party means that its interests frequently override any public participation process: decisions are seen to be made within the structures of the dominant party, rather than as being the product of a true process of public deliberation (Kaarsholm, 2009). As a result, government-initiated consultative forums can be typified as “prostrate” civil society (Baiocchi et al. 2008, p. 919).

A second type of forum in which public deliberation on matters of public interest can take place is self-organized institutional civil society: in other words, the vast network of voluntary associations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in which individual South Africans can participate. This includes religious organizations such as churches and mosques, cultural organizations, charities and service organizations such as Rotary, sports clubs and trade unions. It may also include groups set up to promote activism or lobby government on a single matter of concern (Kaarsholm, 2009). An example of the latter would be the Opposition to Urban Tolling Alliance, which was begun to protest e-tolling on the main highway between Johannesburg and Pretoria / Tshwane in Gauteng, and later broadened its remit to challenging a variety of ways in which the government levies additional taxes on individuals, renaming itself the Organisation Undoing Tax Abuse (ENCA, 2016).

Civil society organizations and particularly religious organizations engage with many South Africans, as is revealed in Malila et al’s (2013) large-scale study of youth involvement in public spheres, in which 67,4% of respondents reported having been involved in a social group of some kind over the past year, and 64,9% reported having taken part in religious activities during the same period. They also enjoy a much higher level of trust than government and media organizations: the same study revealed that 73,3% of respondents trust religious institutions and just over 50% trust labour unions, versus just over 40% who trust the national government and about 34% who trust local government.

Self-organized institutional civil society played an important role in the opposition to apartheid: the UDF, which opposed the apartheid government from within South Africa while the ANC was banned, was basically an alliance of civil society organizations (Louw, 1994; see 2.3). Also, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, self-organized civil society provided many services that government failed to provide, particularly for disadvantaged communities, and acted almost as a proxy state in areas rendered ‘ungovernable’ due to political violence and protests, such as many townships and rural areas in KwaZulu-Natal (Kaarsholm, 2009). After the 1994 elections, however, this strong civil society became much weaker as the government took up more of its previous functions and also absorbed some of its previous leaders, and international funding dried up (Kaarsholm, 2009). With the end of the anti-apartheid struggle, religious, cultural and sporting organizations also

seemed generally to retreat from discussion of political matters and other matters of public interest, focusing back on their ‘core business’.

Kaarsholm (2009) describes a small revival of public debate particularly around moral topics, which is being driven largely by religious and cultural organizations in South Africa. In the city of Durban, the area Kaarsholm (2009) focuses on, much of this was driven by Islamic NGOs whose work spread from Indian into black African areas. This growth ‘from below’ was matched by assistance ‘from above’ in the form of a project by the eThekweni Municipality, partly funded by the European Union, to encourage the growth of civil society and interaction between civil society and the state. This attempt at cooperation between civil society and the state is an interesting case study, but it remains to be seen whether it will result in a vibrant “participatory public” (Baiocchi et al. 2008, p. 919) rather than ‘prostrate’ civil society.

Netswera and Phago (2013) point to a couple of recent success stories in which civil society groupings have managed to reverse or mitigate unpopular state decisions. The privatization of basic service delivery following the implementation of neo-liberal economic policies in South Africa spawned a variety of social movements, including one called the Anti-Privatisation Forum. In 2009, this group won a court battle against the state, halting the privatization of water supply services in the City of Johannesburg (Netswera and Phago, 2013). In the Mbeki era, another group called the Treatment Action Campaign successfully forced the state, again by means of the courts, to provide antiretroviral drugs to HIV-positive people (Netswera and Phago, 2013). Despite these successes, there are still people excluded from South African civil society, as Kaarsholm (2009) points out: in particular, refugees and immigrants from other African countries are vulnerable groups who often are not integrated into the social networks of South African civil society. This exclusion can be viewed as one of the contributing factors to xenophobic violence, which is the topic of one of the articles discussed in the exploratory analyses (see 8.3.3). In general, though, there does seem to be some steady improvement in the effectiveness of self-organized institutional civil society as forums for public discussions and activism in South Africa.

The third type of forum in which public discourse can take place is through extra-institutional mass action. This refers mainly to a variety of protests which are organized by ad-hoc groupings rather than by established civil society organizations. This type of protest has mushroomed in South Africa over the past few years. For example, the number of protests against municipalities for poor service delivery increased from two in 2006 to 191 in 2014, before decreasing to 164 in 2015, the year under investigation in this thesis (Municipal IQ, 2017). This excludes protests against other spheres of government and about matters not related to service delivery. Other types of protest which would fall in the category of extra-institutional mass action include the #FeesMustFall protests on university campuses in 2015 and 2016, informally organized wildcat strikes and xenophobic protests, all of which have become a feature of South African public life. This type of

mass action frequently transgresses the law and also often involves violence or results in violence between police and protesters.

Kistner (2014) notes that such protests are often viewed as inimical to the development of a democratic public sphere. However, she argues that a new frame of reference is required in which these protests can be seen as a form of direct democratic participation. The following is a very brief summary of her argument. With all the structural inequalities of South African society, individuals often think that the only way to make their voices heard is through protest, particularly when institutions such as government and even trade unions are seen as being out of touch with the needs of the poor. When representative politics is seen to be failing, people's only other option is to resort to direct democracy. Such 'direct democracy by the crowd' is not unprecedented: there is a tradition, traced back to the Roman Republic, of decision-making by acclamation, in which the people essentially come together and make their opinions known on particular decisions relating to the state through cheering or booing, shouting "up with him" or "down with him", for instance. This is public in a sense in which the secret ballot, seen as a touchstone of modern democracy, is not. Thus while one may have well-founded moral reservations about the methods employed in extra-institutional mass action, they should not be ignored as a forum in which public opinions on matters of public interest are expressed.

For the purposes of this study, it is pertinent to ask what the role of the media is in relation to these three types of forum and the development of South Africa's public spheres more generally. In Habermas' (1989) original model of the public sphere, the media in the form of newspapers and other printed periodicals is seen as linking together different spaces in which public deliberation takes place, and allowing the public sphere to spread out from these spaces to reach others who are not involved in them. If one applies that to the present-day South African situation, then the media's role is to link together government-initiated consultative forums, self-organized institutional civil society and extra-institutional mass action, and extend public spheres outwards from these forums to reach other participants. The impression one gains from research on the media's role in the South African public sphere is that they are only partially and unevenly fulfilling this role.

In particular, the media appear to be out of touch with the needs and aspirations of poor South Africans, much as other institutions such as government and trade unions are, and so the media are not effectively facilitating access to public spheres for them. This argument is advanced by Duncan (2014). She uses coverage of the Marikana massacre in 2012 (see 2.4) as a case study to illustrate her point. A survey of sources used in thirteen prominent newspapers' reporting on the massacre shows that only 3% of these newspapers' sources of information on the massacre were workers themselves, and the unions involved in the dispute which gave rise to the massacre added up to a collective 11%. By contrast, sources from the business community made up 27% of the sources used, and mine management and owners made up another 14%. In only one article was a

worker asked for his version of the events of the massacre. This shows how limited poor people's access to the media is as a means to give voice to their grievances.

In terms of consumption, the poor also have very few media publications targeted at them. Duncan (2014) shows that the media landscape reflects South Africa's historic inequalities because it is organized on a commercial model. This means that the highest income groups in SA have access to the most different publications and media targeted at them, while the further down the income scale one goes, the narrower the choices become (Duncan, 2014). In fact, not even tabloids such as the *Daily Sun* target people in the poorest 36% of the population (Duncan, 2014). This is not to say necessarily that poor South Africans do not have the financial means to access these media, although that is still a limitation in respect of access to the Internet, for example. What it means is that there are very few media products which are explicitly tailored to the needs and interests of the poorest people. This point is enlarged on in 3.4.

Data from Malila et al's (2013) large-scale study of public sphere engagement among the youth corroborate the idea that the media are out of touch with a large sector of the South African population. The study adopts the government's definition of 'youth' as people under the age of 35. The results show that the most popular media products among the youth are offerings such as television shows which are not very relevant to their participation in the public sphere. There are quite high rates of voting among the youth (42% of participants reported having voted in the last national elections, and 30% said they had been too young to vote at the time of the elections), and as noted above, many of the youth are involved in religious activities and social organizations. Despite this, there appears to be a general scepticism about the value of voting and a lack of trust in government. Youth appear to be particularly uninterested in political media coverage, feeling that it is irrelevant to them. Only 35% of respondents were interested in political actions, and 47,3% believed that "the media (especially news media) are not necessary for citizens to be engaged in South Africa" (Malila et al. 2013, p. 80). Many did not feel that news reported in the media was relevant to them. For example, one focus group participant referred to frequent stories of industrial action, saying "They [the media] must give us something we can learn from and leave the strikes. We are not learning anything from the strikes" (Malila et al. 2013, p. 71).

Among news media, newspapers do not fare particularly well in terms of frequency of use and relevance among the youth (Malila et al., 2013). In the survey, mainstream newspapers (including publications targeted at élites such as *Business Day* and more general-interest broadsheets like the *Sunday Times*) were rated as the sixth most-used news source after radio news, South African TV news, Google and other search engines, international TV news and magazines. Tabloid newspapers (such as the *Daily Sun*) were reportedly used the least as a news source, with only 39% of respondents using them for these purposes. Mainstream newspapers were rated the third most relevant news source, after radio and South African TV news. They were also the third most trusted news

source after South African TV news and radio, with 72% of respondents reporting trust in mainstream newspapers. By contrast, tabloids were trusted by only 19% of respondents. One focus group participant said that tabloids “stretch things to a point that it is not true anymore” (Malila et al. 2013, p. 67). Tabloids were seen as amusing to read, but not to be trusted as a news source.

Youth with access to the Internet and social media use these to engage in public debate, and use online news actively to search for what is relevant to them. This is seen in the rating of search engines such as Google as the third most used news source, with 63% of respondents using them (Malila et al., 2013). It is also seen in the finding that 48% of respondents reported posting to an online group or blog. This is significant because it shows that youth are using online media as active consumers, and participating in discussions on public or semi-public online platforms. It is also significant for the purposes of this study in that much of online news is provided by newspapers via their websites, meaning that even though newspapers may have a limited reach in print, their influence is extended through the Internet. Understandably, though, Internet access has traditionally been available only to the wealthy, although growth in availability of smartphones has extended that access significantly. The penetration of online media in South Africa is described further in 3.4.

Thus the general impression created from these statistics is that young people in South Africa see political news as largely irrelevant to their lives, and so may be discouraged from participating in public sphere discussions on politics. As pointed out in 2.2, growing cynicism among political journalists about the motives of politicians may be one of the factors influencing this sense of disengagement from politics. The growth in the use of online media both as a news source and a forum in which to air views is an encouraging development, but Malila et al’s (2013) study did not elicit information about the subject matter of respondents’ contributions to online forums or blogs, so it is not possible to see from this study what proportion of them may be classified as concerning some kind of political matter or something commonly considered as a matter of public interest.

While certain aspects of Malila et al’s (2013) findings echo trends evident in developed countries in which the youth similarly do not find news media to be relevant to their lives, Duncan (2014) argues that this pattern of uneven engagement and disengagement in public spheres must also be seen as a product of South Africa’s negotiated transition to democracy. The negotiations to end formal apartheid, as described in 2.3, paved the way for South Africa to continue as a neo-liberal capitalist state while extending political rights, including voting rights, to all its citizens. This has produced the political and economic forces that shape South Africa’s current media landscape, which is described in more detail in 3.4, and led to a situation in which relatively few media are targeted particularly at poor members of the population.

Furthermore, particular types of content which are arguably essential for the cultivation of vibrant public spheres have been limited to publications which are seen as the preserve of

elites. In recent years, a Protection of State Information Bill was drafted which threatened to “effectively criminalise a great deal of investigative journalism on state security matters” (Duncan 2014, p. 89). At the time of writing, neither Zuma nor Ramaphosa had signed the bill into law or referred it to the Constitutional Court to ascertain whether or not it is constitutional; according to Section 79(4) of the Constitution, these are the two options open to the state president in the current situation (De Vos, 2018). This means that the bill is unlikely to be revived, although media freedom activists are concerned about a new Protection of Critical Infrastructure Bill contains some restrictive provisions on publishing details on security measures at government buildings (Ferreira, 2018).

There have also been many allegations of increased government influence in the country’s public broadcaster, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). These actions, Duncan (2014) argues, have largely made investigative journalism the preserve of mainstream newspapers and their associated news websites. These are privately owned (see 3.4) and mainly targeted at upper-income sectors of the market, and so it is easy to criticize them as being ‘untransformed’ and elitist. In fact, such criticisms are frequently given by members of government (Duncan, 2014). If investigative journalism appears mainly in media products that can be written off as untransformed and elitist, then its influence on the majority of South Africans can be curtailed. Duncan (2014) argues that the government seems quite satisfied with this state of affairs, producing the impression that it is more interested in having subjects than active citizens who critically engage with government in public spheres.

Despite this, she writes there are some hopeful signs of media encouraging robust engagement in public spheres ‘from below’. These include Greg Marinovich’s journalism on the Marikana massacre for the Daily Maverick online news website, which was crucial in changing the coverage of the massacre from the skewed impression given by the mainstream media as described in the previous paragraphs, and incorporating more views from workers into the news agenda; the Right2Know campaign which successfully opposed the Protection of State Information Bill; and Cape Town TV, a successful community-based television station (Duncan, 2014).

Ultimately, though, Duncan (2014) raises the same question that Fraser (1992) addressed in her critique of the Habermasian model of the public sphere: is it possible to have equitable access to a public sphere in a society with socio-economic inequalities? Given the evidence from South Africa presented in this section, the answer seems to be a qualified ‘no’. Evidence points to the conclusion that the lower down the socio-economic scale one goes, the fewer avenues individual South Africans have available to them to make their voices heard in different public spheres. However, this ‘no’ should be qualified by noting that there are small ways in which poor South Africans are engaging in discussion in public spheres and helping to shift the nation’s public discourse. This is happening in a number of forms. Some of these, like the work of civil society organizations like the Anti-Privatisation Forum, Treatment Action Campaign and Right2Know and individual journalists who

are broadening the range of sources of information they use, show great developmental potential. Others, such as the sharp increase in often violent extra-institutional mass action, serve as warning signs indicating that if more ways are not found to include the poor in the nation's dominant public spheres, then further violence could result. In 3.5 I examine the extent to which the *Daily Sun* is facilitating access to an alternative public sphere for working-class South Africans who are excluded from this dominant public sphere. This, in turn, aids in exploring the extent to which changes in the *Daily Sun*'s political coverage could facilitate transformation in South Africa's public spheres, allowing me to answer the final research question guiding this study (see 1.5).

3.4 The South African media landscape

South Africa's media landscape has undergone significant transformation since the advent of democracy in 1994, but retains some significant vestiges of its make-up during apartheid, and continues to respond to economic pressures in ways that limit its ability to facilitate truly democratic public spheres. This section is a brief overview of the media landscape in South Africa, designed to contextualize the role of the *Daily Sun* within it. In it, I describe the relative audience sizes of different media in South Africa and the types of influence that they wield in the country's public spheres. I also briefly mention the ownership patterns in each medium and discuss to what extent these patterns influence the content mix in each medium and the alignments with respect to government and different social groups that exist in each, and conclude this section with a motivation for my choice of a newspaper as the medium to analysed in this study.

While there are major differences between different media, as I show below, the recent history of South African media shows a clear pattern of partial transformation, beginning with a state of repression and censorship under apartheid, and concentration of ownership into monopolies and oligopolies. With the transition to democracy in the 1990s came a great deal of deregulation and liberalization of ownership: new independent regulatory bodies were set up in most media, and the monopolies and oligopolies were unbundled, with Black Economic Empowerment ventures as the main beneficiaries (Berger, 2001). In recent years, the state has pursued a more 'developmental' approach, in which the media are viewed as key tools for a nation-building project spearheaded by the state (Milton and Fourie, 2015). Critics of this approach view it as being at odds with the media's role as a watchdog providing critique of government actions (Berger, 2001). On the other hand, those media publications which pursue a critical approach typically view government as the key target of their critique, rather than also critiquing the (now multi-racial) capitalist class that owns much of the commercial media (Berger, 2001). A struggle between a 'developmental' view of the media's role and a more critical view plays itself out in different ways in different media.

Medium	Period accessed	Audience size
Television	Past 7 days	92%
Radio	Past 7 days	92%
Internet	Past 4 weeks	46%
Magazines	Varies according to the frequency of publication	45%
Newspapers	Varies according to the frequency of publication	44%
Cinema / Drive-in	Past 3 months	7%

Table 3.1: *Audience sizes of media in South Africa as a percentage of South Africa's population aged 15 years and older. Adapted from OMD Media Facts (2016)*

Some statistics on the sizes of the audiences for different media in South Africa can assist in providing a general overview and giving an indication of the influence of each medium in facilitating democratic public spheres. The most consistent source of such statistics is the South African Audience Research Foundation (SAARF), which produces an annual All Media and Products Survey (AMPS) giving an indication of media usage patterns across the country (SAARF, 2012). The population for AMPS is considered to be the entire population of South Africa aged 15 years and older, so the statistics shown in this section mostly refer to audience sizes as a percentage of all South Africans above that age (SAARF, 2012). In many cases, I draw on OMD Media Facts (2016), which gives a useful summary of the AMPS January - December 2015 data. Table 3.1 shows the relative audience sizes of different media as a percentage of South Africa's adult population, using SAARF's various measures based on the time elapsed since survey participants last accessed that medium.

As shown in Table 3.1, broadcast media including television and radio dominate the South African media landscape, reaching most of the population. Internet access rates are relatively low but are growing quickly, mainly due to the spread of smartphone technology. Print media, including magazines and newspapers, attract slightly smaller numbers of readers, and very few South Africans visit the cinema, with cinema attendance viewed both as a luxury and as somewhat obsolete due to the diversification of offerings available through television, DVDs and, to a much lesser extent, broadband Internet. In the remainder of this section, I describe each of these media in turn, beginning with the broadcast media (television and radio), before discussing film briefly, and then magazines. These descriptions provide some context for a more detailed exploration of the print and online media landscapes, highlighting the position of the *Daily Sun* in these markets.

The broadcast media were, and to a smaller extent still are, dominated by the SABC, which held a near monopoly on both television and radio in the country until the transition to democracy. The following brief history of these media draws on Wigston (2001). The SABC functioned as a state broadcaster, offering news from a position that was sympathetic to the apartheid government. Privately-owned radio stations were established in the 1970s, broadcasting from the supposedly independent homelands of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei where the SABC's monopoly did not apply, but reach-

ing many of South Africa's metropolitan areas. These independent radio stations gave different points of view to those reflected in the SABC's programming. Similarly, in 1983 Bop-TV was launched by the Bophuthatswana government and became popular among urban South Africans particularly in parts of what is now Gauteng. In 1986, the apartheid government allowed the establishment of a commercial pay television channel, called M-Net, owned by Nasionale Pers [National Press; Naspers for short], one of the largest print media conglomerates in the country. One of the conditions of M-Net's licence was that it carry no news. Thus the apartheid government maintained tight control of the use of the broadcast media to circulate information on public affairs.

During the transition to democracy in the 1990s, the SABC's business model changed from being a state broadcaster to that of a public broadcaster. During the negotiations preceding 1994, it was in the interests of both the old NP government and the ANC to ensure that the SABC remain relatively independent from state control (Berger, 1999). The corporation was effectively split into two divisions. A commercial wing, consisting of one television channel (SABC3) and several radio stations, subsidizes a public service wing, consisting of two television channels (SABC1 and 2) and 11 public service radio stations, one for each of South Africa's official languages. An independent regulating body, the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) was established in 1993, and merged with its counterpart in the telecommunications sector in 2000, becoming the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA). The IBA began granting licences for community radio stations in 1995, giving rise to a profusion of new independent community stations; by 1998, 89 were broadcasting, of which 37 were black-owned (Berger, 1999). In 1996, the SABC sold six of its most profitable radio stations off to consortia consisting largely of Black Economic Empowerment groups, unions and women's groups among others. Licences were issued for eight new private commercial radio stations in 1997 (Wigston, 2001).

The SABC's monopoly on television was also brought to an end. In 1998 a licence for a new free-to-air national commercial television channel was granted to a consortium including a variety of unions, a civic organization and a youth development agency (Berger, 1999). The new channel was named eTV. Its news programming became a direct competitor to that of the SABC and has tended to take a more critical approach towards the government in contrast to the SABC's developmental approach (Milton and Fourie, 2015). MultiChoice, a spin-off from M-Net, established paid-for digital satellite television in South Africa with the birth of DStv in 1995 (Milton and Fourie, 2015). DStv carries a news channel run by the SABC, as well as one run by eTV, along with international news channels such as CNN, Sky News and al-Jazeera (Milton and Fourie, 2015). Two current competitors to DStv with less than one-tenth of its audience are StarSat, another satellite pay network; and OpenView HD, a free-to-air digital television service carrying a variety of channels mainly provided by eTV (OMD Media Facts, 2016). Non-profit community television stations such as Soweto TV and Cape Town TV (mentioned in 3.3

as an example of independent media encouraging grassroots public sphere engagement) have been established recently and show much potential (Duncan, 2014; Rumney, 2015). In recent years, there have been deep concerns about both the financial sustainability and editorial independence of the SABC. The public broadcaster has found itself in almost constant financial crisis since 1997 when the corporation opted to decrease local content and increase the use of English in relation to other languages in order to attract more advertising (Duncan, 2000, cited in Wigston, 2001). More recently, “revelations about self-censoring through omission, blacklisting, and biased reporting of politics in general has led many to conclude that the ANC, like its predecessor the National Party, is turning the broadcaster into its own special propaganda machine” (Milton and Fourie 2015, p. 194).

Meanwhile, privately-owned radio stations and eTV have frequently covered scathing critiques of the ANC government in their news coverage (Milton and Fourie, 2015). These stations are predominantly owned by Black Economic Empowerment businesses, making it difficult for the government to deflect criticism by accusing them of racism (Milton and Fourie, 2015). The positive outworking of this is that over 90% of South Africans have access to a variety of perspectives in broadcast news, either on television or radio. However, only the SABC broadcasts news consistently in the Bantu languages spoken by the majority of South Africans; for a more critical point of view (critical of the government, that is), viewers and listeners usually have to switch to the English-language coverage on eTV and the privately-owned radio stations.

South Africa’s film industry has a history stretching back over a century to 1910, when the first South African film was released (Wigston, 2001). The following brief description of this industry draws largely on Wigston’s (2001) comprehensive account of it. In the apartheid era, barring a handful of exceptions, South African films presented “an idealised and distorted image of life in South Africa” (Wigston 2001, p. 78). It consisted mainly of an Afrikaner film industry was bland and conservative, with little social critique, and a small ‘made-for-blacks’ film industry, which was even worse, reinforcing the ideas that black people were subordinate to whites and belonged in the rural areas. The overwhelming majority of films screened in South Africa were, and still are, Hollywood productions, although Bollywood films have also made inroads in recent years (OMD Media Facts, 2016). A turning point occurred in 1986 / 1987, after which more films critiquing apartheid were produced.

In the apartheid era, South African films received a government subsidy only if it was judged that they would be profitable at the box office. After 1994, films would receive a government subsidy whether or not they were financially viable, and this has aided the growth of a very small quality post-apartheid film industry addressing matters pertinent to life in contemporary South Africa. Two films have been nominated for the Academy Award for best foreign-language film: *Yesterday*, an isiZulu film about the impact of HIV and AIDS on rural families, in 2004; and *Tsotsi*, about a Johannesburg gangster, which

won the award in 2006 (Blignaut, 2017). Cinema audiences tend to rise and fall depending on the popularity of the Hollywood and Bollywood films screened in any given year (OMD Media Facts, 2016). While quality South African films have the potential to provoke much discussion in public spheres, their impact is severely limited by small audience numbers.

The print media in South Africa have a vastly different history and current make-up from that of the broadcast media. The main reason for this is ownership: while the broadcast media historically were dominated by the SABC, the print media in South Africa have always been privately-owned, and so the relationship between them and government has been tense, both before and after the end of apartheid (Wigston, 2001). In the following brief history of the press during the apartheid era, I again draw largely on Wigston (2001). While in most Western democracies, the press is divided along lines of political affiliation, during apartheid, the press is divided by Wigston into four groups according to language and ethnicity: the English press, the Afrikaans press, the black press and the alternative press. Ownership of the English and Afrikaans press, including both newspapers and magazines, was concentrated in the hands of four conglomerates which formed an oligopoly. Two of them published largely in English, while the other two published largely in Afrikaans (Translations of Afrikaans titles are given in square brackets.):

- Argus group (including *The Star* and *Cape Argus*)
- South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN; including *Sunday Times* and *Rand Daily Mail*)
- Nasionale Pers (Naspers for short; including *Die Burger* [The Citizen; not to be confused with the English newspaper carrying this name], *Die Volksblad* [The People's Paper], *Oosterlig* [Eastern Light] and *Beeld* [Image])
- Perskor (Presscorp; including *Die Transvaler* [The Transvaaler] and *Oggendblad* [Morning Paper])

These groups were entirely white-owned, with the mining conglomerate Anglo-American having substantial interests in both the Argus group and SAAN.

Generally speaking, the English press tended to take a liberal position and was critical of the apartheid government, although they were also limited in what they could report due to government censorship. The regulations in place during the second State of Emergency from 1986 to 1990 were particularly restrictive, giving the government the power to close any newspaper at their discretion. In the 1970s in what became known as the Information Scandal, the government's Department of Information also started *The Citizen* as an English newspaper portraying the government sympathetically. While the Afrikaans press tended to be conservative and more approving of the apartheid government, the Information Scandal also provoked a break between Naspers and Perskor, with the former becoming more critical of the government. One important casualty of this period was the

Rand Daily Mail, a Johannesburg newspaper which was sharply critical of the government and was closed in 1985 due to a combination of harassment from censors and economic pressures. In the 1980s, the majority of its readers were black and therefore poor, meaning that the paper could not attract the advertising revenue it needed to survive.

The black press has a long and illustrious history. *Imvo Zabantsundu* [Black Opinion], an isiXhosa title, was the first black-owned and edited newspaper, established in 1884 in King William's Town in the Eastern Cape. Many black journalists were involved in the formation of the ANC in 1912, including John Dube, the first chairman of the party and also the driving force behind *Ilanga lasaNatal* [The Natal Sun], an isiZulu newspaper. Although these papers were important facilitators of alternative black public spheres, their owners did not have much capital with which to sustain them, and the next wave of black publications, from 1930 to 1980, was white-owned and written in English. A notable title that began in this period was *Drum*, a magazine which included investigative journalism uncovering human rights abuses against black people, as well as championing black contributors to arts and culture. It ceased publishing in 1965 but was restarted later, carrying much less political content, and is still produced today, owned by Naspers. From the 1960s onward, urban black people began reading English newspapers, which began to produce township editions targeted at them. In 1981, the *Sowetan* was established as a daily tabloid owned by the Argus group, and it became South Africa's biggest-selling newspaper for a long period before the rise of the *Daily Sun*.

The alternative press consisted of publications independent of the big four press houses, which typically had small readerships. Some of these were right-wing Afrikaans publications like *Die Afrikaner Patriot* [The Afrikaner Patriot], but most were active participants in the anti-apartheid movement. One of the first was *Inkundla* [Forum], a black-owned pro-ANC newspaper published from the 1930s to 1951 when most of the titles in the black press were white-owned. The alternative press flourished in the 1980s and early 1990s, with a diverse variety of publications including the left-wing Afrikaans weekly *Vrye Weekblad* [Free Weekly] and the English *Weekly Mail* (started by journalists who were left unemployed after the closure of the *Rand Daily Mail*).

Once the State of Emergency was lifted in 1990, the alternative press dwindled. It found itself facing increased competition with the mainstream press which was now free to report on events that previously only the alternative press had dared to cover, and foreign funding, which it had partly depended on, dried up as South Africa began to democratize (Berger, 2001). The *Weekly Mail* is virtually the only alternative press title that has survived to the present day, and is now known as the *Mail & Guardian*. Despite this, the alternative press set a strong precedent with their critique of the apartheid establishment, investigative reporting and coverage of events pertinent to the working class, and this has pushed some of their surviving mainstream competitors to maintain high standards of critical journalism.

From the 1990s onward, foreign investment and a slew of Black Economic Empowerment

(BEE) deals contributed to transformation in the ownership of the mainstream press. First, the Argus group sold the *Sowetan* to the black-owned New African Investments Limited (Berger, 2001). Then in 1994, Tony O'Reilly, the Irish owner of Independent Newspapers, bought a minority share in the Argus group and gradually increased his stake to 100% in 1999 (Berger, 2001; Wigston, 2001). A BEE group, Sekunjalo Independent Media, headed by the controversial Iqbal Survé, bought Independent Newspapers in 2013 (Rumney, 2015). SAAN, later known as Times Media Limited (TML) and now renamed Tiso Blackstar Group, was sold to the National Empowerment Consortium, headed by South Africa's current president, Cyril Ramaphosa, in 1996 (Berger, 2001; Wigston, 2001; Tiso Blackstar Group, 2017). TML was the owner of *Business Day*, a highly influential national daily business newspaper targeted at an élite audience, but sold off a 50% share in the newspaper and a magazine called the *Financial Mail* to Pearson, a UK publishing company, ostensibly to make sure that the National Empowerment Consortium was unable to compromise its editorial independence (Wigston, 2001).

Perskor merged with the Kagiso Trust development agency, and eventually formed a group called Caxton, giving Black Economic Empowerment owners a stake in this conglomerate along with Afrikaner capitalists (Berger, 2001; Wigston, 2001). Naspers sold a small minority of its shares to "more than 17 000 previously disadvantaged people" (Berger 2001, p. 155) in 1999. Its media holdings were spun off into a subsidiary called Media24. The Public Investment Corporation, which invests money for (mostly black and poor) government employees' pension funds, bought a 15% stake in this business (Rumney, 2015). Thus at present, the print media is still dominated by four conglomerates, but with far more diverse ownership patterns (Milton and Fourie, 2015). These same four groups also own most of the online news outlets in South Africa (Milton and Fourie, 2015). Alongside these, there are also some independently-owned publications, such as the *Mail & Guardian*, which was owned by a Zimbabwean investor, Trevor Ncube, and was sold to an American non-profit organization, the Media Development Investment Fund, in 2017 (Nevill, 2017).

A controversial episode in the transformation of South African media ownership is the story of a daily newspaper called *The New Age* and the television news channel ANN7, which was carried by the DStv satellite network. These were both owned by the Gupta family accused of state capture (see 2.4), and overtly positioned themselves as sympathetic to the Zuma government (Milton and Fourie, 2015). In 2017 the Guptas, facing growing public criticism, sold ANN7 and *The New Age* to Mzwanele Manyi, an ex-government spokesperson and known Zuma supporter, ostensibly so that the Guptas could concentrate on defending themselves against corruption allegations (Nicolson, 2017). Manyi rebranded ANN7 as Afro Worldview and *The New Age* as *AfroVoice*, but this was not enough to rescue the channel and newspaper from their tainted reputations as mouthpieces for Zuma and the Guptas. *AfroVoice* ceased publishing in June 2018 (Anderson, 2018) and DStv stopped broadcasting Afro Worldview in August of the same year (Mtyala, 2018).

Their demise serves as a cautionary tale, showing that media outlets which are known to be propaganda vehicles are not well-received in post-apartheid South Africa by either advertisers or audiences.

The above account shows that there have been great changes in the ownership of the print media since 1994, but even after all these, it was reported in parliamentary hearings in 2011 that the press was only 14% black-owned (Lloyd, 2013, cited in Milton and Fourie, 2015). An aspect of the print media in which there has been greater transformation is in the area of staffing, particularly at the level of editor. The percentage of publications with black editors grew from 7% in 1994 to 65% in 2011 (Milton and Fourie, 2015).

Alongside national and regional newspapers, the country has over 450 local or community newspapers (OMD Media Facts, 2016). Most of them are owned by the ‘Big Four’ newspaper publishers, which started investing in this type of newspaper after 1976, when the advent of television brought in competition for advertising at a national level (Wigston, 2001). However, there are a few independently owned titles as well. These local newspapers tend to focus on municipal politics and ignore national political developments.

Naspers launched the *Daily Sun* in 2002 after Independent Newspapers apparently rejected a proposal to start the publication (Jones et al., 2008). The *Daily Sun*’s success has sparked “a surge in popular journalism” (OMD Media Facts 2016, p. 56) and a new generation of tabloid newspapers targeted at the working class and lower middle class that have “turn[ed] South Africa’s traditional newspaper model on its head” (Bloom, 2005, quoted in Jones et al., 2008, p. 169). This includes the Cape Town-based Afrikaans-language tabloid *Son* [Sun], also owned by Naspers, and its English-language competitor, *Daily Voice*, owned by Independent Newspapers, both of which have readerships of under a million, by comparison to the *Daily Sun*’s readership of 4 706 000, according to SAARF’s AMPS 2015 (OMD Media Facts, 2016). Both the *Daily Sun* and *Son* have weekend editions (OMD Media Facts, 2016). In 3.5 I give far more detail on the new tabloids and the contributions they make to the country’s media landscape.

The current ownership structure of the print and online media in South Africa is outlined in Figure 3.1, with the *Daily Sun* shown in bold and italics. This diagram is necessarily a simplification. It shows the ‘Big Four’ media houses and only two examples of independent publications. South African owners are grouped into two categories, “Afrikaner capital” and “Black Economic Empowerment ventures”. Cross-ownership of broadcast media has also not been shown, for simplicity’s sake.

The regulatory environment around the print media has also transformed significantly since apartheid-era censorship. Freedom of expression, including press freedom, is guaranteed in the country’s 1996 constitution (Wigston, 2001), although this is balanced against other rights. The press has moved to a self-regulating model, with a voluntary Press Code of Professional Practice, the South African Press Council and a government-appointed Press Ombudsman which administers the Press Code (Milton and Fourie, 2015).

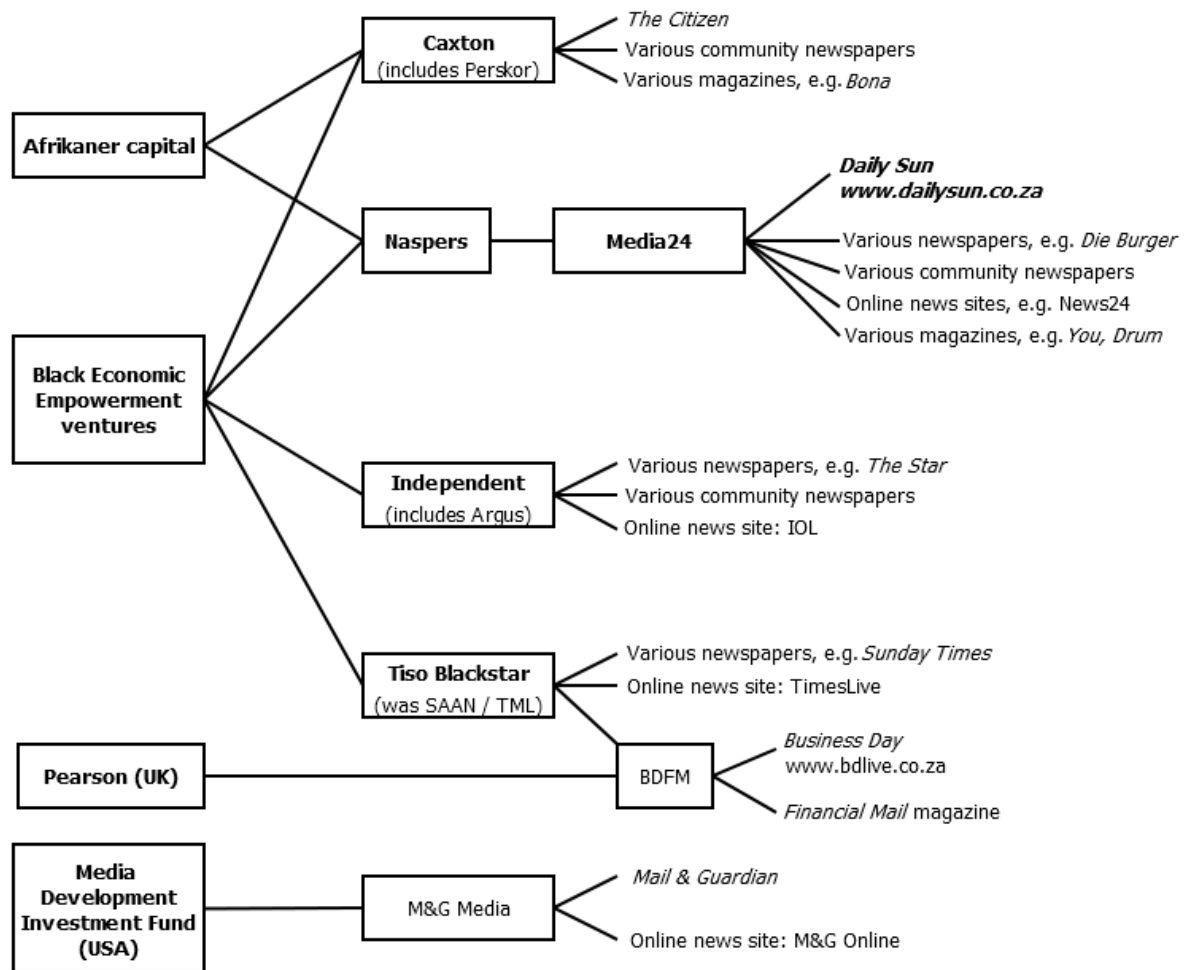


Figure 3.1: *Print and online media ownership in present-day South Africa. Based on information from Milton and Fourie (2015); Nevill (2017); OMD Media Facts (2016); Rumney (2015); Tiso Blackstar (2017) and Wigston (2001)*

There have been periodic threats to this freedom, which have been strongly resisted by civil society. In response to perceived continual oppositional reporting by the press, the government called for an establishment of a state-run media appeals tribunal in 2007; after civil society resisted this move the voluntary South African Press Council was re-structured and its workings made more transparent instead (Milton and Fourie, 2015). A second significant threat to press freedom was the Protection of State Information Bill, which is referred to briefly in 3.3. Once again, civil society, led by the Right2Know movement, succeeded in having this bill shelved, but some provisions in the subsequent Protection of Critical Infrastructure Bill could potentially be used by the government to try to deflect unwanted investigative journalism (Ferreira, 2018).

An overwhelming majority of South Africa's print media publish in English: for example, 17 of the country's 22 daily newspapers are in English, four are in Afrikaans and only one, *Isolezwe* [Eye of the Nation], appears in isiZulu, the largest home language in South Africa (OMD Media Facts, 2016; SAARF, 2015). *Isolezwe* is owned by Independent Newspapers and attracts 1 157 000 readers, enough to make it the country's third-largest daily newspaper after the *Daily Sun* and *Sowetan* (OMD Media Facts, 2016). It competes with *Ilanga*, the only other Zulu newspaper, which publishes on a Monday, Thursday and Sunday only and is owned by a business called Mandla-Matla (OMD Media Facts, 2016). *Imvo* [Opinion], the isiXhosa newspaper, lasted until 1998 when its owners Perskor closed it down (Berger, 2001). The only magazine which publishes in languages other than English and Afrikaans is *Bona* [See], which has editions in English, isiZulu, isiXhosa and Sesotho (*Bona*, 2017).

Thus despite extensive growth in black ownership, there has been very little change in the linguistic diversity of South Africa's print media offerings, and some of this change has been retrogressive. Various reasons could be advanced for this. Possibly the biggest reasons are commercial: Bantu-language readers are viewed as previously disadvantaged, and so are often not perceived as a drawcard for advertisers except as a large mass market. Because nine Bantu languages are used as official languages in South Africa, it is difficult for publishers to draw a critical mass of readers in any of them apart from isiZulu in order to make publications commercially viable, and print media do not attract government subsidy, unlike the SABC.

According to SAARF's AMPS 2015, 82% of adult South Africans can read and understand English and 33% can read and understand Afrikaans (OMD Media Facts, 2016). However, as mentioned in 3.2, it is an oversimplification to consider individuals' engagement with public spheres only in terms of unitary languages; in reality, multilingual South Africans make use of a wide repertoire of different linguistic varieties and code-switching to make and share meanings. The *Daily Sun* mirrors parts of these repertoires by making heavy use of lexical borrowing from other South African languages in its English reporting, as is discussed in further detail in 3.5. Thus while the post-apartheid South African media remain part of an inequitable linguistic ecology, readers and some publications show

resourcefulness in using linguistic resources to engage with each other across language divides.

Online media mainly follow the same patterns as the print media, because most print publications have an online edition. These tend to be grouped into one large news portal per owner. Naspers owns News24, the largest and most popular of these portals, which aggregates news from all its publications and attracts 5 858 500 browsers from South Africa, 7 385 100 worldwide (OMD Media Facts, 2016). News from its Afrikaans publications is published on Netwerk24 [Network24] and from its isiZulu publications at Izindaba24 [News24]. There are also various special-interest spinoffs, such as Fin24 (for financial news) and Wheels24 (for motoring news) (OMD Media Facts, 2016). Tiso Blackstar owns TimesLive, and Independent Newspapers owns IOL (Independent Online), the second and third most popular news portals respectively. The *Daily Sun* has its own website, www.dailysun.co.za. No readership figures for it are available, but the website seems to have been gaining in popularity, particularly as a mobile site accessible using smartphones. The content from the print newspaper is largely repeated on the website, extending the reach of this content far beyond the reach of the print edition, for those who have some form of Internet access.

Among the independently-owned newspapers, the *Mail & Guardian* stands out as having a particularly innovative online edition, M&G Online (Milton and Fourie, 2015). The two main broadcast news producers, the SABC (www.sabcnews.com) and eTV (www.enca.com), have their own news websites, but these do not appear to be as popular or significant as the news portals owned by the three largest print publishers. Some online-only news outlets have been established. One of the most influential is the Daily Maverick, which targets liberal middle-class readers and was mentioned in 3.3 for its pioneering critical reporting of the Marikana massacre (Milton and Fourie, 2015). The *Rand Daily Mail* has also been resurrected as a news website owned by Tiso Blackstar.

Thus there is a diverse range of news offerings online, but like the print media landscape, these have their limitations. Once again, there is a far greater diversity of news sources in English than in any other language, and apart from isiZulu, there is almost no online news in Bantu languages. Secondly, the online news offerings still mostly target middle-class audiences: websites connected to tabloids like the *Daily Sun* as well as other newspapers considered to have working class appeal are not well-developed, while the big news portals mostly seem to reflect middle-class interests. There is plenty of scope for new online news outlets that can target niche audiences and facilitate public spheres by harnessing the power of Web 2.0 technology and social networking, but these opportunities remain largely unexploited as yet (Milton and Fourie, 2015).

While the spread of smartphones has greatly increased Internet penetration in the country, the cost of cellphones and mobile data still puts online media out of the reach of the majority of South Africans. One survey found that Internet penetration is at 82% among people earning R30 000 or more per month, but falls to 61% in the R14 000 – R18 000

income bracket, 42% in the R3 000 – R6 000 bracket, and less than 30% for those earning less than R2 500 per month (World Wide Worx, 2017). While high-income people can afford to buy data bundles offering bulk mobile data at reasonable prices, low-income people tend to pay for mobile data out of their regular airtime, which makes the cost “among the highest in the world” (World Wide Worx 2017, p. 3). Internet penetration in urban areas also far exceeds that in rural areas (World Wide Worx, 2017). This situation has resulted in activism by civil society groups as part of a movement dubbed #DataMustFall, spearheaded by the Right2Know campaign among others (Milton and Fourie, 2015). These groups view the high data costs as a violation of South Africans’ right to communicate, recognizing the importance of Internet access to participation in public spheres in 21st-century society (Milton and Fourie, 2015).

In terms of editorial positioning, the two chief models of journalism mentioned when discussing the broadcast media are also pertinent to the print and online media: some take a more developmental approach that focuses on social cohesion and nation-building, but most take a critical approach in which the criticism is mostly aimed towards the ANC government. As mentioned above, the privately-owned print media have traditionally been a thorn in the side of government, and this tradition has continued into the post-apartheid era, prompting accusations of racism from the government (Wigston, 2001). Not even the new tabloids have deviated from this tradition; as I show in 3.5 and Chapter 10, the *Daily Sun* tends to be sharply critical of the ANC, as do most Media24 publications. In the post-apartheid era, most newspapers and online news outlets have avoided openly supporting any one party in election seasons (Rumney, 2015). *The New Age* lay at the other side of the spectrum, unabashedly promoting the Zuma government as well as the Guptas’ business interests.

An in-between approach was adopted by Independent Newspapers. Its former parliamentary editor Zubeida Jaffer advocated that the media take an *imbongi*, or bardic role (Berger, 2001). An *imbongi* is a praise-singer, who, in various traditional South African cultures, fulfills the role of praising kings and traditional leaders, but who, similar to a court jester in Western traditions, has licence to critique the leaders’ actions without being censured. Independent Newspapers’ erstwhile Irish owners were in favour of such an approach as it protected the business from potential censure and punitive action from the government (Berger, 2001). Despite this explicitly-stated approach, Independent’s titles vary widely in the extent to which they are critical, and some of their black editors have provoked ire from the government (Berger, 2001). Since ANC-aligned Iqbal Survé’s business Sekunjalo bought Independent Newspapers, the group has drawn increasing criticism for breaches of editorial independence, including a purge of liberal-leaning staff members from the *Cape Times*, one of its titles (Rumney, 2015). Thus while most of the print and online news media, including the *Daily Sun*, still subscribe to a critical, ‘watchdog’ approach to journalism, Independent Newspapers has drifted closer to a role sympathetic to the government.

In summary, newspapers in South Africa are owned by a variety of interests, enjoy a great deal of editorial independence and exert a large degree of control over the fast-growing online media. They are also differentiated according to the socio-economic status of their target audience, ranging from élite business publications to tabloids, in a way that far exceeds the differentiation of the broadcast media. These factors mean that they are an important medium to research if one wants to understand the diversity of the South African media, and the extent to which they facilitate democratic public spheres, even though they have far smaller audiences than broadcast media. Often news stories are broken online or in newspapers, and then are taken up later by other media, such as radio and television. Newspaper journalists are often able to write up their stories before radio and television journalists have gone through the more laborious processes of producing and editing their work. This means that newspapers often function to set the news agenda.

Newspapers throughout the socio-economic spectrum also tend to feature political coverage in more depth than other media. Political events are usually reported in brief in television or radio news bulletins. However, newspaper coverage of political events tends to be lengthier and more detailed, allowing more opportunity for complex positioning of political parties to take place. There is also a practical reason motivating my choice to analyse newspapers: newspaper data is much easier to process than television or radio footage. Extremely large volumes of such data are available over the Internet, and in proprietary databases such as the NewsBank Access South Africa database that I use in this study (see 6.3.2). Much television and radio content can also be accessed over the Internet, but this data would require labour-intensive transcription before it could be analysed using the methods I employ in this project. For example, a corpus analysis of all television news bulletins mentioning political parties on a certain channel over a six-month period would involve first transcribing all the bulletins, making the cost and time demands of such an exercise prohibitive. By comparison, it is a modest task to assemble a corpus of all news articles mentioning political parties in a certain newspaper over the same six-month period.

In the following section, 3.5, I focus in more detail on examining the contribution of the *Daily Sun* to public sphere discussion in South Africa. This section serves to give a richer description of the roles of this newspaper in South African society and to motivate my choice of it as the data source for this study.

3.5 Does the Daily Sun facilitate an alternative public sphere?

The role of the *Daily Sun*, and the new generation of South African tabloids to which it belongs, in facilitating public sphere discussions has been hotly debated, both in professional journalistic circles, in other media publications and in academic discourse on

the South African media landscape. The academic debates draw from, and contribute to, international discussions on the role of tabloids in relation to democratic participation; however, they also reveal some notable differences between the new South African tabloids and their international counterparts (see e.g. Wasserman, 2008). This section begins with a description of the new tabloids' content, with an emphasis on the *Daily Sun*, then describes some of the main critiques of the new South African tabloids and the counter-arguments against them. Following this, it explores some of the ways in which the new tabloids have been shown to facilitate alternative public spheres. I conclude this section by explaining my rationale for analysing party political coverage in the *Daily Sun*, despite the fact that party politics is not traditionally considered to be a major topic area in tabloids' news coverage.

When the *Daily Sun* was launched in 2002, its objective was to be

an alternative to the boring, serious, expensive, elitist, formal, difficult-to-read newspapers in South Africa, one that would reach its target readership – township dwellers, workers with low English proficiency, in a way that is entertaining, informative and relevant. (Jones et al. 2008, p. 167)

This is according to Deon du Plessis, the newspaper's former publisher, who was the driving force behind its establishment and much of its editorial identity. Du Plessis envisioned the *Daily Sun's* target audience as “the (black) guy in the blue overall” (2005, quoted in Froneman, 2006, p. 30), and the Johannesburg editorial office of the newspaper apparently features two mannequins dressed in blue overalls to remind staff of this (Wasserman, 2008). Du Plessis elaborates on the circumstances of this target reader as follows:

[The *Daily Sun*] had to target one guy: the blue-collar, skilled working class guy who generally lived in the townships. This guy was on the move. He now owned his house, he was starting to decorate it, worrying about his kids, rather than manning the barricades. The politics of struggle were over... We started with him, the potential reader and ended with the paper: a paper to suit the skilled working class guy in 21st century South Africa. (Du Plessis 2006, p. 50, quoted in Steenveld and Strelitz, 2010, p. 533)

It is notable that according to this characterization, the newspaper targets men only; indeed, South African tabloids have been accused of promoting patriarchy (Steenveld and Strelitz, 2010). Despite this, it seems as though the newspaper does carry plenty of content that would apply to women in the same income bracket. What is also noticeable about Du Plessis' characterization is that the target reader is upwardly mobile (he owns his house and is starting to decorate it), and depoliticized (“manning the barricades” is a reference to the protest culture that was prevalent in the last years of apartheid). Thus the target reader is less interested in politics at a national scale than in improving his [sic]

material conditions and those of his family. This is reflected in the newspaper's content in significant ways, as shown in the following paragraphs.

Froneman (2006) describes the new South African tabloids, including the *Daily Sun*, as having all the generic characteristics of international tabloids. Below I show an adapted list of these characteristics, with additional comments and one further point I have added:

- Bold, colourful visual design with plenty of pictures: The *Daily Sun* in particular does not shy away from gruesome pictures of victims of crime, dead or alive (Froneman, 2006).
- Brief, sensational headlines: The South African tabloids tend not to include the puns used in British tabloids, for example (Wasserman and De Beer, 2006). This may be linked to the fact that South African readers are most often reading in their second language and so would not appreciate these puns as easily. However, the headlines are clearly written to attract readers' interest, even if at times this means that they are slightly misleading reflections of the story that follows (Boshoff, 2013).
- Sex and scandal: Articles about sex and celebrities embroiled in scandals are standard tabloid fare. The *Daily Sun* regularly carries salacious stories relating to sex, often using colloquial euphemisms such as "poke" (to have sexual intercourse) or "4-5" (penis). However, South African tabloids differ on their approach to another standard tabloid feature, the scantily-clad page 3 girl. The *Daily Voice* and *Sunday Sun* carry such a picture in every edition, while the *Daily Sun* views its readers as being too conservative to accept such images (Froneman, 2006; Glenn and Knaggs, 2008).
- A melodramatic aesthetic: The tabloids favour melodramatic stories which play on readers' emotions (Steenveld and Strelitz, 2010). This contrasts with the dispassionate and rational approach favoured by mainstream broadsheet publications, in a way reminiscent of the distinction between Habermas' ideal of "rational-critical debate" (1989, p. 51) carried out in the public sphere, and the emotive and humorous use of dialogue studied by Bakhtin (1981). Thus this melodramatic aesthetic is a cue to the idea that the tabloids facilitate a very different type of public sphere from that envisioned by Habermas, but that with Bakhtin's assistance, we can see it as a public sphere indeed (see 3.2).
- Prominent coverage of sport and TV programming: There is plenty of sports and TV coverage in all South African tabloids, although there are differences between them to cater for their culturally distinct readerships. For example, the *Daily Sun* tends to focus on SABC TV programmes in Bantu languages and on South Africa's local Premier Soccer League; the *Daily Voice*, which is targeted more at the Coloured working class in the Western Cape, emphasizes shows on eTV and soccer from the

English Premier League, which has a large following among its readers (Glenn and Knaggs, 2008).

- Colloquial, simple language: South African tabloids eschew standard English or Afrikaans, and instead are full of colloquialisms and borrowings from other languages, along with some code-switching. Once again, the source language for borrowings tends to differ according to target market: the *Daily Sun* uses more words from Bantu languages while the *Daily Voice* borrows more from Afrikaans (Glenn and Knaggs, 2008). While the language is colloquial, it does not imitate spoken language completely; instead, tabloid language is its own variety which carries certain social capital, just as standard varieties in the mainstream broadsheets carry a different kind of social capital (Glenn and Knaggs, 2008). In the case of tabloids, the varieties of language they use assist them in affiliating with their readers, who should recognize in the newspapers some of the lexis they use on a daily basis.
- Hints and tips on getting ahead in life: The average issue of the *Daily Sun* begins with about six pages of news; beyond that, much more content is dedicated to advising readers about how to be upwardly mobile and self-sufficient in the context of the new South Africa, and these form the core of the newspaper. For example, their regular columns include "Mr Fixit", giving advice on do-it-yourself tasks around the house; "Sun Solutions", in which a panel including a labour expert, doctor, lawyer and social worker answer a range of queries from readers; and "Sun Defender", a column in which a legal expert advises readers (Steenveld and Strelitz, 2010). Steenveld and Strelitz (2010) refer to this type of content using the term "service journalism", coined by Eide (1997). Although Eide (1997) theorizes that service journalism addresses readers as consumers, not as citizens, Steenveld and Strelitz (2010) argue that the service journalism in the *Daily Sun* informs readers of their rights and so could promote their citizenship.
- Campaigns on topical issues: Related to service journalism is campaign journalism, in which a publication takes up a particular topical issue, often a moral issue or injustice of some kind, and raises awareness about it in a sustained fashion throughout a series of editions. Örnebring and Jönsson (2004) describe campaign journalism like this as having been an innovation of the 19th-century tabloids in the USA and UK. In one notable example from the UK's *Pall Mall Gazette*, a journalist named William Stead campaigned against child prostitution by posing as a child trafficker and buying a girl to sell to a prostitution ring before handing her over to the Salvation Army's care. Although the South African tabloids' campaign journalism is not always coupled with investigative journalism in this way, they are equally focused on awareness-raising. For example, in 2007, the *Daily Sun* ran a SunPledge campaign coinciding with the 16 Days of Activism against abuse of women and children to encourage men to refrain from and resist domestic violence (Steenveld and Strelitz,

2010).

- ‘Populist’ politics: While the tabloids cover politics, they do so in quite different ways from the mainstream broadsheet press. Froneman uses the label “populist politics” (2006, p. 26) to refer to the tabloids’ handling of political content; however, I find the term “populist” quite empty of ideational meaning here; “populist” turns out to be whatever the tabloids perceive their readership to want it to be. In the *Daily Sun*, and to a certain extent other South African tabloids, political coverage tends to focus on issues that are seen to affect readers’ lives directly. Very often, this includes the lack of service delivery from the government in particular areas, as well as things like increases in the prices of basic commodities (Steenveld and Strelitz, 2010). Developments on the national political stage are supposed to be de-emphasized. However, there is a significant amount of coverage of political parties in the *Daily Sun*, as shown by the fact that in this study, I collected 516 news articles mentioning political parties over a six-month stretch of coverage, or an average of 4,26 political news articles per edition of the article. A reason for this fairly strong coverage of political parties may be that during the period under investigation, January to June 2015, there were many stories of a sensational character involving political parties, including plenty of theatrics in parliament by the EFF, for example. Whatever the case may be, the *Daily Sun* features more coverage of political parties than is recognized by most media theorists consulted during the preparation of this section. Since this research focuses on political news, I return to discussing the new South African tabloids’ political news coverage later in this section.

In addition to the characteristics described above, there is one characteristic of South Africa’s new tabloids that is not shared with its counterparts in Western countries:

- Coverage of the supernatural: A poster in the *Daily Sun* newsroom says “We believe in witches” (Jones et al. 2008, p. 173). While mainstream broadsheets seldom, if ever, cover stories on supernatural events and if they do so, often describe them in a sceptical tone, the *Daily Sun* believes in reporting supernatural events as its audience sees them (Jones et al., 2008). The newspaper particularly covers a large number of stories on witchcraft, which is very much a reality in traditional African worldviews. These witchcraft stories often show juxtapositions of different worldviews: often African traditional religion, Christianity and a materialistic worldview appear side by side (Boshoff, 2013). For example, a story about a man who was struck by lightning twice, apparently because he had not drunk the right traditional medicine to appease the ancestors, is accompanied by practical tips on how to avoid lightning strikes drawing on a naturalistic worldview, such as “Find a low or hollow spot and crouch down” (quoted in Boshoff 2013, p. 172). Frequently stories about crimes involving witchcraft are presented as unresolved, leaving the reader with the

pleasure of trying to solve the mystery as well as reconcile the different worldviews referred to (Boshoff, 2013).

The *Daily Sun*'s supernatural coverage is a good example of how the tabloid as an international phenomenon has been localized to appeal to a working-class South African audience (Wasserman, 2008). Clearly, this technique has been a great success, given the dramatic rise in readership figures of the *Daily Sun* and other tabloids. Wasserman (2008) gives four reasons for this success which reflect much of what has been discussed above. Firstly, there was a gap left by the collapse of the alternative press in the 1990s (see 3.4), leaving a large proportion of the population, namely the working class, without publications that spoke directly to them. Secondly, mainstream broadsheets continued to be dictated to by advertisers, so that these broadsheets continued to target middle-class South Africa and reflect its social reality. Thirdly, there was a need for an outlet for popular frustration about government's lack of service delivery and failure to fulfil many of the promises it had made in 1994 quickly enough to satisfy the needs of working-class South Africans. This explains why much of the tabloids' political coverage focuses on shortcomings in service delivery. Lastly, the tabloids give advice on how to be upwardly mobile in a South Africa where this is now possible, as seen in the above description of their service journalism.

Just as the content of the new South African tabloids reflects global influences but is localized to cater for a local audience, so international critiques of tabloids and tabloidization in the media as a whole have been recontextualized to be levelled against the South African tabloids. These critiques tap into anxieties in Western countries about a purported "crisis in journalism" (Barnett 2002, p. 400), which is seen to undermine the media's capacity to facilitate genuinely democratic debate in public spheres. The causes and symptoms of this crisis are said to include commercialization of the media, the increasing use of public relations by political parties and corporations to project a positive image of themselves in the media, intensified competition between media, postmodernism, a hyper-adversarial relationship between the media and politicians, the stratification of media products into elite, middle-income and lowbrow publications, and tabloidization (Barnett, 2002; Buckingham, 1997; Sampson, 1999). A more detailed overview of these factors is given in Siebörger and Adendorff (2009). What is particularly notable is that international media theorists concerned about a crisis in journalism are not only concerned about tabloids, but about tabloidization, a spreading of some of the features of tabloid reporting into the mainstream broadsheet press and other media, such as television.

Most criticisms of tabloids fit under five main categories: tabloids rely too heavily on sensationalism and emotionalism, they do not provide the type of political content that allows for democratic participation, they employ poor journalistic ethics, they do not take a progressive enough political stance and they are driven too much by commercial motives. In the following paragraphs, I outline each of these critiques and describe the main counterarguments against them. It is notable that most of the South African

critiques of tabloidization have been made by professional journalists, representatives of non-governmental organizations and academics in popular forums such as speeches at awards ceremonies and opinion columns in broadsheet newspapers (Glenn and Knaggs, 2008). However, even the South African academics that have been most critical of the tabloids have not published research on them in academic forums, while the counterarguments to these critiques tend to appear in academic articles in peer-reviewed media studies journals. This creates something of an asymmetry between the detail in which the critiques and counterarguments are expressed, but also may be read as an indication that the counterarguments can stand up to better scrutiny than the critiques.

The first criticism of tabloidization is the most obvious and the oldest: tabloids promote sensationalism and emotionalism, both of which are perceived as inimical to the rational-critical debate favoured by Habermas as a mode of engagement in the public sphere (Örnebring and Jönsson, 2004). This critique can be traced back to reactions to the beginnings of the predecessors of modern tabloids in the 19th-century USA and UK (Örnebring and Jönsson, 2004). However, Örnebring and Jönsson (2004) point out that the qualities of sensationalism and emotionalism are not necessarily antithetical to the common good. They show that, by contrast, tabloids' sensationalism and emotionalism have been precisely the qualities that have allowed them to agitate for positive social change, often through their use in campaign journalism of the type described above. They can be used to stir up political participation as much as they may have the effect of discouraging it, depending on what is sensationalized (Örnebring and Jönsson, 2004). Revisiting a Bakhtinian view of the public sphere (see 3.2) allows us to see that it is not sensationalism or emotionalism in themselves that causes deterioration in public spheres; by contrast, they can encourage engagement in discussions of issues of concern.

Secondly, tabloids are accused of not providing the political information needed for participation in democracy. They sensationalize the wrong things, including celebrity misdemeanours and odd stories instead of national political events (Froneman, 2006). However, a tabloid editor, Karl Brophy of the *Daily Voice*, argues that the mainstream press is also guilty of sensationalizing particular issues, and often de-sensationalizes important news by burying crime stories that happen in working-class townships, for example (Glenn and Knaggs, 2008). Here, Brophy is highlighting the fact that tabloids can affect the news agenda and therefore public sphere discussions by bringing into the public sphere important issues for discussion that were once thought of as 'private matters' or not newsworthy; Örnebring and Jönsson (2004) concur with this. Beside this, as I show in this study, the *Daily Sun* actually contains much more party political coverage than most media theorists acknowledge. The issues reported on in tabloids and the manner in which they are reported on have the potential both to enrich discussion in public spheres and cause deterioration in them; one cannot simply write off their content as not being useful for public sphere discussion without further investigation.

The third criticism of tabloids concerns the professional ethics (or lack thereof) that

tabloid journalists exercise in producing news and selecting what to report on. A common complaint linked to the one addressed above is that tabloidization precipitates a “race to the bottom” (Wasserman 2008, p. 780), resulting in content that is in bad taste or offensive. Many would question whether showing gruesome images of injured or dead people on the *Daily Sun* front page contributes anything to the common good, or whether photographs of page 3 girls do anything to advance gender equality. Others condemn tabloids for not following traditional journalistic ethical norms in newsgathering: for not checking facts diligently or consulting multiple sources to ensure balanced reporting. For example, Joe Thlooe, the former chairman of the South African National Editors’ Forum, intimated that there would almost certainly be many complaints about ethical lapses by the new tabloids (Glenn and Knaggs, 2008).

As a moral realist (see 4.2), I agree with Wasserman (2008) that moral relativism should be avoided. However, there are reasons to believe that this critique of tabloids’ professional ethics oversimplifies the ethical decisions which tabloids have to make and unnecessarily overgeneralizes across tabloids. Örnebring and Jönsson (2004) show how tabloids have introduced innovations into journalistic practice by challenging ethical boundaries. For example, they introduced interviews as a means of gathering information in the 19th century. At that stage, interviews were thought of as impertinent invasions of privacy; now they are a staple of journalistic practice (Örnebring and Jönsson, 2004). In South Africa, journalists in the liberal English press during apartheid faced ethical dilemmas about how to report on things such as funerals, which according to Western norms are private affairs, but became important political events and signifiers of political violence in South African life (Jones et al., 2008).

These journalists recognized that in traditional African cultures, the boundaries between ‘public’ and ‘private’ are fuzzier and lie in different places from those in Western cultures, and so concluded that it was more ethical to report on these funerals than not to. In a similar way, leeway has to be given to South African tabloids to be responsive to the ‘public’ / ‘private’ distinctions of traditional African cultures, even when doing so may offend Western sensibilities. Glenn and Knaggs (2008) dispute the idea that tabloids are always laxer in their handling of journalistic ethics than their more upmarket counterparts. Karl Brophy from the *Daily Voice* claims that his newsroom has higher standards than the mainstream broadsheets because they handle more stories that are likely to be ethically contentious (Glenn and Knaggs, 2008).

By 2008, there had been no major defamation cases against the tabloids (Glenn and Knaggs, 2008). The Press Ombudsman’s 2005 report revealed that out of 185 complaints made in that year, only 21 were made against the new tabloids, and only one of these was upheld, against the *Daily Sun*. A cursory examination of the Press Council’s website suggests that a similar pattern is prevalent at the time of writing (Press Council of South Africa, 2018), although in the following paragraph I describe one serious complaint that has far-reaching repercussions. Beyond this, there are also cases of patently untrue articles

in the tabloids: one *Daily Sun* article that was roundly criticized had the headline “Gorilla raped me!” (Jones et al., 2008). One reason that there are not more complaints about such articles may be that the tabloids’ credulous readers recognize such stories as having a complex relationship with reality and take pleasure in them for that very reason, as they do with the witchcraft stories (Boshoff, 2013). Moreover, it is incorrect to associate tabloid-style content with ethical breaches *a priori*. Instead, Örnebring and Jönsson (2004) and Froneman (2010) argue persuasively that such a style of reporting in itself is ethically neutral and can be used for ethical ends.

The fourth criticism is aimed at the political stances that tabloids tend to espouse. They are accused of promoting patriarchy, parochialism and xenophobia, and populism in general. As can be seen from the discussion above, there are definitely patriarchal elements to the new tabloids: the *Daily Sun* treats men as their target reader, sidelining the many women in their audience; the *Sunday Sun* and *Daily Voice* publish page 3 girl images that reinforce the objectification of women.

The *Daily Sun*’s record on xenophobia is still more concerning, as shown by Els (2015), whose work I draw on in the following description. In 2008, the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa and the non-governmental organization Media Monitoring Africa made a complaint to the Press Ombudsman against the newspaper for referring to foreign nationals as “aliens”; the *Daily Sun* later agreed in a settlement to refrain from using this word in future. This occurred against the backdrop of a particularly brutal spate of xenophobic attacks across the country in which 62 people were killed. Els’ (2015) Critical Discourse Analysis of the *Daily Sun*’s coverage of these attacks reveals plenty of negative depictions of foreign nationals, which could have served to encourage the violence. An editorial condemning the violence was published in the newspaper only two weeks after the initial outbreak of violence. Thus this is one area in which the *Daily Sun*, at least, has made a severely negative contribution to South African public spheres in the past.

However, there are still reasons to question the general assertion that the new tabloids cause deterioration in public spheres by aligning with the wrong political stances. One chief proponent of this critique has been the South African media theorist Guy Berger, who has described the tabloids’ politics as unprogressive, and thus out of line with the values enshrined in the South African Constitution (Glenn and Knaggs, 2008). Karl Brophy, as a tabloid editor, responds by arguing that such criticism is paternalistic: the tabloids are giving the working class the kind of news they want to consume, and they should have the democratic right to choose what they want to read or not; media theorists should not dictate to them what they should read (Glenn and Knaggs, 2008). Previous publications from the alternative press, such as *Grassroots*, which was distributed in working-class areas in Cape Town, took a strong left-wing stance, and yet failed to connect with their readers as the tabloids did because there was a mismatch between the social capital they provided and that possessed by their readers (Glenn and Knaggs, 2008).

I would argue, as I suggest above, that blanket labelling of tabloid content as ‘populist’ and ‘unprogressive’ is unhelpful and on its own reveals little about the stances that are favoured in the tabloids, which may well differ from each other, and could reflect diverse viewpoints. Empirical research of the kind conducted by Els (2015) is needed to point out places in which tabloids’ coverage can have a deleterious impact on respect for human rights, and research such as that carried out in this study can shed more light on what political stances are actually reflected in the tabloids. If tabloids are to facilitate access to alternative public spheres for working-class people, then it is appropriate that they reflect the diverse political stances of these readers, whatever they may be, but also allow for a free exchange of political ideas in their pages.

The last main criticism of the new tabloids is that they are driven by commercial imperatives, rather than the public interest. This critique is different from the others in that it is made even by media theorists who supply counterarguments to some of the other critiques listed above. For example, Wasserman (2008) and Steenveld and Strelitz (2010) both end articles that speak largely in favour of the tabloids with the caveat that the tabloids are for-profit enterprises. Very little reasoning is given as to why this should be considered as detrimental to public sphere engagement. Brophy, by contrast, sees no contradiction between the tabloids’ commercial imperatives and their role of facilitating democratic public spheres, particularly through service journalism. He reflects on a campaign which the *Daily Voice* ran which resulted in the City of Cape Town municipality clearing a bushy area that was a haven for rapists and murderers, saying

It’s good, our readers wanted it. We were accused of just doing it for sales. But what people don’t recognize is that there is no dichotomy between doing something for sales and doing something that is good. Because if your readers want it and they agree with you and identify with you, they will buy your newspaper. And we are reflecting what they want. (Brophy, quoted in Glenn and Knaggs, 2008, p. 107)

Glenn and Knaggs (2008) assert that the tabloids are in fact less dependent on market forces than the mainstream broadsheet press is. They give no support for this assertion, however. It might be more accurate to say that the tabloids as well as the mainstream broadsheet press are commercial ventures that are driven by commercial imperatives, but that there is a substantial difference in the ways in which this plays out in these two market sectors. Mainstream broadsheets face pressure from advertisers to keep their content focused on a middle-class audience with middle-class viewpoints and values; tabloids face pressure to grow their mass readerships among the working class and lower-middle class, which leads them to affiliate strongly with these audiences and give them the type of content they want.

Proponents of tabloids accuse their critics of not only paternalism but also classism and even “media racism” (Glenn and Knaggs, 2008, p. 105). While there may be circumstances

in which some of these accusations are well-founded, they risk reducing the debate around the role of the tabloids to a simple instance of class conflict between middle-class academics and working-class readers. From a realist perspective, doing this ignores the substance of the debate altogether. I point out that there are some real causes for concern about, in particular, the tabloids' representations of women and foreign nationals. The ethics of South African tabloid reporting are complex and require much further research and reflection, such as the type that Froneman (2010) engages in. On the other hand, the tabloids have created a new arena for public discussions among an audience that previously was not included in them, about issues that matter to them, in an idiom and mode of engagement that speaks to them. Thus they fulfil the qualifications for facilitating an alternative public sphere (Örnebring and Jönsson, 2004). In the following paragraphs, I describe some ways in which they facilitate these alternative public spheres, drawing on a range of theorists and some empirical evidence.

The first way in which the new tabloids facilitate alternative public spheres is by giving "cultural recognition" to their readers, a term used by Örnebring and Jönsson (2004, p. 285). They argue that while Habermas (1989) focuses on the public sphere as a source of political influence, Fraser (1992) sees public spheres as offering this kind of recognition, which is in itself a form of empowerment. The tabloids allow their readers to enjoy seeing themselves represented in the newspaper, which is one of the reasons for the tabloids' success (Jones et al., 2008). This representation confirms their status as citizens and licenses them to participate in democracy as such (Steenveld and Strelitz, 2010).

A concrete example of this is provided by Boshoff (2016), who analysed articles from the *Daily Sun's* "Horror Affairs" section, which depicts individuals' struggles with the government's Department of Home Affairs to acquire a correct identity document. In South Africa, an identity document is needed to access all manner of services, from social grants to education, as well as to obtain a job. Identity documents can also serve as protection against xenophobic violence by supplying proof that one is a South African citizen (Els, 2015). When individuals are not able to assert their identity as citizens through possession of an identity document, they can alert the newspaper's staff to their situation and have their story reported in the newspaper, providing another kind of recognition of their status as citizens (Boshoff, 2016).

This kind of recognition of identity extends to group identity, and marks out the distinctions between an in-group of readers of the *Daily Sun*, for example, and the rest of society as an out-group (Jones et al., 2008). Various scholars draw on Anderson's (1991) concept of an imagined community to understand the implications of this for the identity work done in the tabloids. Originally, Anderson (1991) referred to nation-states as imagined communities: each individual member of a nation-state has met only a very small minority of the people in the nation, and yet imagines (s)he has something in common with all of them, a shared national identity. He argues that the reading of shared texts, such as newspapers, is part of what facilitates this imagined community.

In complex, heterogeneous states like the new South Africa, however, texts shared by most people in the nation do not exist. Instead, Steenveld and Strelitz (2010) draw on this concept to describe a working-class community brought together by the shared ritual of reading the *Daily Sun*. Anderson argues that “communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined” (1991, p. 61), and Steenveld and Strelitz (2010) show that the *Daily Sun* indeed has a distinctive style in which it portrays this community, referring to them as “SunReaders” (quoted in Smith and Adendorff, 2014c, p. 202) in “SunLand” (quoted in Steenveld and Strelitz, 2010, p. 539). International news is positioned as a view of the rest of the world from the perspective of SunLand, using headings such as “Look at Africa” and “Looking at the rest of the world” (quoted in Steenveld and Strelitz, 2010, p. 539).

In line with this, even local news is told from the point of view of working-class people. Wasserman (2008) points out that in an incident when illegal occupants were evicted from government housing, the *Son* represented them as being “defenceless women and children” who “had to look on yesterday as the contents of their houses were carried away under the surveillance of heavily-armed cops” (Son 2007, quoted in Wasserman, 2008, p. 291). This extends the extent to which working-class readers can see themselves represented in the tabloids and consider them to have ownership of them as imagined communities.

A perspective on tabloid readers as an imagined community is very compatible with systemic functional linguistic theory on individuation and affiliation, as described in 5.5. Smith and Adendorff (2014b; 2014c; 2014d; 2014a) show this through a series of articles in which they use Appraisal to analyse letters to the *Daily Sun*, providing evidence of the dynamics of this imagined community. These articles show how the *Daily Sun*’s readers both affiliate around shared bonds and individuate by disaffiliating themselves from others who are not part of the community. For example, the readers and editor rally around the bond ‘education is valuable’ (Smith and Adendorff, 2014a). In a comparison with letters to the editor from the former mainstream newspaper *The Times*, they found that the bond ‘education is valuable’ is shared in both newspapers’ letters (Smith and Adendorff, 2014b).

However, the letters to *The Times* tended to complain about system failures causing problems with education, such as poor language policies and absentee teachers, while the letters to the *Daily Sun* mostly had an advisory tone, exhorting learners and their parents to be diligent in creating an enabling environment for education. In such letters, a close-knit imagined community is created through guidance, whereby readers are steered in a particular ‘good’ direction through neighbourly advice (Smith and Adendorff, 2014b). Further evidence for the close-knit quality of this imagined community is given by referring to the frequency of the words “we” and “our” in the letters. In Smith and Adendorff (2014b; 2014c), these were the 12th and 13th most frequent words respectively in the corpus of *Daily Sun* letters, as opposed to 19th and 37th in that of *The Times*. What is clear from Smith and Adendorff’s (2014b; 2014c; 2014d; 2014a) work is that its readers do engage

enthusiastically and vigorously with each other on the letters page, allowing the imagined community to facilitate a robust alternative public sphere.

From a different perspective, Glenn and Knaggs (2008) analyse the new tabloids using field theory (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). They argue that the tabloids provide the kind of social and symbolic capital destroyed by the mainstream media, and empower communities to confront their harsh realities together. They use these notions to explain how and why the *Daily Sun* differs from the *Daily Voice*: both newspapers need to deliver the kinds of symbolic and social capital that their different target readerships need. This perspective allows us to see the function of the close-knit communities of readers created by the tabloids: they equip their readers with the sort of capital that they need to ‘get ahead’ and be upwardly mobile in a society in which this is still difficult.

If the tabloids do facilitate alternative public spheres, providing cultural recognition, an imagined community and social and symbolic capital to their working-class readers, then a question that remains is how this affects their audience’s relationships with politics and political institutions. This question is crucial to answer in the light of the aims of this study, and I attempt to do so in the following paragraphs before showing why I find it important to research the ways in which party politics is represented in the *Daily Sun*.

First, the tabloids’ audiences use and trust their newspapers to play a traditional watchdog role in monitoring the misdemeanours of government. As illustrated by the *Daily Sun*’s “Horror Affairs” section, readers often call for the newspapers’ help in engaging seemingly uncaring government departments and state-owned entities when they struggle to access the basic services which these state organs are meant to provide. There is evidence that the tabloids are somewhat feared for playing this watchdog role, so that statements like “I’ll call the *Daily Sun* about this” are perceived as genuine threats (Wasserman, 2008; Steenveld and Strelitz, 2010).

As discussed above, tabloids are seen as showing a concern for the kind of ‘bread and butter’ politics that can most easily be seen as directly affecting their readerships, especially matters concerning service delivery by government, and as eschewing traditional coverage of party politics unless there is a direct link to these matters. Sparks (1988) argues that the British tabloids’ popularity says more about working-class people’s alienation from political processes than it does about the tabloids themselves. The same thing could be argued about the South African situation if ‘political processes’ is taken to mean the actions of a political élite that appear to be out of touch with the needs and aspirations of working-class citizens. However, as shown in chapters 7, 8 and 10, the *Daily Sun*’s coverage seems to suggest that the working class are deeply interested in the actions of government and politicians that could have a direct effect on them, and that they are not so alienated from mainstream politics that they do not imagine that some party political machinations will affect their lives.

What is evident in the *Daily Sun*’s coverage is that the close-knit imagined community of

SunReaders excludes government and public officials, viewing them as an ‘other’ which is often indifferent to their struggles (Steenveld and Strelitz, 2010). Since the 19th century, tabloids in the USA and UK have been marked by their disrespect of authority (Örnebring and Jönsson, 2004). Indeed, Barnett (2002) argues that a contemptuous attitude towards politicians is one of the key causes and symptoms of the ‘crisis in journalism’. He quotes an editorial from the UK’s *Sun*, which states, “Too many politicians are sad, sordid, pathetic, inadequate wimps with private lives that make ordinary people’s stomachs churn.” (quoted in Barnett, 2002, p. 405). Very similar sentiments have been expressed in South Africa’s *Daily Sun* by its former editor, Themba Khumalo:

Hope... It’s what gives us the courage to carry on... no matter how terrible life seems to be... But the very WORST thing to do is to invest your hopes in politicians! They have an amazing ability to TRAMPLE your hopes into the dust. They can NEVER be trusted to fulfil your dreams... Therefore, it is up to every one of us to improve our own surroundings. (quoted in Steenveld and Strelitz, 2010, p. 540; emphasis from original)

What is clear here is that the imagined community of SunReaders, “us”, is being opposed to “politicians”, and that self-reliance is being promoted over against reliance on government as the ‘other’.

As explained in 2.2, Barnett (2002) argues that the contempt in which politicians are held in tabloid-style coverage is corrosive to democratic engagement, and if left unchecked, will cause degradation in the quality of democratic governments. Continued cynical coverage of politicians’ actions will exacerbate the extent to which working-class people feel alienated from mainstream politics, causing further declines in voter turnout. Further, intelligent, well-qualified young people will avoid careers in politics in part due to the vilification of politicians in the media.

As I point out in 3.3, current indications appear to bear out Barnett’s (2002) predictions. However, it seems to be incorrect to reduce the influence of tabloids like the *Daily Sun* to a simple deterioration in democracy caused by disparaging coverage of politicians. As I show in this section, the tabloids’ content itself is complex, with service journalism taking place alongside watchdog journalism and salacious celebrity news, for example. This means that it is likely that the influence of the tabloids on political discourses is likely to be multifaceted as well.

Whatever comprises this influence, the influence of the new South African tabloids on the country’s politics appears to be growing, given their large readerships. In 2004, Harber wrote,

The politicians are not taking much notice now, but at some point in the next few years they will notice that the staff and readers of the *Daily Sun*

have become more important to the next election than *Business Day* or the *Sunday Times*. And things will never be the same again.” (Harber, 2004, p. 158)

It is unclear whether this prediction has come true yet, but it is a reminder of the power that the tabloids could wield at the ballot box. Exactly what the effects of this power are on voting patterns is as yet unknown, and this is an area that requires much further research.

Discussion of elections brings in the question of how the alternative public spheres facilitated by the tabloids link with the dominant or elite public sphere. As pointed out by Örnebring and Jönsson (2004), even Fraser (1992) is uncertain about the workings of this linkage. Alternative public spheres are portrayed both as spaces for retreat from the dominant public sphere, and as providing encouragement for developing ideas that can not only be shared by the mainstream, but even supplant dominant ideas in the mainstream (Örnebring and Jönsson, 2004). Maton (2014) warns us of the danger of segmentalism, where a range of small groups of knowers build knowledge among themselves but are unable to participate in a broader project of cumulative knowledge-building. In terms of the tabloids and the mainstream media, the question becomes “To what extent do the tabloids empower their readers to engage on equal terms with others in broader national political discussions?” This question also remains largely unanswered, despite the substantial amount of research conducted on the *Daily Sun*. While this project cannot provide a complete answer to this question, it does show the extent to which the *Daily Sun*’s political coverage facilitates public sphere engagement in political discussions. This forms a basis for recommendations as to how a more inclusive, better integrated national discussion on political matters can be achieved. I make such recommendations in Chapter 11.3.3.

This line of reasoning should make clear why it is important to research party political coverage in the *Daily Sun*, despite the fact that the newspaper ostensibly avoids reporting on party politics. Firstly, as I repeatedly mention in this section, this study provides empirical evidence that political parties are mentioned frequently in the *Daily Sun*’s news coverage, contrary to the expectations of media theorists who study tabloids. Some may argue that much of the tabloids’ political influence may be wielded through articles that do not mention parties but rather portray failures by the government to deliver basic services, for example. This probably is the case; it is necessary to limit this study to articles mentioning political parties for a variety of reasons.

Firstly, limiting the study to articles mentioning political parties decreases the size of the corpus of articles to be studied to manageable proportions. More fundamentally, though, this study is designed to examine the ways in which various political stances are positioned in the newspapers, including social and economic positions such as nationalism, capitalism and socialism. While it may be possible to examine this in news that does not

mention political parties, frequently the names of these parties form useful rallying points or icons around which people and positions affiliate and disaffiliate (see 5.5). At the least, the tabloids engage in the positioning of parties and politicians on moral grounds, as the quotations from the UK's *Sun* and South Africa's *Daily Sun* on the moral standing of politicians illustrate. The tabloids may view all political parties as members of the 'other' and attempt to distance their readers from them, but they can nevertheless provide an interesting outsiders' view on how the relationship between political parties and social and economic positions is perceived.

This section shows that South Africa's new tabloids, including the *Daily Sun*, clearly do facilitate alternative public spheres in which their working-class and lower-middle-class readers can engage in political discussions that equip them for participation in democracy. Some of the criticisms of tabloid content are well-founded, especially criticisms regarding their lack of regard for human rights in portrayals of women and foreign nationals. However, one should be wary of viewing the tabloids as a homogeneous bloc and of jumping to quick and easy conclusions about the ethics of tabloid coverage. Given their extremely large readerships, the tabloids merit much further close analysis of content as well as studies of their use among their audiences, so that their influence on political discourses in present-day South Africa can be properly understood. This study is an attempt to contribute to fulfilling this need. Such an understanding can, in turn, assist in generating recommendations about how the *Daily Sun* can assist in facilitating a more inclusive and cohesive national conversation.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter lays out some key challenges that exist in the process of transforming South Africa's public discourses. There are still very uneven patterns of access to public discourse through public spheres, as shown in 3.3. Government-initiated consultative forums have proved to be inadequate in eliciting public opinion on the government's decisions. The institutional civil society which was strong in the last years of the anti-apartheid struggle has gone through a weak period but is gaining in its ability to challenge unpopular state decisions. The wealthy have access to a wide variety of news media and can easily make their voices heard in the dominant public sphere, while the poor majority of citizens often feel as though the media are irrelevant to them, with the possible exceptions of the new tabloids, community radio and the SABC's Bantu-language radio services. In this context, extra-institutional mass action is often seen as the only way in which the poor can give voice to their discontent. Thus South Africa has the challenge of extending access to public spheres to millions of poor South Africans so that they can critically engage in political discussions through means other than violent protests.

In 3.4 I show that the South African media landscape is primarily driven by commercial

imperatives. In this landscape, newspapers appear to play a relatively insignificant role in terms of the size of their audiences when compared to other media such as radio and television, but they still exert a strong influence in setting the news agenda and in providing much of the country's online news coverage through their websites. In this context, the role of the new wave of tabloids, including the *Daily Sun*, has been hotly debated (see 3.5). However, the scholarly consensus appears to be moving towards acceptance of the tabloids as facilitating alternative public spheres through their development and sustaining of imagined communities of readers who interact with the newspaper's content in ways that contribute to public discourses. If this is the case, it is important to analyse this content to observe its potential to fuel discussion in these alternative public spheres, and suggest ways in which this potential can be strengthened in order to deepen democratic participation.

South Africa's complex social context, shot through with inequalities, makes it an interesting place to study the development of democratic political discourse in progress. More than that, it is crucial to investigate the ways in which democratic dialogue can be deepened and broadened to include more voices, so that there is a range of viable alternatives to violence as a means by which individuals can make their voices heard. In the following two chapters, I introduce some theory which can be helpful in making such an investigation, with a particular focus on the ways political knowledge is built and circulated (Chapter 4) and the role of language in political positioning (Chapter 5).

Chapter 4

Describing political knowledge-building

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I begin to describe the theoretical context for my study. In particular, the focus is on how one can describe the ways in which *Daily Sun* news articles build their readers' political knowledge. This focus is necessary because whenever political parties are positioned in the newspaper, readers' political knowledge is being added to. It is this political knowledge which either enables readers to participate in democratic public spheres in an informed manner, or fails to give them the knowledge they need for participation in these public spheres. This means that throughout this chapter, I lay the theoretical groundwork for a conceptualization of political knowledge-building rooted in critical realism and Legitimation Code Theory (LCT).

To begin with, I describe in 4.2 the outlines of a philosophy which takes political knowledge seriously as a real object of study, namely critical realism. Once this is done, I describe the dimension of Semantics from LCT as a useful set of tools with which to analyse how political knowledge-building takes place (4.3), and lastly, I describe *constellations* and *cosmologies* as two LCT concepts which assist in conceptualizing political positioning and the organizing principles underlying it (4.4). Then in Chapter 5 I describe how Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) enables a detailed view of how language is used to build political knowledge through positioning political parties in different ways.

To gain an overview of the ways in which this study draws on theory, a heuristic from Archer (1995) is useful. She differentiates between three types of literature, which she labels “social ontologies”, “explanatory frameworks” and “substantive research studies” (Maton 2014, p. 15). These can be seen as layers of theoretical context for this study. This study itself is a substantive research study, and it necessarily draws on other substantive research studies to situate it in the context of present-day South African political discourse, as shown in chapters 2 and 3. I draw on two complementary explanatory frameworks, LCT and SFL, and the social ontology that undergirds my approach is critical realism.

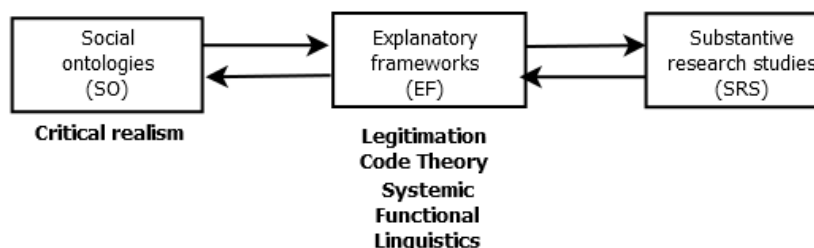


Figure 4.1: *The three layers of theoretical context for this study. Adapted from Maton (2014, p. 15)*

Two-way relationships exist between these three levels of theoretical context, as shown in Figure 4.1: social ontologies inform explanatory frameworks, which inform substantive research studies, and the substantive research studies ‘talk back to’ explanatory frameworks, which in turn ‘talk back to’ social ontologies (Maton, 2014). In this chapter, I describe critical realism as the social ontology undergirding this study (4.2) and aspects of LCT as one of the two explanatory frameworks I draw on (4.3). Throughout this chapter and the next, I also show the relationships between critical realism, LCT and SFL and explain how this study seeks to contribute to both LCT and SFL.

As shown in 1.4.2, SFL and LCT are appropriate theoretical frameworks for this study and are very amenable to use in complementary analyses because they share certain key characteristics: both theories are realist, relational and risk-taking (Maton and Doran, 2017c). In Table 4.1 and the discussion that follows, I present a brief overview of how the two frameworks are used in this study: the primary questions about the data that they answer, the tools I employ from each, and what contribution this study makes to each framework.

As Table 4.1 shows, LCT and SFL are used to answer two different questions in this study, based on the respective objects of study of both theories. LCT investigates how knowledge is (re)produced in knowledge practices (Maton, 2014), and so it is most useful to examine the ways in which political knowledge is built in *Daily Sun* news articles. SFL describes the use of language as systems of resources for meaning-making (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014), and so it is most useful to describe the language that is used to position political parties in these news articles.

I choose to concentrate on one dimension of LCT, Semantics, as a basis for describing political knowledge, and then to use concepts from all three of SFL’s metafunctions to describe the language used in political positioning. Naturally, if I were to decide to use theoretical tools from all areas of both of these complex frameworks, the scope of this study would become prohibitively broad. Instead, these areas of both theories are specifically selected to respond to the research questions given in 1.5. The LCT dimension of Semantics was selected because, as its name suggests, it describes the ways in which meanings are made in a knowledge practice, and the political knowledge produced in the *Daily Sun* is bound up in such meanings. All three metafunctions from SFL were

	Legitimation Code Theory	Systemic Functional Linguistics
<i>Question to be answered</i>	How is knowledge about political parties produced in the <i>Daily Sun</i> ?	How is the language of the <i>Daily Sun</i> used to position political parties?
<i>Area of theory enacted</i>	Semantics	All three metafunctions
<i>Analytic tools employed</i>	Axiological-semantic density	Technicality and grammatical metaphor
	Constellations	Aggregation: text reference and periodicity
	Cosmologies	Iconization: Appraisal and discourse iconography
<i>Principal theoretical contribution</i>	Translation device for axiological-semantic density and axiological condensation in <i>Daily Sun</i> political news articles	Description of linguistic resources that are used in political positioning in <i>Daily Sun</i> political news articles

Table 4.1: *Use of LCT and SFL as complementary explanatory frameworks in this study*

selected because part of the aim of the study is to discover which linguistic resources, out of a vast array, contribute to political positioning. I introduce the analytic tools used in each theory in 1.4.2.1 and 1.4.2.2; in this chapter and the following one I elaborate on this introduction by showing in detail how these tools assist in describing political positioning.

This study makes a theoretical contribution to both LCT and SFL, in response to research question 3(a), “What are the implications of the responses to [questions 1 and 2] for the ways in which the use of language in political positioning can be conceptualized using Legitimation Code Theory and Systemic Functional Linguistics?” The last row of Table 4.1 shows what these contributions are. In addition, this study contributes to the interdisciplinary dialogue between the Bernsteinian tradition of code theory (including LCT) and SFL which has been carried out since the 1960s (Maton and Doran, 2017c). In particular, it contributes to the most recent stage of this dialogue, which has concentrated on the relationships between concepts in the Semantics dimension of LCT, and SFL concepts such as Appraisal, grammatical metaphor, technicality, iconization, individuation and affiliation (Maton and Doran, 2017c).

Throughout this chapter and the next, I give a sense of the ways in which LCT and SFL are in dialogue with each other regarding the key theoretical concepts used in this research. This is a dialogue which continues to produce helpful descriptions of the ways in which knowledge is produced through discourse. As with many young interdisciplinary collaborations, this dialogue has been advanced through the work of a relatively small group of key theorists, led by Maton (from LCT) and J.R. Martin (from SFL), although many researchers have contributed to it through substantive research in which the theories have been used in complementarity with each other. This means that much of the

description of theory in this chapter and the next is to a large extent dependent on Maton and Martin's work and is illustrated using studies by other researchers where helpful.

However, before I describe the theoretical contribution of LCT and SFL to this study, it is important to describe the philosophical foundations of this study in critical realism. I turn to this in the following section of this chapter.

4.2 Critical realism: outlines of a social ontology

This subsection briefly outlines critical realism, the basic philosophy that guides this study. My aim is to show why this philosophy is helpful in investigating South African political discourses, as described in Chapter 2. It is outside the scope of this thesis to argue for the validity of critical realism as a philosophical position; for this one can refer to the philosophy of Bhaskar (1975; 2011), or Collier's (1994) introduction to it. Instead, I aim to explain briefly the most relevant principles of critical realism for this study.

Three tenets of a critical realist ontology and epistemology that are crucial to this study are "ontological realism", "epistemological relativism" and "judgmental rationality" (Bhaskar 1998b, p. xi). To these I add a fourth tenet which is crucial to the philosophical position adopted in this study: moral realism. The following brief explanation of the first three tenets is drawn from Maton and Moore (2010). 'Ontological realism' is an acknowledgement that there is an external reality that provides a standard against which knowledge claims can be evaluated. This needs to be held in tension with 'epistemological relativism', an acknowledgement that knowledge claims are socially produced and therefore contingent and fallible. 'Judgmental rationality' is the basis on which knowledge claims can be evaluated: it posits that it is possible to use the laws of rationality to determine the extent to which knowledge claims approximate the real.

Adherence to these three tenets allows LCT to deny the 'epistemological dilemma' (Alexander, 1995, p. 91). This dilemma, faced by many researchers particularly in the humanities and social sciences, is a choice between positivism, which affirms ontological realism, but denies that knowledge is socially produced; and constructivism, which affirms epistemological relativism, but denies the possibility of intersubjective knowledge altogether (Moore and Young, 2010; Maton, 2014; Maton and Moore, 2010). Both of these two options are reductionistic. Positivism ignores the fact that knowledge is always produced by and subsists in the minds of knowers, reducing knowledge to an independent, autonomous entity. Constructivism, on the other hand, reduces knowledge to the experiences of different social groups and the relationships between them (Moore and Young, 2010).

Another way of describing critical realism is as a commitment to both 'truth' and 'truthfulness'. Maton and Moore (2010) draw on Williams' (2002) use of these concepts in demonstrating this. Epistemically valid research must have a commitment to 'truth', that is, to judging claims to knowledge according to the extent to which they correspond

with, and explain, phenomena in the real world. At the same time, there must be a commitment to ‘truthfulness’, that is, to avoiding deception through critical inquiry. Williams (2002) argues that in pursuit of ‘truthfulness’, postmodernists and constructivists have by and large undermined their conception of ‘truth’. Critical realism, by contrast, seeks to keep ‘truth’ in view while remaining committed to ‘truthfulness’. Such an endeavour is helpful in the task of transforming South African political discourses since if one is to give helpful recommendations as to how these discourses can be transformed, one must hold both that these discourses have an existence outside of the mind of researchers and have real referents (i.e. that there is ‘truth’ to be discovered about these discourses), and one must be committed to investigating how these discourses perpetuate or transform existing social inequalities (i.e. showing a commitment to ‘truthfulness’ about these discourses).

This commitment also raises a question of ethics: Why should one be committed to ‘truth’ and ‘truthfulness’ at all? In addition to undermining claims to ‘truth’, postmodernists and constructivists claim that morality is subjective, and so one person’s moral system may differ from another, and thus no consistent agreement can be reached about what is morally the best course of action (Bertens, 1995). By contrast, many critical realists, including Bhaskar (1998a) are moral realists: they believe that moral values exist objectively and so are universally applicable. Bhaskar holds that it is possible to argue from facts to values: that if there are objective ontological facts, there should be objective moral values as well. If this is true, then statements regarding morality, can, like statements of fact, approximate what objectively exists to a greater or lesser extent. This provides a basis for the critique of the current state of South African public spheres that I offer in this thesis, particularly in 11.3.2 and 11.3.3.

The critical realist philosophy briefly introduced in this section has implications for the way I interpret the texts that are analysed in this thesis. To what extent are these meanings inherent in the texts analysed, and to what extent are they dependent on the background knowledge and presuppositions of the reader? To give a full answer to this question would require an extensive investigation into the philosophical domain of hermeneutics. Radically objectivist approaches to hermeneutics would suggest that all the meaning is inherent in the text, and that an objective interpretation of the text is possible (see e.g. Howe, 2015). Radically subjectivist approaches, on the other hand, would argue that each reader constructs his/her own interpretation of the text to the extent that meaning inheres in the interpreters rather than the text itself (see e.g. Derrida, 2016).

My position on this debate is based on my interpretations of the principles of “ontological realism”, “epistemological relativism” and “judgmental rationality” (Bhaskar 1998b, p. xi). Ontological realism recognizes that political news articles, unless they are entirely fabricated, refer to real events that happened in the real world, and that they were written to convey some information about these events. By virtue of this, political news articles are intended to convey meaning, including axiological meanings. There is a strong sense, then, in which these meanings are inherent in the text.

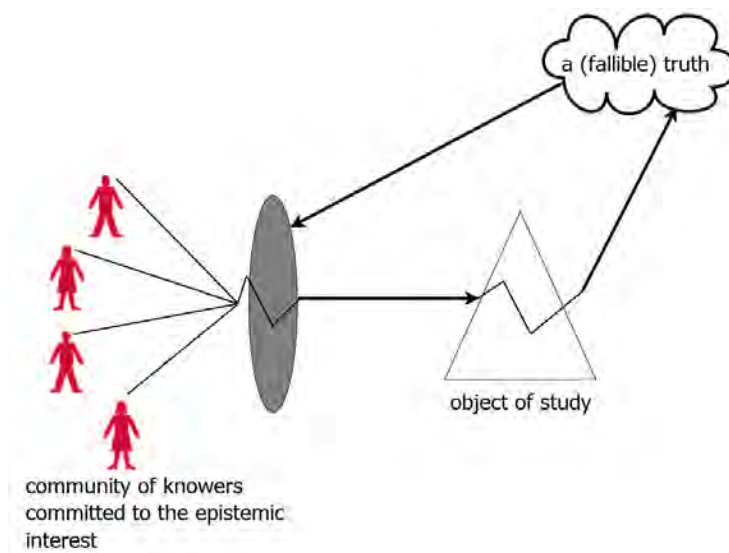


Figure 4.2: *A critical realist view of collaborative research. Adapted from Lockett (2012, p. 12)*

Epistemological relativism, on the other hand, acknowledges that human knowledge claims about these events are fallible, which has implications for two kinds of actions in discourse. Firstly, the authors of political news articles have a fallible understanding of the events they are describing conditioned by their background knowledge, including among other things their political leanings and the axiological pre-charging which particular people and groups hold for them. Secondly, the articles' readers produce impressions of the real events based on their readings of the texts, which are now conditioned not only by the background knowledge of the authors but also the interpreters' own background knowledge.

Judgmental rationality holds that there are means of adjudicating between these differing interpretations through the provision of factual evidence and application of laws of rationality, such that there are better and worse interpretations of the texts, that is to say interpretations that are more or less faithful reflections of the real events that were reported on in the texts. Because there are real events that are reported on, and a real text that is written about them, there is intersubjectively-accessible data which interpreters can discuss, and in the process of discussion, can arrive at a better, or truer understanding of the text and the events that it reports on. Figure 4.2 illustrates this conception of collaborative inquiry visually.

Some may argue that the view depicted in Figure 4.2 is tenable for collaborative research on matters of fact, but when one considers all that is involved in a phenomenon as complex and value-laden as political positioning the picture may become murkier. By virtue of their backgrounds, individuals bring different sets of values to their interpretations of texts. For example, some may find one political party's stances to be the most morally virtuous, while another person may agree more with a different party, and this would necessarily affect their interpretations of South African political news article. Such a view

would concede that while ontological realism holds for matters of fact, one must allow for relativism regarding matters of value: all these value sets are incommensurable with each other and so there can be no means of adjudicating between them.

This is where moral realism becomes salient: if there are objective moral values and it is possible to argue from facts to values, then there is a basis for adjudicating between different sets of values. However, even if one accepts that there is no way to argue from facts to values, there is a good reason to reject the idea that different sets of values are incommensurable: this idea would make public sphere discussions as described in 3.2 impossible. If views on matters of value were completely incommensurable with each other, it would not be possible for people with different value sets to talk with each other about them, or at least it would be impossible for people to change their stances on matters of value as a result of discussion in the public sphere, and so the public sphere would become completely redundant. Instead, the fact of the existence of a public sphere, and the valuing of a functioning public sphere as crucial to a healthy democracy, suggests that it is possible to change one's views on both matters of fact and matters of value as a result of discussion with other knowers.

The relevance of this philosophical discussion is shown, among other places, in 8.2.3, where I describe how I have strengthened my analysis of data through joint analyses with others. When I discuss my analyses with others, we constitute a micro-public sphere in which views on a common object of study can be shared, and there is an opportunity to use judgemental rationality to arrive at a better, truer analysis than I would have been able to accomplish on my own.

The stance on hermeneutics which I have sketched out in this section also underpins the analyses I report on in chapters 7, 8 and 10. Here I describe meaning as inherent in the texts that I analyse. However, I also acknowledge that as an analyst, I have a particular background and political perspective (as described in 1.3), which may influence my interpretations of these texts and my attempts at describing the meanings in them.

Finally, my presupposition of both ontological and moral realism underlies much of the evaluative dimension of this research, as laid out in Chapter 1. I hold that a democratic society with free, open and equitable public spheres is morally preferable to other possible societal arrangements, which is why I seek to recommend ways in which the development of such public spheres can be facilitated.

Much critical research on the media and discourses draws on critical realism as a basic philosophy. One of the reasons for this may be that because critical realism assumes a real world, it is a framework amenable to the notion that media discourses can be a stronger or weaker reflection of the real, and so can be critiqued in terms of the extent to which they reflect the real. This, in turn, allows for research to feed back into the real world of media discourses, aiding the transformation of these discourses. However, critical realism as a social ontology on its own does not provide analytic concepts with which to explain the

ways in which different actors are positioned in these discourses, and how this positioning reflects unequal relations of power. For such concepts, one needs to turn to explanatory frameworks such as LCT and SFL. In the following subsection, I show how LCT develops an account of the role of meaning in knowledge-building which is compatible with critical realism and conducive to fulfilling the aims of this research.

4.3 LCT: Semantics

LCT has at least four dimensions, Specialization, Semantics, Autonomy and Temporality (Maton, 2014).¹ Many studies using LCT draw on only one of these dimensions, and in this study, I draw on the dimension of Semantics. This dimension was partly inspired through dialogue between Maton and systemic functional linguists of the Sydney School around the ways in which knowledge is recontextualized (Martin, 2011). It describes the forms in which knowledge is presented in different knowledge practices, and so is useful for describing the ways in which political knowledge is built in *Daily Sun* political news articles. Throughout this section and 4.4, I draw extensively on Maton (2014) in describing concepts from LCT. In this chapter, as in the rest of the thesis, I introduce technical terms from LCT by italicizing them on first mention.

Semantic gravity

There are two concepts which form the centre of Semantics: *semantic gravity* (SG) and *semantic density* (SD). Semantic gravity is “the degree to which meaning relates to its context” (Maton 2014, p.110), its context-dependence. For example, a ‘no entry’ road sign is extremely context-dependent in that it cannot be made sense of outside of its context on a particular street corner, where it warns motorists not to drive up a particular street. Thus the sign possesses relatively strong semantic gravity. By contrast, a notice in a newspaper about the same road closure may read “The stretch of High Street bordering Church Square will be closed from 31 June to 10 July 2018 for the National Arts Festival.” This notice adds contextual details about where motorists are not allowed to drive and the dates during which the road will be closed, and its reason for being closed. It is thus relatively independent of context and so possesses relatively weak semantic gravity.

Semantic density

Meanwhile, semantic density is “the degree of condensation of meaning within socio-cultural practices (symbols, terms, concepts, phrases, expressions, gestures, actions, cloth-

¹At the time of writing, the status of a possible fifth dimension of LCT, Density, was in question (Maton, 2018).

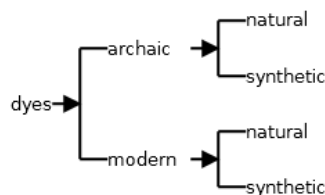


Figure 4.3: *Taxonomy implied by the nominal group “modern synthetic dyes”*

ing, etc.)” (Maton 2014, p.129). Semantic density is the concept from LCT which I enact in describing the ways in which knowledge is built in the *Daily Sun’s* political news articles, and so for the rest of this section, I concentrate chiefly on this concept.

One can exemplify semantic density by unpacking the meanings contained in the two example sentences used in the previous section. This example is inspired by similar examples that appear in Martin (2017). The sign on the washing machine, “Please remember to separate dark and light colours” has relatively weak semantic density. The only objects on the sign, “dark and light colours”, refers to a simple binary opposition between two different types of clothes, and the adjective “strict” further describes the nature of these relations.

By contrast, the statement “The recalcitrant nature of modern synthetic dyes has led to the imposition of strict environmental regulations” (Pearce et al. 2003, p.179) has relatively strong semantic density. One place in which this can be seen is in the complex names which are used for different objects in the statement. For example, the phrase “modern synthetic dyes” implies a complex typology of dyes, as shown in Figure 4.3. This means that, instead of just referring to “dyes”, the statement describes more specifically what kind of dyes are being referred to. This information is packed relatively densely into a three-word phrase. This phrase implies a complex taxonomy of different types of dye, as shown in Figure 4.3.

The above example leads us to another way of defining semantic density: semantic density is the complexity of meanings in a given social practice², which is shown by the number of items referred to and the strength of the relations between them. In the sign on the washing machine, only two items are mentioned, “dark colours” and “light colours”, and there is a simple binary opposition between them. The reader is simply asked to distinguish between these two concepts. The statement from the journal article abstract implies at least two taxonomies of concepts: the one classifying dyes, shown in Figure 4.3, and another taxonomy of “regulations” implied by “strict environmental regulations” (Pearce et al. 2003, p.179). There are still other complex relations depicted in this statement, such as the relationship between “the recalcitrant nature of modern synthetic dyes”

²In this chapter, the term ‘social practice’ is used as a shorthand for “socio-cultural practice”, which is mentioned in Maton’s definition of semantic density as denoting any of a range of semiotic activities and objects, including “symbols, terms, concepts, phrases, expressions, gestures, actions, clothing, etc.” (2014, p. 129)

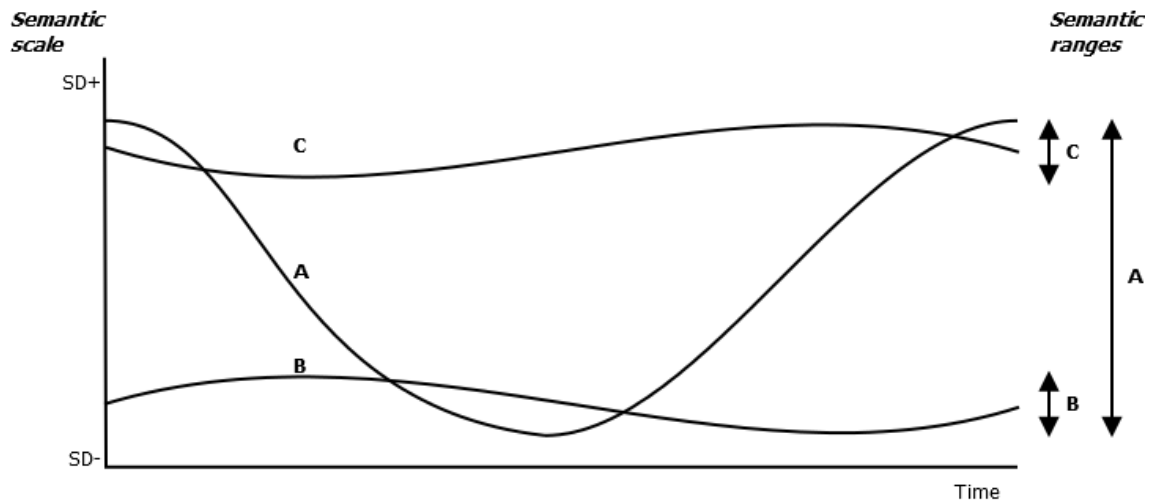


Figure 4.4: *Semantic profile of three hypothetical news articles.* Adapted from Maton (2013)

and “the imposition of strict environmental regulations” (Pearce et al. 2003, p.179). It is the capacity of semantic density to describe the tendency of relations among concepts to strengthen and complexify ideas that makes semantic density useful for this study. This is because concepts are associated with each other as relations between them are strengthened, allowing one to observe the ways in which these concepts are positioned in relation to each other.

Semantic profiles

As implied by the word “strengthening”, semantic density and semantic gravity are infinitely variable, and can strengthen or weaken over a variety of scales. For example, one can observe the strengthening or weakening of semantic density over the course of a sentence, a paragraph, an entire text, or even over the process of the development of a particular genre of text. In this study, I am most interested in examining how semantic density fluctuates over the course of individual news articles. For example, a particular news article may begin with a headline and lead that summarizing the event being described at a relatively strong level of semantic density. It may then continue to describe the way in which the event unfolded in a step-by-step fashion, enacting weaker semantic density. Later on, the article may begin to discuss individuals’ reactions to the event and its future implications, strengthening semantic density. These changes in semantic density could be represented graphically on what is known as a *semantic profile*. Line A on Figure 4.4 shows the semantic profile that would be produced by such an article, plotted on a *semantic scale* of varying strengths of semantic gravity and semantic density (Maton, 2013).

This semantic profile describes a *semantic wave*, in which denser meanings are unpacked and described in their context, before being repackaged as denser and less context-

dependent reactions to and implications of the event. According to Maton (2014), such waves are crucial for enabling cumulative knowledge-building because they relate particular knowledge, such as descriptions of individual actions (which tend to possess weaker semantic density) to generalizations, principles and conclusions (which tend to possess stronger semantic density).

An alternative to this type of pattern is a *semantic flatline*, in which the strength of semantic density stays relatively constant. These are much less effective for cumulative knowledge-building. For example, an article which simply consisted of a blow-by-blow account of a particular crime and did not link it to more general crime levels and socio-economic conditions in the town, region or country where the crime happened would remain at a constant level of weaker semantic density, such as that represented by line B on Figure 4.4. This is a *low semantic flatline*. By contrast, an article which simply spoke in very general terms about the socio-economic conditions in a particular country without providing some illustrative examples would remain at a constant level of weaker semantic density, and so could be represented by line C on Figure 4.4. This would constitute a *high semantic flatline*. While I describe these types of semantic waves in terms of semantic density, semantic profiles are also often drawn to show fluctuations in semantic gravity, or a combination of semantic density and semantic gravity, and similar semantic waves would exist in each of these profiles.

The vertical lines on the right-hand side of 4.4 show that these three hypothetical articles can be distinguished by reference to their *semantic ranges*. A semantic wave, such as A, has a large semantic range, while the semantic flatlines of B and C have much smaller semantic ranges (Maton, 2013). The semantic wave also allows for *semantic weaving*, in which concepts at varying strengths of semantic gravity and semantic density can be linked together; the wave is continuous, which allows for good *semantic flow* from content at one strength of semantic gravity and semantic density to another (Maton, 2013). All of these concepts are extremely useful for my analysis as reported on in chapters 8 and 10, as they allow one to describe in detail the ways in which knowledge is built in the unfolding of a single news article. In turn, this process of knowledge-building enables political positioning: where there is relatively strong semantic density in a political news article, there is stronger potential for relations to be drawn between political parties and particular policy positions or moral judgements.

Epistemic-semantic density and axiological-semantic density

However, this account still needs further nuancing, as one can differentiate between at least two varieties of semantic density, namely *epistemic-semantic density* and *axiological-semantic density*. Epistemic-semantic density refers to the density of meanings relating to “formal definitions (such as concepts) and empirical referents” (Maton 2014, p.130). Meanwhile, axiological-semantic density refers to the strength of the relations between

different meanings related to “affective, aesthetic, ethical, political and moral stances” (Maton 2014, p.153) in a given social practice. Epistemic- and axiological-semantic density, like other concepts in LCT, can apply to multiple levels of analysis. One can speak of the axiological-semantic density of a single word, a clause, a paragraph, a text, or of a non-linguistic semiotic practice such as a diagram or an artwork. It would be almost impossible to find a social practice which possesses only epistemic-semantic density or only axiological-semantic density; instead, most social practices possess both in varying proportions. One can conceive of a continuum where one end is “100% epistemic-semantic density” and the other is “100% axiological-semantic density”; different social practices will be placed at different points on this continuum.

There are different words used to describe processes by which the semantic density of a particular item or concept is strengthened or weakened: the process of strengthening semantic density ($SD\uparrow$) is called *condensation*, and the process of weakening semantic density ($SD\downarrow$) is called *rarefaction*. Combined with epistemic- and axiological-semantic density, this yields four kinds of changes in strengths of semantic density:

- The strengthening of an item’s epistemic-semantic density is *epistemological condensation*.
- The weakening of an item’s epistemic-semantic density is *epistemological rarefaction*.
- The strengthening of an item’s axiological-semantic density is *axiological condensation*.
- The weakening of an item’s axiological-semantic density is *axiological rarefaction*.

Axiological-semantic density is the variety of semantic density that is most important for this thesis, in that it is most closely associated with political meanings, as shown in the definitions given above. Axiological-semantic density is reflected in the building of complex “structure[s] of feeling” (Williams 1954, p.22). This can be illustrated using a headline from a *Daily Sun* article: “Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich” (24 February 2015). This article is referred to frequently as an example throughout the remainder of this chapter and the next one. The full text of the article can be found in Appendix A. Here, the term “members” is linked with the “ANC” (African National Congress). Thus this word undergoes epistemological condensation through association with the ANC, as the party that the members belong to. At the same time, the word “ANC” has relatively strong axiological-semantic density: some readers will affiliate strongly with the ANC and have negative reactions to the names of other parties, while for other readers the opposite will be the case.

The same will be true of “Zuma”, the former president of South Africa and the ANC, who was in office during the period from which the articles analysed in this thesis are collected.

The word “rich” is used to enact axiological condensation by associating negative meanings with “ANC members” and “Zuma”: many readers, seeing the president’s name and that of the ruling party associated with the word “rich”, will infer that this refers to ill-gotten riches received due to abuse of the president’s power and possibly the mismanagement of public funds. For these readers, this will lead to negative judgements being associated with both “Zuma” and the “ANC”. Such negative judgements strengthen the axiological-semantic density of both the former president and the name of his party, resulting in axiological condensation.

Strengths of axiological-semantic density can be traced over the unfolding of a particular social practice, such as a newspaper article, using a semantic profile. For example, one could compare the headline “Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich” with the first sentence of this article, which reads “The nine-point plan President Jacob Zuma presented during his state-of-the-nation-address is aimed at making ANC members rich, DA leader Helen Zille said today.”³ In this first sentence, the basic information given in the headline is repeated with further detail, such as a description of Zuma’s plan and the context in which he presented it, and the name of the person who first made this statement. Because the statement that Zuma’s plan is aimed at making ANC members rich is attributed to Zille, it is accorded less authority than in the headline, where it is simply presupposed that the plan is designed to make ANC members rich. At the same time, the word “Zuma” appears farther away from “ANC members” and “rich”. This means that the first sentence of the article has weaker axiological-semantic density than the headline. On a semantic profile, this would be indicated as a movement downwards.

However, this downward movement is not necessarily axiological rarefaction, which refers to the weakening of the axiological-semantic density of a particular item, such as Zuma’s name. In this case, one could enact axiological rarefaction by saying “Zuma’s plan is not intended to make ANC members rich”, thereby dissociating the term “rich” from “Zuma”. Or conversely, one could enact axiological condensation by associating other meanings with “Zuma”, which indeed is what happens over the course of the article: Zuma is accused of “disguis[ing] his real intentions” and “benefit[ing] his network of loyal cadres”. In this study, I am interested in connections between political parties and policy positions or moral judgements, like the association between “Zuma”, the “ANC” and “rich” in the headline, “Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich”. Axiological-semantic density measures the strength of such connections, and so I draw semantic profiles to trace the strengths of axiological-semantic density only (as opposed to epistemic-semantic density) in each of the articles I analyse in the exploratory and targeted analyses. The translation device developed in this study (see Chapter 9) describes axiological-semantic density and axiological condensation in *Daily Sun* political news articles.

To summarize this section, semantic density refers to the density with which meanings are

³While Helen Zille was the leader of the DA at the time at which this article was written, she was succeeded by Mmusi Maimane in May 2015, during the period under investigation in this study. See 2.5.

packed into particular symbols, words or other social practices. The strengths of epistemic- and axiological-semantic density fluctuate during the unfolding of a particular text over time, and this fluctuation can be depicted using semantic profiles. Thus the theoretical tools of Semantics can be used effectively to show, in a fine level of detail, changes in the ways in which concepts are associated with each other in political news articles, and hence the ways in which political positioning happens in these articles. This description can be extended still further by showing how axiological and epistemological condensation link together concepts in constellations, on the basis of particular cosmologies. This is the focus of the following subsection.

4.4 Constellations and cosmologies

As stated in the previous subsection, one way of conceptualizing semantic density is as the strength of relations among different concepts. Constellations can be used to describe these relations, and cosmologies can be a way of understanding the basis for how they are arranged. In this subsection I explain these concepts, drawing on Maton (2014). I also draw on an example from Martin et al (2010) to illustrate them.

Constellations

Maton theorizes that individual “ideas, practices, beliefs and attributes” (Maton 2014, p.152), which he collectively refers to as “stances”, can be *clustered*, *constellated*, *condensed* and *charged* (collectively known as “the 4-Cs of cosmological analysis”, Maton 2014, p.152). Stances are first clustered together into groups, and these are then shaped into constellations, groupings of stances which “shape what is viewed as possible and legitimate within a field” (Maton 2014, p.149). For example, in the headline “Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich”, the signifiers “Zuma”, “ANC members” and “rich” are clustered together into a constellation. In the remainder of the article, other stances are clustered together with this, including the idea that Zuma’s plan “disguised his real intentions”, and the idea of a “developmental state”. These groupings are made on the basis of their producers’ perspectives. Just as stars in the sky can be grouped together from the perspective of their viewers even though in reality they may be completely unrelated and positioned light-years apart from each other, so stances do not have to be linked together empirically in order to be clustered together in constellations by knowledge producers. This clustering and constellating involves the *internal relations* between stances and ideas in a constellation.

With respect to their *external relations*, constellations are then condensed. In this process, “cosmologies imbue constellations with meanings from beyond the stances” (Maton 2014,

p.152). In other words, knowers associate a constellation with pre-existing knowledge, which strengthens the semantic density of concepts in the constellation by relating them to other bodies of knowledge. This process could link the constellations to existing bodies of empirical knowledge, enacting epistemological condensation, or to existing ‘structures of feeling’, enacting axiological condensation. In the case of the “Zuma’s plan” constellation mentioned above, the constellation is linked to the existing economic model known as the “developmental state”, which is related to existing empirical knowledge about what such an economic model entails, and existing feelings about the political associations that ‘developmental states’ often have, such as that they are often associated with authoritarian governments, some of which may ally themselves with socialist or communist governments elsewhere.

Frequently, all of the meanings in the constellation can be described using a single label or theme which becomes what is known as a *central signifier*. This central signifier becomes a shorthand that is used to refer to the entire constellation. The other signifiers in the constellation are known as *associated signifiers*. The constellation I have been discussing might have “Zuma’s plan” as its central signifier, and the other signifiers would then be its associated signifiers. The final member of “the 4-Cs of cosmological analysis” (Maton 2014, p.152) is charging. Constellations may be given a positive, negative or neutral charging depending on the values attached to that particular constellation. Positively-charged constellations are considered to be acceptable or desirable, while negatively-charged constellations are rejected as undesirable. If one idea or stance is charged positively, then this charging spreads to all the other members of the constellation. Often, but not always, constellations appear in binaries, with a positively-charged and negatively-charged constellation contrasting with each other. These binary constellations can be depicted using tables such as Table 4.2.

In this table, I show the “Zuma’s plan” constellation as a negatively-charged constellation, which contrasts with a small positively-charged constellation centred on the “Independent System and Market Operator Bill” (ISMO Bill), which Zille proposed as an alternative means of “resolving the energy crisis” in South Africa. This positively-charged constellation is not as well-developed as the negatively-charged “Zuma’s plan” constellation because the article reports more about Zille’s critique of Zuma’s plan than about the ISMO Bill that she puts forward as a partial alternative to Zuma’s plan.

To understand why Zille puts forward this alternative, some background information about “the energy crisis” is helpful. As explained in 2.4, the post-apartheid ANC government has invested heavily in state-owned enterprises including Eskom, the state power utility, with the stated intention of using them as tools for economic redistribution to previously disadvantaged people. However, many of these state-owned enterprises have suffered from multiple failures in corporate governance and have required large government bailouts to maintain. At times, Eskom has not been able to generate enough electricity to meet the country’s demand, which saw parts of the national electricity grid switched

<i>Positively-charged constellation</i>	<i>Negatively-charged constellation</i>
Independent System and Market Operator Bill	Zuma’s plan
Helen Zille	Jacob Zuma
DA	ANC members
	rich
	disguised his real intentions
	network of loyal cadres
	so-called ‘developmental state’
proper competition	number of crucial functions assigned to state-owned companies
resolving the energy crisis	a bottomless pit of public money to tap

Table 4.2: *Binary constellations in “Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich”*

off for hours at a time in a series of planned blackouts (Southall, 2016). These blackouts were referred to as ‘load shedding’. (See 10.3.1 for an example of this term in use in a news article.) The ISMO Bill would have established an independent body that would buy electricity from Eskom and independent power producers and sell it to distributors, allowing for independent power producers to compete directly with Eskom (Steyn, 2013). This would have incentivized independent power producers to sell power to the national grid, alleviating the country’s reliance on Eskom for electricity generation.

The example shown in Table 4.2 demonstrates how constellations can be used to describe how both moral judgements and policy positions are associated with political parties. At the top of the table, one sees that Jacob Zuma and the ANC are associated with one constellation, and Helen Zille and the DA are associated with an opposing constellation. Individual words in each of the constellations indicate their charging. I explain above how a reader is likely to associate “rich” with negative judgements of the ANC members. To say that Zuma’s plan “disguised his real intentions” is to accuse him of deception. The word “loyal” in “network of loyal cadres” appears to be positively charged unless one views this phrase in the context of Zuma rewarding particular individuals who are loyal to him at the expense of the rest of the country. In another expression, Zille intentionally discharges the positive charging inherent in the word “developmental”, referring to Zuma’s plan as “disguised beneath the mantle of the so-called ‘developmental state’”, insinuating once again that his plan is deceptive and that the ANC’s vision of a developmental state is, in fact, the opposite of “developmental”. Arguably the strongest negative charging in this constellation comes from the last item, “a bottomless pit of public money to tap”, which insinuates that Zuma’s ANC is using public funds to the private advantage of a few.

By contrast, in the ISMO Bill constellation, the words “independent”, “proper” and “resolving” can be seen as charging the constellation positively. This example shows how

words relating to emotions and, in particular, moral judgements are associated with political parties. In the SFL analyses, I use the Appraisal framework to investigate in detail how these judgements are construed (see 5.4).

Both constellations also reveal how political parties are positioned in relation to policy stances. This comes out most clearly in the contrast between the “so-called ‘developmental state’” and Zille’s valuing of “proper competition”. In the negatively-charged constellation, the ANC is associated with the “developmental state” as an economic model which seeks to increase the “number of crucial functions assigned to state-owned companies”. Typically, this involves giving or maintaining monopolies over these functions, which contrasts with “proper competition”, as favoured by Zille. While the economic position advocated by Zille is not overtly named, one could infer that she is in favour of a neo-liberal form of capitalism in which there is a market for energy as a commodity.

Cosmologies

Cosmologies are the organizing principles behind constellations. Cosmologies, then, are not equivalent to ideologies, as explained in 1.4.2.1, but rather explain why some ideologies are favoured over others. An ideology is described by Gellner as “a system of ideas with a powerful sex appeal” (1959, p.2). A cosmology is what gives something its ‘sex appeal’, or in other words, its popularity and power. Just as constellations may be produced primarily through epistemological condensation or axiological condensation, so not all cosmologies are axiological; cosmologies can also be produced on an epistemological basis. Different cosmologies may narrow or broaden “the space of possibles” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 10), or the variety of possible positions one can take in a particular field. For example, they could force one to choose either one constellation or another as a whole, rather than picking some ideas or stances belonging to one constellation along with others belonging to another constellation.

In the “Zuma’s plan” example, the cosmology underlying the constellations implies a binary between the ANC’s brand of “developmental state”, which is depicted as distributing financial resources to a politically-connected élite, and a neo-liberal system in which there is competition between different service providers, and electricity is seen as a commodity that can be traded in a market. This cosmology favours the latter option. It also obscures the possibility of other options, such as a “developmental state” in which state-owned enterprises are still given a monopoly, but there are stronger checks and balances against corruption.

Through axiological condensation, ideas and practices stand to gain in, or lose, axiological power: the power invested in an idea by virtue of its “affective effects” (Maton 2014, p.151), the feelings or values associated with it. Boudon (2008, p.349) writes that “axiological feelings - i.e. the feelings that X is good, legitimate, etc. - are both one of the most important social phenomena and one of the least mastered scientifically”. This is true of

all types of knowledge and discourse, and is one of the reasons motivating the focus of this research on language that can be used to enact axiological semantic-density.

Pre-existing constellations and cosmologies are part of a text's audience's background knowledge, which is referred to using various terms in different theoretical frameworks. Widdowson refers to this knowledge as schemata (1983); in Critical Discourse Analysis it is referred to as "members' resources" (Fairclough 2001, p.9). Just as I needed to give some background information on "the energy crisis" in South Africa to enable readers unfamiliar with the context to understand how Zille's positively-charged constellation around the ISMO Bill is coherent, so in this way, readers would draw on their pre-existing knowledge of "the energy crisis" to make sense of the text. This knowledge can be schematized using the concepts of constellations and cosmologies. In Chapter 5, this point is developed, and I show how the building of constellations and cosmologies takes place not only through the development of meanings in a single text (logogenesis), but also over the scale of a person's lifetime (ontogenesis) or even through the development of a particular group or society's meaning-making resources (phylogenesis, Martin, 2010).

To summarize, this section shows how stances can be clustered together and can form constellations. These undergo condensing and are charged positively, neutrally or negatively in relation to other constellations. These processes are active in shaping knowledge in all kinds of knowledge practices. For the purposes of this research, it is important to observe how constellations are formed in newspaper coverage of political parties, and show how these constellations are shaped by particular cosmologies surrounding South African politics, shaped throughout the country's history. These constellations and cosmologies, in turn, shape the political knowledge of South Africans in the future. This means that an analysis of constellations and cosmologies has the potential to reveal much about the factors currently shaping South Africans' political knowledge.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter covers an extensive amount of ground in showing how aspects of the theoretical frameworks underpinning this study allow me to describe political knowledge-building in the *Daily Sun*. It begins in 4.2 with a brief explanation of critical realism as the social ontology I draw on in this research. Relatively little space was given to describing this ontology because the terminology of critical realism is not used directly in this study, but instead, it undergirds my use of LCT and SFL, both of which are explanatory frameworks that draw on realist assumptions. I show how critical realism has implications for my orientation to the findings of the study and the recommendations that I can draw from it for transforming South African public discourses: critical realism allows me to view the political knowledge built in the *Daily Sun* as being a real object of study with real effects

on public spheres and ultimately the whole of South African political life. Critical realism also gives one a philosophical basis on which to give recommendations about how social practices such as South African political discourse can be transformed to become more free, open and equitable.

Semantics as a dimension of LCT is useful in showing how political knowledge is presented in the text of *Daily Sun* political news articles, as I showed in 4.3. In particular, the concept of axiological-semantic density enables me to describe how knowledge about political parties is densely packed in certain places in these articles, and less densely presented in others. Where this knowledge is densely packed, many connections are made between political parties, policy stances and moral judgements, and it is these connections that allow for political positioning in the texts.

The concepts of constellations and cosmologies, introduced in 4.4, allow for closer investigation of these connections, enabling one to conceptualize what policy stances and moral judgements are associated with which political parties or individual politicians. The example of the “Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich” article demonstrates how this is done in an actual news article from the *Daily Sun*: in this article Jacob Zuma and the ANC are constellated with a “developmental state” policy, as well as with enrichment of a politically connected élite. By contrast, Helen Zille and the DA are associated with a bill that would promote “competition” in the energy sector, and so can be associated with neo-liberal economic policies.

The organizing principles behind such constellations are cosmologies, which show which stances are being presented as popular and powerful and which are not. In this example, neo-liberal economic policies are presented as the answer to South Africa’s “energy crisis”; other options, such as a “developmental state” with tighter controls on corporate governance at state-owned entities, are not presented as possibilities. This example demonstrates how cosmologies privilege particular interpretations of political events and policies, and obscure the existence of other interpretations and possible courses of action. In 11.3.2 I show how this is true of the cosmologies I identify as underlying the *Daily Sun*’s political coverage over the period of investigation as a whole.

One question that remains is how a constellation analysis of political news articles can be conducted consistently. LCT concepts such as “axiological-semantic density”, “constellations” and “cosmologies” are not designed to be applied directly to data; one needs to decide how to enact these concepts in substantive research (Maton and Chen, 2016). In this study, I recursively develop my method of analysis to refine the way in which these concepts are enacted. I introduce my method of conducting a constellation analysis in the initial, exploratory analyses in 8.2.1. I used the findings of these exploratory analyses to assist in developing a translation device for identifying the strengths of axiological-semantic density in my data, which I describe fully in Chapter 9. Finally, I refined some aspects of my method of analysis for use in the targeted analyses, as described in 10.2.1.

In the following chapter, I turn to examine various linguistic features which have previously been identified as having a relationship with semantic density. While this chapter focuses on the concepts from LCT enacted in this study, the following chapter introduces concepts from SFL that I use in analysing my data, completing the picture begun in this chapter and showing how complementary LCT and SFL analyses of *Daily Sun* political news articles can describe how political positioning takes place in this newspaper.

Chapter 5

Amassing political meanings in discourse

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes theoretical tools developed in SFL to describe ways in which meanings can be condensed in language, with an emphasis on the meanings related to values and social identities which are so crucial to political discourse. Much of the basis for the structure of this chapter comes from Martin's (2017) work on 'mass', which was introduced in 1.4.2.2. In the different subsections of this chapter, I explain the three types of mass identified by Martin, namely technicality, aggregation and iconization, in detail and then use them as points of departure from which to explore further linguistic resources which can be used to condense political meanings in discourse. My purpose in doing this is to give readers a thorough understanding of the linguistic resources that have been identified in the literature as having a relationship with the condensation of meanings, as these are all used in different ways in political positioning, as shown in the fine-grained analyses in chapters 8 and 10.

As explained in 1.4.2.2, SFL views language as fulfilling three overarching functions, which are known as the three metafunctions. The Ideational Metafunction is the use of language "to organize, understand and represent our perceptions of the world and of our own consciousness" (Bloor and Bloor 2013, p.13). The Interpersonal Metafunction is the use of language "to enable us to participate in communicative acts with other people, to take on roles and to express and understand feelings, attitude and judgements" (Bloor and Bloor 2013, p.13). Lastly, the Textual Metafunction is the use of language "to relate what is said (or written) [using the Ideational and Interpersonal metafunctions] to the rest of the text and to other linguistic events" (Bloor and Bloor 2013, p.13). Technicality is an aspect of the Ideational Metafunction, iconization is an aspect of the Interpersonal Metafunction and Aggregation is an aspect of the Textual Metafunction. These three sets of resources co-occur in what are known as syndromes or complexes. Martin (2017)

Type of mass	Metafunction	Detailed description
technicality	Ideational	5.2
iconization	Interpersonal	5.4–5.6
aggregation	Textual	5.3

Table 5.1: *Types of mass and their relations to the three metafunctions (repeated from Chapter 1). Adapted from Martin (2017)*

names them collectively as mass. The three types of mass, along with the metafunctions they are associated with and the sections in which they are discussed in detail in this chapter are shown in Table 5.1, which is repeated from Chapter 1.

One might be tempted to view technicality, a resource belonging to the Ideational Metafunction, as enacting epistemic-semantic density (condensing and rarefying accounts of experience), and iconization, belonging to the Interpersonal Metafunction, as enacting axiological-semantic density (condensing and rarefying affective expressions, values and morals). However, a key principle to bear in mind throughout this thesis is that concepts from LCT do not map directly onto concepts from SFL and vice versa; to attempt such a mapping would destroy the integrity of both these frameworks as independent theories. Martin (2017) shows how technicality, iconization and aggregation frequently work together and interrelate, and I extend his account of their interactions in this study (see 11.2.2).

I begin this chapter by describing technicality and grammatical metaphor, a process that frequently forms part of the development of technical terms (5.2). This is the most well-known and studied of the three sets of resources that Martin (2017) identifies. I then turn to the Textual Metafunction and describe aggregation (5.3). Next, I give an overview of the Appraisal framework, which is useful in classifying the ways in which evaluation and emotion are expressed in language (5.4). Then I show how Appraisal is linked to broader accounts of iconization, and how the concept of iconization links to other key concepts in SFL, embracing all three metafunctions (5.5). Next, I briefly describe discourse iconography as a framework which I use in certain parts of my analyses to describe the products of the process of iconization (5.6). I conclude this account with a brief summary (5.7) that points forward to the description of the structure of my method of analysis in the following chapter.

5.2 Grammatical metaphor and technicality

As mentioned in 5.1, grammatical metaphor and technicality are the most well-understood and well-researched resources associated with semantic density. Technicality is often a product of grammatical metaphor (Martin, 1993a), so in this subsection, I describe grammatical metaphor in some detail before moving to an explanation of technicality.

The effect of grammatical metaphor is to condense meanings by allowing the knowledge producer to modify processes, qualities, clauses and/or logical relations as nouns, and to show the relations between them and other concepts using verbs or other nouns. My description of grammatical metaphor is drawn largely from Martin (1993b). In lexical metaphors such as “this room is a freezer”, the lexical meaning of “freezer” stands in for the meaning “cold”. In grammatical metaphors, one grammatical structure stands in for another. This can be done in at least three different ways. In the first type of grammatical metaphor, *experiential metaphor* (Thompson, 2014), the verb “transform” could be changed into the noun “transformation”. This is also known as *nominalization*. Doing this allows the process of “transformation” to be reified, treated as a Thing, and modified with various Numeratives, Epithets, Classifiers and Qualifiers (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014) so that what otherwise would take an entire clause or clause complex to express can now be expressed in a single nominal group. For example, the clause complex “South Africa is transforming from an apartheid state into a democracy, and this is difficult” becomes “South Africa’s difficult transformation from an apartheid state into a democracy”. Adjectives, conveying qualities, can also be nominalized: “difficult” could be converted into the noun “difficulty” in the nominal group “the difficulty of South Africa’s transformation”.

The relations between this process and other nominalized processes can now be expressed in one clause, e.g. “International pressure facilitated the beginning of South Africa’s difficult transformation from an apartheid state into a democracy”. Conveying the same relations without using grammatical metaphor results in considerably longer and more grammatically intricate clause complexes: “Other nations pressurized South Africa, which caused South Africa to transform from an apartheid state into a democracy, and this was difficult.” Such clause complexes, which typically feature intricate lexicogrammatical relations between clauses, are typical of spoken language, while the use of grammatical metaphor is more characteristic of written language.

When a verb is nominalized, tension is introduced between the grammar of the text and its meaning, which form two polar positions on a continuum. Alternatively, to use SFL’s technical terminology, there is tension between the *lexicogrammar* of the text and its *discourse semantics*, which form two distinct layers, or strata, of language. Usually verbs, such as “transformed”, convey processes. When this is the case, the grammar of the text is said to be *congruent* with its meaning. By contrast, in nominalizations such as “transformation”, a noun is used to convey a process.

Grammatical metaphor also affects other word classes. In the example, “International pressure facilitated the beginning of South Africa’s difficult transformation from an apartheid state into a democracy,” the verb “facilitated” is used not so much to convey a process but to convey a logical relation between two processes (that of other countries pressurizing South Africa and of South Africa transforming). These logical relations could also be conveyed using nouns: “the facilitation of South Africa’s transformation by interna-

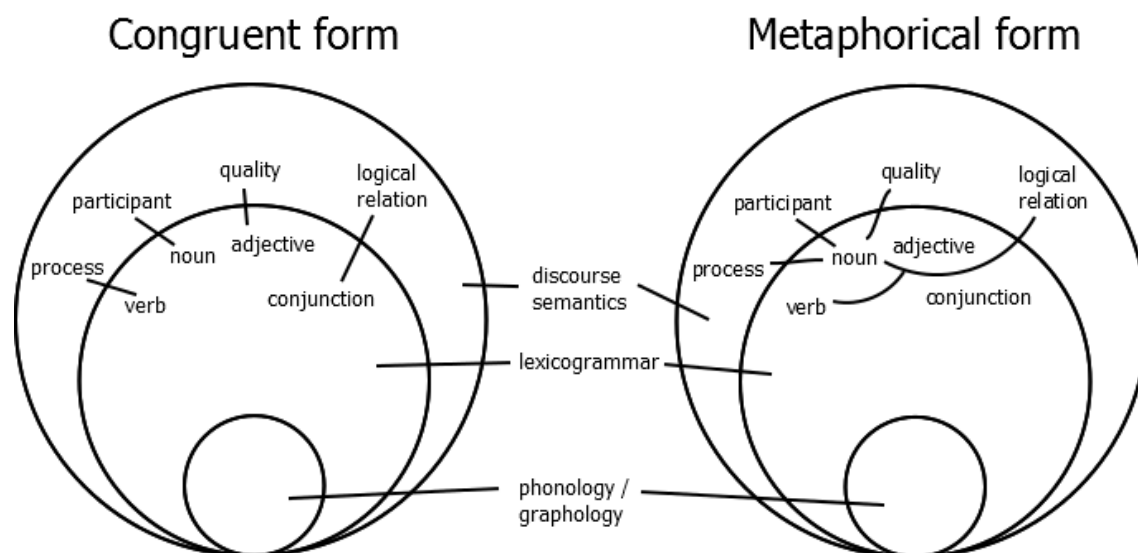


Figure 5.1: *Nominalization as interstratal tension. Adapted from Martin (1993b)*

tional pressure”. This use of verbs or nouns to convey logical relations is known as *logical metaphor*, which is a second type of grammatical metaphor (Thompson, 2014). In SFL terms, the incongruence between the lexicogrammar (which forms one distinct stratum or layer of language) and the discourse semantics (which is another) introduces interstratal tension into the text. This interstratal tension is depicted in Figure 5.1. In this diagram, the circles represent different strata of language, and the lines linking items in the ‘discourse semantics’ circle with those in the ‘lexicogrammar’ circle show how in congruent language, processes are realized using verbs, participants using nouns, qualities using adjectives and logical relations using conjunctions (Martin, 1993b). Once grammatical metaphor is applied, all of these can be expressed using nouns, and logical relations can also be expressed using verbs.

Experiential and logical metaphor allows the knowledge producer to demonstrate much tighter relations between different concepts, which further condenses meaning. Just as lexical metaphor introduces a second layer of meaning into a text (i.e. a figurative meaning alongside a literal meaning), so each grammatical metaphor introduces another layer of meaning for interpreters to unwrap. Another effect of experiential and logical metaphor is that they limit the negotiability of propositions (Thompson, 2014). To illustrate this using the examples mentioned above, if one states a proposition congruently, saying “South Africa is transforming from an apartheid state into a democracy, and this is difficult”, one can ask questions about the proposition, such as “Is South Africa transforming from an apartheid state into a democracy?” or “Is this transformation difficult?”.

However, if one restates the same proposition using grammatical metaphor, as “South Africa’s difficult transformation from an apartheid state into a democracy”, the clause becomes a nominal group with no Mood, and therefore no possibility of converting the proposition into a question; it is simply presupposed to be true. To use Bakhtinian terminology, this contracts the dialogic space afforded to interpreters, which can also

correlate with a strengthening in semantic density, as demonstrated by Almutairi (2014). This is discussed further in 5.4 with reference to the Engagement system of Appraisal, which describes how various linguistic resources can be used to afford greater or lesser amounts of dialogic space to alternative voices in texts.

While experiential and logical metaphor relates to the Ideational Metafunction and are the most important types of grammatical metaphor for condensing ideational meanings, there is also a type of grammatical metaphor related to the Interpersonal Metafunction. My explanation of this *interpersonal metaphor* is drawn largely from Thompson (2014). There are two main types of interpersonal metaphor, namely *mood metaphor* and *modality metaphor*. Firstly, mood metaphor occurs when a particular mood of clause is used to accomplish some speech function that it is not usually used to accomplish (Taverniers, 2003). For example, the interrogative mood is usually used to request information, but in “Would you like to wash the dishes?”, an interrogative is used to request that a service is done. Rhetorical questions, such as “How do you expect anyone to pay that much for potatoes?” are also mood metaphors in that they are interrogatives used to give information or demand a service of some kind, namely that the interpreter think about what the sender has said or written.

Modality metaphor expresses the meaning that would usually be covered by a modal auxiliary verb using words that usually convey ideational meaning. An example would be rephrasing the clause “The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) might become the official opposition” as “Possibly, the EFF will become the official opposition” or “I wonder if the EFF will become the official opposition.” Here, the meaning of the modal auxiliary “might” has been shifted onto the modal adjunct “possibly” and the modal clause “I wonder” respectively (Bloor and Bloor, 2013; Thompson, 2014). Interpersonal metaphors tend to be more characteristic of spoken language than written language (Thompson, 2014), and so are not frequently used in my data. They condense meaning by introducing another layer of interpersonal meaning into clauses or clause complexes. In mood metaphor, clauses must be interpreted as realizing one mood, but a different speech function. In modality metaphors, words that usually convey ideational meaning must be interpreted as modifying the modality of the clause or clause complex as well. Martin (2017) points out that this discharging of ideational meaning and recharging with interpersonal meaning is an instance of iconization, which is described more thoroughly in 5.5. Grammatical metaphor, then, illustrates how resources for condensing knowledge can cut across the metafunctions.

In addition to grammatical metaphor, technicality is used to condense ideational meanings. Wignell, Martin and Eggins (1989) give a helpful overview of how this linguistic resource operates in the SFL framework, and the following explanation is based on their work. They define technicality as “the use of terms or expressions (but mostly nominal group constituents) with a specialised field-specific meaning” (Wignell et al. 1989, p.369). Technicality and experiential grammatical metaphor are interdependent: in fact, nomi-

nalization as a type of grammatical metaphor and technicality can be viewed as different stages in the development of specialized discourse (Halliday and Martin, 1993). Processes and qualities become nominalized, and then these nominalizations are developed further into technical terms with field-specific meaning. In fact, Martin writes that “one important function of technicality is to kill off grammatical metaphor, distilling metaphorical discourse as compact entities for purposes of theory building” (Martin 2011, p.49). As this process of distillation continues, meanings become further condensed and semantic density is strengthened, as is shown in the following explanation.

There may be two steps involved in creating technical terms: “(a) naming the phenomenon” and “(b) making that name technical” (Wignell et al. 1989, p.369). They may appear in various forms, which I illustrate here using examples from my data. The first six of these were identified by Wignell et al. (1989), and the seventh one is a type I find in my data which is not discussed by Wignell et al. (1989).

- (a) single nouns or Things, e.g. “councillors”
- (b) nominal groups with a Classifier[^]Thing structure that appear to be like Epithet[^]Thing structures in the vernacular, e.g. “joint sitting” [of Parliament]
- (c) Classifier[^]Thing structures drawn from what are called implication sequences, where the Classifier indicates the cause of the phenomenon or something about its origin, e.g. “by-election campaign”
- (d) nominalizations, e.g. “allegations”
- (e) nominal groups where the Classifier is a nominalization, e.g. “opposition parties”
- (f) processes, e.g. “mediating”. Technical terms realized as verbs like this always have a nominalized form, such as “mediation”, as well
- (g) Epithets, e.g. “Honourable” (used as a parliamentary form of address)

Once technical terms are set up, they are often linked together in taxonomies, particularly in disciplines such as the natural sciences. Two main ways of doing this are through the use of relational processes, such as in the made-up example, “The allegations are an attempt to frustrate the mediation process”, and through the structure of the nominal group itself. The latter means of creating technical taxonomies is illustrated in 4.3 using the nominal group “modern synthetic dyes”, which develops a taxonomy as shown in 4.3. Such concepts connect concepts together in relationships with each other, forming constellations of one kind or another. This means that taxonomizing can be a key process in strengthening semantic density.

Relations between terms become all the more important when considering another type of technical term, labelled “flexi-tech” (Martin 2013, p. 29), which refers to words which are technical in a loose sense of the word, and are not specific to one particular discipline or domain of reality, but can be used in describing objects and phenomena in various domains. Good examples of these are the ‘-isms’ which pervade the humanities and social sciences, words such as ‘communism’, ‘socialism’, ‘postmodernism’ or ‘relativism’ (Martin, 2013; Martin et al., 2010). In the news articles analysed for this study, expressions such as “democratic institutions” are a kind of flexi-tech (see 10.3.3). While flexi-tech does not condense ideational meanings to the same extent as more discipline-specific technical terms, it can be very effective in condensing interpersonal meanings, and these terms are often set up in relation to each other in constellations.

It is important to differentiate between technical terminology and acronyms such as ‘ANC’. Martin (1993a) argues that acronyms are not technical terms because they are used to abbreviate expression, rather than distilling meaning as technical terms do. They may represent technical terms: for example, in 4.4 I use the acronym ‘ISMO’ to stand for the technical term ‘Independent System and Market Operator’. Acronyms may also be iconized, possessing strong interpersonal meaning, just as ‘African National Congress’ does for many South Africans. However, they do not possess these qualities by virtue of being acronyms, but because of the nominal groups that these acronyms stand for.

This brief account shows how technicality can play a role in condensing meanings on its own, and in combination with other technical terms in taxonomies. Technical terms are best known for their ability to condense ideational meanings; however, some technical terms may also condense interpersonal meanings. For example, the word ‘democracy’, which is a technical term in the field of political studies, clearly carries strong meanings relating to values, ethics and political positions, and many individuals and groups position themselves in relation to ‘democracy’, either aligning with it or against it. Likewise, the “-isms”, which are labelled as flexi-tech, frequently condense interpersonal meanings: many people express positive or negative evaluations of ‘communism’ or ‘postmodernism’, for example, and articulate their positions in relation to such ‘-isms’. Thus at least some technical terms are clearly involved in political positioning.

To summarize, both grammatical metaphor and technicality condense meanings of various kinds. Because of this, both these types of linguistic resources may be used to strengthen the links between political parties and policy positions or moral evaluations. For this reason, both of these resources are examined in the news articles analysed in this study to describe the contributions they make to positioning political parties.

5.3 Aggregation

Aggregation is a second set of linguistic resources identified by Martin (2017) as a type of mass. It accumulates and condenses meanings using the Textual Metafunction. Of the three types of mass, aggregation is probably the least well-studied. In fact, the use of the term ‘aggregation’ to refer to condensation of meaning using the Textual Metafunction was coined by Martin and has not been used by other linguists to refer to this phenomenon. This means that this description of this set of resources draws extensively on Martin (2017). There are two main types of linguistic resources used in aggregation, namely text reference and periodicity. Both of these act to accumulate ideational and interpersonal meanings in particular parts of a text. Thus aggregation condenses and strengthens ideational and interpersonal meanings. In this study, I observe how aggregation is involved in building up connections between political parties, policy positions and moral evaluations in the process of political positioning.

An example of text reference can be found in the following quotation from the *Daily Sun* article used as an example in chapter 4: “Focusing on Zuma’s call for the energy crisis to be resolved, Zille said *this* was what South Africa needed, but the African National Congress was not putting any plan into action” (“Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich”, 24 February 2015, emphasis added). Here the single word “this” replaces the nominal group “Zuma’s call for the energy crisis to be resolved”. This means that the “this” effectively condenses the meanings from the nominal group into one word. In Martin’s words, “text reference allows writers to construe passages of discourse as semiotic entities and thereby afford their participation in clause grammar” (Martin 2017, p.132).

Text reference is often realized by demonstratives such as “this”, “that” and “such”, but it can also be realized by groups of words referring to previous stretches of text (Martin and Rose, 2007). For example, one of the articles analysed in this study (“Ex-buddy trashes Juju!”, 11 February 2015, see 8.3.2) describes an open letter written to Julius Malema, leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), at length. Towards the end of the article, the EFF’s spokesperson is quoted as saying “I doubt if he (Malema) will respond to the letter” (material in brackets from original). Here, “the letter” can be seen as condensing the article’s summary of the letter, extending over the preceding nine paragraphs, into two words.

The types of meaning that are aggregated by text reference may be ideational or interpersonal, or most often (as in this case), both. Theoretically, an infinite amount of meaning can be aggregated into short expressions using text reference. This infinite amount of meaning is then available for use in political positioning, as in this previous example, where the EFF spokesperson attempts to distance Malema from the contents of the letter.

The second type of resource used in aggregation, periodicity, structures texts into waves of meaning according to their information structure. The basic components of these waves

are labelled according to the Textual Metafunction as the Theme and the New (Martin and Rose, 2007). The Theme is all the material at the beginning of a clause, up to and including the first constituent that carries experiential meaning, such as the Subject, a Verb, or in some cases an Adjunct carrying experiential meaning (Bloor and Bloor, 2013). It forms a “point of departure” (Martin and Rose 2007, p.191) for a clause, often giving a sense of what the clause is about. The New, on the other hand, is information in the clause “which is not treated as mutual knowledge” (Bloor and Bloor 2013, p.291), but is presented as knowledge which the text receiver does not yet know. Together, the Theme and New produce waves of information flow at the clausal level (Martin and Rose, 2007). These waves are distinct from, but usefully analogous to, the semantic waves described in 4.3. The structuring of clauses into Theme and New is illustrated in the following extract from the *Daily Sun* article referred to earlier in this section, with Themes appearing in bold, and News in italics:

The nine-point plan President Jacob Zuma presented during his state-of-the-nation-address *is aimed at making ANC members rich,*

DA leader Helen Zille *said today.*

In her weekly newsletter posted on the Democratic Alliance’s website, she said the plan Zuma presented on Thursday *disguised his real intentions*

which *would benefit his network of loyal cadres.* (“Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich”, 24 February 2015)

This Theme - New structure is repeated in larger information units. Particular phases of discourse begin with a hyperTheme, which announces the point of departure or topic for that phase of discourse (Martin and Rose, 2007). They also may end with a hyperNew, which distils the new information from that phase of discourse into a succinct summary or ‘take-home point’. HyperNews tend to be less common than hyperThemes, though, and may not be present in each phase of discourse (Martin and Rose, 2007). HyperThemes usually aggregate the information that follows them, which elaborates or ‘unpacks’ the hyperTheme for the reader. HyperNews, on the other hand, aggregate the meanings from the phase of discourse. Together, hyperThemes and hyperNews are the peaks in larger waves of information flow, with the text in between them falling in a trough.

On an even larger scale, macroThemes and macroNews work to aggregate meanings from groups of phases of discourse, producing still larger “waves of information” (Martin and Rose, 2007, p. 188). In large texts, it is possible to have various levels of such macroThemes and macroNews, resulting in a hierarchy of waves within waves within waves of periodicity (Martin and Rose, 2007). Figure 5.2 presents a diagrammatic representation of such waves. This diagram appears similar to a semantic profile (as described in 4.3), but is meant to show the flow of information in a text, rather than semantic density.

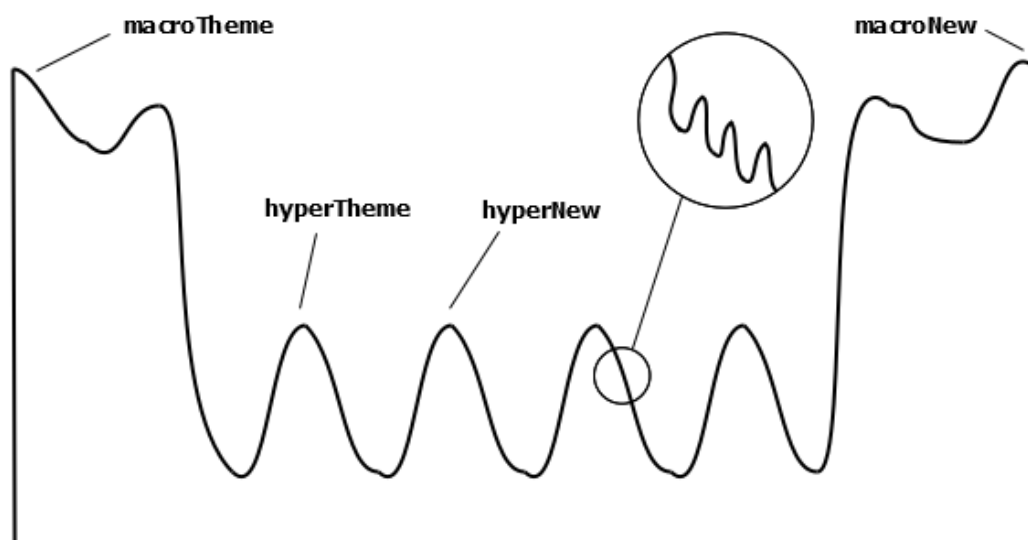


Figure 5.2: *Waves of information structured by periodicity in a hypothetical text*

The generic structure of the hard news article draws on and configures periodicity in a fashion which can be quite predictable. White (1997) structures news articles into a *nucleus* and *satellites*. The nucleus consists of the headline and the first paragraph, which is commonly known as the lead. These can be viewed as the macroTheme of the article. Or, in a more detailed analysis, the headline could be viewed as the highest-level macroTheme, and the lead as a secondary macroTheme one level lower. Both the headline and lead tend to be densest both in ideational meaning and in evaluations of the subject matter of the article, forming an obvious peak of a wave of information flow (White, 1997). The paragraphs following that form satellites of this nucleus because they are usually more strongly related to the nucleus than to each other, and often can be reordered without radically affecting the readability of the article (White, 1997). Each of these satellites could be regarded as a phase of discourse with its own hyperTheme and possibly a hyperNew, structuring the remainder of the article into lower-level waves. News articles do not typically end with a strong macroNew, although there may be exceptions to this. White writes that “Interpersonally, the hard news story is organised as a wave with a crest in the Headline/lead falling away to a trough as the story comes to a conclusion” (White 1997, p.121).

White also mentions another pattern that works in tandem with that described above. This is that news articles frequently return to and repeat the “point of impact” (White 1997, p.121), or most newsworthy aspect of the story as put forward in the headline and lead. This could produce another wave pattern in which the dense material in the lead is regularly referred back to using text reference.

To illustrate these patterns, below I reproduce the entire “Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich” article, showing the higher-level periodicity present in this article. Here I follow Martin’s (2017) convention of using an “=” sign and indenting to show how the higher-level Themes and News aggregate information from the rest of the text. For

readers' convenience, I also label the headline and lead, and identify a number of satellites in the article, using White's (1997) terminology.

Headline: MacroTheme:

'ZUMA'S PLAN TO MAKE ANC MEMBERS RICH' (24 February 2015)

=

Lead: MacroTheme:

The nine-point plan President Jacob Zuma presented during his state-of-the-nation-address is aimed at making ANC members rich, DA leader Helen Zille said today.

=

Satellite 1: HyperTheme:

In her weekly newsletter posted on the Democratic Alliance's website, she said the plan Zuma presented on Thursday disguised his real intentions,

=

which would benefit his network of loyal cadres.

=

HyperNew:

"It is an insider enrichment scheme disguised beneath the mantle of the so-called 'developmental state', a word which in ANC-speak, means precisely the opposite of what the English language intended it to," Zille said.

Satellite 2: HyperTheme:

Zuma's nine-point plan included resolving the energy crisis, adding value to the country's mineral wealth, and encouraging private sector investment.

=

"In theory that plan looks quite good. But all South Africans know by now that while the ANC's plans are supposed to work in theory, in practice they don't," Zille said.

Satellite 3: HyperTheme:

Focusing on Zuma's call for the energy crisis to be resolved, Zille said this was what South Africa needed, but the African National Congress was not putting any plan into action.

=

"Firstly, they have just withdrawn the Independent System and Market Operator Bill from Parliament."

The bill would have seen electricity parastatal Eskom facing competition from another entity.

“They canned the bill in order to protect Eskom from proper competition in the generation, transmission, and reticulation of electricity,” Zille said.

=

HyperNew:

“If Zuma was serious about ‘resolving the energy crisis’ real competition for Eskom would be his first order of business.”

Satellite 4: HyperTheme:

She said one common denominator in the plan was the number of crucial functions assigned to state-owned companies.

=

“The reason is simple – there is no incentive for state-owned enterprises to succeed, and no accountability if they fail.

MacroNew:

“There is a bottomless pit of public money to tap,” Zille said.

In this article, one can immediately observe how the headline and lead form macroThemes, aggregating the material that follows in the rest of the text. Following this, one finds a series of satellites, each introduced by its own hyperTheme. News article paragraphs are typically very short, often only one clause complex long, so these are not a very reliable guide as to where satellites begin and end; I divide this article into satellites based on an impression of what chunks of information could be reordered without negatively affecting readers’ comprehension of the article. In this article each hyperTheme refers back to Zuma’s plan mentioned in the headline and lead, thus returning to the “point of impact” (White 1997, p.121), and naming an aspect of the plan, with Zille’s comments on that aspect forming the rest of that particular satellite. Some hyperThemes such as the one in Satellite 2 are completely devoted to describing Zuma’s plan using the more neutral authorial voice of the journalist, with Zille’s evaluation appearing only in the ‘body’ of the satellite. Other hyperThemes include some of Zille’s evaluations: for example, in Satellite 1, Zille says “the plan Zuma presented on Thursday disguised his real intentions”.

Since hard news articles are marked by their brevity, the ‘body’ of the satellite following the hyperTheme may be very short, as in the first satellite where it is only one clause long. Some satellites, such as the first one, have a hyperNew which aggregates information from the satellite into a final ‘take-home point’; others, like Satellite 2, do not. As mentioned above, hard news articles typically do not have a macroNew, but I choose to analyse the final two clauses of this article as a macroNew. Typographically, these two clauses appear in the same paragraph as the end of Satellite 4, but they seem to aggregate together the meanings from many of Zille’s comments on Zuma’s plan, and thus can qualify as a

macroNew. They speak directly back to the macroTheme which refers to “making ANC members rich” and reveals the means by which Zille thinks that Zuma’s plan will make ANC members rich. Interpersonally, they condense Zille’s negative evaluations of Zuma’s plan using a mixed lexical metaphor invoking strong negative affect and judgement, “a bottomless pit of public money to tap”.

Thus this example shows how aggregation works together with other linguistic resources to condense both ideational and interpersonal meaning. Using both text reference and periodicity, it regulates information flow, creating wave-like patterns which accumulate meanings produced through other linguistic resources, including technicality (from the Ideational Metafunction) and iconization (from the Interpersonal Metafunction). In the following section, I turn to examine one set of meaning-making systems that has powerful potential to contribute to iconization, namely Appraisal.

5.4 Appraisal

The Appraisal system is a particularly helpful set of resources in considering how axiological-semantic density can be enacted because it describes how words and phrases are used to express text senders’ evaluations of their subject matter, and thus reveals information about how their “affective, aesthetic, ethical, political and moral stances” (Maton 2014, p.130) are expressed in a text. The system has primarily been developed by Martin and White (2005), whose work I draw on in describing this extensive framework below.

As mentioned in 1.4.2.2, Appraisal is made up out of three systems: Attitude, which describes meanings relating to emotions, judgements of people’s actions and evaluations of objects; Engagement, which describes how text senders position their voices in relation to others’ voices; and Graduation, which is used to tone up or down the meaning of instances of Attitude. In the running text of this thesis, I capitalize the initial letter of all Appraisal systems and categories so that they can be distinguished from non-technical uses of the words used as these systems’ names. Below I outline each of these systems in turn, providing examples from the *Daily Sun* (references to sources are provided in footnotes).

Attitude comprises three sub-systems, namely Affect, Judgement and Appreciation. Affect “is concerned with registering positive and negative feelings” (Martin and White 2005, p.42), Judgement “deals with attitudes towards behaviour, which we admire or criticise, praise or condemn” (Martin and White 2005, p.42) and Appreciation “involves evaluations of semiotic and natural phenomena, according to the ways in which they are valued or not in a given field” (Martin and White, 2005). In each of these sub-systems, locutions are coded as carrying either positive or negative Affect. Each sub-system has a variety of sub-categories, allowing for a more delicate level of analysis. The Attitude system is

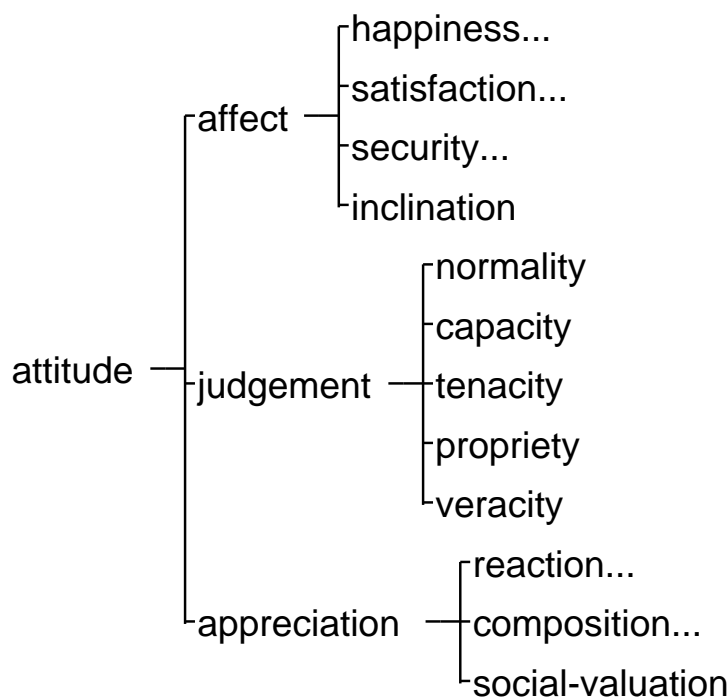


Figure 5.3: *The Attitude system. Adapted from White (2015)*

represented diagrammatically in Figure 5.3.

Affect can be classified into four types:

- Positive Happiness refers to a basic state of well-being, e.g. “*Joy* as Buthelezi welcomes new members,”¹ while negative Happiness refers to sadness, e.g. “McKenzie says he helped Malema financially when he was *down and out*.”²
- Positive Security refers to feelings of safety, e.g. “We are in contact with King Zwelithini as we encourage him to continue calling for *peace*,”³ while negative Security refers to feelings of unease or danger, e.g. “Zuma’s nine-point plan included resolving the energy *crisis*.”⁴
- Positive Satisfaction refers to feelings of accomplishment and completion, e.g. “He said the march was a *success*,”⁵ while negative Satisfaction refers to feelings of frustration, e.g. “People are beginning to reject the political *straitjacket* of the past.”⁶
- Positive Inclination refers to a state of willingness to do something, e.g. “Buthelezi said he was *excited to welcome* the new members,”⁷ while negative Inclination indi-

¹“Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members”, 26 May 2015; see 8.3.1.

²“Ex-buddy trashes Juju!”, 11 February 2015; see 8.3.2.

³“March was a success – Mchunu”, 17 April 2015; see 8.3.3.

⁴“Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich”, 24 February 2015

⁵“March was a success – Mchunu”, 17 April 2015; see 8.3.3.

⁶“Eye on the big prize! – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029”, 15 June 2015; see 10.3.2.

⁷“Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members”, 26 May 2015; see 8.3.1.

cates an unwillingness to perform a certain action, e.g. “But I *do not want to* make a precedent of one presiding officer presiding over another presiding officer.”⁸

Judgement is divided into two types: Social Esteem, which concerns behaviour that might affect the respect that members of society might have for the target of the judgement; and Social Sanction, which concerns behaviour that members of society view as morally right or wrong. Martin and White illustrate the difference between Social Esteem and Social Sanction in the following way: “too much negative Esteem, and we may need to visit a therapist; too much negative Sanction, and a lawyer may need to be called in” (2005, p. 53; capitalization added). Social Esteem judgements come in three subtypes:

- Normality refers to how ordinary or unusual someone is. Positive Normality refers either to people who are special in a valued way, e.g. when a member of Parliament is addressed as “*honourable* Floyd Shivambu,”⁹ or to those who are usual or ordinary in a way that is valued, e.g. when a politician is described as identifying with ordinary people because “*he wasn’t born into a privileged or rich family*”.¹⁰ Negative Normality refers to those who are unusual in a way that is not valued, e.g. “Zuma was *not an honourable man*”,¹¹ or to those who are ordinary in a context where this is not valued, e.g. when a reader criticizes the ANC for “applying the race issue *as usual*”.¹²
- Capacity refers to a person’s ability or lack thereof, e.g. Positive Capacity: “Buthelezi is a *good* leader.”¹³ Negative Capacity: “He *could not* spell out policies to achieve this.”¹⁴
- Tenacity refers to someone’s endurance or courage, e.g. Positive Tenacity: “They want a country where people *work hard*.”¹⁵ Negative Tenacity: “the DA member gets inside a car and *flees*.”¹⁶

Social Sanction judgements have two varieties:

- Veracity refers to whether or not someone is being truthful, e.g. Positive Veracity: “*honest* governance”.¹⁷ Negative Veracity: “the plan Zuma presented on Thursday *disguised his real intentions*.”¹⁸

⁸“Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society”, 18 February 2015; see 10.3.3.

⁹“Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society”, 18 February 2015; see 10.3.3.

¹⁰“Eye on the big prize! – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029”, 15 June 2015; see 10.3.2.

¹¹“Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society”, 18 February 2015; see 10.3.3.

¹²“Comments”, 7 January 2015

¹³“Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members”, 26 May 2015; see 8.3.1.

¹⁴“Eye on the big prize! – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029”, 15 June 2015; see 10.3.2.

¹⁵“Eye on the big prize! – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029”, 15 June 2015; see 10.3.2.

¹⁶“ANC and DA clash!, 29 January 2015; see 10.3.1.

¹⁷“Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members”, 26 May 2015; see 8.3.1.

¹⁸“Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich”, 24 February 2015

- Propriety refers to whether or not someone is being ethical, e.g. Positive Propriety: “A *fair* society requires a growing economy creating jobs which will lead to *equality of opportunity*.”¹⁹ Negative Propriety: “Councillor Dulandi Leach and I were *assaulted* by councillors of the ANC caucus in the Dihlabeng Local Municipality.”²⁰

Appreciation, the final sub-system of Attitude which focuses on evaluations of objects, rather than people, has three subtypes:

- Reaction refers to whether or not a phenomenon as a whole is approved of or captures one’s attention, e.g. Positive Reaction: “that plan *looks quite good*.”²¹ Negative Reaction: “ANC councillor and regional election co-ordinator Job Tshabalala *dismissed* the allegations.”²²
- Composition refers to whether an object is put together in a pleasing way or not, e.g. Positive Composition: “the reason is *simple*.”²³ Negative Composition: “a *broken* society.”²⁴
- Valuation refers to whether an object has worth or not, e.g. Positive Valuation: “they appreciated government’s efforts.”²⁵ Negative Valuation: “while the ANC’s plans are supposed to work in theory, in practice they *don’t*.”²⁶

Each of these subtypes of Appreciation has further sub-subtypes, but for this study I have not found it necessary to code for a finer level of delicacy of Appreciation beyond using the three main subtypes.

Martin and White (2005) argue that Judgement and Appreciation are in fact simply institutionalized forms of Affect: Judgement transforms statements of Affect into proposals about how one should behave, while Appreciation transforms them into propositions about what things are aesthetically pleasing or valued. The Attitude system complements axiological-semantic density because it gives a classification of ways in which people communicate their affective stances (through use of Affect), ethical and moral stances (through use of Judgement) and aesthetic stances (through use of Appreciation) that provides further information about what is described as positive and negative charging in LCT. Words that are evaluated through the use of Attitude instantiations are known as Targets of these instantiations. These are often axiologically charged by being coupled with instantiations of Appraisal (Martin, 2000b).

¹⁹“Working to build one nation with one future!”, 11 May 2015

²⁰“ANC and DA clash!”, 29 January 2015; see 10.3.1.

²¹“Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich”, 24 February 2015

²²“ANC and DA clash!”, 29 January 2015; see 10.3.1

²³“Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich”, 24 February 2015

²⁴“Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society”, 18 February 2015; see 10.3.3.

²⁵“March was a success – Mchunu”, 17 April 2015; see 8.3.3.

²⁶“Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich”, 24 February 2015

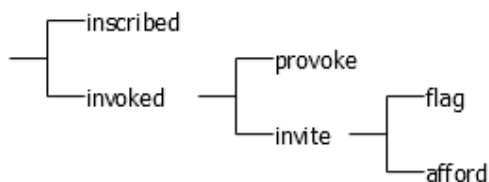


Figure 5.4: *Choices for inscribing or invoking Attitude. Adapted from Martin and White (2005, p.67)*

As is evident from the examples given above, Attitude instantiations differ in their degree of explicitness in the data analysed in this thesis. They can be *inscribed*, that is, directly instantiated, as in most of the examples above. Alternatively, they can be *invoked* through the use of ideational meanings that imply or connote a particular attitude. Firstly, ideational meanings may be used to *provoke* a particular attitude in the reader. This is often done using lexical metaphor. For example, Helen Zille’s mixed metaphor, “There is a bottomless pit of public money to tap”²⁷ is clearly calculated to provoke a negative Judgement of Propriety in the minds of most South Africans against President Jacob Zuma, state officials and executives at state-owned enterprises who are cast as abusing public funds.

Secondly, ideational meanings may *invite* particular attitudinal responses in two ways. They could *flag* an attitude through use of their connotations, as when Zille labels Zuma’s plan as an “insider enrichment scheme”, inviting a negative Judgement of Propriety against him for planning to enrich a select few. Here the negative connotations of “scheme” work together with the notion of exclusive enrichment of insiders to flag this negative Judgement, particularly in the minds of those South Africans who already view Zuma or the ANC as working to benefit select cronies at the expense of the public. Lastly, ideational meanings may invite attitudinal responses simply by *affording* them, as in the headline “Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich”, where the word “rich” allows for a possible negative Judgement of Propriety against Zuma. Although there is not anything intrinsically improper about making people rich, South African readers attuned to the possibility of corruption in government will interpret Zuma’s plan as involving corrupt means and will on the strength of that read the headline as a negative judgement on Zuma. The variety of choices available in inscribing or invoking Attitude are shown in Figure 5.4.

The above explanation should make clear that not all readers will interpret invoked Attitude in the same way. The choices for inscribing and invoking Attitude in fact describe a cline from those Attitude instantiations in which readers have the least freedom to differ

²⁷ “Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich”, 24 February 2015; the following examples in this paragraph are also derived from this source.

with the author in the meanings they interpret (namely inscribed Attitude), to those in which readers have the most freedom to differ with the author (namely afforded Attitude). In the explanations of these choices above, I illustrate this by showing how the range of readers who would interpret a particular instantiation of Attitude in the way I describe narrows as one moves from provoked to afforded Attitude. This cline is shown in Figure 5.4, with those choices allowing the least freedom at the top, and those allowing the most at the bottom. Martin and White (2005) show that invoked Attitude depends largely on readers' reading position, a concept introduced in 1.4.1: if they read compliantly, they may interpret all invoked Attitude as the author intended, but if they are reading tactically or resistantly, they may not recognize all the invoked meanings intended by the author, or may read other meanings in the text.

Another way of putting this is that if readers share similar constellations with the author, they will interpret invoked meanings in the same way as the author intends, but if readers have different constellations, they will interpret invoked meanings in different ways. Doran (In preparation) draws on this idea by using axiological constellations to show how one can accurately identify afforded Attitude in a text. In general, while inscribed Attitude is a key resource in charging signifiers with axiological meaning, invoked Attitude is a key resource in showing how previously-charged meanings can come to charge other meanings, in conjunction with prosodies (see 3.2) and complexes (see 5.1). This means that in my analysis, it is frequently important to note the degree of explicitness of an Attitude instantiation, so that one can observe how these Attitude instantiations interact with the building of constellations through news articles.

The second system of Appraisal, Engagement, is also extremely helpful in enacting axiological-semantic density because it concerns "the ways in which resources... position the speaker/writer with respect to the value position being advanced and with respect to potential responses to that value position" (Martin and White 2005, p.36). Engagement shows how text producers manage or position their own stance in relation to others' voices. In so doing, Martin and White's (2005) conceptualization of Engagement draws on the theorization of the dialogicality of language traditionally attributed to Bakhtin (1981) and laid out in detail in 3.2. For these reasons, Engagement is an important system of linguistic resources for investigating political positioning.

This means that Engagement classifies locutions as either monoglossic (consisting of one voice only and not entering into dialogue with any other voice) or heteroglossic (entering into dialogue in some way with another voice). An example of a monoglossic locution would be "Cyril Ramaphosa is South Africa's president." Monoglossic locutions are extremely rare in the news article genre, as news is an intrinsically heteroglossic genre, drawing as it does from many different voices who are attributed as sources. Within heteroglossic Engagement, there is a profusion of choices for managing one's stance in relation to different voices, as shown in Figure 5.5.

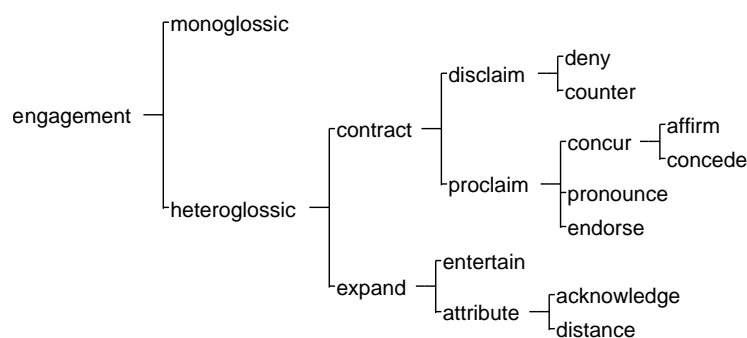


Figure 5.5: *The Engagement system. Adapted from White (2015)*

Heteroglossic Engagement is divided into resources that expand the dialogic space, allowing room for voices other than the text producer’s to be considered, and those that contract the dialogic space, allowing less room for other voices by disclaiming their validity or proclaiming the validity of the text producer’s voice. Below I introduce expansive resources first, before continuing to contractive resources. Examples are taken from the “Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich” article, unless otherwise indicated by means of footnotes. The locution instantiating the Engagement resource is shown in italics.

There are two means of expanding the dialogic space, namely through attributing a view to another person, or entertaining an idea from another voice.

- Entertain refers to wordings or phrases by which the text producer introduces ideas from alternative voices as possibilities that could be considered, e.g. “the ANC’s plans *are supposed* to work in theory”. Modal auxiliary verbs can also be used to instantiate Entertain by presenting the material following them as a possibility, e.g. “the plan... disguised [Zuma’s] real intentions, which *would* benefit his network of loyal cadres.”

Attribute includes two different ways of specifying that others are the source of particular ideas:

- Acknowledge simply repeats ideas from a different voice without giving an indication of whether the text producer agrees with them or not. This resource is used frequently in news articles where verbal processes with neutral connotations are used to quote or report information from sources, e.g. “The nine-point plan President Jacob Zuma *presented* during his state-of-the-nation-address is aimed at making ANC members rich, DA leader Helen Zille *said* today.”
- Distance is used to indicate that the text producers disagree with or disalign themselves from the material being attributed, e.g. “It is an insider enrichment scheme

disguised beneath the mantle of the *so-called* ‘developmental state’, a word which *in ANC-speak*, means precisely the opposite of what the English language intended it to.”

Resources for contracting the dialogic space are classified into two groups, Disclaim and Proclaim. Disclaim contracts the dialogic space by setting up the text producer’s voice as opposed to alternative voices, while Proclaim does so by emphasizing the validity of the author’s view, thus making alternative voices seem less valid. Two resources are used to disclaim alternative voices:

- Deny simply states that an alternative voice is not recognized by the text producer as true. It is usually instantiated using negation, e.g. “there is *no* incentive for state-owned enterprises to succeed, and *no* accountability if they fail”.
- Counter introduces ideas that are contrary to what readers or other voices might expect, often using words such as *but* or *although*, e.g. “In theory that plan looks quite good. *But* all South Africans know by now that while the ANC’s plans are supposed to work in theory, *in practice they don’t*.”

Proclaim can be instantiated by three sets of resources, Concur, Pronounce or Endorse. Concur is used to agree with a particular alternative voice. There are two different subtypes of Concur:

- Affirm is used to agree unreservedly with a certain idea, e.g. “The Marikana events are *of course* a source of personal grief to those affected.”²⁸
- Concede is used to agree more reluctantly with ideas that run against or weaken the text producer’s argument, e.g. “In simple words, the DA is the white party using black people to accumulate votes so that they can continue to deploy white people, and *of course* a few blacks like Mmusi Maimane just to buy face.”²⁹

The other two types of Proclaim are Pronounce and Endorse:

- Pronounce refers to a locution used to emphasize specific ideas, or in which the text producer overtly states that a specific idea is true, e.g. “Mandela looked through the car window at the scenery and talked to Winnie. People lined the road, and I realised that this was *indeed* a great day.”³⁰

²⁸“Miners’ lawyers to decide on next move”, 17 June 2015

²⁹“DA leader’s a hypocrite!”, 16 January 2015

³⁰“I still remember... – driving Madiba from prison, says Roseberry”, 12 February 2015

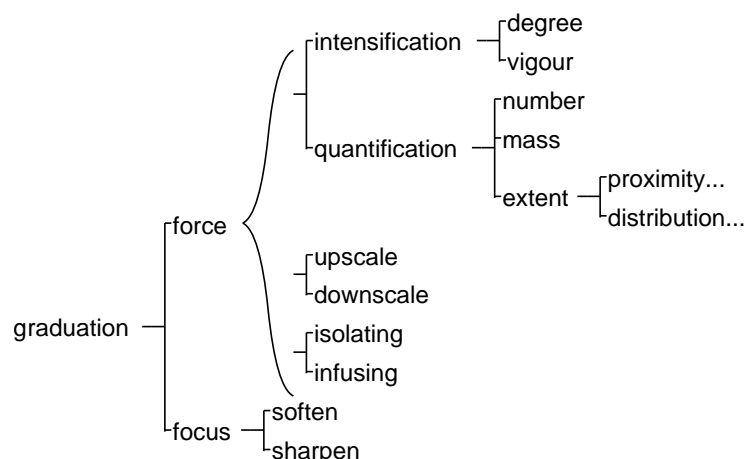


Figure 5.6: *The Graduation system. Adapted from White (2015)*

- Endorse refers to locutions that are used to project ideas from another voice, which explicitly show that the text producer agrees with that particular voice, e.g. “all South Africans *know* by now that while the ANC’s plans are supposed to work in theory, in practice they don’t.”

As this brief outline of the Engagement system shows, Engagement resources are used to align with voices and stances which text producers approve of, and to disalign from those that they do not approve of. In so doing, they produce and reinforce different constellations of stances. In the process, Engagement resources also align and disalign with different groups of readers depending on their stances and cosmologies. Engagement resources also interact in a wide variety of ways with Attitude resources and ideational meanings to convey stances. Almutairi (2014) shows visually how some of these interactions unfold in a corpus of newspaper editorial and op-ed articles on the killing of Osama bin Laden. The ways in which these interactions work are explained more fully in 5.5.

The final Appraisal system is Graduation, which is used to tone Attitude and Engagement resources up or down, allowing text producers to express these meanings exactly as strongly or weakly as they wish. Here I provide a brief overview of the two main types of Graduation, Force and Focus. These are shown in Figure 5.6. As before, examples are taken from the *Daily Sun* article “Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich” (24 February 2015), unless otherwise indicated by means of footnotes.

One category of Graduation, Force, serves to modulate the intensity or amount of a particular thing. Force can strengthen meanings through *upscaling*, or weaken them through *downscaling*. Intensification refers to the strength with which a meaning is expressed, while Quantification describes the amount of something that is present. Both of these can be instantiated through further sub-systems.

In this thesis I use White’s (2015) expanded version of the Graduation system, which describes two types of Intensification, namely Degree and Vigour:

- Degree describes intensifying resources which modify the amount of impact that is attributed to the locution being upscaled or downscaled, e.g. “what was hyped as a *milestone* (upscaling Degree) moment for the opposition at Jabulani Technical High School turned into a *minor* (downscaling Degree) event.”³¹
- Vigour describes resources which indicate the strength or enthusiasm with which a particular action was accomplished, e.g. Upscaling Vigour: “cops *dragged* EFF MPs out of Parliament.”³² Downscaling Vigour: “a *low-key* event.”³³

There are three types of resources used to instantiate Quantification:

- Number gives an absolute number of things present, e.g. Upscaling Number: “about *four* traffic vehicles can be seen leading the ANC’s convoy”³⁴ downscaling Number: “*one* common denominator in the plan was the number of crucial (+Focus) functions assigned to state-owned companies.”
- Mass describes quantities in less precise terms referring to the size of objects, e.g. Upscaling Mass: “Eye on the *big* prize.”³⁵ Downscaling Mass: “the launch was attended by a small crowd.”³⁶
- Extent describes the size of quantities in relation either to their Proximity or Distribution:
 - Proximity refers to how close something is in time or space, e.g. Upscaling Proximity: “they have *just* (time) withdrawn the Independent System and Market Operator Bill from Parliament.” Downscaling Proximity: “Mbetse, when ordering MPs to be removed, relied on comments made *outside* (space) the House.”³⁷
 - Distribution refers to how far something extends across space or time, e.g. Upscaling Distribution: “The state is responsible for *all* the violence against our foreign nationals.”³⁸ Downscaling Distribution: “During his *short* visit, Zuma urged residents to celebrate at the stadium on Saturday.”³⁹

Instantiations of Force can be *isolating*, that is, expressed in a separate word, such as “short” in “During his *short* visit, Zuma urged residents to celebrate at the stadium on

³¹“Eye on the big prize! – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029”, 15 June 2015; see 10.3.2.

³²“Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society”, 18 February 2015; see 10.3.3.

³³“Eye on the big prize! – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029”, 15 June 2015; see 10.3.2.

³⁴“ANC and DA clash!”, 29 January 2015; see 10.3.1.

³⁵“Eye on the big prize! – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029”, 15 June 2015; see 10.3.2.

³⁶“Let’s not forget – New film marks night vigil massacre”, 13 January 2015

³⁷“Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society”, 18 February 2015; see 10.3.3.

³⁸“March was a success – Mchunu”, 17 April 2015; see 8.3.3.

³⁹“ANC bigwigs hit the Cape – Only some people could talk to Zuma”, 9 January 2015.

Saturday.” Alternatively, they can be *infusing*, included in the same word that is being upscaled or downscaled, as in the word “dragged” in “cops *dragged* EFF MPs out of Parliament.” Here “dragged” both describes the action of removing the EFF MPs from Parliament, and the Vigour with which this action was carried out. Infusing Graduation is very prevalent in the articles analysed in this study, as shown in Chapters 8 and 10.

Focus, the second chief sub-system of Graduation, refers to whether something is a prototypical or peripheral example of a particular category. Sharpen is used to indicate that something is a good example of a particular category, while Soften shows that something is a peripheral example of a particular category. In the “Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich” article, Zille twice uses Sharpen and Soften in tandem to cast doubt on Zuma or the ANC’s meanings while strengthening her own: “It is an insider enrichment scheme disguised beneath the mantle of the *so-called* (Focus: Soften) ‘developmental state’, a word which in ANC-speak, means *precisely* (Focus: Sharpen) the opposite of what the English language intended it to”; and “while the ANC’s plans *are supposed to* (Focus: Soften) work *in theory* (Focus: Soften), *in practice* (Focus: Sharpen) they don’t.”

These last two examples also show quite effectively how Graduation works together with Engagement and Attitude to modulate axiological meanings and accomplish stance-taking in a text. I repeat these two examples below with all the Appraisal instantiations identified to demonstrate this:

It is an *insider enrichment scheme* (-Judgement: Propriety, invoked) *disguised* (-Judgement: Veracity), beneath the mantle of the *so-called* (Expand: Distance, Focus: Soften) ‘*developmental* (+Judgement: Propriety, invoked) state’, a word which *in ANC-speak* (Expand: Distance), means *precisely* (Focus: Sharpen) *the opposite of what the English language intended it to* (-Judgement: Veracity, invoked).

The density of interpersonal meaning in this quotation is evident from the sheer number of Appraisal instantiations found in it. In this quotation, Zille takes the term “developmental state”, which she assumes will invoke a positive Judgement for many in her audience, and recharges it negatively. She does this using negative Judgements of Veracity to accuse the ANC of using this term dishonestly to conceal an “insider enrichment scheme”, invoking still more negative Judgements. In service of this, she has to Distance herself from the ANC’s use of the term “developmental state” and Soften the ANC’s definition of the term, while at the same time Sharpening her own verdict that the word is being used in a way that runs counter to the normal English definition of the term. In this way, the Engagement and Graduation instantiations are used to heighten the negative Judgements against the ANC, and to destroy any positive Judgements that might have accrued to the ANC through its description of the government as a “developmental state”.

In the second quotation, Graduation and Engagement are also used to modulate Attitude resources:

In theory (Focus: Soften) that plan looks *quite* (Downscaling Force: Intensification: Degree) *good* (+Appreciation: Reaction). *But* (Contract: Counter) *all* (Upscaling Force: Quantification: Extent) *South Africans know by now* (Contract:: Endorse) that while the ANC's plans *are supposed* (Expand: Entertain) *to work* (+Appreciation: Valuation, +Judgement: Capacity, invoked) *in theory* (Focus: Soften), *in practice* (Focus: Sharpen, Contract: Counter) they *don't* (Contract: Deny; -Appreciation: Valuation; -Judgement: Capacity, invoked).

Here Zille uses softening Focus (“in theory”) and downscaling Force (“quite”) to contain the impact of possible positive Appreciations of the ANC’s plans (“good”, and “to work”), and therefore invoked positive Judgements of the ANC as a political party. Then she delivers her own negative Valuation of the ANC’s plans, and by extension, a negative Judgement of their Capacity. She contracts the dialogic space around it using Counter (“But” and “in practice”), Endorse (“all South Africans know by now”) and Deny (“don’t”), construing her negative view of the ANC as the only tenable one, and adds further weight to her argument using upscaling Force (“all”) and Sharpening Focus (“in practice”).

Both of these examples show how Engagement and Graduation modulate axiological meanings by being associated with, or coupling with instantiations of Attitude (Martin, 2000a). Together, these Appraisal instantiations form what is known as a *semantic prosody*, a repeating pattern of meaning-making resources that is distributed throughout a passage of discourse (Halliday, 1979). In chapters 8 and 10 I show how linguistic resources from across the three metafunctions co-occur in repeated patterns to form complexes of features, which can work to condense axiological meaning and also express stances and align and disalign with others’ stances in intricate ways.

5.5 Iconization and its role in SFL

The concept of iconization is central to my description of the role of linguistic resources in political positioning. In 1.4.2.2 I described iconization as the process by which a word or expression becomes charged with meaning relating to social identities or evaluations, so that it becomes an icon which communities either rally around or rail against. In this section, I expand on this description by showing the relations between iconization and a variety of other key concepts from SFL. The aim of doing this is, firstly, to describe iconization more fully; secondly, to introduce a wide range of SFL concepts that relate to it and so are used in the analyses completed in this study; and lastly, to situate this research in relation to other SFL research on positioning and identity.

The concept of iconization was first used in Stenglin’s (2004) PhD thesis, in which she used multimodal social semiotics to examine how museums create spaces in which visitors can engage with the artefacts they contain, often with the aim of realigning visitors toward

a particular sensibility promoted by the museum. In the following paragraphs, I draw on her thesis in describing the analytical tools she developed for this task and showing how the concept of iconization developed from them. The two main analytical tools that Stenglin developed to describe museums' use of space are Binding and Bonding, which draw on Bernstein's (1977) earlier concepts of 'classification' and 'framing'. Binding "is concerned with the way a space closes in on, or opens up around, a user" (Stenglin 2008, p.53). Spaces can be classified as strongly or weakly Bound on a continuum: if a space is so confined that the user feels claustrophobic, as in a tiny jail cell, then it is classed as Too Bound; if a space is so wide open that a user feels lost or exposed in it, as in an extremely large atrium or museum gallery, it would be classed as Too Unbound. This scale can be used to describe how museums configure space in ways that influence users' emotions, particularly their feelings of security; it shows how affect can be modulated through the semiosis of space in a similar way to that in which affect is inscribed and invoked in linguistic texts (see 5.4).

Stenglin's (2004) second tool, Bonding, is far more important for the purposes of explaining iconization. Bonding "is a multidimensional resource concerned with aligning people into groups with shared dispositions" (Stenglin 2008, p.56). In the museums that Stenglin studied, Binding and Bonding work in tandem to inspire an affective response in visitors and realign them into particular dispositions favoured by the creators of exhibits. For example, she describes an exhibit in the John F. Kennedy Library and Museum in Boston, Massachusetts, which recreates the Oval Office in the White House during Kennedy's presidency. In this exhibit, the recreated office is "a moderately Bound space" (Stenglin 2004, p.419); solid walls and a hard floor mark it off from the rest of the museum. After visitors walk into the room, the lights are progressively dimmed, effectively strengthening the Binding of the space, and then a documentary is played which would align a compliant viewer closely with the objectives of Kennedy's career. In other words, this video is a Bonding resource used to bring viewers into the community of people who share Kennedy's values, and the way the Binding resources of space and lighting are configured heightens the effect of this Bonding resource by making visitors feel like time-travellers experiencing the important moments in Kennedy's presidency.

For Stenglin, one way in which Bonding can be accomplished is through "bonding icons" (Stenglin 2004, p.403). These "are emblems or powerfully evocative symbols of social belonging which have a strong potential for rallying" (Stenglin 2004, p.406). Such bonding icons, or *bondicons* as Martin and Zappavigna (2013) later call them, are the endpoint of the process of iconization. Bondicons can take many different forms, from words like "freedom" and slogans such as "Yes we can!" and symbols such as the cross or the swastika, to people such as Barack Obama or Mother Teresa (Stenglin, 2004; Martin and Zappavigna, 2013). Individuals may affiliate around these bondicons, or disaffiliate from bondicons that symbolize values they reject.

According to Stenglin (2004), bondicons involve a coupling of ideational and interpersonal

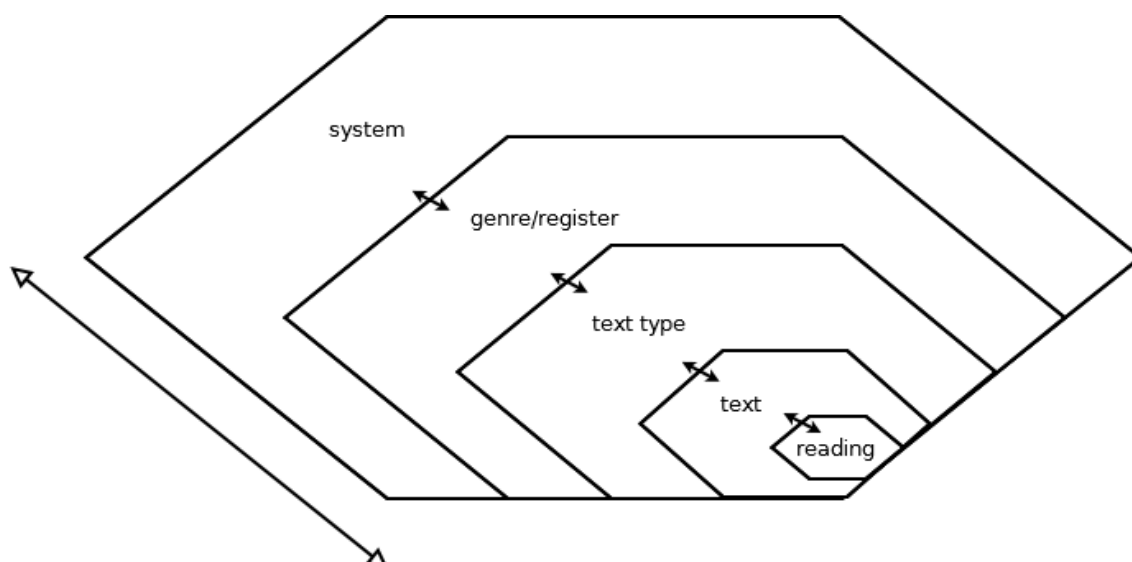


Figure 5.7: *The hierarchy of instantiation. Source: Martin (2010, p.18)*

meanings. She demonstrates this with reference to the American flag. In this flag, the 50 stars and 13 stripes have ideational meaning as representing the USA’s 50 modern states and the 13 original colonies. The individual colours have interpersonal meanings, with red being associated with sacrifice, white with purity and blue with courage. As a whole, the flag ideationally signifies the USA, and interpersonally is often seen as charged with values of liberty and democracy. A community of people who align with these values and believes that the USA upholds them will rally around the flag as a signifier of these values, while others may either reject these values or disagree with the coupling of the USA with these values, and so will disaffiliate with this community. The effects of many examples of such ideational-interpersonal couplings are examined in chapters 8 and 10, along with other types of couplings.

The concept of iconization has been taken up by researchers in SFL and theorized as involved in a variety of important linguistic processes, including the ways in which language is made describing the ways in which linguistic systems are drawn on in texts (*instantiation*) and cultures’ reservoirs of meanings are appropriated (*individuation* and *affiliation*).

Firstly, iconization has been described as a “process of instantiation” (Martin 2010, p.21). The *instantiation hierarchy* describes how individual texts, and even individual readings of texts, draw selectively on the potential of language as a system (Martin, 2010). If language as a system is like the climate of a particular place, then instantiation is like the day-to-day weather that varies but draws on the climate (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). Between system and text lie genre, register, and text type, as shown in Figure 5.7. Martin (2010) puts individuals’ readings of texts, whether they be compliant, tactical or resistant (see 5.4) at the bottom of the hierarchy. This is because when individuals read or listen to a text, they derive only one of a range of possible interpretations from the text.

We can only view the system of language, or any other system of signs (known as a *semiotic system*), at the top of the hierarchy, through looking at its instantiations, which both influence and are influenced by the system (Bednarek, 2010). System refers to the paradigmatic ordering of language, while its syntagmatic ordering is known as structure (Bednarek, 2010). In SFL, syntagmatic relations are viewed as ‘exploding’ into being as a result of paradigmatic choices (Martin, 2010): they order themselves into linear strings of words or letters, becoming part of the unfolding of a text (Martin, 2010). Because of this, texts tend to accumulate meanings as they unfold, as shown in the previous subsections, particularly 5.3 (Martin, 2010).

There are three concepts that can help to demonstrate how meanings become instantiated in texts in this way, namely *commitment*, coupling and iconization (Martin, 2010). Commitment refers to “the degree of meaning potential instantiated in one instance or another” (Hood 2008, p.356), or in other words, the amount of meaning from the system which is used in any one instance (word or expression) in any one text. Terms can become charged with meanings from the system in some instances, and those meanings can be discharged at other moments. Commitment correlates with semantic density to some extent, but the meaning of ‘commitment’ is more specialized than that of semantic density, as it refers specifically to how expressions draw on meanings from systems.

The second concept, coupling, “refers to the way in which meanings combine – across strata, metafunctions, ranks and simultaneous systems (and across modalities...)” (Martin 2010, p.19). Another definition of coupling is “a binding of two meanings across paradigmatic systems of potential [which] may be involved in larger syndromes [complexes] of meaning in a text (Zappavigna et al., 2008).” (Zappavigna 2011, p.795). Thus a coupling is a co-occurrence of two or more choices that come from different places in the large paradigm of choices offered by language as a system. Through the unfolding of a text, more and more meanings tend to become coupled with existing meanings, and so meanings accumulate through the process of the unfolding of the text, which is referred to as logogenesis in SFL (Martin, 2010). The type of coupling that has been most well-researched is couplings between ideational and interpersonal meanings (see e.g. Knight, 2010; Hood, 2010), and this type of coupling is most prominent in my analyses, as shown in chapters 8.1 and 10.1.

Because SFL tends to take a paradigmatic perspective rather than a syntagmatic one, it is difficult to gain a synoptic perspective on how meanings accumulate (Martin, 2010). Likewise, it is difficult to plot the development of meanings over longer spans of time than the text: we can only observe change on an ontogenetic scale (over the development of a person’s meaning-making resources) or a phylogenetic scale (over the development of an entire group or society’s meaning-making resources) through looking at the meaning potential of a particular term, for example, at a series of particular points along this process (Martin, 2010). However, it is important to trace how these meaning-making resources develop through coupling in order to show how specific signifiers become charged

with meaning over time, and so where necessary in chapters 8 and 10 I refer back to the development of meanings through South Africa's history to show this charging.

Coupling is often used to negotiate identities (Knight, 2010). Zille identifies herself as being in opposition to the ANC through her coupling of negative Judgement with Zuma's plans. Couplings of Attitude with ideation in particular tell us about how participants share and interpret values, and the more a text sender and receiver share common backgrounds (and possibly a common identity), the more invoked the Attitude can be, and the more implicit the couplings (Knight, 2010). Couplings can extend across all three meta-functions: in "It is an insider enrichment scheme" the ideational meaning of "Zuma's plan" and the invoked negative Judgement (interpersonal) couple with the place of prominence that clause has in a hyperNew (textual) to charge Zuma's plan with further negative meanings. Such couplings across systems of language add layers of meaning to the text, strengthening evaluation. If these couplings are repeated, they form a complex in which meanings work together to establish a particular pattern in the text as it unfolds logogenetically.

This charging of a signifier with interpersonal meanings often works in tandem with discharging of ideational meaning in the process of iconization: as "Zuma's plan" becomes associated with negative Judgements, for example, the text's senders and receivers lose sight of the content of the plan, and it becomes simply a thing with which different actors affiliate or disaffiliate. However, in this thesis, I argue that there are also instances in which both interpersonal and ideational meanings are charged at the same time, and that these are also instances of iconization (see 11.2.2). Whatever the case may be, iconization is a process of instantiation: it charges particular words and expressions from the system of language with meaning.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, iconization is also involved in the processes of individuation and affiliation. While instantiation refers to the ways in which meanings from the system of a language are drawn on in a particular text, individuation refers to the ways in which meanings from a culture are drawn on by a particular individual (Martin, 2010). The idea of individuation is inspired by Bernstein's (2000) concepts of *reservoir* and *repertoire*: individuals each have their own repertoires of meanings which draw from the broader reservoir of meaning-potential offered by their community or culture (Martin, 2010). Individuation exists on a cline that is structurally similar to the individuation hierarchy (Bednarek, 2010). This cline is illustrated in Figure 5.8. As this figure shows, the inverse of individuation is affiliation, concerning how people and the personas they adopt align with sub-cultures, master identities and cultures (Martin, 2010). Affiliation is a process of establishing and negotiating identities in discourse (Caldwell, 2010).

To illustrate individuation and affiliation, in the "Zuma's plan to make ANC members rich" article, Zille draws on the meaning potential afforded by South African culture in specific ways to make her points. This is particularly clear when she says "But all South Africans know by now that while the ANC's plans are supposed to work in theory, in practice

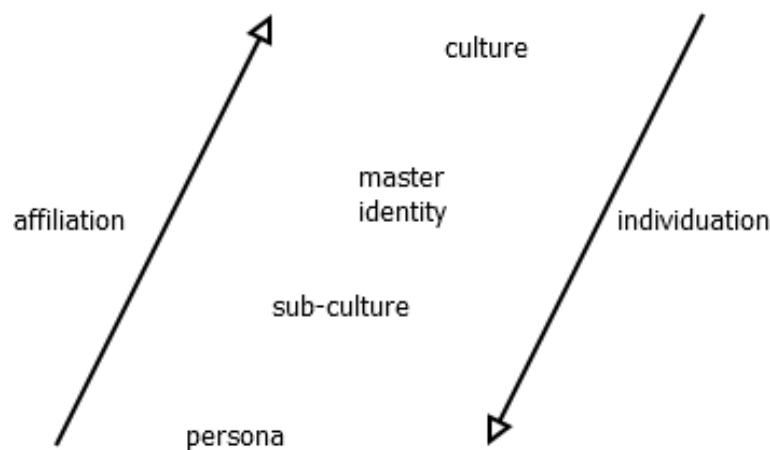


Figure 5.8: *The individuation/affiliation cline. Source: Martin (2010, p. 24)*

they don't." Here Zille uses a meaning which she believes forms part of the South African cultural reservoir ("that while the ANC's plans are supposed to work in theory, in practice they don't") and appropriates it in support of her own argument, making it part of her own repertoire. Thus she draws selectively on meanings from the culture, supporting her own persona as then-leader of the DA, the ANC's official opposition. But while she uses this statement to individuate by marking herself out as a distinctive politician aligned against the ANC, she also uses it to affiliate, aligning herself with "all South Africans", who, she claims, are disenchanted with the ANC's plans.

This shows how both individuation and affiliation are deeply involved in the identity work done through discourse. Affiliation helps us understand how people negotiate couplings dynamically (Knight, 2010): individuals use particular couplings (such as the coupling between the ANC and negative Capacity invoked through Zille's statement) to affiliate with or disaffiliate from particular people and communities. Couplings like this facilitate iconization and realize social *bonds*. Knight defines such bonds "as the cultural pattern by which we discursively construe our communal identities by laughing at, communing around or rejecting them through discourse in the form of couplings" (Knight 2010, p.42). When Zille says "all South Africans know by now that while the ANC's plans are supposed to work in theory, in practice they don't", she iconizes both the ANC, and herself as a critic of the party. In doing so, she is proposing a bond which members of her audience can either accept and use to affiliate with her in a community of critics of the ANC, or which they can reject and use as a basis to disaffiliate from her and affiliate with the ANC instead. Bonds form and decay over time in the unfolding of texts, or grow in importance before diminishing, creating waves (Almutairi, 2014). Such waves may contribute to the general pattern of axiological semantic waves.

From Martin's perspective, "where... instantiation is a hierarchy of couplings, individuation is a hierarchy of bonds" (Martin 2010, p.26). Knight (2010) explains this by showing that "participants negotiate who they are based on what bonds they share" (Knight 2010, p.43). Bonds cluster into communities of bonds, and these in turn cluster into larger

and larger communities, comprising culture (2010). Thus culture, at the top of the individuation cline, can, in fact, be thought of as a dynamic system of bonds in affiliation (Zappavigna, 2011).

Several recent studies in SFL provide examples illustrating how iconization, individuation and affiliation aid our understanding of the ways in which identity work is done in a wide variety of discourse types. In the following paragraphs, I refer briefly to five of these, beginning with two which examine data comparable to that analysed in this study. Knox et al (2010) analysed the front pages of two Thai-language newspapers, focusing on one news event in which nine passengers in a minivan were murdered in southern Thailand. They showed that the meanings used in each newspaper drew on those newspapers' repertoires. Both newspapers used the same coupling of the words 'Southern' and 'bandit' in describing the murderers, linking negative Judgement (instantiated by the word "bandit") with separatist fighters who were the presumed perpetrators of the murders, and in so doing iconizing these fighters. In this way, the idea of 'Southern bandits' was put forward as a bond that both newspapers share. In reproducing this bond on the newspapers' front page, they can be seen to be trying to push this bond up the affiliation cline in an attempt to make it a bond shared by the Thai nation as a whole. This means that this coupling is "likely to become established in the repertoires of other individuals 'lower down' the individuation cline" (Knox et al. 2010, p. 102).

Almutairi (2014) gives a more detailed analysis of bonds and affiliation in an international corpus of newspaper editorials on the killing of Osama bin Laden in 2011. He explores how not only couplings but entire complexes of linguistic resources are used to individuate and affiliate in intricate ways. He finds that two complexes are associated with a general "humanist' sub-culture" (2014, p. 259) in his data: a coupling of negative Attitude with the USA, and a complex in which negative Attitude co-occurs with monoglossic Engagement and bin Laden's name. This coupling and complex serve to iconize the USA and bin Laden respectively. Within the humanist subculture, there are four main bonds that hold together a community of "humanists against the killing" (Almutairi 2014, p.260). These bonds are characterized as "'condemnation of the killing', 'advocacy of capture and trial', 'demonization of bin Laden and Al-Qaeda', and 'denunciation of the U.S. government for the killing'" (Almutairi 2014, p.259). These four main bonds participate in larger bond networks as part of the 'humanist' sub-culture, higher up the individuation cline, such as "advocating international humanitarian laws" (Almutairi 2014, p.262). Almutairi (2014) uses this to show how the individuation cline parallels the instantiation cline: just as particular text-types draw on particular linguistic resources available to a broader genre or register, so particular communities draw on particular bonds available to a given sub-culture.

Examples of affiliation and bonding from genres outside the news media also illuminate the way in which these concepts work. Bednarek (2010) analyses affiliation in dialogue from *The Gilmore Girls*, a popular American television drama series. The *Gilmore Girls*

script is peppered with allusions to both ‘high’ and popular culture, which are one means of aligning readers. Caple suggests that allusions “membership” (2010, p.117) readers by using the source of the allusion as a bondicon around which people can affiliate. For example, Bednarek (2010) explains how a *Gilmore Girls* episode alludes to Milan Kundera’s novel *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*. In so doing, the episode affiliates with those who have read the novel or at least know about it, creating a community of *Gilmore Girls* viewers who appreciate the significance of Kundera’s novel.

Bednarek (2010) argues that the allusions in *The Gilmore Girls* naturalize a type of play which demands considerable effort from the audience. Allusions are a means by which the main characters in the series bond, creating an in-group between them. Some other linguistic practices that perpetuate bonding in the series include references to emotion, beliefs, linguistic repertoires, and shared personal experience (Bednarek, 2010). All of these practices can be used to create a community of people who share them: people who have experienced the same emotions as the characters in the series, people who have similar beliefs, people who have had similar experiences, and so on. Bednarek (2010) also considers evaluative language to be a major resource for bonding and affiliation, in that it constitutes the “symbolic repertoire of a community” (Cohen 1985, p.21). However, what is also important is the ideation with which the evaluative language is coupled (Bednarek, 2010), such as the name of Kundera’s novel, partly because it presumes a bank of shared knowledge on which the main characters and their audience draw. In several of the analyses I conduct in this study, allusions are used to aid iconization and bonding. Examples of this can be found in 10.3.2 and 10.3.3.

The importance of the ideation coupled with evaluative language is brought out even more strongly in Zappavigna’s (2011) research on posts on the social media website Twitter, commonly known as tweets, which I discuss in the following two paragraphs. She examines the hashtag, a typographical convention in which certain words are marked with a hash symbol preceding them to make them searchable and also to serve as a call to affiliate around values related to the hashtag. In her words, hashtags “[label] the ideation we are going to axiologize around” (Zappavigna 2011, p.799). Using hashtags, users can look for possible targets of evaluation and find out whether positive or negative prosodies of evaluation are associated with them.

Zappavigna studied tweets on the topic of Barack Obama’s election as president of the USA for the first time. Tweets coupling “Obama” with positive evaluation often had the hashtag “#Obama”. Although it is possible for tweets to couple Obama with positive evaluation without a hashtag, the hashtag makes the coupling easier to search for. Interpersonal meanings also occur in hashtags, e.g. “#hope”. The kind of classification afforded by hashtags makes possible what Zappavigna calls “ambient affiliation” (2011, p.800) possible, in which participants affiliate with a community of unseen but present others in cyberspace. Hashtags also open themselves up to the possibility of play, because of their use with evaluation. For example, the playful repetition of hashtags can instan-

tiate upscaling Graduation. Hashtags identify meanings that are ‘hyper-charged’, which both make tweets searchable and are labels for a discourse community affiliating around them. Thus Zappavigna (2011) shows how hashtags on Twitter are resources that enable iconization.

A final example shows how affiliation takes place in a different mode, that of music. Caldwell (2010) examined how metre and rhythm are used to affiliate with a community in rap music produced by Kanye West. The following discussion draws on his work. Caldwell shows that as a pop musician, West deliberately seeks to affiliate with as many different kinds of people as he can. As a producer, he chooses to affiliate with particular artists as collaborators, and through this affiliates with consumers who buy their music. These artists are diverse in style. Some, such as Mos Def and White Boy, synchronize their bursts of speech with the beats of their musical accompaniment. Others, such as Common, Jay-Z and Lupe Fiasco, produce bursts of speech that are out of sync with the beats of their backing tracks.

Caldwell links these two different styles with different meanings: the more synchronous rappers appear harsher and tougher, while the less synchronous ones create a more ‘natural’ impression and seem more cunning. West carefully curates the selection of artists that he produces so that he can attract audiences that affiliate with both of these types of meanings. Further, many of the meanings produced by the different rappers through their musical styles are open to interpretation. Such openness of meaning is possible only in situations where signifiers have been bleached of much of their ideational meaning. This illustrates how bondicons often function: people affiliate around particular styles, ‘looks’ or ‘feels’ which do not have much ideational meaning of their own, but can be imbued with particular ideational meaning by individual audience members.

This section shows that iconization is a process of instantiation, and that iconization is used in various ways to accomplish individuation and affiliation. Instantiation shows how meanings from the reservoir of linguistic resources in a particular language system come to be drawn on in individual texts, with varying amounts of meaning committed to different words and expressions. These meanings combine through coupling, and the resultant couplings often further iconization, producing bonds around which people then affiliate in communities and sub-cultures. Conversely, individuals draw selectively on networks of bonds in individuation, selecting meanings which they identify with. Iconization is a process of imbuing a signifier with interpersonal meanings so that more people can affiliate around it or disaffiliate from it, effectively pushing it up the affiliation cline into association with ever more intricate bond networks.

5.6 Discourse iconography

While the previous section contextualized iconization in relation to both the instantiation and individuation hierarchies, in this section I describe discourse iconography, a framework for analysis arising from SFL that was designed by Tann (2013; 2010). This framework is useful for describing the final product of processes of iconization in the analyses I report on in chapters 8 and 10. In this study my interest is more in describing how the process of iconization unfolds than in describing the products of that process. For this reason, I do not use discourse iconography consistently in all the analyses presented in this thesis; however, I do find it useful to describe how different kinds of icons relate to each other in a few of the analyses. As a result, this description of discourse iconography is fairly brief compared to the space given to exploring the linguistic resources described in previous sections in this chapter.

Tann (2010) developed the framework of discourse iconography in his PhD thesis, in which he used it to examine expressions of Japanese national identity in a discourse tradition called *Nihonjinron*, which has undergone a resurgence in popularity in recent years. Tann divides icons found in discourse into three types. The first of these is the *Gemeinschaft*, which refers to a community that “is formed around common geography and values, such as kinship and religious communities” (Tann 2013, p.369). The second is the *Doxa*, or the “shared beliefs and mores that define [the community’s] boundaries” (Tann 2013, p.369). Lastly, there are the *Oracles*, which “serve as the sacred incarnations of the ... communal geist, situated in a particular space and time in history” (Tann 2013, p.369). Oracles can include both people and texts or rituals which symbolize what is valued by the community. These three types of icons can be illustrated topologically on a diagram known as an “iconisation triangle” (Thomson 2014a, p.30). Each of the three types of icons were given more transparent names by Thomson (2014b), writing for a non-expert audience: Community (*Gemeinschaft*), Values (*Doxa*) and Heroes (*Oracles*). In this thesis, I use these labels as simpler alternatives to those of Tann.

Tann (2010) illustrates these three types of icons with reference to the discourses surrounding Obama’s election as president of the USA in 2008. In this case, the Community is ‘Americans’ as a unique group of people distinct from other countries such as the Chinese or the Iraqis. The Values used to rally Americans behind Obama were democracy and freedom, and the can-do spirit encapsulated in his slogan “Yes we can!” Obama himself was the Hero, along with his personal story of a multicultural upbringing, as presented in texts such as his book *Dreams from My Father*. These three types of icons can be illustrated topologically on an iconization triangle as in Figure 5.9.

To demonstrate the use of discourse iconography in analysis of my data, I refer to the *Daily Sun* article used as an example throughout this chapter and the previous one, “Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich”. Already in the headline of the article, two elements of the iconization triangle are present: “ANC members” as Community, and “Zuma” and

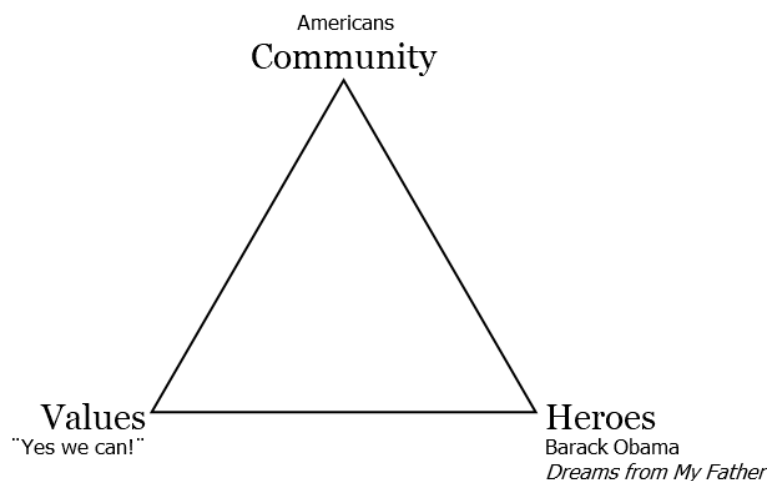


Figure 5.9: *Obama iconography*. Adapted from Tann (2010); Martin and Zappavigna (2013)

“Zuma’s plan” as Heroes. In the article, “Zuma” and “Zuma’s plan” are a predominant target for evaluation, with at least seven instantiations of Judgement appraising Zuma (e.g. “If Zuma was *serious* about ‘resolving the energy crisis’...”), and seven Attitude instantiations appraising his plan (e.g. “the plan Zuma presented on Thursday *disguised* his real intentions”). There are also twelve Attitude instantiations appraising the ANC and the ANC-led government, which Zuma and his plan represent (e.g. “but the African National Congress *was not putting any plan into action*”).

The main occasion for the article can be framed as a dispute around what kind of Values can be associated with this Community and Hero. The explicit Values mentioned in Zuma’s plan are “resolving the energy crisis, adding value to the country’s mineral wealth, and encouraging private sector investment”. These values are coupled with positive Judgements of Capacity (“resolving”, “adding value”) and Tenacity (“encouraging”). However, Zille argues in strong words that the ANC has a different, negatively charged, set of Values, in which “insider enrichment” (an invoked negative Judgement of Propriety) takes primacy.

There is direct contestation around one element which both sides of the dispute frame as part of the ANC’s Values, but which is accorded opposite axiological charges by both sides: the term “developmental state”. I show in 5.4 how Zille recharges this term negatively through coupling with a complex of meanings, including negative Veracity, contractive Engagement and Sharpening Focus, using the words “so-called” and “a word which in ANC-speak means precisely the opposite of what the English language intended it to”. In the latter part of the article, Zille associates more negatively-charged Values with the ANC, saying “there is no incentive for state-owned enterprises to succeed, and no accountability if they fail.” This is coupled with strong invoked negative Judgements of Propriety in “no incentive” and “no accountability”. The iconography around Zuma’s plan, with the two competing sets of Values put forward in the article, are shown in Figure 5.10

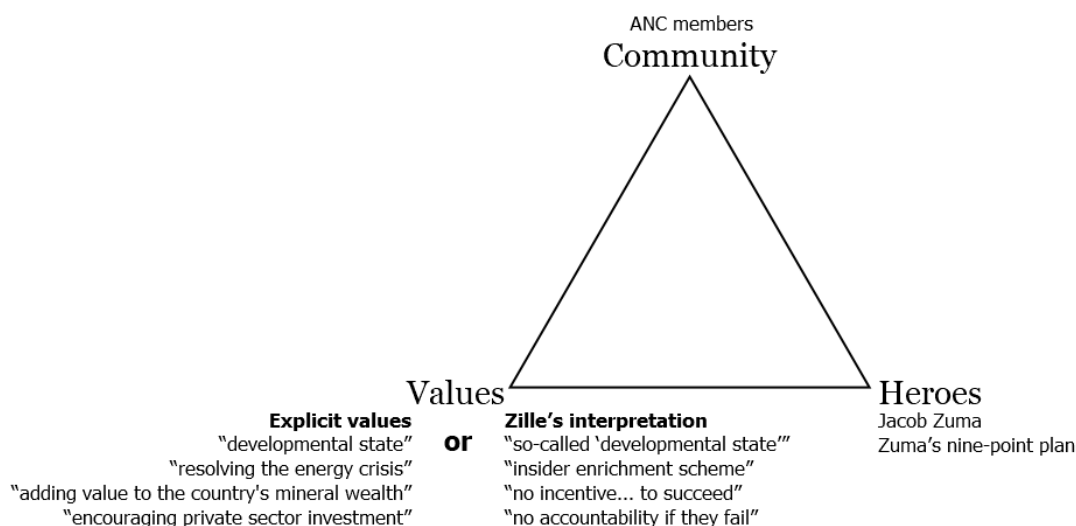


Figure 5.10: Zuma's plan iconography

To support her argument for her interpretation, Zille argues that the ANC is not really committed to an aspect of the Values explicitly mentioned as part of the plan, “resolving the energy crisis”. She says, “‘If Zuma was serious about ‘resolving the energy crisis’, real competition for Eskom would be his first order of business.” She mentions “the Independent System and Market Operator Bill” as a mechanism that would make such competition possible. In doing this, she presents the Independent System and Market Operator Bill as an alternative Hero around which the ANC would rally if “resolving the energy crisis” were truly part of its Values, and clusters “real competition” with “resolving the energy crisis” as part of the Values that the ANC would subscribe to. That this “competition” is positively valued is clear from its coupling with the words “real” and “proper”, both instantiations of positive Normality Judgements.

Discourse iconography provides a useful tool for describing the different communities, actors and values that are positioned in different ways as a result of the process of iconization. However, in exploring these processes in the fine grain of individual texts, it is important not to lose sight of the part that iconization plays in the questions that this thesis seeks to answer about axiological-semantic density. As was mentioned in 5.1, iconization is one of the three groups of linguistic resources that Martin (2017) mentions as types of mass, a selection of linguistic resources that have some relationship to semantic density. Out of these three features, iconization is the one associated with the Interpersonal Metafunction, which has to do, in part, with expressing feelings, values and positions (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). Obviously, this makes iconization crucial to this study. The other two types of mass, technicality and aggregation, couple with iconization in intricate ways to form complexes that have the effect of condensing and rarefying meanings, including axiological meanings relating to the positioning of political parties.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter focuses on the contribution of analytic tools from SFL towards describing the language used in political positioning. It shows how resources from each of SFL's three metafunctions contribute to political positioning. In the Ideational Metafunction, grammatical metaphor and technicality (5.2) condense meanings from entire clauses into briefer groups of words, or into single technical terms, as well as strengthening the relations between different concepts. In the Textual Metafunction, aggregation (5.3) is used to accumulate meanings through the unfolding of a text, creating points where meanings are condensed, such as high-level Themes and News, and instantiations of text reference. Both these sets of resources bring meanings together so that they can be positioned in particular ways in texts. In the Interpersonal Metafunction, Appraisal is used to express evaluations and dialogic positioning in nuanced ways. This contributes to iconization, which couples with grammatical metaphor, technicality, aggregation and other linguistic resources. This creates intricate complexes of linguistic resources which accomplish individuation and affiliation (5.5).

Through these processes, the text producer, readers and people and entities mentioned in the text are positioned in relation to each other. These concepts are the chief means by which I describe how language enacts political positioning in the *Daily Sun* political news articles analysed in this study. I also occasionally use discourse iconography (5.6) to describe the icons which are the end products of iconization in these articles.

In this chapter and the previous one, I introduce many theoretical concepts from LCT and SFL, but intentionally avoid mixing concepts from both theories, as each theory has its own distinctive architecture, and mixing concepts from the two theories would threaten the integrity with which I draw on each in this study. This foregrounds a methodological challenge: studies using both theories together need both to describe the data faithfully, and draw on both theories in a non-reductive way. The following chapter shows how I respond to this challenge.

Chapter 6

Methodological overview

6.1 Introduction

This chapter has two tasks: firstly, to serve as a map for the remainder of the thesis in which I report on my research on political positioning in *Daily Sun* political news articles (in 6.2), and secondly, to describe the ways in which data for this research were collected (in 6.3). While both of these tasks are important, the first is crucial in explaining why this research is structured as it is. In 6.3 I give an account of the data collection for this study, giving reasons for the methodological decisions I made in this collection process and explaining how I assembled a corpus of 516 articles, comprising six months of the *Daily Sun*'s political news coverage. Thus this chapter constitutes a pivotal point in the thesis, the point at which I move from descriptions of theory and contextual knowledge to descriptions of the data and analysis which allow me to respond to this study's research questions as laid out in 1.5.

6.2 Overview of methodology

The structure of the methodology of this study is shaped by the challenge of maintaining three productive tensions: a tension between theory and data, between macro-and micro-analysis, and between LCT and SFL as the two complementary frameworks used for analysis. Meeting this challenge necessitated a complex, multi-stage method of analysis and resulted in developments that make a contribution to both theories. The outline of this method is sketched in 1.6; in this section, I describe the method's structure and the way it is reported in the remainder of the thesis, and then give a detailed motivation for structuring the method in this way by referring to each of the three productive tensions mentioned above.

A schematic overview of the methods used in this study is given in Figure 6.1. This shows that the study's methodology consisted of four stages. In this thesis, one chapter

is dedicated to each of these stages, and an additional chapter describes the translation device developed in this study. Stage 1 in the method is the collection of *Daily Sun* news articles as data from the NewsBank Access South Africa database. The process of collecting this data is described in 6.3. The data collection for this study appears fairly straightforward: I collected a corpus of political news articles from the *Daily Sun* covering a six-month period. Only one type of data was collected, and no interaction with human participants was necessary. However, it was in the data analysis process that the task of maintaining the tensions mentioned above necessitated some innovation and a carefully planned approach in which tools of analysis were recursively refined.

Trends in the positioning of political parties needed to be identified in the large volume of data collected in this process. To identify such trends, corpus analysis was used in Stage 2 to establish what the strongest collocations of the political parties' names were in both newspapers. This corpus analysis is described in Chapter 7. These collocations also formed the basis for the selection of articles for fine-grained analysis in the exploratory analyses (Stage 3) and targeted analyses (Stage 4).

The exploratory analyses were necessary to develop, test and refine the analytic process used in the targeted analyses. Three articles were analysed in detail in the exploratory analyses using complementary LCT and SFL analyses, and the linguistic and discursive resources that were found to be active in political positioning in these analyses were described. In addition to providing insights into these linguistic and discursive resources, the articles analysed in the exploratory analyses yielded many important findings on the ways in which parties are positioned on the 'political landscape' in the *Daily Sun*. This meant that the exploratory analyses were not simply preliminary incursions into the data; they form an integral part of this study and contribute significantly to the responses to its research questions. For these reasons, the exploratory analyses were deemed important enough to be reported on in a separate chapter of this thesis (Chapter 8).

Following the exploratory analyses, a translation device for axiological-semantic density in the news articles was developed, as described in Chapter 9. This device drew on the discursive tendencies identified in both the LCT and SFL exploratory analyses. After the translation device was drafted, it was tested on the articles used for targeted analyses and then refined.

The targeted analyses, as described in Chapter 10, began with short descriptive accounts that were written on each article to be analysed. These were followed by complementary LCT and SFL analyses. The targeted LCT and SFL analyses had two different outcomes. Firstly, the LCT analyses assisted in identifying the cosmologies that underlie coverage of the political parties. Secondly, the SFL analyses showed more precisely how linguistic resources work together in complexes to enact political positioning in the news articles. These two outcomes enable reflection on the study's implications for the study of the use of language in political positioning, and for public discourses in South Africa.

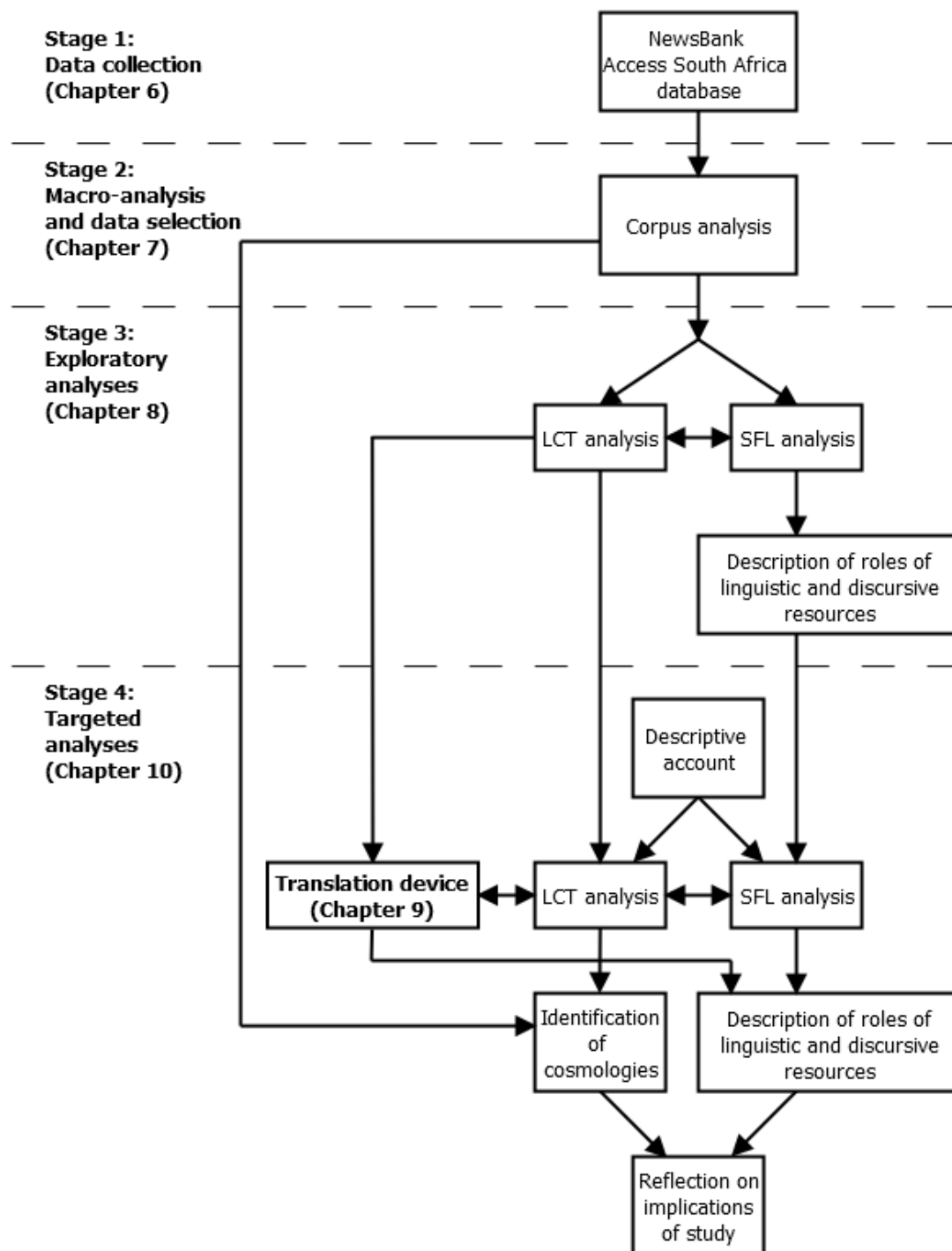


Figure 6.1: Schematic overview of the method used in this study

A detailed description of the methods of analysis used in this study is distributed across different chapters according to the different stages of analysis. The method used in the corpus analysis is described in 7.2, the methods used in the exploratory analyses are given in 8.2, those used to construct the translation device are described in 9.3, and the ways in which the method of analysis was refined for the targeted analyses are mentioned in 10.2. Methodological description is interspersed with reporting on the analysis in this way for ease of reading: it allows the reader to connect the two and follow the movements between theory and data that I made during the course of analysis.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, this complex method of analysis was necessitated by the challenge of maintaining and negotiating three productive tensions. Maton et al (2016) suggest ways in which each of these tensions can be negotiated productively using three techniques: *zooming*, *refocusing*, and *alternating*. These three techniques are labelled “dynamics” (Maton et al. 2016, p.101), with the idea that they enable one to hold the two ends of each tension in a dynamic equilibrium: one may lean closer to one end at one point in analysis, and closer to another later on, but over the course of the entire study, the tension is used productively to enable a rich, non-reductionistic analysis. In the remainder of this section, I describe how I used each of these dynamics to negotiate these three tensions.

The first tension mentioned above is the tension between theory and data. In 1.2 I showed this study was inspired by both concern for the health of South African democracy, and by an interest in the ways in which knowledge concerning politics (as described by LCT) is produced using language (as described by SFL). In other words, this study is shaped by an interest both in data and in theory. However, this brought with it the risk that the theory might overwhelm the data, that I might impose theoretical categories rigidly and deductively on the data so that its own unique characteristics became invisible. Alternatively, there was a risk that the study might become merely descriptive and that the possibility for theory to be used to explain the trends in the data might not be realized.

Maton and Chen address this tension between theory and data by advocating “iterative movements between theory and data” (2016, p. 33): they encourage researchers to immerse themselves alternately in the theory and the data so as to do justice to both. At the beginning of this research I was already, to some extent, immersed in theory: I knew that LCT and SFL were the analytic frameworks I wanted to use for the study, and I wrote the descriptions of concepts from these two frameworks which are included in chapters 4 and 5 prior to collecting the data and analysing it. However, next I needed to immerse myself in the data, discovering the unique characteristics of *Daily Sun* political news articles and the general trends of political positioning found in it. This I did largely by means of the corpus analysis. Here I used one simple concept from corpus linguistics, that of collocations (see 7.2), to guide my exploration of trends in the data. As a result, the reporting on the corpus analysis describes these trends without any reference to SFL or LCT (see 7.3).

When I turned to the fine-grained analysis of the data, I negotiated the tension between theory and data by means of *refocusing* (Maton et al., 2016). This refers to moving back and forth between *soft-focus* analysis, in which analytical categories are either replaced with commonsense terms such as ‘high’ or ‘low’ or are used loosely and imprecisely, and *hard-focus* analysis in which analytical categories are used more precisely. In this study’s exploratory and targeted analyses, I began with soft-focus analyses of the articles selected for analysis, before moving on to a more hard-focus analysis (see 8.2 and 10.2). This is reflected in the way in which I report on each analysis: I begin each with a descriptive account, laying out the context and structure of the article in pre-theoretical terms, before continuing to reports on my LCT and SFL analyses of the article. These descriptive accounts were only formalized as part of my method of analysis for the targeted analyses (see 10.2), which is why they are only shown as part of this stage in Figure 6.1. I found refocusing to be particularly helpful in developing both LCT and SFL concepts further: soft-focus analyses reveal aspects of the data that may not yet be well-described using existing analytic tools, and later harder-focus analyses are useful to test old or new analytic categories, or both, for their suitability in describing the data.

After the exploratory analyses, there was a need to demonstrate how I had bridged the “discursive gap” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 131) between theory and data in these analyses. I accomplished this by showing what the findings of the analyses demonstrate about the linguistic and discursive resources used in political positioning, as described using SFL (see 8.4.2), and by developing a draft of the translation device showing how I enact the LCT concept of axiological-semantic density in the analyses (see 9). Once this was done, I returned to the data to complete the three targeted analyses. These analyses demonstrate the use of these linguistic and discursive resources and the translation device. More importantly, they produced findings with implications both for LCT and SFL (see 11.2), and for the development of South African public spheres (see 11.3). These findings were only possible because of the close dialogue between theory and data that I maintained throughout the analysis process.

The second tension mentioned at the beginning of this section is a tension between macro- and micro-analysis. In this study, I aimed to characterize the positioning of political parties in a large dataset, six months’ worth of political news coverage in the *Daily Sun*. However, I also aimed to discover how linguistic and discursive resources are used in the process of political positioning, an aim which is best fulfilled using extremely close, fine-grained analysis of individual articles. This necessitated *zooming*, which refers to changing the scale of analysis from a *wide-angle* view of all the data to a *telephoto* examination of micro-phenomena (Maton et al., 2016). In this study, I used the corpus analysis to identify large-scale patterns of collocations in my data, beginning with a wide-angle analysis. I used these large-scale patterns to identify individual articles for fine-grained telephoto analysis using LCT and SFL in the exploratory and targeted analyses. Once these analyses were complete, I zoomed out again to a wide-angle view in investigating the cosmologies

that underlie the constellations I discovered in the individual articles (see 11.3.2).

A concern linked to zooming is how one incorporates context into the analysis, particularly the aspects of the social context that lie beyond and behind the data and are described in chapters 2 and 3. Context has a bearing on data at all scales of analysis, from examining entire corpora to individual clauses in articles. LCT and SFL address context in different ways, although both draw on Bernstein's notions of "reservoir" and "repertoire" (1999, p. 159) to conceptualize how participants draw on their contextual knowledge in specific social practices (see 5.5). The concept of cosmologies (See 4.4) may also be used to show how individual texts and discourses are interpreted through the lens of participants' contextual knowledge. In SFL, context can be modelled using the instantiation and individuation/affiliation hierarchies introduced in 5.5. In chapters 8 and 10 I draw on these theoretical resources to show how the social context is always involved in the interpretation of the political news articles I analyse, while being careful to keep the focus on the texts themselves rather than the context. In so doing, I hold text and context together in another productive tension.

Lastly, working with two complementary analytic frameworks like LCT and SFL introduces a third productive tension that is maintained in this study. I negotiated this tension through *alternating* (Maton et al., 2016). This refers to switching between separate analyses of the same data using each framework, and joint analyses using both frameworks. In the exploratory and targeted analyses, following an initial soft-focus descriptive account, I analysed each news article using LCT, before proceeding to an SFL analysis of that same article. This process of alternating allows the LCT and SFL analyses to inform each other: the LCT analysis provides an idea of what political knowledge-building work is being done in a particular article, and the SFL analysis then shows what complexes of linguistic resources are used to accomplish that work.

Thus use of the two analytic frameworks culminated in two distinct sets of findings, which were then combined. The LCT analyses yielded a characterization of the cosmologies underlying the *Daily Sun's* political news coverage (see 11.3.2), and the SFL analyses yielded a description of the linguistic and discursive resources used in political positioning (see 11.2.2). In the conclusions of my reports on each analysis, I bring the LCT and SFL analyses together in a joint description of the ways in which political positioning is accomplished in the article concerned. One of the ways I do this is through tables showing what complexes of linguistic resources work to position each of the constellations evident in the article. Both the LCT and SFL exploratory and targeted analyses contribute to a final picture of how political positioning is accomplished in the political news articles that I analysed. This final picture is presented in 11.2.

A result of this research design is that my study differs from other approaches to enacting axiological-semantic density together with concepts from SFL. Because axiological-semantic density is an under-explored concept, such approaches have largely not yet been described in published work, but have been reported on in conference papers and other

presentations, such as the LCT Centre Roundtables in Sydney, Australia. All of these approaches utilize Appraisal, sometimes along with other concepts from SFL, in enacting axiological-semantic density. Jones (2015) draws on the Appraisal system of Attitude as well as the concept of iconization (see 5.5) to trace axiological-semantic density in PhD examiners' reports. Hao and Martin (2017) use couplings of Attitude with ideational meanings and the concepts of bonding and bond complexing (see 5.5) to analyse constellations in a high school Ancient History unit of study, including teaching materials and classroom interaction. Doran (In preparation) uses both Attitude and Engagement as well as the concept of bonding to examine axiological-semantic density in a news article about new policies relating to diversity that were introduced at the University of New South Wales. Szenes and Tilakaratna (2018) have come closest to creating a translation device that describes particularly the processes of condensing, clustering, constellating and charging in reflective writing essays in the discipline of Social Work; however, this translation device is still very much dependent on the use of Attitude for analysis.

By contrast, in this study, I make use of full complementary analyses using LCT and SFL which are independent of each other. This independence is enabled partly by the creation of a detailed, multi-level translation device for axiological-semantic density in *Daily Sun* political news articles. This device is completely independent of the use of Appraisal. In my SFL analyses, I use not only Appraisal (from the Interpersonal Metafunction) but also resources from the Ideational Metafunction such as grammatical metaphor and Technicality, and resources from the Textual Metafunction such as periodicity. Consistent analysis using concepts from all three metafunctions allows me to find and examine more cross-metafunctional couplings and examine their use in the process of condensing and rarefying axiological meanings. Thus my use of LCT and SFL as complementary frameworks of analysis is designed to reveal a more detailed impression of how language is used to position different people and groups axiologically than is afforded by other approaches to analysing axiological-semantic density in tandem with SFL concepts.

6.3 Data collection

The overview in 6.2 portrays the data collection process for this study as being relatively simple compared to the task of analysing the data using two complementary frameworks. While this may be the case, the data collection process was not simplistic or automatic, but instead required principled decisions to be implemented in a methodical way. In 6.3.1 I give my rationale for choosing to collect political news articles dated from January to June 2015 as the data source for this study. Next, in 6.3.2 I describe how the newspaper articles were collected as raw data from a proprietary online database of historical news articles, and processed for use in a corpus, enabling the corpus analysis described in Chapter 7 to take place.

6.3.1 Selecting articles for collection and analysis

In 1.2 I briefly described the motivation behind choosing to analyse articles from the *Daily Sun*: it is South Africa's most widely-read daily newspaper, and there is lively debate on the question of the extent to which tabloids like the *Daily Sun* facilitate constructive public sphere discussions, as demonstrated in detail in 3.5. In this section, I explain my decisions regarding which genre of article to concentrate on, and what period of coverage to collect articles from, because complex considerations informed both of these decisions, and they shape the characteristics of this study's data in significant ways.

Newspaper coverage of political parties can be broadly categorized into two different genres: political news articles, in which political events or issues are reported on (White, 1997), and opinion pieces, in which the author gives his/her opinion on a particular political event or issue. Opinion pieces appear in a variety of forms, including editorials, op-ed articles and letters to the editor. Martin and White (2005) mention a third type of text called 'analysis' which exists somewhere between hard news and opinion pieces. However, in the labelling of articles by section in NewsBank Access South Africa's *Daily Sun* collection, articles are categorized either as "News" or "Comments" (indicating opinion pieces), with no consistently-labelled intermediate category.

The main distinguishing feature between news and opinion pieces is that in hard news articles an attempt is made to approximate an ideal of journalistic objectivity, while in opinion pieces there is no need to adhere to such an ideal. The extent to which the ideal of journalistic objectivity is attainable or even desirable has been debated often and widely within media studies (Hackett and Zhao, 1998; Thorsen, 2008; Boudana, 2011; Gauthier, 1993; Drew, 1975), but an attempt at 'objectivity', achieved through means such as use of sources on both sides of a conflict, remains one of the generic conventions of news articles. The distinction between news articles and opinion pieces is thus a difference in what Martin and White (2005) refer to as evaluative key: in hard news, journalists tend to report on events using an evaluative key they label 'reporter voice'; in 'analysis', they tend to use a different key known as 'correspondent voice'; and in opinion pieces, they tend to use 'commentator voice' (Martin and White, 2005). In political news articles, one could expect a mixture of 'reporter voice' and 'correspondent voice'.

What this points to is that the types of evaluations, and therefore the types of axiological meanings made, in news articles are qualitatively different from those made in opinion articles, and so these genres are not directly comparable for the purposes of this study. I therefore decided to concentrate on news articles, rather than opinion pieces. This may seem counter-intuitive given that one would expect more axiological meanings to be made in opinion pieces than in supposedly 'objective' news articles.

However, as the examples throughout chapters 4 and 5 show, plenty of axiological meanings are still made in news articles. While opinion pieces are typically written by individuals and are clearly framed in newspapers as reflecting the opinions of those individuals

(or sometimes the organizations they represent), news articles, due to the demand to approximate ‘objectivity’, often include a variety of information from different sources who may disagree with each other. In Bakhtin’s (1981) terms, this makes them more heteroglossic, presenting a mosaic of different stances that the reader must place into different constellations, usually with the assistance of the article’s author who provides hints as to how these different stances should be positioned.

Secondly, because news articles are presented as ‘objective’, the ways in which different stances are positioned in them can easily be misrecognized by compliant readers as being the objective truth. This makes the positioning of stances in news articles potentially much more powerful for influencing citizens’ opinions than that found in opinion pieces. The heteroglossia in news articles also enables one to observe how this heteroglossia is managed by the author, whether space is opened up for alternative views or interpretations of the event in question, or this space is closed down, stifling dialogue. For all these reasons, only political news articles and not opinion pieces were analysed for this study.

In addition to the genre, a particular time span or sampling period on which to concentrate in this study had to be selected. I decided on a six-month sampling period, since this would allow data collection to take place relatively quickly while ensuring a large enough corpus in which to find significant collocations in the data, as I describe in Chapter 7.

The timing of this sampling period was also important. If it fell over an election, or the lead-up to an election, then there would probably be a larger volume of political coverage, but political opinions are not necessarily formed during election campaigns only, but also through people’s understandings of the everyday actions of politicians engaging in “politics as usual” (Wodak, 2009, p. 89). More particularly, during election campaigns, politicians are intensely involved in presenting themselves and their own parties in as favourable a light as possible, and their opponents in as negative a light as possible. While the discursive resources they employ to accomplish this may be extremely interesting, this project set out to observe how the political parties were positioned in the newspapers by journalists and a wide range of news sources, rather than observing only or mainly how politicians themselves positioned each other. In addition, this study, as a PhD research project, was designed to take four years to complete. Although the findings arrived at in this study concern discursive trends that apply broadly to South African political discourses and not only to the period covered by the sampling period, the study would be more interesting and demonstrably relevant if this sampling period were relatively recent.

Thus the sampling period I selected was the first six months of this PhD research project, January to June 2015. This was a period of “politics as usual” (Wodak 2009, p. 89), albeit one with a number of distinctive factors and events. It started almost eight months after the general elections in May 2014, ensuring that it was fairly early in South Africa’s election cycle. New members of parliament had settled into their roles and were making their presence felt, particularly those from the EFF, which had just contested their first general elections. In fact, this period was marked by an atmosphere of increased confrontation

between the ANC and opposition parties in Parliament, precipitated largely by the arrival of the EFF (Calland and Seedat, 2015). The #RhodesMustFall movement called for the University of Cape Town to remove a statue of Cecil John Rhodes from public display on campus (Naicker, 2016), and a wave of vandalism of statues of colonial and apartheid-era figures throughout the country (see 2.4). Also during this period, Mmusi Maimane was elected as the first black leader of the DA, replacing Helen Zille. The circumstances and debates surrounding this change of leadership are described in 2.5.

In the context of all of these trends and events, one could expect to find a significant number of linguistic features enacting axiological-semantic density in political news from this period. The two main threads of debate in South African political discourse highlighted in 2.4 and 2.5 were quite prominent in the news media during this period: Maimane's election as DA leader raised questions about South African nationhood and 'racial' identity (see, for instance, 10.3.2), while the EFF were raising questions about economic policy and redistribution in parliament, in addition to challenging alleged government corruption (see 10.3.3).

6.3.2 Collecting, cleaning and cataloguing news articles

This section describes how articles were collected for this study electronically using a proprietary news database, NewsBank's Access South Africa. NewsBank is an international business providing access to current and historical articles from thousands of publications to institutions such as government departments and university libraries (NewsBank, 2017a). Its Access South Africa database contains the full text of articles from over 150 South African newspapers and magazines, covering the late 1980s to the present (NewsBank, 2017b). It is the only database of its kind that I am aware of which includes the *Daily Sun*, and it stores articles as HTML text, rather than PDF files. This makes it much easier to retrieve the text of the articles for inclusion in a corpus. Access South Africa includes almost all articles published in the print editions of these publications. By contrast, newspapers' websites reproduce varying proportions of the articles published in the print editions. My calculations based on one sample edition of the *Daily Sun* indicate that, in 2015, only 52% of *Daily Sun* articles were reproduced on its website (<http://www.dailysun.co.za>). These factors made Access South Africa an extremely useful data source for this project.

Once the articles had been collected and stored, they needed to be processed further so that individual articles would be easy to access and corpus analysis software could be used accurately to generate useful information (see Chapter 7). It was possible to automate this process using a Java script. To show what was involved in processing the data to make it usable for corpus analysis, how data was catalogued and how metadata on each article was stored, in the following paragraphs I explain in detail the functions that the Java script fulfilled.

First, the batches of articles needed to be separated into individual articles, each saved in its own text files. This was not difficult to automate, since at the end of each article in the database there was a copyright statement ending with the words “All rights reserved.” Once this phrase was reached, the script would copy the article to a separate file.

These separate files needed to be named according to a file naming convention that would clearly identify the article’s date of publication and headline. For example, the *Daily Sun* article “Bafana leave it late!”, published on 5 January 2015 was stored using the filename “ds20150105bafana_leave_it_late.txt”. Here the first two characters of the filename indicate the publication name, abbreviated to ‘ds’. This is followed by the date and the headline, written all in lower case, with no punctuation and underscores to separate words. In some cases, the headlines were very long, causing problems when transferring files and particularly when uploading them to Google Drive. For this reason, a maximum length of 50 characters was permitted and file names longer than that were truncated. Files with an identical filename to another were deleted as duplicates.

Next, metadata from the articles needed to be catalogued and removed from the individual article text files. I decided to remove all the metadata and copyright notices from the article text files, apart from the article headline, and picture captions which appeared at the bottom of some articles. This is important for the purposes of corpus analysis as metadata in a text file can cause distortions in corpus analysis, where words from the metadata are counted in statistics that are meant to be descriptive of the running text of articles rather than their metadata. Each article retrieved from Access South Africa began with a header filled with a variety of metadata describing the article, including a description of the section of the newspaper in which the article originally appeared. An example of such a header is shown below:

```
COUPLE CLAIMS COPS FAILED THEM
Daily Sun (Johannesburg, South Africa) - April 1, 2015
Author/Byline: Mbulelo SisuluSection: NewsPage: 12Readability: 11-12
grade level (Lexile: 1290)
```

In addition, each article included a footer such as the following, taken from the same article:

```
Record: 1cc31840-d7b9-11e4-93e1-257441656cd0Copyright: Copyright ©
2015 Daily Sun, All rights reserved.
```

The Java script separated out this information into fields for inclusion in a metadata spreadsheet giving details about each article in the corpus, and then deleted all of it except for the headline. The metadata spreadsheet includes the following fields:

- Number: a simple integer to identify the text, assigned by the Java script.

- Filename: the filename created using the file naming conventions described above.
- Publication: *Daily Sun*.
- Date: the date of publication, using YYYY-MM-DD format.
- Author: the article author's name, given after the text "Author/Byline:" in the header shown above.
- Section: the description of which section of the newspaper the original article came from, given after the text "Section:" in the header shown above.
- Page: the page number of the article in the original publication.
- Readability lexile: a figure calculated by NewsBank using a statistical readability formula to estimate the readability of the article. This number appears in brackets after "Lexile:" in the header shown above.
- NewsBank record no.: a unique identifier for the article assigned by NewsBank. This appears after "Record:" in the footer shown above.
- Word count: the number of words in the running text of the article, excluding the headline. This number was generated by the Java script.
- Politics y/n: whether or not the article mentioned at least one of the five largest political parties in South Africa. The Java script populated this field with a "y" for all articles including the strings 'ANC' [African National Congress], 'DA' [Democratic Alliance], 'EFF' [Economic Freedom Fighters], 'IFP' [Inkatha Freedom Party] and/or 'NFP' [National Freedom Party] as separate words. Acronyms rather than the full names of parties were given as criteria, as I had already found that *Daily Sun* articles frequently only refer to parties by their acronyms.

Two of the metadata fields assisted in sorting the articles into separate folders for ease of access and use in corpus software. It was necessary for the articles to be separated into news articles and opinion pieces, and also for the articles mentioning political parties to be identified and placed in a separate folder. As mentioned in 6.3.1, opinion articles and letters were marked as such in the Access South Africa database by use of the word "Comments" in the "Section" field. All articles containing this descriptor were placed in a separate "Opinion and Letters" subfolder, while the other articles remained in a "News" subfolder. This means that in the selection of data for analysis, I followed the newspaper's own classifications of what are considered to be opinion pieces and what are considered to be news articles.

Secondly, the *Daily Sun* articles for which "y" appeared in the "Politics y/n" field were copied into a separate "PoliticsOnly" subfolder within the *Daily Sun* folder. This subfolder was divided once again into an "Opinion and Letters" and "News" subfolder. This

arrangement of folders preserved the opinion pieces mentioning political parties from each newspaper in separate folders, so that these could be used for comparison or for future research if necessary.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter presents crucial information for understanding the data collection and analysis conducted in this study. The multi-stage methodology described in 6.2 maps out this process, and the remainder of the thesis. This complex methodology is an innovation which provides a structure enabling further methodological innovations. Using it, findings can be produced that do justice to the complexity of the discourse found in the *Daily Sun* political news articles analysed in this study. It also allows space for the study to innovate by contributing to the development of concepts in LCT and SFL as well as the dialogue between these two theories.

By contrast, the data collection process described in 6.3 may seem simple, but it also determined the course of this study in significant ways. It yielded the data which is described in the following chapter on the corpus analysis, and ultimately the articles for the fine-grained analyses described in chapters 8 and 10. In describing this process, this chapter acts as an important stepping stone to the remainder of the thesis.

Chapter 7

Corpus analysis

7.1 Introduction

Corpus analysis may seem to be a rather unusual interloper in this thesis. It is the only quantitative element in what is otherwise a qualitative study. This corpus analysis does not explicitly employ Legitimation Code Theory (LCT) and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), the two analytic frameworks used in the rest of the study. In addition, I use the corpus analysis to make a wide-angle analysis of six months' worth of *Daily Sun* political news coverage, while the exploratory and targeted analyses that follow (chapters 8 and 10) concentrate on only three selected articles each. However, as is shown in 6.2, it is precisely these characteristics of the corpus analysis that make it useful for two specific purposes in this study: to describe broad trends in the positioning of political parties in the data, and to enable the selection of articles that exemplify these trends for the exploratory and targeted analyses. In short, the corpus analysis presented in this chapter answers the question “What policy positions and moral evaluations are associated with political parties in the *Daily Sun*?”, before I can answer the question, “How is language used to make these associations?” For this reason, the corpus analysis comes before the exploratory and targeted analyses in the structure of the methodology of this thesis, as shown in Figure 7.1.

Corpus analysis is a useful means by which to identify trends in large expanses of linguistic data quickly. It affords a perspective on the recurring patterns found in these large expanses of data which would not be possible to achieve using manual analysis. It also produces quantitative information on the prevalence of trends, which can be a useful complement to qualitative analyses, and can prevent analysts from simply ‘cherry-picking’ data that confirms their preconceived assumptions (Hunt, 2015). For this reason, various systemic functional linguists find corpus linguistics extremely helpful, especially when analysing media texts.

For example, Bednarek developed a “three-pronged approach” (2010, p. 249) for analysis of large amounts of data from media discourse, such as a large collection of scripts from

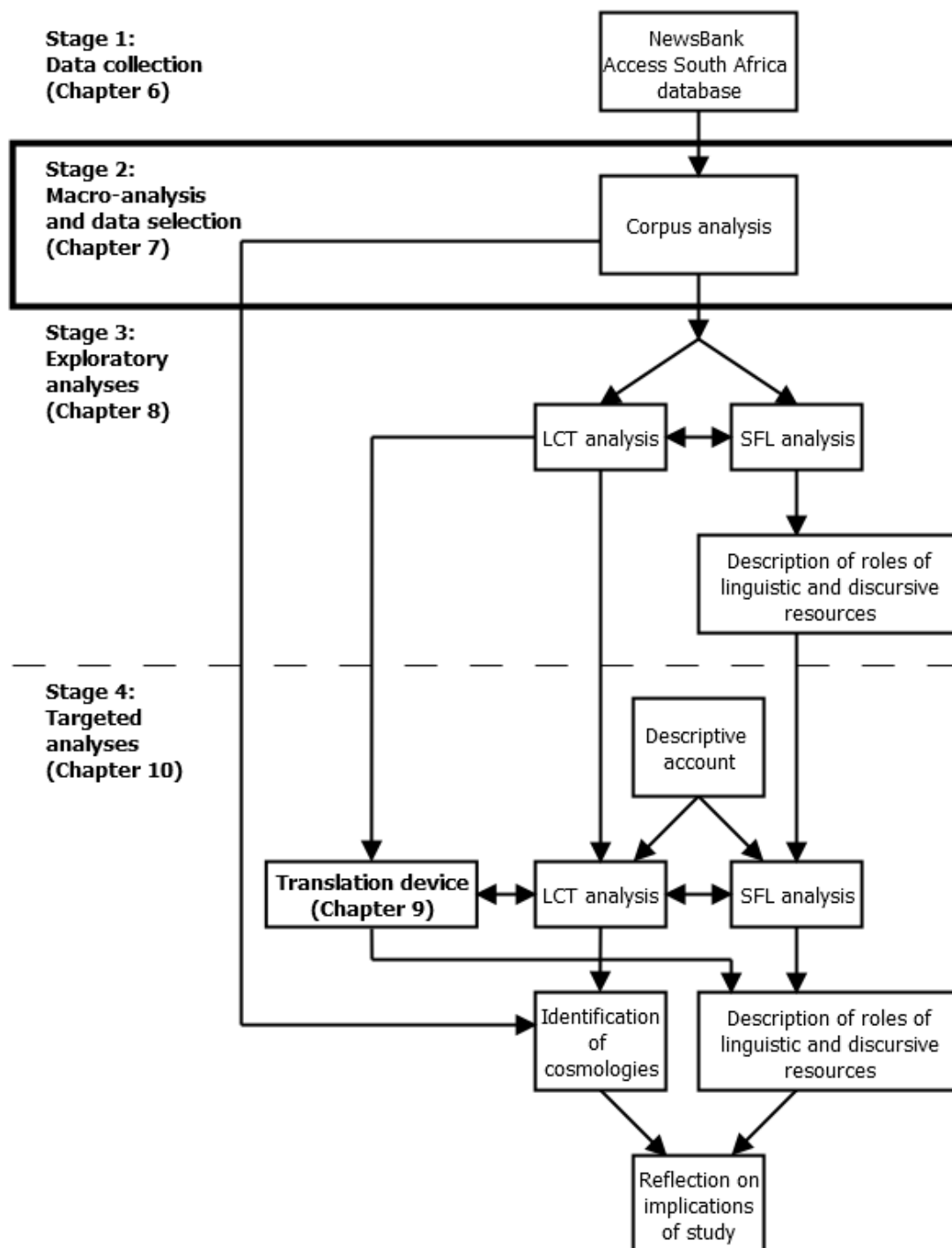


Figure 7.1: Structure of methodology, with corpus analysis highlighted

the television drama series, *The Gilmore Girls*. In this approach, she uses firstly an automated analysis of a large corpus to explore her data. This automated corpus analysis allows her to observe patterns on a lexicogrammatical level, such as relationships between individual words. It also allows for maximal representivity of the data set, allowing her to see how meanings interact on a phylogenetic scale, in this case over the course of the development of the entire data set. Secondly, she uses smaller-scale analysis of a selected sub-corpus using a mixture of computerized and manual methods of analysis to observe trends on a meso-scale. This smaller-scale analysis allows her to bring patterns at the level of discourse semantics into view. Thirdly, she analyses individual scenes from the television drama manually to reveal meanings unfolding over the course of individual texts. In such manual analysis, she is also able to bring in insights from the context of the discourse in the scene. In this way, combining corpus analysis with manual analysis enables Bednarek to enact zooming (see 6.2; Maton et al., 2016).

I do not attempt such a three-pronged approach in this study since the main emphasis of this study is on how language is used to position political parties in the unfolding of single articles. For these reasons, I would not consider this study as being either a corpus-driven or a corpus-based study (see Baker, 2010 for an explanation of these terms). However, I do, like Bednarek (2010), use corpus analysis to enact zooming: it is helpful in revealing a synoptic view of the broader patterns operative across my large set of data from the *Daily Sun*.

In 7.2, I explain the theoretical basis underlying my use of collocations as a tool to reveal political positioning in the data, and the way in which I use corpus analysis software to reveal and analyse this positioning. Following that, I describe how I use the corpus analyses to select articles for fine-grained analysis in the exploratory and targeted analysis stages of this study. I report on the corpus analysis itself in 7.3, describing the policy positions and moral evaluations that are associated with each of South Africa's three largest political parties in the data. A conclusion (7.4) summarizes this account, emphasizing the ways in which the corpus analysis contributes to the exploratory and targeted analyses.

7.2 Method of corpus analysis and selection of articles for fine-grained analysis

Political positioning is essentially accomplished through establishing associations between the names of political parties or individual politicians, and other words that describe different characteristics attributed to these parties and politicians. In 1.4.2, I link political positioning to concepts from LCT and SFL which assist in showing how this positioning takes place. In LCT, a constellation analysis is essentially an analysis of the connections that are established between different concepts, such as those between political parties and their attributes, in the process of knowledge-building (see 1.4.2.1). One way in which

to observe these connections in discursive data is to observe the ways in which words are associated with each other. In SFL terms, this could be referred to as observing the recurrent couplings between different meanings and the ways in which these are structured into syndromes, or complexes (see 1.4.2.2). While coupling refers to combinations of linguistic resources rather than the words that instantiate them, where one finds a pattern of two lexical items co-occurring repeatedly, this may well provide good evidence of the existence of a complex.

Such patterns of co-occurring lexical items are what are known in corpus linguistics as *collocations*. Collocations can establish semantic prosodies: a word's collocates can 'colour' that word with a particular attitudinal or evaluative meaning (see 5.4 for an explanation of the term 'semantic prosody'). This tendency is commonly recognized in corpus linguistics (Baker, 2010; Xiao and McEnery, 2006). For example, if the word 'illegal' collocates strongly with 'immigrant', one may associate the negative evaluation inherent in 'illegal' with 'immigrant' even when the word 'illegal' does not appear. Thus collocation becomes a means by which axiological charging (in LCT terms) and iconization (in SFL terms) takes place. This means that one can use collocations to study the ways in which meanings are condensed into words across a large amount of data, such as the corpus of *Daily Sun* political news articles I collected.

Typically, three features have been used to define collocations: *distance*, *frequency* and *exclusivity* (Brezina et al., 2015). The following description of collocations draws on their work. Distance refers to the number of words between the "*node word*" (Brezina et al., 2015, p. 140) being searched for and the words that collocate with it. In this study, I use a "*collocation window*" (Brezina et al., 2015, p. 140) of 5L to 5R; in other words, a collocate is defined as a word within five words to the left or right of the node word. Frequency is the number of times that the collocation appears in the corpus under investigation. In my searches for collocations, I set a minimum frequency as a threshold below which a particular coupling will not be considered. For example, if the word "home" collocates with "ANC" (African National Congress) only twice in the *Daily Sun* corpus, and the minimum frequency for collocations is set at seven in my search for collocations of "ANC" in this corpus, then I would not consider this collocation of "ANC" with "home" in my analysis. Thirdly, exclusivity refers to the extent to which the collocate word appears only in the environment of the search word and not in other places. In my study, I measure exclusivity by using the Mutual Information (MI) statistical measure as an indicator of collocation strength; further information on this choice is given below.

For the initial discovery of collocations, I used AntConc v.3.4.4w (Anthony, 2014), a free software application, to analyse the corpus. I loaded the complete final corpus into the application, and then used the application's Collocates tool to search for collocations of each of the parties' names. I used the parameters listed above in doing so. The MI statistic was used to assess collocation strength as it is commonly used for this purpose in corpus linguistics (Brezina et al., 2015; Baker, 2010; Xiao and McEnery, 2006). MI

scores are known to emphasize the exclusivity of collocations over their frequency, and so they are often criticized as being biased towards low-frequency words which pattern extremely closely with the node word (Xiao and McEnery, 2006; Baker, 2010; Brezina et al., 2015). Other measures, such as MI squared (MI2), MI cubed (MI3) or log-likelihood are recommended to remove such bias (Brezina et al., 2015), but as a result, these measures tend to highlight collocations with high-frequency grammatical words such as ‘a’, ‘the’ and ‘of’, rather than lexical items.

Furthermore, there may be *a priori* reasons to consider exclusivity as more important than frequency as a quality of collocations that allows for axiological charging and iconization. High-frequency words are expected to occur often anywhere in a text, and so it is no surprise to find them collocating with a political party’s name or any other node word. However, when low-frequency words show a strong association with a party’s name, this can more readily be noticed as significant by the reader, and so exclusive, low-frequency collocations may well have more impact on a reader’s knowledge-building processes than collocations with high-frequency words. Nevertheless, it is necessary to prevent the MI statistic from overemphasizing the importance of collocations that appear only once or twice in the entire corpus. This can be done in most corpus analysis software by setting the minimum frequency of the collocations to be identified. Such a setting must, however, be sensitive to the overall size of the corpus and the frequency of mentions of the node word in the corpus. In my research, I do this by setting the minimum frequency to 7 when searching for collocations of the largest political parties, the ANC, DA (Democratic Alliance) and EFF (Economic Freedom Fighters).

In my collocation searches, I used the parties’ acronyms (“ANC”, “DA” and “EFF”) as search terms. These were preferred to the expanded versions of the parties’ names, since only the acronyms and not the expanded versions appear in some *Daily Sun* political news articles, as explained in 6.3.2. In the searches, it was specified that these names be searched for as whole words. This ensured that, for example, the letters ‘da’ and ‘anc’ in the word “dance” would not be counted as mentions of the political parties. Figure 7.2 presents a screenshot from AntConc showing the results of a search for collocations of the ANC in the *Daily Sun* corpus. Once the collocations of a particular political party name had been calculated, I exported the list of collocations as a text (.txt) file and saved it.

Thereafter, I sorted through the strongest collocations to arrive at a list of the 10 strongest significant lexical collocations. In this process, I joined together the given names and surnames of people mentioned in the collocation list. To do this, I viewed the concordance for each collocation in AntConc to find the surnames of individuals whose given names were strong collocations, and the given names of those whose surnames were strong collocations. This was also necessary to check whether there were not two or more individuals with the same surname or first name mentioned as collocates. I removed from the list words which were part of the party’s name, such as “congress”. These words frequently collocate with the party’s acronym because they would appear in phrases such as “African

AntConc 3.4.4w (Windows) 2014

File Global Settings Tool Preferences Help

Corpus Files

Concordance Concordance Plot File View Clusters/N-Grams Collocates Word List Keyword List

Total No. of Collocate Types: 185 Total No. of Collocate Tokens: 5911

Rank	Freq	Freq(L)	Freq(R)	Stat	Collocate
1	8	3	5	7.44884	mopani
2	10	1	9	7.25619	zizi
3	8	4	4	7.25619	clash
4	9	1	8	6.96669	kodwa
5	11	11	0	6.90827	wearing
6	19	3	16	6.74923	gwede
7	63	4	59	6.66362	league
8	8	1	7	6.55575	seabi
9	7	4	3	6.36311	mashatile
10	8	4	4	6.34930	faction
11	9	1	8	6.33865	veterans
12	35	5	30	6.27695	regional
13	7	1	6	6.25619	shirt
14	15	2	13	6.16308	shirts

Search Term Words Case Regex

anc

Window Span Same

From... 5L To... 5R

Min. Collocate Frequency 7

Sort by Invert Order

Sort by Stat

Clone Results

Total No. 516

Files Processed

Figure 7.2: An *AntConc* screenshot showing the strongest collocations of “ANC”

National Congress (ANC)” every time the full name is given with the acronym. I also removed any grammatical words, including conjunctions, complementizers, prepositions, determiners and pronouns (Baker, 2010) from the collocation lists where they appeared.

This yielded a list of what I call the ten strongest significant lexical collocations for each party. For example, Table 7.1 lists the ten strongest significant lexical collocations of “ANC” in the corpus. In this table, I place in brackets the parts of people’s names that did not form part of the list of the strongest 11 collocations as produced by *AntConc*. Apart from the people’s names, one collocation that would be unfamiliar to international readers is “Mopani”, which refers to a district in South Africa’s Limpopo province (see 7.3.1).

In the corpus analysis for this study, while individual collocations of a particular political party do reveal concepts likely to be constellated with that party, often the significance of those collocations is not immediately apparent. For example, many of the most frequent collocations with political parties are names of people. While these people usually have an obvious link with the party through being party members, their names also frequently have associations with particular political stances that they take and actions that they undertake. As a result, they may associate their parties with these stances and actions.

For example, one of the strongest collocations of the DA in the *Daily Sun* corpus is the name “Mkhari”, referring to Michael Mkhari, a DA councillor in the Tshwane (Pretoria)

ANC collocations	
1	Mopani
2	Zizi Kodwa
3	clash
4	wearing (T-shirts)
5	Gwede (Mantashe)
6	league
7	(Nocks) Seabi
8	(Paul) Mashatile
9	faction
10	veterans

Table 7.1: *The ten strongest significant lexical collocations of “ANC”*

municipality who was reported on as having raised funds for families who could not afford funerals for their loved ones, and helping the elderly. The use of his name would link positive associations with the DA. The significance of this collocation is examined in more detail in 7.3.2. Alternatively, a person’s name may be linked with a particular issue or policy debate that was taking place during the period under investigation. For example, the eighth strongest significant lexical collocation with the ANC is Paul Mashatile, as shown in 7.1. He is a frequent critic of Jacob Zuma, and so the use of his name highlights divisions in the ruling party regarding Zuma’s leadership, as shown in 7.3.1.

The most accurate way in which to investigate the political positioning of individual collocates is to analyse individual articles mentioning these collocations, which is what I do in the exploratory and targeted analyses for selected articles. However, some first impressions of the significance of individual collocates can be gained by exploring the collocates of these collocates, that is the “*second-order collocates*” (Brezina et al. 2015, p. 152) of the party names. This can be done by examining “*collocation networks*” (Brezina et al. 2015, p. 152). A collocation network is “a complex network of semantic relationships” (Brezina et al. 2015, p.141), which shows how different words join in relations of collocation. In this study, I use the GraphColl tool in a software application called #LancsBox v.2 (Brezina et al., 2016), to visualize collocation networks.

I began by loading the corpus into #LancsBox, just as I had with AntConc. Following that, I used the GraphColl tool to draw a collocation network for each of the political parties’ acronyms, using the MI score, the same collocation window and the same minimum frequency threshold settings as in the calculation of collocations using AntConc. This ensured that the list of collocations produced in #LancsBox would replicate as accurately as possible those produced in AntConc.

However, in #LancsBox, an additional parameter is required to draw collocation networks: a minimum MI score threshold above which collocations will be visualized using GraphColl. This parameter is important as without it, GraphColl would draw collocation networks showing every single collocation above the minimum frequency threshold,

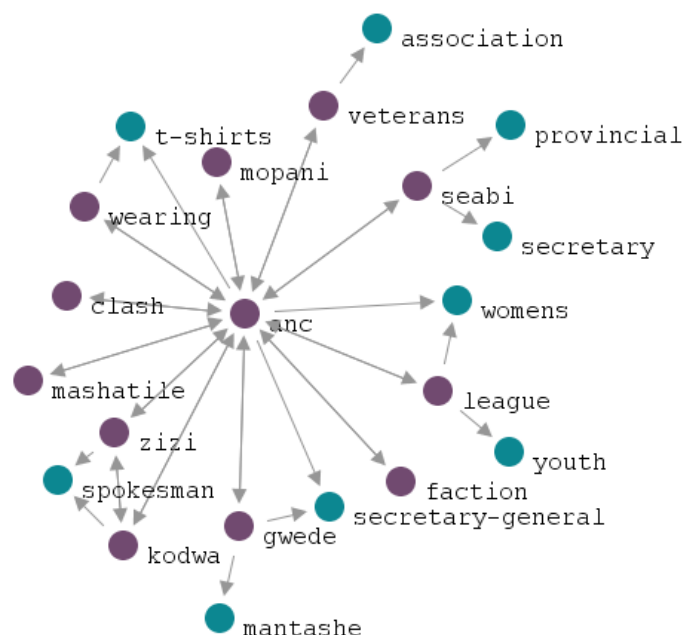


Figure 7.3: *Second-order collocation network for “ANC”. Min freq = 7, Stat value > 6,3*

resulting in a dense cloud of collocates in which individual words cannot be distinguished from each other. I set the minimum MI score threshold at slightly below that of the 10th strongest significant lexical collocation for that particular party as calculated by AntConc, so that all of the 10 strongest significant lexical collocations would be present in the collocation network visualization and no more than those.

Once the collocation network was drawn in #LancsBox, I would select some of these 10 strongest significant lexical collocations (and in cases where the person’s name, surname and/or title collocate strongly with the party name, all of the above words), commanding the program to draw the collocations of these words. This results in second-order collocation networks, similar to the one presented in Figure 7.3, which depicts the strongest second-order collocates of “ANC” in the *Daily Sun* corpus.

I chose not to show the second-order collocates of some significant lexical collocations where this would obscure the clarity of the resulting collocation network. For example, “womens” appears as a strong collocate of the ANC in the *Daily Sun* corpus. (#LancsBox does not take the apostrophe in words like “women’s” into account.) However, since the word “womens” is mentioned many times in many contexts, it has many collocates that do not relate to the ANC, and so if the collocations of “womens” were shown on a collocation network for the ANC, then the network would be dominated by the collocations of “womens” and the other collocations of the ANC would not be clearly visible as a result. Thus second-order collocations are only shown where they add to an understanding of the first-order collocations they are associated with. In collocation network diagrams such as the one in Figure 7.3, purple dots indicate words whose collocations are shown, while blue dots show collocates of those words. The length of the arrows refers to the relative strength

of the collocation, with stronger collocations represented by shorter arrows between nodes, and weaker collocations with longer arrows. Double-headed arrows indicate that the collocation relationship works in two directions: both words on either end of the arrows are collocates of each other.

Once collocation lists and second-order collocation networks had been drawn up for each of the ANC, DA and EFF, these results were analysed. In my analysis of these collocation lists and collocation networks, I made a short description of each of the 10 strongest significant lexical collocations, explaining their link with the political party that is the node word. In preparing these descriptions, I examined the concordance lines in which the collocation is attested in the data. I also looked at the concordance lines to find evidence of any evaluative words that were associated with the collocate in the data. This was particularly important in cases such as the example of Michael Mkhari mentioned above, in which the associations of a name can add positive or negative associations to a particular party.

The process outlined above also assists in assessing how active a collocation is in the positioning of a particular party. Not all collocates accomplish political positioning in equal measure; some collocates are neither value-laden in any way nor associated with a particular policy stance. Once all the 10 strongest significant lexical collocations of a particular party in one publication had been examined in this way, I considered what the collocations as a group reveal about the positioning of the party in that publication, and wrote a brief summary describing the collective effects of these collocations as seen from an analyst's perspective.

This analysis of collocations provokes a need to zoom in and analyse how these collocations are used in positioning political parties on a logogenetic scale, that is, over the unfolding of individual articles. Thus the corpus analysis was used to select individual articles for fine-grained analysis in the exploratory and targeted analysis stages of research. The number of articles that could be analysed in these stages is limited due to the fine-grained nature of this analysis, and so these articles had to be selected with care to ensure that they reflected the strongest trends revealed in the corpus analysis. I selected three articles for each of these two stages of analysis.

For the exploratory analyses, which were conducted first, articles were not selected using a rigorous sampling method but rather were chosen on a more exploratory basis, because they represent interesting collocations found using the corpus analysis. For example, one article was selected because it represents the collocation of "ANC" with "faction", a word which clearly positions the ANC negatively as being divided internally (see 8.3.2). This same article also includes the collocation of "EFF" with "disrupt", another collocation which clearly works to position that party. The two other articles were selected because they represent collocations of different party names with each other: in one article, the "ANC", "IFP" (Inkatha Freedom Party) and "NFP" (National Freedom Party) co-occurred in close proximity (see 8.3.1), and in another, six opposition parties were listed together

in the phrase “DA, IFP, UDM [United Democratic Movement], FF [Freedom Front] Plus, Cope [Congress of the People] and the ACDP [African Christian Democratic Party]” (see 8.3.3). This aided in giving me a sense for how parties were positioned in relation to each other, and also allowed me to explore the positioning of smaller parties, providing context for the descriptions of the three largest political parties found in 7.3 and Chapter 10.

For the targeted analyses, a more rigorous selection of articles was made. For this final stage of analysis, it was crucial that the three articles selected were as representative as possible of the trends discovered in the corpus analysis. For this reason, I decided that the articles to be selected should be those which:

- include instances of the highest number of the strongest significant lexical collocations of a particular party, and
- mention more than one party’s name.

These selection criteria allowed me both to observe examples of the strongest significant lexical collocations in use in the context of an entire text, and to observe how parties are positioned in relation to each other.

To find such articles, I collected lists of the articles in which each of the ten strongest significant lexical collocations is mentioned, using the Concordance tool in AntConc. I exported these lists to Microsoft Excel. Following this, I deleted duplicates in these lists, caused by instances where a collocation occurred more than once in the same article. I then used the CountIf function in Excel to count the number of occurrences of each article. This produced a number showing how many of the ten strongest significant lexical collocations of a particular party occurred in each article. Using this, I was able to see which articles contained the highest number of strongest significant lexical collocations, and select these for the targeted analysis.

The article with the highest number of strongest significant lexical collocations with the DA also mentioned the ANC’s name, and so fulfilled both the criteria mentioned above. In the case of the ANC and EFF, the articles with the highest number of strongest significant lexical collocations only mentioned one party, and so those with the second-highest number were chosen in both cases. The ways in which the selected articles figure in the context of the party’s coverage as a whole is shown in 7.3, where I motivate the selection of articles for the targeted analyses in far more detail.

7.3 Report on corpus analysis

In this section, I examine the collocates of each of the three largest political parties (the ANC, DA and EFF) in turn, showing what they reveal about the positioning of these different parties in the *Daily Sun*’s coverage. The *Daily Sun* corpus consists of 516 political

Rank	Collocate	MI score	Frequency	Frequency (L)	Frequency (R)
1	mopani	7,44884	8	3	5
2	zizi	7,25619	10	1	9
3	clash	7,25619	8	4	4
4	kodwa	6,96669	9	1	8
5	wearing	6,90827	11	11	0
6	gwede	6,74923	19	3	16
7	league	6,66362	63	4	59
8	seabi	6,55575	8	1	7
9	mashatile	6,36311	7	4	3
10	faction	6,34930	8	4	4
11	veterans	6,33865	9	1	8

Table 7.2: *Strongest raw collocations of “ANC”. Minimum frequency = 7, Span = 5L – 5R*

news articles, amounting to a total of 143 548 words (tokens) and 10 619 different word types. Thus the articles have an average length of 278 words. In this section, I refer to examples of collocations in many *Daily Sun* articles, which are referenced in footnotes. To do this, I must introduce and give background information on many different people, places and organizations associated with each of the parties, and so there is much information in this section that serves to supplement the description of South African political discourses found in Chapter 2. I draw out general themes in the collocations of each party, enabling me to characterize the positioning of these parties in the newspaper’s coverage.

7.3.1 ANC collocations

The ANC is mentioned 939 times in the *Daily Sun* corpus; thus it is mentioned on average 1,82 times per article in the corpus. Two main themes are evident from the strongest collocations with the ANC. One is an emphasis on specific localities and concrete actions and material objects, such as “wearing (T-shirts)”. The second is an association between the ANC and both internal and external conflicts. In the following description of these collocations I mention them in descending order of collocation strength, but the strongest significant lexical collocate is a good example of the former theme, while some slightly weaker collocates, beginning with “clash”, provide exemplars of the association between the ANC and conflict.

The eleven strongest raw collocations of the ANC according to MI scores with a minimum frequency threshold of 7 are given in Table 7.2. The total number of times the collocation occurs is listed under “Frequency”, while “Frequency (L)” refers to the number of times the collocate appears to the left of the party name, and “Frequency (R)” to the number of times it appears to the right of the party name. These collocations were refined to arrive at the list of strongest significant ANC collocations shown in Table 7.1, and the second-order collocation network for “ANC” is shown in Figure 7.3.

Mopani: The strongest lexical collocate of the ANC, “Mopani”, refers to a district in the Limpopo province, in the far northeastern corner of the country, including the towns of Phalaborwa, Tzaneen and Giyani (Local Government Handbook, 2017b), and more particularly to the ANC regional structure based in this district. It is a relatively poor rural area, with a 39% unemployment rate according to the 2011 census (Local Government Handbook, 2017a).

The collocation between the ANC and “Mopani” occurs eight times in only four articles. In one of these, the Mopani ANC donated R200 000 worth of furniture to a local school outside Tzaneen.¹

The other three are less positive in their coverage of the ANC. One article refers to a scandal in which a “former ANC Mopani regional chairman and executive mayor” had his wedding interrupted by his ex-wife, who accused him of not paying maintenance for his children; both accused each other of extra-marital affairs which had contributed to the demise of their former marriage.² Another describes how a ward councillor who had resigned was still drawing a salary of R15 000 a month from the municipality.³ The article in which the collocation appears the most (a total of five times) reports on a critique of selfish behaviour in the ANC given in a lecture in Giyani by Soviet Lekganyane, a member of the party’s Limpopo Provincial Executive Committee.⁴ In this article, the majority of the collocations appear in the picture captions, naming two leaders of the ANC Mopani regional structures.

It may simply be coincidental that all these events occur in the same district, and that the name of the Mopani district is associated exclusively with the ANC in the *Daily Sun*’s coverage. There does not seem to be one particular event or debate that is associated with the ANC’s structures in the district. However, this collocation does reveal a microcosm of the types of issues and debates that are covered in the *Daily Sun*’s coverage of the ANC. It shows that there is a fairly strong emphasis on local issues and news from places that are (in this case, geographically, as well as socio-economically) on the rural margins of South Africa. The edition of the *Daily Sun* archived in the NewsBank Access South Africa database appears to be the Tshwane (Pretoria) edition. Tshwane borders on the Limpopo province, which may well be a further reason for the prominence of a region in this province. The *Daily Sun* tends to emphasize simple stories of community-spirited good deeds such as the donation of furniture to a school. It also covers stories of local instances of failures in service delivery or corruption, such as the story of the ex-ward councillor still drawing a salary. The article in which an ANC provincial leader criticizes elements within his own party demonstrates how internal divisions and fighting within the ruling party are covered. Of course, there is also room for salacious sex scandals and soap-opera style coverage, like the story of the ex-wife who interrupted the former mayor’s

¹“Now kids will be comfortable! - Donation means easier learning”, 20 February 2015

²“He behaved like a puppy”, 19 May 2015

³“R15 000 a month for staying at home!”, 23 June 2015

⁴“Lekganyane slams ANC!”, 4 June 2015

wedding.

Zizi Kodwa: Zizi Kodwa, the ANC’s national spokesperson, is the second strongest significant lexical collocates of the party’s name. Strong collocations between “Zizi”, “Kodwa” and “spokesman” are shown in Figure 7.3. This is fairly unsurprising, since the spokesperson would be the most common person to be quoted every time a viewpoint or statement from the party is required, and his name would not appear very often in other contexts. Despite this, the collocation appears only 10 times in the corpus. Kodwa is quoted on a wide variety of matters, from allegations that the DA-run City of Cape Town municipality was unfair in imposing a variety of stringent conditions on the organizers of the ANC’s 103rd birthday celebrations in the city⁵ to the party’s role in stopping xenophobic violence.⁶ Because Kodwa speaks on such a wide variety of matters and is seen as transparently giving the ANC’s perspective on each of them, his name in itself does not seem to be very active in positioning the ANC.

Clash: The opposite is true for “clash”, the third strongest significant lexical collocates of “ANC”. In terms of collocation strength, the word “clash” ties with “Zizi”, but Zizi Kodwa’s name appears more frequently. The collocation between “ANC” and “clash” appears eight times in four articles in the corpus, with three of these occurring in headlines. The ANC is portrayed as clashing with the DA in one article. In this article, a group of DA municipal councillors was “sworn at and chased away”⁷ by ANC councillors, and the DA councillors alleged that the ANC councillors hit them. In 10.3.1 I report on a fine-grained analysis of this article.

The ANC also clashes with the EFF in two articles.⁸ In one article, the ANC is even depicted as clashing with its own alliance partner, the South African Communist Party (SACP).⁹ In these three articles, “clash” always refers to physical violence of some kind. It is often used in the form “[Party X] and ANC members clash”, or a similar construction using coordination to suggest that both parties’ members share responsibility for the clashes.

Wearing: The collocation with “clash” links with the fourth strongest significant collocation with the ANC, the word “wearing”. As shown in Figure 7.3, the word “wearing” also collocates strongly with “T-shirts”, and so I chose to represent this collocation as “wearing (T-shirts)” in Table 7.1. In fact, the collocation always appears in forms such

⁵“ANC says Cape Town’s unfair”, 15 January 2015

⁶“Stop the violence, says Zuma”, 21 April 2015

⁷“ANC and DA clash”, 29 January 2015

⁸“EFF and ANC members clash - Malema accuses Zuma and Ramaphosa of murdering Marikana miners”, 4 May 2015; “Zuma campus visit chaos! - Cops intervene as EFF and ANC members clash”, 24 June 2015

⁹“Bullets fly at SACP meeting”, 30 January 2015

as “wearing ANC T-shirts” or “wearing an ANC T-shirt” in the data. This illustrates the salience of ANC T-shirts as a marker of political identity in the corpus. Two of the articles containing the collocation of “ANC” with “clash” also include the three-way collocation between “wearing”, “ANC” and “shirt”. These are the articles about the clash between the ANC and DA,¹⁰ which I discuss in detail in 10.3.1, and the clash between the ANC and SACP.¹¹

In these articles and two others,¹² people wearing ANC T-shirts are portrayed as perpetrators of violence. People wearing ANC T-shirts are also portrayed as protesting in two articles. In one of these, protesters broke into municipal offices, chased out the staff and burned tyres in front of the offices, leading to seven of them being arrested for public violence.¹³ In another, two groups of ANC supporters “exchanged harsh words”¹⁴ outside a court. In a further instance, an ANC ward councillor held a meeting attended predominantly by people in ANC T-shirts, and after the meeting, these ANC supporters allegedly looted and burnt a hostel housing migrant labourers.¹⁵

Three instances of the collocation between “wearing”, “ANC” and “T-shirt” occur in an article reporting on a visit by Mmusi Maimane, who was then the DA’s leader in parliament but not yet its federal leader, to a community in Limpopo. In this story, people wearing ANC T-shirts approached Maimane’s retinue and sang, danced and hugged him. According to the article, “Everybody, the journalist and the Members of the DA believed that the group wearing ANC T-shirt [sic] came to chase DA out of the streets.”¹⁶ Although this incident shows peaceful actions by people in ANC T-shirts, it also demonstrates a presupposition that people wearing ANC T-shirts are viewed as a threat and presumed to be involved in violent activities. For this reason, even though the act of wearing an ANC T-shirt need only indicate one’s political identity, it appears that “wearing (T-shirts)” is most often used to associate ANC members with political violence.

Gwede Mantashe: The fifth-strongest significant lexical collocates of the ANC is the name of Gwede Mantashe, the ANC’s secretary-general. The strong collocation between this title and Mantashe’s name is shown in Figure 7.3. Mantashe is an extremely influential figure within the ANC, and the collocation between his name and the ANC appears 19 times in the corpus. In two of these articles, Mantashe’s name appears in the headline. The first one describes how Mantashe wrote a letter to the ANC’s KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Executive Committee ordering that three party branches which had failed to reach

¹⁰“ANC and DA clash”, 29 January 2015

¹¹“Bullets fly at SACP meeting”, 30 January 2015

¹²“Blame game for burning and looting!”, 6 February 2015; “Lamola says ANC leader is like Mobutu”, 3 March 2015

¹³“Spreading protests! - Chaos starts at municipality”, 25 February 2015

¹⁴“Two ANC groups face off outside high court”, 13 May 2015

¹⁵“IFP blames ANC for hostel fire”, 8 April 2015

¹⁶“Maimane gets all the glory!”, *Daily Sun*, 22 January 2015

a quorum not be allowed to participate in the party's provincial elective conference.¹⁷ The Provincial Executive Committee ignored Mantashe's orders, and so supporters of a defeated candidate in the elections demanded to see the letter.

In the second article, Mantashe criticizes the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the ANC's alliance partner, for expelling the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) as one of its affiliate unions.¹⁸ Mantashe correctly predicted that this move would precipitate the break-up of Cosatu, which was mentioned in 2.4. As these articles demonstrate, Mantashe is viewed as an authoritative figure in the ANC. In addition, he is frequently active in attempting to resolve internal disputes within the ANC and its alliance partners. Thus the collocation of his name with the ANC is often an indication of the presence of such internal disputes, and so it is often associated with negative judgements on factionalism and infighting in the party and its tripartite alliance with Cosatu and the SACP.

League: "League" is the sixth-strongest significant lexical collocates of the ANC. This refers to the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) and ANC Women's League (ANCWL), which is illustrated by the strong collocations between "league" and "youth" and "women" depicted in Figure 7.3. Thirty-nine of the occurrences of the collocation of "ANC" with "league" are mentions of the ANCYL and 18 are mentions of the ANCWL. Their names are used to position the ANC in a wide variety of ways. Both leagues are portrayed in a few articles as doing good things for the community. In one article, ANCYL leaders present a wheelchair to a disabled boy from a poor neighbourhood.¹⁹ In another, ANCWL members celebrate the 103rd birthday of one of their members with a large party.²⁰

However, other articles highlight infighting and undisciplined behaviour. Some ANCWL members are reported as having disrupted the league's provincial elective conference in Limpopo by taking off their underwear and waving it around in protest against provincial secretary Nocks Seabi (the seventh-strongest lexical collocates; see below), who was allegedly favouring one electoral candidate unfairly over another.²¹ The ANCYL's national elective conference was postponed three times in less than a year due to irregularities.²²

Both leagues were seen as strong supporters of President Jacob Zuma, and members of both defend decisions that he made that were widely criticized in other quarters. The then-ANCWL president, Angie Motshekga, defended Zuma after he made allegedly sexist comments such as that "all women should marry and have children".²³ An ANCYL leadership candidate, Pule Mabe, defended Zuma's decision not to arrest Omar Al-Bashir, the

¹⁷"ANC members demand to see Gwede's letter", 24 February 2015

¹⁸"Do not destroy Cosatu, says Gwede", *Daily Sun*, 31 March 2015

¹⁹"Collen's on a roll! - His mother loses a heavy load, thanks to youth league", 19 February 2015

²⁰"Long live gogo Sophie!", 19 February 2015

²¹"Panties come off at ANCWL conference", 6 January 2015

²²"ANCYL battles to elect leaders", 22 June 2015

²³"Angie defends JZ for 'dumb' comments", 27 January 2015

president of Sudan, who was wanted by the International Criminal Court for war crimes, when he visited South Africa.²⁴ Thus both the ANCYL and ANCWL are active in linking many different meanings with the ANC, most of them unflattering.

Nocks Seabi: As mentioned above, the ANC's provincial secretary in Limpopo, Nocks Seabi, is the seventh-strongest lexical collocate of the ANC. His name collocates with the ANC seven times in seven articles. His first name is spelled in various ways in the *Daily Sun*, once as "Knox" and once as "Knocks"; in this thesis, I use "Nocks" as it is used in the remaining five articles. In addition to being accused of unfairly favouring one candidate for the leadership of the ANCWL in the province,²⁵ his name is frequently associated with other conflicts and corruption scandals in the province. In one article he criticizes ANC members who were allegedly plotting to remove the Municipal Manager of Polokwane, Conny Mametja, who apparently had vastly improved the city's financial health.²⁶ In another, he comments on allegations that the Speaker of the Blouberg Municipality used an official vehicle for private use, saying that if these allegations are true, action should be taken against her.²⁷

In two articles, Seabi comments on violent service delivery protests in Malamulele, where residents shut down businesses and burned schools to demand that the town become the seat of a new municipality rather than being combined with other towns in a larger municipality. During the protests, he said that the decision to combine the town with others would not be changed, regardless of how much violence took place.²⁸ Once the national government had approved the spending of over R450 million to improve services in the town and the residents had called an end to the protests, he was quoted as welcoming the residents' decision.²⁹ Seabi is also quoted as dismissing rumours that the premier of Limpopo, Stanley Mathabatha, was about to be fired for his poor handling of the protests among other things.³⁰ Seabi's frequent association with conflicts and corruption is probably coincidental for the most part: he is portrayed as an ANC official in a province where the party leadership is fractious and corruption commonplace. Because of this, the collocation between his name and the ANC strengthens the association between the party and corruption, poor service delivery and internal and external conflict.

Paul Mashatile: Paul Mashatile, the chairman of the Gauteng ANC provincial structure, is the eighth-strongest lexical collocate of the party's name. His name collocates with the ANC seven times in the corpus, and these collocations appear in only three

²⁴"Mabe defends Mzansi's stance on Al-Bashir issue", 29 June 2015

²⁵"Panties come off at ANCWL conference", 6 January 2015

²⁶"Iron Lady holds her grip", 13 January 2015

²⁷"Speaker must reply to demands", 27 January 2015

²⁸"Schools burn! – But municipal board stands firm", 4 February 2015

²⁹"Malamulele gets millions! – Gordhan makes more promises to troubled rural area", 23 February 2015

³⁰"Premier likely to get the chop!", 12 February 2015

articles. In one of these, he warns that there is no place for lazy leaders in the party.³¹ In another, he is quoted in support of the country's minibus taxi industry, often criticized as being violent, saying "it was wrong to see the industry as one led by gangsters".³²

In the third article, Mashatile openly states his disagreement with a report compiled by Police Minister Nathi Nhleko, which recommended that more government money be spent on upgrading Zuma's private home at Nkandla.³³ As explained in 2.4.1, the Nkandla affair has become a highly contentious matter marking Zuma's presidency, and so Mashatile's disagreement with Nhleko's report marks him as a dissenter within the ANC who spoke out against misuse of public funds to Zuma's benefit. Under Mashatile's leadership, the Gauteng ANC continued to oppose Zuma (Claymore, 2017). In these articles, the *Daily Sun* appears to associate Mashatile with positive evaluations, but his pronouncements highlight divisions in the ANC.

Faction: The ninth-strongest significant lexical collocates of "ANC", the word "faction", clearly associates the party with infighting. This collocation appears eight times in the corpus, in five articles. Two articles report on allegations that a faction of the ANC was secretly talking to EFF leader Julius Malema in a bid to bring the party back into the ANC.³⁴ One of these is discussed in detail in 8.3.2. Another article refers to internal disputes among local ANC leaders in the Limpopo province.³⁵ Two articles refer to physical violence which erupted between two rival ANC factions over "a multi-million rand water reservoir project" in Hammanskraal near Pretoria in which cars, a house and a tavern were damaged.³⁶ The coupling between "ANC" and "faction" obviously strengthens the extent to which the party is associated with internal conflict.

Veterans: Finally, the tenth-strongest significant lexical collocates of "ANC" is the word "veterans". In two articles, this refers to "military veterans" who would be members of the ANC's former military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe [Spear of the Nation], which conducted coordinated attacks on the apartheid regime. The strong collocation between "veterans" and "association" shown in Figure 7.3 arises in part due to the name "Umkhonto weSizwe Military Veterans' Association". In three articles, these veterans are portrayed as paying tribute at funerals and memorial services to their comrades who have passed away.³⁷ One article reported on a scuffle between ANC military veterans and ANCYL members

³¹"No room for lazy leaders - Mashatile", 15 April 2015

³²"Masitsa retains position as national taxi chairman", 5 May 2015

³³"I don't agree with it! - More Nkandla upgrades 'still to be discussed at NEC'", 12 June 2015

³⁴"Ex-buddy trashes Juju", 11 February 2015; "Malema is surrounded by the wrong people", 18 February 2015

³⁵"Mathabatha faces the music from opposition parties", 24 February 2015

³⁶"ANC vs ANC", 18 May 2015; "ANC man's house torched", 20 May 2015

³⁷"Wreaths for Chabane! - Mathabatha: he touched all our lives", 17 March 2015; "Dignity for heroes - Fallen struggle fighters remembered", 30 March 2015; "Tribute paid to ANC stalwart! - Veterans formed guard of honour", 15 May 2015

aboard a train in which two women were injured.³⁸ Thus in most instances, the veterans are depicted positively as loyal members of the party honouring their comrades, although there is one article in which the collocation of “veterans” with “ANC” is used to position the party negatively by perpetuating the impression of the ANC as riven by internecine fighting.

Summary: This description makes clear that specific localities, such as “Mopani”, and concrete objects such as “T-shirts” are characteristic of the *Daily Sun*’s political coverage. Even the word “clash” is used primarily to refer to specific fights that occurred. In all these instances, the ANC is associated with things that are strongly context-dependent. It is most likely that this is a reflection of the *Daily Sun*’s style of reporting, as described in 3.5: it reports on specific incidents happening in particular communities, particularly poor and rural communities that members of its readership can relate to. It appears to emphasize concrete actions in specific localities above reporting of national policy decisions or other actions that are further removed from everyday contexts.

The second theme that emerges is that of conflict. The *Daily Sun* appears to paint a largely negative picture of the ANC as riven by conflict and employing violent means in these conflicts. This panders to a desire for sensationalistic news which is a common characteristic of tabloids.

The *Daily Sun*’s coverage appears to challenge the hegemony of the ANC as a dominant party by criticizing its actions and the means by which it asserts its dominance. However, it may also deflect attention from discussion of the ANC’s policy decisions, and comparisons of these with the policies of other parties on their own merits in the alternative public sphere that the newspaper facilitates. This may reinforce a policy-blindness akin to knowledge-blindness (Maton, 2014), in which ANC politicians are judged more on their behaviour as individuals and members of a group than on the policies they promote. It may also promote cynicism about politics among the *Daily Sun*’s readership, including young people who feel increasingly disengaged from party politics and policy discussions, as shown in 3.3.

Both policy-blindness and cynical reporting on political élites are common complaints raised in critiques of tabloids’ role in facilitating public sphere discussions, as shown in 3.5. However, it is important to gain a more nuanced view of these phenomena by examining exactly how various stances, and moral judgements in particular, are associated with the ANC. In particular, the article “ANC and DA clash”, discussed in detail in 10.3.1, was selected for the targeted analyses because it contains collocations between “ANC”, “clash” and “wearing (T-shirts)”. While this article contains two of the strongest significant lexical collocations with “ANC”, there is another article, “2 hurt in ANC scuffle”,³⁹ that contains three: “Zizi Kodwa”, “veterans” and “league”. “ANC and DA clash” was selected

³⁸“2 hurt in ANC scuffle”, 19 January 2015

³⁹“2 hurt in ANC scuffle”, 19 January 2015

Rank	Collocate	MI score	Frequency	Frequency (L)	Frequency (R)
1	jacques	8,26493	9	3	6
2	msimanga	8,12742	9	2	7
3	shadow	8,09500	8	0	8
4	mkhari	8,05436	7	1	6
5	solly	7,91443	12	3	9
6	mmusi	7,87379	35	3	32
7	michael	7,83197	8	1	7
8	helen	7,60957	12	4	8
9	smalle	7,15389	10	3	7
10	parliamentary	7,11737	13	0	13
11	maimane	6,99739	40	8	32
12	leader	6,63325	79	5	74
13	zille	6,59381	13	4	9
14	alliance	6,54246	9	8	1
15	donated	6,36630	7	0	7
16	mp	6,34654	10	0	10
17	democratic	6,27009	7	6	1
18	led	5,92508	8	4	4

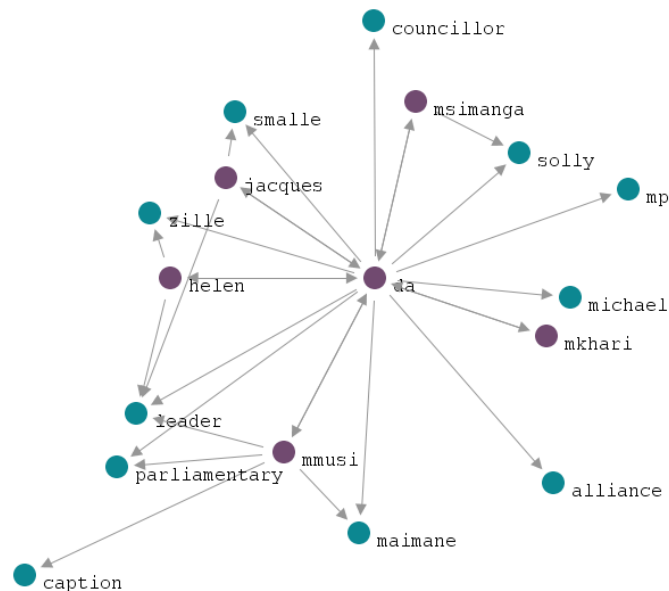
Table 7.3: *Strongest raw collocations of “DA”. Minimum frequency = 7, Span = 5L - 5R*

for analysis ahead of this article because it mentions more than one political party. This article offers an example of how the oppositional relationship between the ANC and DA is portrayed in the *Daily Sun*.

7.3.2 DA collocations

The DA is mentioned 420 times in the *Daily Sun* corpus, or 0,82 times per article. This is less than half the number of mentions that the ANC receives, and less even than the number of times the EFF is mentioned (465 times). This reflects both the dominance of the ANC in South African politics and also the particular class interests of the *Daily Sun*’s readership: the DA has traditionally been seen as a party for the middle class rather than the *Daily Sun*’s working-class readership. In the following description of the DA’s collocations, I organize the discussion according to two broad themes. First I describe a group of collocates which emphasize community-spirited good deeds done by DA members. Second, I turn to the theme of leadership, with the words “leader” and “led” featuring prominently. As described in 2.5.3, the DA underwent a leadership transition during the period under examination, in May 2015, and the names of both the outgoing leader, Helen Zille, and her successor Mmusi Maimane are prominent collocates. The strongest raw collocations with “DA” in the corpus are shown in Table 7.3. This list was refined into the list of strongest significant collocates shown in Table 7.4. These collocations are shown in a second-order collocation network in Figure 7.4.

DA collocations	
1	Jacques Smalle
2	Solly Msimanga
3	shadow
4	Michael Mkhari
5	(parliamentary leader) Mmusi Maimane
6	Helen Zille
7	leader
8	donated
9	MP
10	led

Table 7.4: *Strongest significant lexical collocations of “DA”*Figure 7.4: *Second-order collocation network for “DA”. Min freq = 7, Stat value > 5,92*

Solly Msimanga: The second strongest collocate with the DA is the name of Solly Msimanga, then the party’s provincial leader in Gauteng. Msimanga went on to become the mayor of Tshwane (Pretoria) when the DA won the city’s municipal elections in 2016 (Sello, 2016). His name collocates with the DA in five articles. In three of these, Msimanga is depicted as delivering donations from the DA to needy groups: giving television sets to a hospice,⁴⁰ as well as textbooks⁴¹ and solar lights to underprivileged schools.⁴² In the other two articles, he is portrayed in a more activist role: he visits a school for the Deaf from which three teachers had been removed by the department of education with no reason given,⁴³ and is quoted as a participant in a march organized by the DA against electricity price increases.⁴⁴ Thus in the corpus, Msimanga’s name associates the party with community-spirited good deeds.

Apart from Msimanga, another Solly collocates with “DA”, namely Solly Malatsi, the DA’s shadow minister of sport and recreation (see the discussion of “shadow” as a collocate of the DA below). Out of the 11 instances of the collocation between “DA” and “Solly”, eight refer to Msimanga and three to Malatsi. Because the collocation between “DA” and Malatsi’s name falls under the minimum frequency threshold of seven set for this corpus analysis, I do not consider it as a significant collocation for the purposes of this study.

Michael Mkhari: A municipal councillor from Tshwane (Pretoria) and Christian pastor, Michael Mkhari, is the fourth strongest collocate with “DA”. His name collocates with the DA in five articles in the corpus. He is quoted in an article about a DA-led protest in Soshanguve, a working-class township in Pretoria, which is cut short by stone-throwing ANC supporters. Here he explains that one of the reasons for the march was to protest irregularities in the way that government-built social housing was being allocated.⁴⁵ In other articles, he is shown raising funds for families who cannot afford funerals for their loved ones,⁴⁶ and working with ANC members to help the elderly.⁴⁷ Although Mkhari has a very lowly position in his party, he is presented in the *Daily Sun* as something of a local hero. Mkhari epitomizes the type of community-spirited do-gooder which the newspaper regularly celebrates and further associates the DA with generosity towards poor communities.

Donated: This positioning of the DA is accentuated further through the word “donated”, the eighth strongest collocate. This collocation occurs seven times in six articles,

⁴⁰“Happy viewing for hospice”, 4 March 2015

⁴¹“Textbooks will feed our minds”, 5 June 2015

⁴²“Solar lights help pupils study in their dark houses”, 19 June 2015

⁴³“School short of teachers”, 16 February 2015

⁴⁴“Maimane leads march to oppose Eskom tariff hike”, 7 April 2015

⁴⁵“DA protest cut short – ‘We’re disgusted at the ANC’s intolerance’”, 17 April 2015

⁴⁶“Politics delay funeral! – Kgotlhello finally buried”, 20 April 2015; “Paying their last respects”, 30 June 2015

⁴⁷“Working together! – Parties reach out to poor madala”, 4 May 2015; “DA saves the day for kasi elders”, 11 May 2015

three of which were mentioned above as involving Msimanga and Mkhari.⁴⁸ Of the remaining three articles, two describe the donation of spades to a burial society in Mamelodi West, Pretoria,⁴⁹ and another describes a donation of shoes to school children in the Vaal region, south of Johannesburg.⁵⁰

All of these donations take place in the Gauteng province, the area which would be most accessible to *Daily Sun* staff in Johannesburg and Pretoria. They all are rooted firmly in local communities, rather than being provincial or country-wide initiatives. They are also relatively small gestures affecting individuals or small groups, in keeping with the *Daily Sun*'s interest in what affects its working-class readership, or people like its readers, in a material way. These articles may have the effect of winning readers' approval for the DA for its apparent care for people in underprivileged communities. On the other hand, though, the image of party officials donating things to poor people may feed into perceptions that the DA is a party for middle-class people who can afford to come and spread largesse in historically disadvantaged communities, but who are not part of those communities themselves. At worst, such donations may function as a substitute for real political engagement with people from these communities. Thus while some readers may be more favourably disposed towards the party after reading such stories, others may feel, on the basis of them, that the DA is not a party that could represent their own class interests.

Leader: The rest of the DA's collocations relate, in one way or another, to a preoccupation with leadership. Much of this preoccupation is related to the party leadership transition from Helen Zille to Mmusi Maimane, but it also extends past this transition to the party's ambitions to lead South Africa in future, as I show below. The word "leader" is the seventh strongest significant lexical collocation with "DA". It is used in almost all cases in the form "DA leader", "DA parliamentary leader" or a similar title, followed by the individual's name. Out of 76 instances of the collocation, 32 refer to Maimane, eight refer to Zille and eight to Jacques Smalle, the party's Limpopo provincial leader, who is also discussed in more detail below. The remainder refers to other leaders in provincial or local structures. Thus "leader" refers to a wide variety of people speaking on a wide variety of issues. However, in connection with other collocates, it reveals the extent to which leadership was a key concern in the party during the period under investigation.

Jacques Smalle: The strongest significant lexical collocation with the DA is the name of Jacques Smalle, who is the party's provincial leader in Limpopo. Smalle's name collocates with the DA in seven articles. In some of these, he comments from the DA's perspective on some of the failures of governance mentioned in 7.3.1, in connection with

⁴⁸"Working together! – Parties reach out to poor madala", 4 May 2015; "Textbooks will feed our minds", 5 June 2015; "Solar lights help pupils study in their dark houses", 19 June 2015

⁴⁹"Grave diggers dig DA!", 7 May 2015; "New spades for Diphiri", 14 May 2015

⁵⁰"Kids get special visit! – Smiles as pupils get new shoes", 13 March 2015

the Mopani district and the ANC's Nocks Seabi. One such article is the one about the resigned municipal councillor from Mopani who was still drawing a salary, in which Smalle is reported as saying that “the municipality must get its money back”.⁵¹ Smalle joins forces with local leaders from the ANC-aligned Cosatu and ANCYL to call for various provincial government officials to respond to allegations of corruption made against them. He gave the *Daily Sun* a 190-page report by the Auditor-General detailing such allegations.⁵²

He is also reported as being instrumental in other DA initiatives. These include a march for better nutrition at local schools after a scandal in which learners in Limpopo were poisoned by shards of glass in food given to them at school,⁵³ and a bill presented before the provincial legislature to restrict irresponsible use of blue lights by provincial government officials, after a former minister in national government, Collins Chabane, was killed in an accident in the province involving a convoy misusing blue lights.⁵⁴ Smalle is portrayed as something of a moral crusader against corruption, and so his name associates the DA with an anti-corruption stance.

Mmusi Maimane: The DA's incoming and outgoing leaders, Mmusi Maimane and Helen Zille, only feature on the list of significant lexical collocations at fifth and sixth position respectively. Maimane's name collocates with the DA 40 times, which is far more often than the name of his predecessor, Zille, at 13 times. In the entire corpus, “Maimane” is mentioned 107 times, and “Zille” only 46 times, even though Maimane succeeded Zille as party president fairly late during the period under analysis. A reason for this may be that the *Daily Sun* showed much more interest in Maimane as a young, black leader contending for leadership of his party, who could relate to the newspaper's readership much more easily than Zille. In 13 of the collocations between “Maimane” and “DA”, he is referred to as “DA parliamentary leader”, an office which he held throughout the period under investigation, even before he succeeded Zille as party president. An example of reporting on his utterances in Parliament in this position is given in 10.3.3. This accounts for all but one of the collocations between “DA” and “parliamentary”, which is the reason why I do not consider “parliamentary” as a significant lexical collocation of “DA” on its own.

Maimane is depicted as agentive, doing a wide variety of things characteristic of a leader of the opposition, from pressurizing President Zuma “to account for the true state of the nation”⁵⁵ in parliament to calling for Nathi Mthethwa, the police minister who presided over the Marikana massacre (see 2.4.1), to be dismissed.⁵⁶ Maimane is portrayed as being so popular that, as mentioned in 7.3.1, there is one article in which even people in ANC

⁵¹“R15 000 a month for staying at home!”, 23 June 2015

⁵²“Limpopo corruption still in the spotlight”, 6 January 2015

⁵³“DA marches for better food at schools”, 20 March 2015

⁵⁴“DA tries to end careless blue light use”, 9 April 2015

⁵⁵“Maimane steps up pressure on Zuma”, 16 January 2015

⁵⁶“Fire Marikana police minister”, 30 June 2015

T-shirts come and embrace him while he is campaigning.⁵⁷ However, the article discussed in detail in 10.3.2 does not reflect as well on Maimane and his party, questioning their capacity to govern.⁵⁸ Maimane, therefore, aids in associating the DA with young black ambition, as well as holding national government accountable, although there is still some scepticism about his ability to deliver on the promise he represents.

Helen Zille: Mentions of Helen Zille show an even more varied impression of the outgoing DA leader. Her decision in April 2015 not to stand for re-election at the party's elective conference is reported on in one article, which says "She also refuted rumours that she had been pushed out by a faction within the party."⁵⁹ She is described as leading a DA march to Parliament the day before President Zuma's State of the Nation Address,⁶⁰ criticizing corruption at a municipality in Limpopo,⁶¹ and calling for child maintenance defaulters to be punished more harshly.⁶²

Some less flattering portrayals come out in brief references in other articles. One mentions that Mbali Ntuli, a former leader of the DA Youth, "doesn't see eye to eye with"⁶³ Zille, and the two supported different candidates for the position of KwaZulu-Natal provincial leader. Another mentions an incident in which Zille publicly kissed Mamphela Ramphele, then the leader of a new party called Agang SA (South Africa), to seal a co-operation agreement between the DA and Agang SA in the run-up to the 2014 general elections.⁶⁴ Under the agreement, Ramphele, a well-known figure in the anti-apartheid struggle, was to have run as the DA's presidential candidate (Sanderson, 2014). Five days later, Agang SA pulled out of the agreement and contested the election on their own, but won only 0,28% of the vote (Sanderson, 2014; Independent Electoral Commission, 2014). The event was labelled an "embarrassing fiasco" (Sanderson, 2014). In the *Daily Sun* article in which this incident was mentioned, the new acting Agang SA leader who took over from Ramphele after her resignation, Andries Tlouamma, alluded to this incident by saying "We won't kiss anybody – we're going to fight for the truth."⁶⁵

Zille is depicted as someone with mixed political fortunes, who has offered some robust opposition to the ANC government but has also alienated some influential people in the party and made various costly political missteps; she is a leader who acknowledged that the time had come to hand over the reins of her party. The analysis reported on in 10.3.2 reflects further on her role in the DA and the contrast between her and Maimane.

⁵⁷"Maimane gets all the glory!", 22 January 2015

⁵⁸"Eye on the big prize! – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029", 15 June 2015

⁵⁹"Zille steps down! – Maimane will consult party and family before contesting position", 13 April 2015

⁶⁰"DA members take long walk to Parliament", 12 February 2015

⁶¹"Zille: Don't feed municipality!", 23 February 2015

⁶²"Punish defaulters!", 17 April 2015

⁶³"Big blow for DA candidate", 11 March 2015

⁶⁴"Agang leader: govt is raping SA citizens!", 31 March 2015

⁶⁵"Agang leader: govt is raping SA citizens!", 31 March 2015

MP: The ninth strongest significant lexical collocation, “MP” (Member of Parliament) is connected with the theme of leadership in that MPs are frequently leaders in the party and can be considered to be part of a leading body in society. The collocation appears 10 times, always in the configuration “DA MP”, used as a title for a variety of different members of parliament belonging to the DA and in one case, a former MP.⁶⁶ These MPs speak out about a range of different issues, from the proposed renaming of North West University after Moses Kotane, an anti-apartheid struggle hero who belonged to the ANC,⁶⁷ to homophobic violence in Africa.⁶⁸ Because these issues and the MPs that are quoted vary so widely from each other, this collocation does not do much to position the DA, beyond possibly reinforcing the connection between the party and the idea of leadership.

Shadow: While there is plenty of coverage of leaders within the DA, there are also many mentions of the DA’s future ambitions to lead South Africa. These ambitions are alluded to in the third strongest collocates, “shadow”, which reflects the fact that the DA appoints shadow ministers at a national level and shadow Members of the Executive Council (MECs) in the provinces it does not control. Collectively, these are used by the party to position itself as a government-in-waiting in an attempt to persuade voters of their capacity to rule if elected. Shadow ministers and MECs frequently give public comments on the actions of their corresponding incumbents, or challenge them to take action on particular matters.

The articles in the corpus mention shadow minister of sports and recreation Solly Malatsi, who is referred to above;⁶⁹ shadow minister in the presidency David Mohale;⁷⁰ shadow deputy minister of rural development and land reform Tsepo Mhlongo⁷¹ and Gauteng shadow MEC for education Khume Ramulifho.⁷² The word “shadow” has ambiguous associations: it has connotations of darkness and reminds readers that the DA is not the most popular party in the country, while at the same time signalling the party’s self-proclaimed readiness to govern.

Led: The tenth-strongest significant lexical collocation, “led”, refers mostly to areas where the DA already does govern. This collocation appears in the configuration “DA-led” in four instances, each of which refers to a municipality governed by the DA. References to these municipalities involve various controversies. In the City of Cape Town, the ANC complains that the DA-led municipality wanted to be paid upfront before the party could

⁶⁶“Seremane: Not all heroes belonged to the party – Name change favours ANC!”, 1 April 2015

⁶⁷“Seremane: Not all heroes belonged to the party – Name change favours ANC!”, 1 April 2015

⁶⁸“Gay and lesbian in Africa! We’re proud of our sexuality, protesters said”, 30 June 2015

⁶⁹“Doubts about boxing on SABC”, 26 May 2015; “Jordaan gets go-ahead from FIFA”, 27 May 2015; “Boxing licensees in the dark about Fikile’s fight”, 28 May 2015

⁷⁰“Happy viewing for hospice”, 4 March 2015

⁷¹“K*k follows Sarah!”, 18 February 2015

⁷²“School short of teachers”, 16 February 2015; “Unions in one fight”, 24 April 2015

book the Cape Town Stadium for its birthday celebrations;⁷³ violence breaks out between the ANC and DA at a city council meeting, with the ANC portrayed as the aggressors;⁷⁴ and the ANC and DA argue over the eviction of people from council property to make way for new infrastructure for the city's bus system.⁷⁵ In Drakenstein Local Municipality, which includes the towns of Paarl and Wellington in the Western Cape, a visit to show off a housing project by the DA-led municipality was cut short when residents of an adjacent squatter camp chased officials away.⁷⁶

In Gauteng, Paul Mashatile (see 7.3.1) encouraged ANC leaders to win back Midvaal Local Municipality, centred around the town of Meyerton south of Johannesburg, which was the only municipality in the province controlled by the DA at that time (Local Government Handbook, 2017b).⁷⁷ The collocation between “DA” and “led” also occurs in the article discussed in detail in 10.3.2, where it also refers to the idea of the DA in government, although this time in the context of a hypothetical national government led by the DA. In this article, Maimane makes various promises about what South Africa would be like under DA rule.⁷⁸ “DA-led” municipalities seem to be presented as contexts for conflict between the DA and the ANC, and some dissatisfaction with DA rule is reported on in the article about residents chasing DA officials out of a housing project in the Drakenstein. A future under a DA national government is only spoken about in glowing terms by its leader, as can be expected from a campaigning politician.

Summary: The collocates of the DA centre on the themes of community-spirited good deeds, and leadership. The party appears to be positioned in the *Daily Sun*'s coverage as a benevolent source of charitable donations, as an oppositional voice speaking out against corruption in government, and as aspiring leaders of South Africa, headed by a new, ambitious, young, black politician, Mmusi Maimane. This portrayal appears far more flattering than that of the ANC, but conflicts within the party are not entirely ignored, as is seen with reference to the way Helen Zille is represented. The positioning of the DA as distributors of largesse may counterproductively work to distance working-class readers from the party in the alternative public sphere facilitated by the *Daily Sun*, as I argue above.

In the exploratory and targeted analyses, space does not permit a detailed investigation of the *Daily Sun*'s positioning of the DA as a source of charitable donations, but I report on a detailed analysis of an article in which the leadership transition between Zille and Maimane is discussed in 10.3.2. This article contains instances of four of the strongest significant lexical collocations mentioned above: “Helen Zille”, “Mmusi Maimane”, “leader”

⁷³“ANC bash drama! – DA wanted money upfront”, 7 January 2015

⁷⁴“Chaos as council meeting turns violent!”, 30 January 2015

⁷⁵“City hits back over removals”, 6 February 2015

⁷⁶“We don't want you here! – Officials chased out by angry residents”, 15 June 2015

⁷⁷“No room for lazy leaders – Mashatile”, 15 April 2015

⁷⁸“Eye on the big prize! DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029”, 15 June 2015

Rank	Collocate	MI score	Frequency	Frequency (L)	Frequency (R)
1	moafrika	9,11808	9	4	5
2	mbuyiseni	7,56965	8	1	7
3	julius	7,47258	42	2	40
4	ndlozi	7,36320	8	1	7
5	mngxitama	7,21564	13	4	9
6	malema	6,76107	52	7	45
7	mp	6,46273	12	0	12
8	rally	6,38256	10	1	9
9	supporters	6,18917	13	3	10
10	whip	6,07744	7	0	7
11	kumalo	6,03305	7	6	1
12	members	5,98952	92	16	76
13	member	5,70619	23	3	20
14	leader	5,60889	43	3	40

Table 7.5: *Strongest raw collocations of “EFF”. Minimum frequency = 7, Span = 5L – 5R*

and “led”. No other article contains such a high number of the strongest significant lexical collocations. Thus this article gives a good example of how these collocations are used to portray the DA’s leadership transition and the party’s aspirations to lead South Africa.

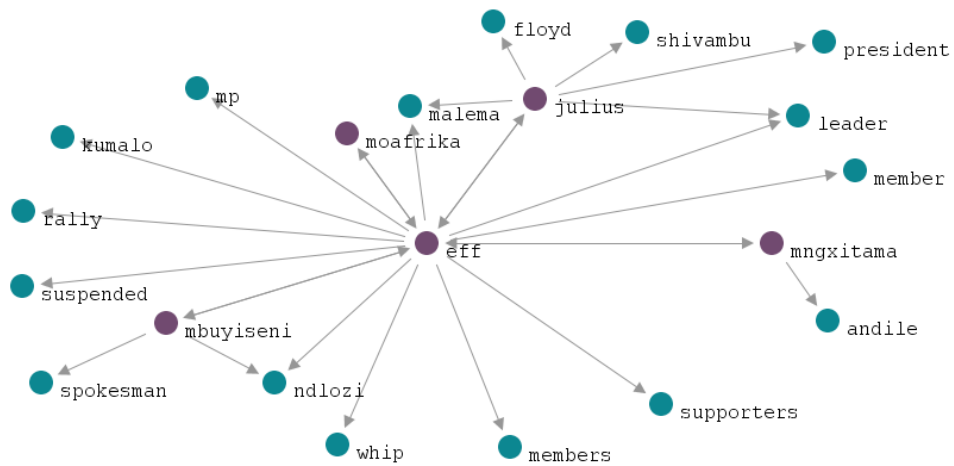
7.3.3 EFF collocations

As described above, the EFF is mentioned more frequently in the data than the DA, 465 times as opposed to 420. This means that the party is mentioned 0,9 times per political news article on average. The collocations of “EFF” can be grouped according to four broad themes: disruptive acts, internal strife, rank-and-file party members, and party leaders. In the following description, I examine each of these themes in turn and show the connections between them. The strongest raw collocations with “EFF” in the *Daily Sun* corpus are shown in Table 7.5. This list was refined into the list of strongest significant collocates shown in Table 7.6. One collocation which was excluded from the list of strongest significant collocates was “kumalo” (the 11th strongest collocation in 7.5), which refers to Jabu Kumalo, a *Daily Sun* photographer who was credited with having taken photos for two articles about the party,⁷⁹ but does not seem to have any association with the party apart from that. A second-order collocation network for the EFF is shown in Figure 7.5.

The EFF became known, particularly during the period under investigation, for disruptive actions. These included vandalism of statues of colonial and apartheid-era figures in prominent public places, intended to raise questions about whether these people should still be memorialized in the new South Africa; as well as disruptions in Parliament, which

⁷⁹“ANC told to stop the blame game”, 14 January 2015; “We made a mistake, EFF used us!”, 8 June 2015

EFF collocations	
1	Moafrika Mabogwane
2	Mbuyiseni Ndlozi
3	Julius Malema
4	Andile Mngxitama
5	MP
6	rally
7	supporters
8	whip
9	member(s)
10	leader

Table 7.6: *Strongest significant lexical collocations of “EFF”*Figure 7.5: *Second-order collocation network for “EFF”. Min freq = 7, Stat value > 5,6*

were targeted mainly at highlighting corruption in the ANC and particularly President Zuma's involvement in the scandal surrounding publicly-funded upgrades at his home in Nkandla (see 2.4 for background information on both of these issues).

Moafrika Mabogwane: The strongest collocate of the EFF's name, Moafrika Mabogwane,⁸⁰ is frequently associated with the vandalism of statues. Mabogwane was the deputy chairperson of the EFF's Tshwane (Pretoria) region, and commented on the vandalism of a statue of Paul Kruger in the city. Kruger was the president of the South African Republic, an Afrikaner state in the northern part of present-day South Africa, from 1883 to 1900, and was regarded as an Afrikaner nationalist hero (Marks and Trapido, 1987). In a bizarre turn of events, the *Daily Sun* corpus features two articles dated on the same day, one in which Mabogwane denies that the EFF was responsible for throwing green paint on the statue,⁸¹ and another, later article in which he confirms that the EFF was indeed responsible for the incident.⁸²

The following day, the newspaper reports that members of the conservative Freedom Front Plus laid charges against the EFF for malicious damage to property, and Mabogwane is quoted as saying, "The EFF will not be intimidated by any party or institution that opens criminal charges against them."⁸³ Later in the article, he says "We stick to our constitution to take down all apartheid statues." These are the only instances of the collocation in the corpus, but they show a clear example of how the EFF is associated in the *Daily Sun* with the controversial vandalism of statues.

MP: The disruptions inside Parliament are reflected in the EFF's collocation with the word "MP". Similarly to the DA, this collocation usually appears in the form "EFF MP" (see 7.3.2), and is used to identify a variety of different MPs. Two articles in which this collocation appears report on the EFF as causing disruptions in Parliament. In the first, EFF MPs interrupted President Zuma's State of the Nation address in February 2015. They were forcibly removed from the chamber by security guards in what became an extremely controversial incident, as described in 2.6.⁸⁴ The other incident happened during a question time in which the National Assembly's Speaker, Baleka Mbete, did not allow the EFF MPs to ask questions about the Nkandla scandal. This time, the Speaker broke the session to talk to parties' chief whips privately, and following that, the session continued under the agreement that questions about Nkandla not be asked.⁸⁵ The collocation of "MP" with "EFF" is also used with reference to internal conflict in the party.

⁸⁰Mabogwane's surname does not appear in the list of strongest raw collocations as it is spelled several different ways in different articles, including "Mabongwane" and "Mabogwana".

⁸¹"EFF: We didn't paint the boer!", 7 April 2015

⁸²"We did paint the boer – EFF", *Daily Sun*, 7 April 2015

⁸³"EFF versus FF+ in row over statues row! [sic] – Malema's party says it will not be intimidated by any charge", 8 April 2015

⁸⁴"Chaos in the House! – President speaks after rocky start", 13 February 2015

⁸⁵"Parliament circus!", 19 June 2015

Three articles in which this collocation is used relate to the story of Andile Mngxitama, a former EFF MP whose name is the fourth strongest collocates with “EFF”.

Andile Mngxitama: Mngxitama was a party dissident who publicly opposed Julius Malema, the EFF’s president.⁸⁶ One article reports that Mngxitama had declined to be nominated to a leadership position in the party at its elective conference in December 2014.⁸⁷ He and a fellow EFF MP, Khanyisile Litchfield-Tshabalala, alleged in February 2015 that the party’s leadership was secretly negotiating with the ANC to have seven dissident EFF MPs expelled from Parliament.

On 13 February 2015, the *Daily Sun* reported that press conference in which they tried to announce these allegations was abandoned after a fight between Mngxitama’s supporters and EFF members loyal to Malema.⁸⁸ Three days later, the newspaper reported that disciplinary action could be taken against Mngxitama for attempting to hold the press conference.⁸⁹ By 24 February, Mngxitama and Litchfield-Tshabalala had been suspended and held a rally of dissidents in Bloemfontein, alleging that Malema and the party’s deputy president, Floyd Shivambu, were corrupt, and promising to “cleanse” the party of their corruption through a campaign called “Save the Soul of the EFF”.⁹⁰

The last collocation between Mngxitama’s name and the EFF appears on 9 March, when another “Save the Soul of the EFF” rally in Pietermaritzburg is reported on.⁹¹ In October 2015, Mngxitama finally left the EFF to establish his own radical socialist party, Black First Land First (Black First Land First, 2015). Mngxitama and the BLF have vocally supported the Gupta family associated with corruption in South Africa (see 2.4), and there have been numerous allegations that the Guptas funded the party (Macanda and Cowan, 2017). The *Daily Sun*’s coverage of Mngxitama’s break with the EFF associates the party with internal strife, as well as associating Julius Malema as the party leader with allegations of corruption and autocratic tendencies.

Supporters: The seventh strongest collocation with “EFF”, the word “supporters”, is evidence of a third theme found in the collocations, namely an emphasis on the rank-and-file members of the party, but, it also reinforces an image of strife within the party. The collocation of “EFF” and “supporters” appears 13 times in the corpus. Twice it refers to Mngxitama’s supporters,⁹² and once it refers to Malema’s supporters.⁹³

⁸⁶“It’s EFF against EFF! – Mngxitama chased down the streets”, 13 February 2015; “EFF to act against Mngxitama”, 16 February 2015; “We don’t want a dictator to lead EFF!”, 9 March 2015

⁸⁷“It’s EFF against EFF! – Mngxitama chased down the streets”, 13 February 2015

⁸⁸“It’s EFF against EFF! – Mngxitama chased down the streets”, 13 February 2015

⁸⁹“EFF to act against Mngxitama”, 16 February 2015

⁹⁰“We will cleanse EFF of the cancer!”, 24 February 2015

⁹¹“We don’t want a dictator to lead EFF!”, 9 March 2015

⁹²“It’s EFF against EFF! – Mngxitama chased down the streets”, 13 February 2015; “EFF to act against Mngxitama”, 16 February 2015

⁹³“We shall never forget! – Mzansi remembers the youth of 1976”, 17 June 2015

However, the majority of instances refer to supporters of the party as a whole. EFF supporters are accused of occupying land illegally in two articles.⁹⁴ They are depicted as protesting against colonial-era statues in three articles, including the two articles about Paul Kruger's statue that were mentioned above.⁹⁵ EFF supporters are also reported as clashing with ANC supporters in one article.⁹⁶ Thus in most cases, the collocation of "EFF" with "supporters" is used to associate the party with acts of protest of one kind or another, which frequently turn violent.

Member(s): A similar pattern is evident from the use of "members" or "member", the ninth strongest lexical collocation with "EFF", which is far more frequent. The collocation is used to describe how 20 EFF MPs were suspended from Parliament for causing disruptions,⁹⁷ and other EFF members protested outside Parliament.⁹⁸ Other EFF members clashed with ANC members during a visit by Jacob Zuma to Tshwane University of Technology in Pretoria.⁹⁹

In another article, a young man accuses EFF members of beating up his teenage friends and him for allegedly taking down a poster advertising a party rally.¹⁰⁰ EFF members are also reported as helping to fight crime in an inner-city Pretoria neighbourhood, but some of their methods are akin to vigilantism, with some saying "If the police won't do their job, we are ready to do it for them!"¹⁰¹ Lastly, EFF members are depicted as giving donations to poor people in a working-class Pretoria township, including a wheelchair for an elderly woman.¹⁰²

It seems that in the majority of cases, the collocation between "EFF" and "members" is used when referring to disruptive or violent actions by these party members, adding mostly negative associations to the party's name.

Rally: The final collocation that demonstrates this connection is the sixth strongest significant lexical collocation in the corpus, between the word "rally" and "EFF". This collocation is used to refer to one of the "Save the Soul of the EFF" rallies mentioned above,¹⁰³ but mostly refers straightforwardly to normal party gatherings. At one such gathering, ANC members threatened to burn down the tent in which the EFF rally was

⁹⁴"More houses for poor people in the capital city", 23 January 2015; "EFF lawyers fail to arrive", 11 March 2015

⁹⁵"EFF: We didn't paint the boer!", 7 April 2015; "We did paint the boer – EFF", 7 April 2015; "Kruger statue must go", 13 April 2015

⁹⁶"EFF and ANC members clash – Malema accuses Zuma and Ramaphosa of murdering Marikana miners", 4 May 2015.

⁹⁷"NFP backs EFF's call!", 16 January 2015

⁹⁸"Chaos in the house! – President speaks after rocky start", 13 February 2015

⁹⁹"Zuma campus visit chaos! – Cops intervene as EFF and ANC members clash", 24 June 2015

¹⁰⁰"EFF members beat us for nothing", 12 June 2015

¹⁰¹"EFF helps to fight crime – Party members march to hot spots", 23 March 2015

¹⁰²"EFF puts smiles on kasi people's faces", 31 March 2015

¹⁰³"We will cleanse EFF of the cancer!", 24 February 2015

to be held.¹⁰⁴ Another article describes how 15 000 people attended an EFF rally at the University of Limpopo on 16 June, a public holiday known as Youth Day in South Africa, while a nearby celebration held by the provincial government was poorly attended.¹⁰⁵ The collocation is also mentioned in the article about the young man and boys who were beaten up for apparently taking down a poster advertising an EFF rally.¹⁰⁶ There seems to be very little in common between all these rallies, other than that they show that the EFF and even a disaffected splinter group of the party try to raise support and remain in touch with their supporters through holding rallies.

Mbuyiseni Ndlozi: A last group of collocates centres on the leadership of the party. The theme of leadership is not as prominent in the EFF's collocates as in those of the DA, but it does link together four of the EFF's collocates. The first of these is the name of Mbuyiseni Ndlozi, the party spokesman, which is the second strongest significant lexical collocation. Much as with the ANC's Zizi Kodwa (see 7.3.1), Ndlozi speaks on a variety of matters related to the party. In one article he responds briefly to a request for comment on an open letter that contains some potentially damaging allegations against Malema.¹⁰⁷ This article is discussed in detail in 8.3.2 as part of the exploratory analyses. Ndlozi also confirms that Mngxitama's "Save the soul of the EFF" rally in Bloemfontein is not an official EFF event, saying "Those who participated defined themselves outside the organisation."¹⁰⁸

Ndlozi is shown as representing the party in other capacities as well. As an MP, he criticizes National Assembly speaker Baleka Mbete (an ANC member) in Parliament for calling Malema a cockroach.¹⁰⁹ An analysis of this article is presented in 10.3.3. He also campaigns for the EFF, addressing a rally at a squatter camp in the Vaal area of Gauteng.¹¹⁰ Thus Ndlozi is a high-ranking EFF politician in his own right; however, he speaks about a wide range of issues and his actions do not necessarily associate his name with one particular position that would, by extension, commonly be associated with the EFF.

Julius Malema: The figure in the EFF who carries the strongest meanings associated with the party is its leader, Julius Malema, who features as the third strongest collocation of the party's name. Malema has been a colourful and controversial character in South African politics from his days as president of the ANCYL, when he supported Jacob Zuma's bid to become president of the ANC and the country (see 2.4 and 2.5.2). He is

¹⁰⁴"EFF feels the heat in ANC territory", 20 May 2015

¹⁰⁵"We shall never forget! – Mzansi remembers the youth of 1976", 17 June 2015

¹⁰⁶"EFF members beat us for nothing", 12 June 2015

¹⁰⁷"Ex-buddy trashes Juju! – I doubt if he will respond – spokesman", 11 February 2015

¹⁰⁸"We will cleanse EFF of the cancer!", 24 February 2015

¹⁰⁹"Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society", 18 February 2015

¹¹⁰"Mpofu and Ndlozi paint squatter camp red", 10 March 2015

depicted as leading his party's disruptions in Parliament,¹¹¹ and is even praised by Zuma on one occasion when his State of the Nation Address was not interrupted.¹¹² When the FF+ laid charges against the EFF for vandalizing the Paul Kruger statue, Malema's name was on the charge sheet.¹¹³

Malema speaks on a wide range of topics, as can be expected from a party leader. He is reported as criticizing former Minister of Higher Education Blade Nzimande and calling for free higher education, even before the beginning of the #FeesMustFall protests which concentrated on this call.¹¹⁴ He also called for peace and an end to criminality in the midst of an outbreak of xenophobic violence in Alexandra, Johannesburg.¹¹⁵ The *Daily Sun* also shows an interest in Malema's private life: it published an article based on an interview in which Malema spoke about what he likes to do when taking a break from politics.¹¹⁶ The corpus features one article about a legal battle he had with the South African Revenue Service after he did not submit tax returns from 2006 to 2010, resulting in him owing R16 million plus interest in tax.¹¹⁷

Far more frequent are articles in which Malema is criticized: out of 49 instances of the collocation between Malema's name and the EFF, 10 are in the context of personal criticisms. Of these, five come from members of his own party. These include Mngxitama's faction,¹¹⁸ another group calling themselves "Defenders of the EFF Constitution"¹¹⁹ and the party's suspended chief financial officer, Wiekus Kotze.¹²⁰ In 8.3.2 I report on a detailed analysis of an article in which a former EFF member castigates Malema. In some of these criticisms, Malema is closely linked to his deputy, Floyd Shivambu, as an ally of his in the EFF's dominant faction, and so Shivambu's name collocates strongly with Malema's name, even though it does not collocate strongly with the name of the party as well (see Figure 7.5).

On the other hand, Malema is reportedly fêted as a hero in various campaign engagements, such as a meeting in Port Elizabeth where residents "poured out their hearts to" him about their problems with housing.¹²¹

The *Daily Sun* therefore presents Malema as an intriguing politician who stirs up scandal with his actions in parliament and sensational allegations of immoral and often criminal behaviour on his part. He styles himself as a champion of working-class people, and many believe him to be so, but he has made many enemies even within his own party.

¹¹¹"Chaos in the house! – President speaks after rocky start", 13 February 2015

¹¹²"Opposition praised – Zuma was not interrupted", 20 February 2015

¹¹³"EFF versus FF+ in row over statues row! – Malema's party says it will not be intimidated by any charge", 8 April 2015

¹¹⁴"Knives out for Blade! – Students not getting support, says Malema", 30 March 2015

¹¹⁵"Stop the criminals, says Juju", 21 April 2015

¹¹⁶"Juju's pause from politics!", 30 January 2015

¹¹⁷"SARS is still after Julius", 17 March 2015

¹¹⁸"News", 18 February 2015

¹¹⁹"Defenders of the EFF slam Malema", 10 February 2015

¹²⁰"EFF's Kotze rubbishes Malema!", 8 April 2015

¹²¹"EFF chases votes in PE", 30 April 2015

Leader: The word “leader”, the tenth strongest collocation with the EFF, is mostly used to refer to Malema, and so “leader” collocates strongly with his name too, as shown in Figure 7.5. Out of 42 instances of the collocation, 32 refer to Malema. The other 10 refer to various provincial leaders, such as “George Nyakama, EFF leader in the Northern Cape”,¹²² and also local leaders. These local leaders are mostly depicted as activists who serve their communities. One named David Munzhedzi from Soshanguve in Pretoria is mentioned in two articles, once for helping to remove young drug addicts who had invaded an elderly man’s house,¹²³ and once for alerting the *Daily Sun* to a dangerous illegal dumping site next to a school.¹²⁴ In both cases, Munzhedzi appears to show up the inaction of the area’s official ward councillor, who is presumably from the ANC. Despite this, the word “leader” is not linked to a leadership contest as was the case with the DA (see 7.3.2), and so appears to condense less meaning into the EFF’s name than it did for the DA.

Whip: A last collocate linked to leadership within the party is “whip”, which is the eighth strongest significant lexical collocation and is always used in the phrase “EFF chief whip”. In three instances, this refers to Floyd Shivambu in his role as chief whip of the EFF in the national Parliament.¹²⁵

The other four instances of this collocation refer to provincial chief whips, but also reflect scandals related to the party. One instance refers to Papiki Babuile, who remained the EFF’s chief whip in the North West provincial legislature even while in prison for the murder of an ANC leader.¹²⁶ The remaining three instances of the collocation come from an article which reports on scathing criticisms of the EFF leadership, including Malema, Shivambu and Ndlozi, made by the party’s former chief whip in the Mpumalanga provincial legislature, Ayanda Tshabalala.¹²⁷ These criticisms follow a similar line to the criticisms of Malema mentioned earlier: they allege that the party leadership is autocratic and has been involved in financial impropriety. Thus the collocation of “EFF” with “whip” also echoes the theme of internal conflicts in the party.

Summary: The overall impression gained from the EFF’s collocations is of a party that grabs newspaper headlines for controversial actions, many of which are calculated at disrupting the status quo in a very literal way: they vandalize colonial-era statues to try to disrupt old South African historiography and iconography, and they disrupt Parliament as they believe that the institution is not holding the president and executive arm of government to account as it should be. These spectacles make for dramatic, concrete

¹²²“15 EFF members fired!”, 2 April 2015

¹²³“People remove dice boys”, 5 February 2015

¹²⁴“Big stink at school!”, 12 February 2015

¹²⁵“Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society”, 18 February 2015; “No confidence... but no action!”, 4 March 2015; “Opposition party agrees with govt on not arresting Bashir”, 24 June 2015

¹²⁶“EFF man calls shots in jail!”, 28 January 2015

¹²⁷“Ayanda dishes it out! – Ex EFF chief whip lets fly at leaders”, 28 May 2015

stories which the *Daily Sun* staff believes will attract the interest of its readers, and may even be calculated to command the attention of working-class voters who discuss them in alternative public spheres such as that facilitated by the *Daily Sun*. Internal divisions in the party and the many accusations against Malema that arise during them may make some *Daily Sun* readers sceptical as to whether the party leaders' aim really is to serve its working-class constituency, however. Malema is heralded as a hero of the working class to some, but is embroiled in many allegations of impropriety.

The analysis reported on in 8.3.2 reflects in detail on some accusations against Malema and the ways in which these associate negative judgements with the party. Additionally, in 10.3.3 I report on the analysis of an article on the debate following Zuma's State of the Nation Address in February 2015, in which EFF MPs disrupted the speech and were forcibly removed from Parliament. This article, with the headline "Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society", features collocations between the EFF and five of its ten strongest significant collocates, "Julius Malema", "Mbuyiseni Ndlozi", "MP", "whip" and "leader". There is one article which features six of the strongest significant collocates, namely "EFF to act against Mngxitama",¹²⁸ which reported that the party was considering disciplinary action against Mngxitama for his press conference criticizing the EFF leadership before the State of the Nation Address. However, the article described in 10.3.3 was selected above this other article because it mentions the DA and ANC as well as the EFF, and so provides an example of how the parties were positioned in relation to each other in the wake of the State of the Nation Address.

Both of these articles were produced by the South African Press Association (Sapa) and republished in the *Daily Sun*. In 10.3.3 I reflect further on this and argue that despite this fact, "Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society" illustrates trends evident in the *Daily Sun* corpus as a whole. Thus, while the theme of internal divisions in the EFF is addressed in 8.3.2, the analysis reported on in 10.3.3 explores the theme of the EFF's disruptive actions in Parliament.

7.4 Conclusion

This corpus analysis reveals the occurrence of a number of themes in the coverage of each party in the *Daily Sun*. For easy reference, these themes are repeated in Table 7.7. One may notice that internal contestation of power is associated with each of the three parties: internal conflict is a theme in the ANC and EFF's coverage, and the theme of leadership in the DA's coverage emerges to some extent due to the party's elective conference in which Maimane was elected to succeed Zille as party leader. However, these contestations are reported in significantly different ways in the three parties' coverage. In the ANC, internal conflict is associated with physical violence through the use of the collocate "clash", and

¹²⁸"EFF to act against Mngxitama", 16 February 2015

Party	Themes
African National Congress (ANC)	Internal and external conflict, concrete places/objects
Democratic Alliance (DA)	Community-spirited good deeds, leadership
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	Disruptive actions, internal conflict, rank-and-file-members, leaders

Table 7.7: *Themes in the strongest collocations of South Africa’s three largest parties*

with factionalism through use of the collocate “faction”. In the EFF, it is associated mainly with an individual, Andile Mngxitama, whose rebellion against the party leadership was resisted through disruption of his press conference and later disciplinary steps against him.

In both the ANC and EFF’s cases, headlines were used to highlight the divisions in the parties: one reads “It’s EFF against EFF”,¹²⁹ while another is “ANC vs ANC”.¹³⁰ By contrast, no such headlines were written about the leadership contest in the DA, and of all the candidates for the DA leader position in the elective conference, only Maimane is mentioned in the list of strongest significant lexical collocates. Maimane’s leadership is compared mainly with Zille’s, rather than with the competing candidates for party leader (see e.g. 10.3.2). Thus the DA is depicted as undergoing a smooth democratic leadership transition while the other two parties are split by infighting. This portrayal is skewed somewhat by the fact that only the DA had an elective conference during the period under investigation, but it does seem to suggest that the party is positioned in a more favourable light than its two biggest rivals. This raises questions as to the effects that this positioning may have on the alternative public sphere facilitated by the *Daily Sun*.

This impression is heightened if one considers the other theme that the DA is associated with, community-spirited good deeds. These good deeds appear to show that the DA’s hearts are in the right place, that they care for poor, previously disadvantaged and marginalized people. However, as pointed out in 7.3.2, if these good deeds are perceived as acts of charity from a party for the rich, they may counterproductively serve to distance working-class readers from the DA, rather than affiliate them with the party.

By contrast, some of the *Daily Sun*’s readers may well support the EFF’s agenda of disruptive actions, believing that these are necessary to call South Africa’s current status quo into question both in terms of the way government conducts its business (through disrupting Parliament) and in terms of the politics of representation in the country’s cities (through vandalizing statues). The theme of rank-and-file members points to the idea that the EFF has a strong affiliation with everyday people that are the party’s “supporters”, to mention another collocate. This is a further trait that some readers may find attractive.

¹²⁹“It’s EFF against EFF! – Mngxitama chased down the streets”, 13 February 2015

¹³⁰“ANC vs ANC”, 18 May 2015

Meanwhile, there seem to be very few attractive aspects of the ANC's collocations, unless one considers readers who are already fervent supporters of the party, and may cheer on the way in which people "wearing ANC T-shirts" defend the party, often in violent ways, or may approve of Gwede Mantashe's work in arbitrating between disputing party members, for example.

One thing that appears noticeably absent from any of the parties' collocations is mention of their different policy positions on different matters, creating an impression of policy-blindness. This means that the *Daily Sun* does not provide much information on these policy positions to stimulate public sphere debate about them. Apart from the EFF's clear belief that South Africa's political status quo needs to be disrupted, the best way one could come close to deducing these positions from the strongest collocations would be by examining the different statements made by individuals who are prominent collocates with the parties' names, such as the party leaders and spokespersons. This absence of policy positions could, however, be an artefact of my method of corpus analysis: it could be that words relating to policy, such as "liberal" or "socialist", simply do not appear consistently enough next to parties' names to create strong collocations. By contrast, people closely related to parties are almost always identified by their party affiliation.

On the other hand, some rather unexpected words related to conflict, such as "clash" and "faction", appeared particularly in the ANC's collocations. It may be that the *Daily Sun* uses words such as these to sensationalize articles but avoids long, academic-sounding descriptors of policy positions. In fact, the article used as an example in chapters 4 and 5, "Zuma's plan to make ANC members rich", which appears in Appendix A, may provide a much clearer example of how language is used to discuss policy in the *Daily Sun*, since in it Zille criticizes the ANC's energy policy and speaks about the kind of policy that the DA would favour. Additionally, political conflicts, whether within or between parties, may often turn out to be partly due to differences in policy, which can be enlarged on in individual articles on these conflicts. Thus it is necessary to turn to fine-grained analyses of individual articles to observe exactly how the collocations examined in this section and other words are used to position parties. This is the task of the exploratory and targeted analyses reported on in the following chapters.

Chapter 8

Exploratory analyses

8.1 Introduction

The exploratory analyses represent a crucial stage in the methodology of this study. In this stage, I continue with the immersion in the data begun in the corpus analysis (Chapter 7), but begin to enact theoretical concepts from LCT and SFL to analyse individual articles. This is done to move from answering the question “What policy positions and moral evaluations are associated with political parties in the *Daily Sun*?”, which is the focus of the corpus analysis, to first attempts at answering the question “How is language used to make these associations?” This is reflected in the position of the exploratory analyses between the corpus analysis and the targeted analyses, as shown in Figure 8.1.

The question, “How is language used to associate different policy positions and moral evaluations with political parties in the *Daily Sun*?” also explains the primary reason why the exploratory analyses are necessary at all. Some readers may wonder why an intermediate stage of analysis is needed between the corpus analyses and targeted analyses, or why such a stage needs to be reported on in the detail given in this chapter. If the purpose of the study is to describe how political positioning is accomplished in individual news articles, then initially it appears as though one stage of analysis would be sufficient to achieve this. However, the word “how” entails that political positioning is a process which is accomplished through various means or mechanisms, which I describe in this study using LCT and SFL.

In chapters 4 and 5, I describe an array of theoretical concepts from LCT and SFL which I identified prior to analysis as possibly being involved in political positioning. These centre on the LCT concepts of axiological-semantic density and constellations (Maton, 2014), and the SFL concept of ‘mass’ (Martin, 2017). If I conducted one stage of analysis in which I looked only for the ways in which these concepts are enacted in the data, but not for other phenomena that might affect political positioning, or for the complex and nuanced ways in which these concepts interact, and then concluded that political

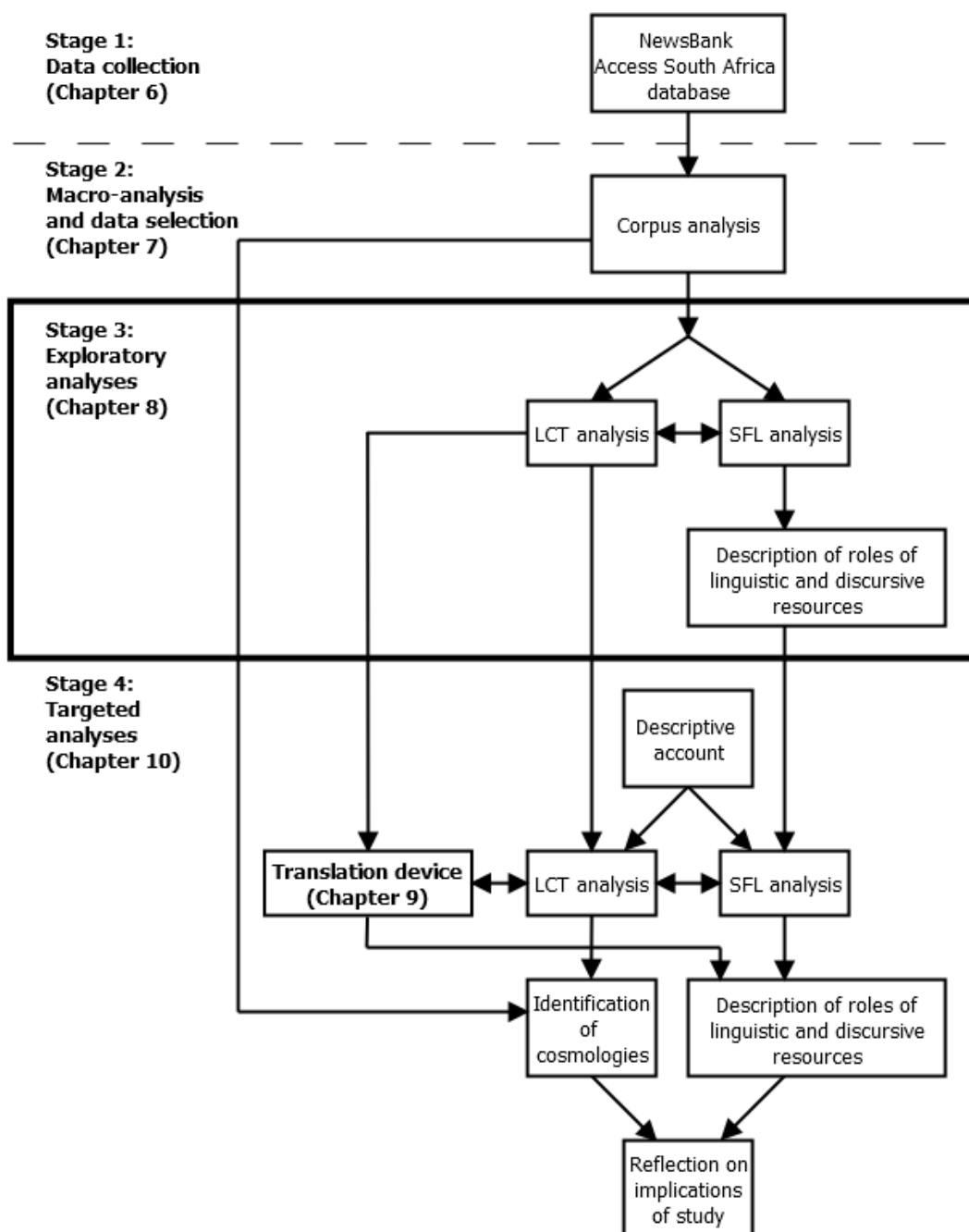


Figure 8.1: *Stages of methodology, with exploratory analyses highlighted*

positioning is accomplished by means of axiological-semantic density, constellations and mass, then I would be making a circular argument.

Alternatively, if I used one stage of analysis to describe *Daily Sun* political news articles using a radically inductive approach, not presupposing that any concepts from LCT or SFL are involved in political positioning, then I might have found various different phenomena that enact political positioning as I went through the analysis. However, if I discovered halfway through the analysis of one article that a particular phenomenon is involved in political positioning, I would then have needed to search through the previous articles I had analysed for that phenomenon, especially since I would have been concerned that the final reports on the analyses be as complete as possible for the purposes of arriving at a definitive description of political positioning in the six months' worth of *Daily Sun* political news articles concentrated on in this study. This would have made the process of analysis far more time-consuming than it was.

By contrast, inserting a stage of exploratory analyses in between the corpus analyses and the final, targeted analyses allows more room for an interplay between theory and data, and therefore between deductive and inductive analysis. It allows me to construct a method of analysis for the exploratory analyses (as described in 8.2), to use it to discover the characteristics of political positioning in individual articles (as described in 8.3), and then to return to engagement with theory in refining the method of analysis for use in the targeted analyses.

In particular, the importance of this stage of analysis is shown by the process of developing a translation device for describing axiological-semantic density in *Daily Sun* political news articles, described in Chapter 9. Such a translation device could not be developed without intense engagement with this type of data, such as is undertaken in this stage of analysis. However, once the translation device was first drafted, it was necessary to demonstrate its use and refine it through further analysis, and this was achieved in the targeted analyses.

Because the purpose of the exploratory analyses is primarily to explore the data and discover characteristics of political positioning in them, the articles analysed in this stage were not selected using a rigorous sampling method, but merely chosen as supplying instances of interesting collocations, as explained in 7.2. This ensured that the articles which best exemplified the collocations described in 7.3 were left for analysis in the targeted analyses stage.

It is necessary to report on the exploratory analyses extensively in this thesis because important findings on the positioning of political parties in the data were made in them. Because of the extremely fine-grained nature of the analysis in this study, time and space constraints dictated that only three articles could be selected for the exploratory analyses and three for the targeted analyses. However, the three articles discussed in the targeted analyses stage on their own provide too slender a basis on which to describe the ways in which political parties are positioned in the *Daily Sun's* political news coverage or the

cosmologies underlying this coverage. It is necessary to supplement this with insights gained from the exploratory analyses. These insights are also useful because two articles in the exploratory analyses (see 8.3.1 and 8.3.3) show examples of the positioning of parties other than the three largest parties concentrated on in most of this thesis, the African National Congress (ANC), Democratic Alliance (DA) and Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). Thus the exploratory analyses significantly enrich the account of political positioning which emerges from this research.

8.2 Method of analysis

As explained in 8.1, the exploratory analyses set a general pattern of analysis that was developed further for use in the targeted analyses. This pattern entailed, firstly, alternating between LCT and SFL analyses of the articles. First, I identified the constellations and fluctuations in axiological-semantic density in the articles, using LCT (8.2.1). Next, I conducted an SFL analysis, describing some of the linguistic resources used in the articles (8.2.2). During the exploratory analyses, many insights were gained through a variety of joint data analysis activities, in which others were involved in analysing the data. These are described in 8.2.3. These joint data analysis sessions occurred at various times relative to the LCT and SFL analyses: some occurred before these analyses were started, others after these analyses were completed. Finally, I used the abovementioned analyses to describe the roles that various linguistic and discursive resources play in political positioning in the data, as I explain in 8.2.4.

8.2.1 LCT analysis

The LCT analysis was designed to discover the constellations produced in each article, and to show how fluctuations in axiological-semantic density take place over the course of the article. I began by charting the constellations in each article on a table, similar to Table 8.1. This charting was initially done in a soft-focus manner (see 6.2): I put names of people, places and things that appeared to be associated with each other together in the same column, and also put in that column expressions which appeared to describe those people, places and things.

Initially, as in Table 8.1, I typed the names of people, places and things (which can loosely be termed *signifiers*) in upright text, and the expressions that described these people, places and things (which can loosely be termed *chargers*) in italics. Signifiers that appeared to be in opposition to each other or to be contrasted with each other in some way were placed on the same line in the tables. Later, I found this distinction difficult to maintain and dropped it, simply listing expressions according to the group of entities they appeared to be associated with. However, the distinction reappeared in the translation

IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party)	Some parties
	ANC
	NFP (National Freedom Party)
<i>more than 500 people</i>	
Mangosuthu Buthelezi	
<i>good leader</i>	
Sifiso Nene	
Mbongeni Zuma	President Jacob Zuma
<i>honest governance</i>	<i>corruption</i>
<i>good policies</i>	<i>people fed up</i>
	<i>empty promises</i>
	<i>advocate democracy</i>
	<i>will try to buy your vote</i>
	<i>manipulate electoral results</i>
	<i>talk about putting an end to poverty</i>
	<i>prioritise giving jobs to friends</i>
	<i>enriching tenderpreneurs</i>

Table 8.1: *Example of constellations in “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members”*

device, where certain words are described using the *wording* tool and others using the *charging* tool (see 9.4.1 and 9.4.2). In tables showing constellations, where possible I attempt to show opposing signifiers that contrast with each other on the same row of the table; the remaining signifiers are arranged in the order of their appearance in the article.

Once constellations were listed in tables like this, I decided whether each constellation is positively, negatively or neutrally charged. In this process, I was attuned to the possibility that there may be more than two constellations in an article; in other words, I did not simply put together things that were positively charged on one side, and negatively charged on the other. I was also alert to the possibility that different sources consulted in the article may produce different constellations from each other, or from those of the author. This did not appear to be the case for any of the articles in the exploratory analyses but did occur in one article in the targeted analyses, as shown in 10.3.3.

Next, I searched for a central signifier for each constellation. These central signifiers had to be words or phrases which held the rest of the constellation together; in other words, they had to be terms which came as close as possible to summarizing the entire constellation in one expression. In many cases, as in the constellation in the right-hand column in Table 8.1, a party name is not suitable as a central signifier, either because more than one party is mentioned in the constellation, or because party names fail to describe the majority of the content of the constellation. In all cases, expressions mentioned in the article were chosen as central signifiers; an expression stood more chance of being selected as a central signifier if it is repeated several times in the article in close association with the other signifiers in the constellation.

Once the constellations had been described in tables, I wrote a description showing how

the signifiers in each constellation were clustered and constellated together and axiologically charged, either positively, negatively or neutrally. This description served as a rationale for my grouping of items into constellations, but also showed the workings of axiological-semantic density and axiological condensation in the article. For each article, this description is revised to form part of the “LCT analysis” section of the reports on the exploratory analyses in 8.3.

After the SFL analysis (see 8.2.2) was complete, I returned to LCT and drew a semantic profile of the article. These profiles are intended to show fluctuations in axiological-semantic density only, rather than showing semantic density in general. The SFL analysis gave me a sensitivity to fine-grained variations in the strengths of axiological-semantic density, which assisted in this process. The profiles were drawn in Dia v. 0.97.2, a freeware program designed for drawing diagrams. In drawing these semantic profiles, I worked through the article paragraph by paragraph, beginning with the headline, which was included as part of the profile. I attempted to apportion a standard amount of space to each paragraph in the article, so that the profiles were roughly to scale.

In each paragraph, I took special note of expressions that had been identified as having much axiological meaning packed into them in the constellation analysis and SFL analysis, and labelled these on the profile. I also took note of phrases in paragraphs that appeared to convey very little axiological meaning, and in some cases labelled these on the profiles. Because the semantic profiles consider meanings on a paragraph-by-paragraph level, they are not extremely detailed, but instead resemble a ‘trendline’ of axiological-semantic density. Semantic profiles based on the axiological-semantic density of individual words can appear as a series of very jagged, high-frequency peaks and troughs, in which it is very difficult to see general trends over the unfolding of the text, and so this paragraph-by-paragraph approach allows more scope to observe these trends. These semantic profiles are still rather soft-focus and impressionistic, since they are not based on a consistent translation device for axiological-semantic density. Nevertheless, they provide a helpful synoptic impression of the fluctuations of axiological-semantic density in the article, and so have been included at the end of the “LCT analysis” section in the reports on the exploratory analyses in 8.3.

To accompany the semantic profiles, I wrote a relatively brief one- or two-paragraph description of the fluctuations of axiological-semantic density in the unfolding of the article. These descriptions were edited to form part of the “LCT analysis” sections in the reports on the exploratory analyses in 8.3. Here they form useful summaries of the key trends in the articles.

8.2.2 SFL analysis

In the SFL analyses, I concentrated on the linguistic resources that were identified by Martin (2017) as types of mass. I began the analysis by coding the articles for these

Type of mass	UAM CorpusTool coding layers	Linguistic resources coded	Description of resources	Coding scheme diagram
iconization	Attitude	Attitude	5.4	C.1
	Graduation	Graduation		C.2
	Engagement	Engagement		C.3
aggregation	Aggregation	periodicity	5.3	C.4
		text reference		
technicality	Technicality	technicality	5.2	C.5
		grammatical metaphor		

Table 8.2: *Types of mass and layers for coding SFL resources*

linguistic features using UAM CorpusTool 3.1.17, a software package designed for annotation of corpora of written texts, which includes inbuilt annotation schemes for Appraisal and is widely used among researchers using this framework (O’Donnell, 2009). Table 8.2 shows the linguistic resources for which I coded the text, layers which I used for coding SFL resources and how they relate to the three types of mass mentioned above. It also includes cross-references to the sections of Chapter 5 where these resources are described in more detail, as well as to diagrams showing the system networks used for each of the coding schemes.

In coding, I used UAM CorpusTool’s inbuilt annotation schemes for the Appraisal systems of Attitude, Graduation and Engagement (see C.1–C.3), which are based largely on White’s (2015) expanded Appraisal scheme. I designed annotation schemes of my own for the aggregation (C.4) and technicality (C.5) coding layers. All coding of the articles was manual.

For the Appraisal coding of Attitude, Graduation and Engagement, I attempted as far as possible to code from a compliant reading position (see 1.4.1; Martin and White, 2005) so as to attempt to describe the axiological meanings as they might appear to an average reader of the newspaper. I also used my contextual knowledge of South African society, history and politics (some of which is described in Chapter 2) to interpret and code invoked meanings. Where idioms, intertextual references and allusions were noticed in the articles, I traced these to their original texts so as to be able to explain these references and their effect on invoked meanings. Thus the Appraisal coding was accomplished in a way which had sensitivity to the richness of the meanings which a human *Daily Sun* reader may recover from the texts.

In coding for Engagement in UAM CorpusTool, I coded not only the instantiations of Engagement but also the passages of text that were expanded and contracted by those instantiations. For example, in the subheading “I doubt if he will respond – spokesman”¹, I did not code only “I doubt” as an instantiation of Contract: Proclaim, “if” as an instance

¹“Ex-buddy trashes Juju! – I doubt if he will respond – spokesman”, 11 February 2015

of Expand: Entertain and “– spokesman” as an instantiation of Expand: Acknowledge, but rather coded the entire subheading as Expand: Acknowledge, “I doubt if he will respond” as Contract: Proclaim, and “if he will respond” as Expand: Entertain. This enabled me to observe the ways in which Engagement resources were layered upon each other in the texts, forming complex configurations of meanings even before these are coupled with other linguistic resources.

Once coding was complete, I wrote a description of the meanings made across the unfolding of the text. In these, I used White’s (1997) characterization of news articles as divided into a nucleus and a number of interchangeable satellites to describe the structure of the text. While writing these descriptions, I searched for couplings between the different systems of language I had coded, and repeated instances of couplings which could provide evidence of complexes developing in the text. I attempted to describe the ways in which these couplings and complexes aided the condensation or rarefaction of axiological meanings in the text. These descriptions were then edited to form the “SFL analysis” sections of the reports on my analysis in 8.3.

In the process of writing these descriptions, there were times in which it became clear that other linguistic resources for which I had not coded were supporting political positioning. A prime example of such a set of resources is lexical strings, an aspect of the system of Ideation in the Ideational Metafunction. When such a resource was observed to have an effect on the packing of axiological meanings, I would identify the instances of it that appear to have such an effect, and would attempt to explain their effects in the written description. In some cases, this involved drawing diagrams showing the occurrence and workings of these resources, which were then included in 8.3.

Through following such a method, I was able to describe in a fine-grained manner the ways in which linguistic resources coupled in the data to accomplish political positioning. This SFL analysis was thorough in identifying the linguistic resources which were introduced in Chapter 5 as possibly being involved in political positioning, while being responsive to the possibility of additional linguistic resources contributing to the positioning of parties.

Following each exploratory analysis, I wrote a short conclusion which brings together the LCT and SFL analyses to describe a joint impression of the political positioning in the article. In this conclusion, I re-examined the constellations produced in the article, and speculated about the possible principles underlying them. This gave a basis for working towards the description of cosmologies in the *Daily Sun* given in 11.3.2, although I was careful not to state conclusively that the evidence from the article supported the existence of one type of cosmology or another. I also drew out the chief patterns of linguistic resources, or complexes, that were found in the article. These conclusions were revised into the conclusions that are found in the reports on each exploratory analysis in 8.3, which assist in presenting the valuable insights that can be gained from each of these analyses.

8.2.3 Joint data analysis sessions

The rigour of the exploratory analyses, and some of the targeted analyses, was greatly strengthened through the input of others in joint data analysis sessions. There were two types of these sessions which were conducted in different ways with different participants: data sessions with student research assistants, and presentations of draft analyses to colleagues. In this subsection, I describe each of these in turn.

The data sessions with student research assistants were designed to assist in working towards the development of a translation device as described in 9.3. In the process, they also assisted in refining the exploratory analyses themselves. There were two series of such data sessions: one focused on the exploratory analyses, and a second series that occurred with a different group of research assistants, focusing more on the development of my translation device.

In preparation for the research assistant data sessions, I gave each of the research assistants a copy of the article to be analysed, and a pre-prepared form which I called a ‘workshopping sheet’, on which I had listed a selection of expressions from the article. I asked each assistant to read the article, and then to rank the expressions on the form according to the strength of axiological-semantic density represented by that particular expression. Since not all the research assistants were familiar with LCT, I phrased my instructions to them in non-technical terms, paraphrasing Maton’s (2014) definition of axiological-semantic density. The resultant instruction read as follows:

Read the article and picture captions before you do this exercise.

Rank the following words and phrases according to how much emotional, aesthetic, ethical, political or moral meaning they carry in the context of this article, from strongest to weakest. In each case, say whether the expression carries positive (+), negative (-) or neutral (n) meaning in the context of the article. Use your ‘gut feel’.

An example of such a workshopping sheet can be found in Appendix D. On this sheet, I asked the research assistants to rank ‘chargers’ (see 8.2.1) from a list of such expressions on the first page, and then to rank ‘signifiers’ on a separate list on the second page.

The research assistants were given a week to read the article and fill in the workshopping sheet. The following week, three of the research assistants, who were on-campus students, would come with their completed workshopping sheets to a joint data analysis session. The fourth research assistant, who was a distance student, would email me her completed workshopping sheet. Each of these sessions lasted one hour, and each was audio-recorded.

I began each session by asking the research assistants about what their first impressions of the article were, and how easy or difficult they had found the task. In general, they reported initially that they had found the task difficult, although it became easier as

a group of research assistants became more used to it. This illustrates that it is often difficult to compare the relative strengths of axiological-semantic density of different expressions. Most of the time in the data analysis session was taken up with arriving at a ‘consensus’ ranking of expressions according to their strengths of axiological charging (for the ‘chargers’) and axiological-semantic density (for the ‘signifiers’). I did this by asking the research assistants what each had ranked as strongest on the list of ‘chargers’, and then asking them to discuss together to decide on a group opinion as to which signifier was strongest. The same sort of procedure was repeated for the second and third positions on the list, and so on until we arrived at a ‘consensus’ ranking of expressions. The same process was repeated later with the ‘signifiers’.

The research assistants’ rankings were quite different from each other, and often there was plenty of debate before a ranking could be settled on. This again reflects the difficulty of comparing the relative strengths of axiological-semantic density in different articles. In the sessions, I tried to be as non-directive as possible and simply facilitate the process of arriving at a ‘consensus’ ranking. At some points, I summarized the group’s discussion up to a particular point to assist them in ranking the expressions. There were also some occasions when the group was indecisive and I thought it necessary to make a decision directly on which item should appear next in the rankings, taking my cue from the group’s discussion. However, I tried to minimize the number of these occasions as far as possible.

Research assistants’ cultural and social backgrounds may be a reason for some of the differences in their rankings. Whenever I recruited a set of research assistants for joint analysis sessions, I attempted to ensure that the group was diverse, so that a variety of different perspectives were taken into account in the final ‘consensus’ rankings. The group of four research assistants used for the first series of joint analysis sessions consisted of two white women and two black African women, all South Africans. All four of the initial group members had a background in linguistics.

Differences in interpretation of the task and understandings of axiological condensation and axiological-semantic density proved to be another reason for differences in the rankings produced by individual research assistants. For example, when ranking ‘signifiers’ according to their relative strengths of axiological-semantic density, some research assistants relied heavily on pre-existing axiological charging which formed part of their background knowledge, while others were more focused on the ways in which the signifiers were charged within the text itself. I do not view this as problematic because everyday readers of the *Daily Sun* would tend to rely on the pre-charging of signifiers in their background knowledge when interpreting the text, and so adding the perspectives of these research assistants allowed me to simulate more closely the ways in which an everyday reader might interpret these signifiers as invested with axiological-semantic density.

The fact that one of the research assistants in the first series of data sessions was a distance student who did not attend the group data analysis sessions but only emailed her rankings to me meant that I had an ‘independent’ ranking from her to compare with

the ‘consensus’ rankings arrived at by the group in the data analysis session.

Once each group data analysis session was complete, I would write some notes on how the session unfolded. The group sessions influenced my exploratory analyses in that they alerted me to expressions which I would not have thought of as having relatively strong axiological-semantic density or enacting strong charging, but which clearly contained a significant amount of axiological meaning to the research assistants. An example of such an expression is the word “left” in two of the articles analysed in the exploratory analyses. It appears in contexts such as “More than 500 people left the NFP [National Freedom Party] and ANC to join the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party]” in “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members” (see 8.3.1). On my own, I did not consider this word as enacting axiological charging, but the research assistants ranked it high on the list of ‘chargers’ in this article, leading me to reconsider its significance and investigate its role more closely in my analysis of this article. The group’s ranking was even more useful in informing the development of my translation device following the exploratory analyses, as I explain in 9.3.

For the second series of sessions designed to assist in the development of my translation device, I selected a group of research assistants that was more diverse than the first group. In this group, only two out of the four students had a background in linguistics; the other two were commerce students. Two of the assistants were black African women, one was a white woman and the fourth was a male South African Indian student.

Having a more diverse group in terms of disciplinary backgrounds allowed me to compare the rankings of those with a linguistic background with those who did not have such a background. This is important because translation devices are not linguistic tools of analysis, but sociological ones, as explained in Chapter 9. Thus they need to be intelligible to, and usable by, people who do not have a linguistic background. Through the assistance of the two research assistants from a commerce background, I attempted to ensure that the final rankings of expressions according to strength of axiological-semantic density were not affected only by the kinds of considerations that people with a background in linguistics would have, but would reflect a more diverse range of readers’ understandings of axiological meaning.

This series of data sessions was conducted similarly to the first series. I sent the research assistants an article² and a workshopping sheet and asked the research assistants to rank ‘chargers’ according to their strengths of axiological charging and ‘signifiers’ according to their strengths of axiological-semantic density as before. However, because some of the research assistants did not have a linguistic background, I decided to make more explicit

²These articles were taken from the *Business Day* rather than the *Daily Sun*. I had initially planned to investigate political news articles from the *Business Day* and compare them to those in the *Daily Sun* in this study. After it became clear that there were sufficient findings from the *Daily Sun* analyses to base a PhD thesis on these alone, the *Business Day* was excluded from this study. Thus data from *Business Day* political news articles were used to inform the development of a translation device for the *Daily Sun*. However, the targeted analyses were used to test the translation device on *Daily Sun* political news articles and refine it, confirming that it describes fluctuations of axiological-semantic density in this newspaper accurately.

to them the ways in which expressions could enact axiological-semantic density. I did this in an email sent to the research assistants with the first article and workshopping sheet. An extract from the email in which I explained this appears below:

In my research, I am investigating the strength of emotional, aesthetic, ethical, political and moral meaning in *Business Day* and *Daily Sun* articles. There are at least three ways in which words and phrases can have this type of meaning:

1. Words and phrases can overtly express this kind of meaning. Here are some examples of words with strong overt aesthetic, ethical, political and moral meaning that do this: ‘delighted’, ‘depressed’, ‘beautiful’, ‘ugly’, ‘virtuous’, ‘depraved’, ‘democracy’, ‘dictatorship’.
2. Words can imply this kind of meaning. For example, in the sentence “He used public office to become rich”, the word ‘rich’ does not express overtly that this person has been involved in unethical conduct, but implies it, and so can be interpreted as carrying a strong ethical meaning.
3. Words and phrases can have this kind of meaning by association. For example, if I say “Melanie’s a real Nazi”, I am associating someone with the brutal actions that were perpetrated by the Nazis. This means that the word “Nazi” is strong in negative ethical meaning, and I am making the name “Melanie” strong in negative ethical meaning by association. By contrast, if I say “Even Gandhi made mistakes”, we know that I am referring to someone who is a good moral teacher, and so “Gandhi” would be strong in positive moral meaning. In the same way, the names of different people, groups and places can have differing levels of emotional, aesthetic, ethical, political and moral meaning.

Another difference between this series of data sessions and the previous one is that in this series of data sessions, the workshopping sheet included a third list in which selected ‘chargers’ and ‘signifiers’ were mixed with each other, and I asked the research assistants to rank these according to their relative strengths of axiological-semantic density. This was done to observe how research assistants compared the relative strengths of axiological-semantic density of ‘chargers’ and ‘signifiers’, and to investigate whether it would be feasible to construct one tool in the translation device that could describe both types of expression. In the data sessions, we concentrated on achieving a ‘consensus’ ranking of this composite list of ‘chargers’ and ‘signifiers’. This saved time as it allowed us to address both types of expression at once, rather than ranking each separately. In this way, we were able to discuss three articles in three successive sessions.

However, the task of ranking a composite list of ‘chargers’ and ‘signifiers’ did prove to be a problematic one. The research assistants reported that they found it very difficult to

rank the ‘chargers’ in relation to the ‘signifiers’, and usually disagreed with each other as to where to place ‘chargers’ and ‘signifiers’ relative to each other on the rankings. This assisted in persuading me that there is a psychological reality to the distinction between ‘chargers’ and ‘signifiers’, and that these two sets of expressions could not be described using a single tool in the translation device. For these reasons, after a group consensus ranking was arrived at in the data sessions, I separated out the ‘chargers’ and ‘signifiers’ and considered both separately in developing the translation device.

Following one data session, I realized that it is necessary not only to consider ‘chargers’ that enact relatively strong charging (i.e. those which would usually be coded as instantiations of Attitude in an Appraisal analysis), but also those which contribute relatively weak axiological charging. For this reason, I designed a supplementary workshopping sheet for one article, in which I asked research assistants to rank a variety of such chargers according to their strengths of axiological charging. This provided me with a rich data source from which to construct the charging tool for my translation device, as explained in 9.3.

When I was developing my translation device, I realized that there was a need for a tool that described the axiological-semantic density of words in isolation, which did not consider the influence of axiological charging from other words in their context. To assist in devising such a tool, I held one final data session as part of the second series of these sessions. For this session, I did not give the research assistants an article to read, but only a workshopping sheet with a list of words that I asked students to rank according to their strengths of axiological-semantic density, devoid of context. All of the words on the list were nouns. I drew most of them from a *Daily Sun* political news article which was not analysed for this thesis, so that the research assistants would not be able to make recourse to an article they had already read to supply context for the words on the list. In addition, I added in some extra words that were not in this article, to ensure that the list contained a mixture of names of politicians, political parties and places in South Africa, as well as common nouns referring to a wide range of types of object, including abstract nouns such as “principles” and concrete nouns such as “face”, “head” and “panties”.

The research assistants reported that they found it difficult to rank words devoid of context, and had devised strategies for completing the task successfully. One research assistant said that she had drawn inferences from the list of words given, and thought based on them that the text they were drawn from was about the politics of gender, and so ranked words accordingly. The other research assistants admitted that at different points they had inferred a context for the signifiers in grouping them together, and that this had affected their rankings, albeit not in as strong a way as for the first research assistant. They thought that ranking the words without context was a very subjective exercise, but they were able to work together to produce a useful composite ranking. This ranking formed the initial basis for the wording tool of my translation device, as described in 9.3.

The second type of joint data analysis session that was influential in shaping my analysis

was presentations of draft analyses for colleagues. These occurred in a variety of different academic forums, including conferences, departmental research seminars and one-on-one discussions with colleagues using SFL and/or LCT. In them, I presented all the analyses reported on in this thesis. In this section, I describe all of these discussions, including the presentations of targeted analyses, for the sake of convenience. Table 8.3 lists all the different forums in which analyses were discussed, and identifies the parts of the analysis that were presented in each.

These forums differed greatly in the types of participants present and level of formality. Some of them were composed mainly of people with a general background in linguistics, others of people with expertise in SFL, and some of people with expertise in both LCT and SFL. In each case I tailored the presentation towards the areas of expertise of the audience, focusing either on the corpus analysis, or the LCT or SFL analysis or both of these frameworks. Despite the differences between the contexts in which these discussions happened, there are some commonalities in the way in which I presented the draft analyses and elicited feedback on them. In each case (apart from my presentation of the corpus analysis), I supplied participants with a printed copy of the article on which I was presenting, so as to allow them to look at the data as they followed my analysis. I usually talked through the analysis, beginning with the headline of the article and going through its paragraphs in consecutive order, highlighting features I thought were particularly interesting or important. In the DRSEs and conference presentations, this was accompanied by notes on a PowerPoint presentation. I either audio-recorded the discussion sessions at the end of the presentations, or soon after the presentation wrote notes on points that had been raised that needed further investigation or could be used to improve the analysis in some way.

In the LCT-GHT group and the English Language and Linguistics DRS, I was able to go beyond simply presenting analyses to involving participants in analysing the articles alongside me. In both these sessions, I presented a completed analysis of one article. I then gave the participants in the discussions a copy of another article (or two in the case of the LCT-GHT group) and asked them to analyse it together with me. In both these joint analyses, I asked the participants to identify constellations in the texts (similar to Table 8.1). Constellation analysis was used because this is the simplest type of analysis used in this thesis; it does not require competence in using the complex systems of SFL, or a nuanced sensitivity to fluctuations in axiological-semantic density, for example. I facilitated the discussion which followed, asking participants to identify the central signifiers and then associated signifiers in the constellations in the articles. I drew up the constellations they identified on a blackboard (in the DRS) or on a piece of paper (in the smaller LCT-GHT group context).

In most cases, I had completed a draft analysis of the article before these joint analyses were done. These discussions proved to be a helpful means of checking the plausibility of my analysis and revealing alternative interpretations of texts which I could work into

Discussion forum	Analysis presented	Thesis section	Location	Date
Legitimation Code Theory Grahamstown (LCT-GHT) group	Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members	8.3.1	Grahamstown/ Makhanda, South Africa	August 2016
	Ex-buddy trashes Juju!	8.3.2		
	March was a success – Mchunu	8.3.3		
English Language and Linguistics Postgraduate Mini-Conference 2016	Corpus analysis	7.3	Grahamstown/ Makhanda, South Africa	September 2016
English Language and Linguistics Departmental Research Seminar (DRS)	Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members	8.3.1	Grahamstown/ Makhanda, South Africa	September 2016
	Ex-buddy trashes Juju!	8.3.2		
One-on-one discussion with Yaegan Doran	ANC and DA clash!	10.3.1	Sydney, Australia	July 2017
One-on-one discussion with Lucy Jones	March was a success – Mchunu	8.3.3	Sydney, Australia	July 2017
Legitimation Code Theory Conference 2 (LCTC2)	ANC and DA clash!	10.3.1	Sydney, Australia	July 2017
International Systemic Functional Congress (ISFC) 2017	Eye on the big prize – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029	10.3.2	Wollongong, Australia	July 2017
One-on-one discussion with Jim Martin	Eye on the big prize – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029	10.3.2	Wollongong, Australia	July 2017
English Language and Linguistics Departmental Research Seminar (DRS)	Eye on the big prize – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029	10.3.2	Grahamstown/ Makhanda, South Africa	August 2017
English Language and Linguistics Departmental Research Seminar (DRS)	Maimane – Broken man Zuma presides over a broken society	10.3.3	Grahamstown/ Makhanda, South Africa	July 2018

Table 8.3: *Discussions of draft analyses*

my analysis. For example, prior to the English Language and Linguistics DRS discussion on “Ex-buddy trashes Juju!”, I had considered one constellation centred on Pastor Ray McCauley of Rhema Bible Church to be positively-charged, but a participant in the discussion pointed out that it could equally be interpreted as negatively-charged, particularly if one considered the possibility of negative axiological meanings from the earlier paragraphs of the article spreading into the final paragraphs where the “Ray McCauley” constellation is found. I incorporated this alternative interpretation into the analysis reported on in 8.3.2.

This subsection demonstrates how participation of others has greatly enriched the data analysis process in this research. In 4.2 I explain the philosophical assumptions deriving from critical realism that give a warrant for such collaborative data analysis. I hold that meaning is inherent in the texts that were analysed, and is not simply supplied by different readers who interpret the text. However, different readers do approach the text with different background knowledge and presuppositions, which do affect their interpretations of the meanings that appear in the text. By including others in my analysis, I gain some access to their interpretations, which combine with my own to form a fuller, better-informed understanding of the texts for analysis.

8.2.4 Description of the roles of linguistic resources

Following the exploratory analyses, I described the various roles which different linguistic and discursive resources play in political positioning in the *Daily Sun* data. There are two chief groups of resources that had to be considered: those resources already identified by Martin (2017) as components of mass, and resources that were not considered by him. In this subsection, I briefly describe the ways in which the roles of both of these groups were examined and described in this research.

The first group of linguistic resources, those which were already identified by Martin (2017), could be explored in a systematic fashion because I specifically coded the data for these resources during the analysis process (see 8.2.2). Once the data had been coded, in the analyses I looked for two types of patterns in these codings: prosodies (introduced in 5.4) and complexes (introduced in 1.4.2.2).

In the exploratory analyses, prosodies and complexes were revealed through SFL analyses of the articles that traced the unfolding of meanings in the articles from beginning to end. Once the exploratory analyses were complete, I read over my written reports on these analyses, which appear in 8.3, and identified examples of ways in which the linguistic resources interacted to enact political positioning. In particular, I searched for specific patterns of patterns, or common patterns that occurred in more than one of the articles. These were then written into the description of the roles of the linguistic and discursive resources found in 8.4.2. I organized these descriptions according to the meta-

functions that participated in the patterns that were found, so that there are subsections on interpersonal, textual and ideational resources respectively.

Some linguistic and discursive resources not identified by Martin (2017) as possibly playing a role in enacting semantic density were found in the process of conducting and then reporting on the exploratory SFL analyses of the articles. Following these analyses, when I read over the written reports on them, I listed these resources for mentioning in the descriptions of the roles of linguistic resources found in 8.4.2.

8.3 Reports on exploratory analyses

The exploratory analyses, as explained in 8.1, were designed to be initial incursions into the data. As indicated there, the articles for analysis were originally selected as exemplifying interesting phenomena revealed in the corpus analysis.

The first article, “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members” (8.3.1) involves the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), South Africa’s fourth largest party. It was selected because it featured a collocation between the IFP and ANC, and so could give an example of how these two parties are positioned in relation to each other. Similarly, the third article in the exploratory analyses, “March was a success – Mchunu” (8.3.3), was selected because it featured a long list of opposition party names in collocation, “the DA, IFP, UDM [United Democratic Movement], FF Plus [Freedom Front Plus], Cope [Congress of the People] and the ACDP [African Christian Democratic Party]”. I am interested in observing how these different parties are positioned in constellations, and such collocations between parties seemed an obvious starting point for observing how their relations are described. As mentioned in 7.2, these two articles assist in giving context to the other analyses in this study, which examine articles in which only the three largest political parties, the ANC, DA and EFF, are mentioned.

The second article, “Ex-buddy trashes Juju! – I doubt if he will respond – spokesman” (8.3.2), was selected as an example of two collocations that seem to play a particularly significant role in political positioning. The first is the collocation between “ANC” and “faction”, which is one of the ten strongest significant lexical collocations of that party’s name, and links to the theme of conflict within the party (see 7.3.1). The second is the collocation between “EFF” and “disrupt”. This collocation eventually did not emerge as one of the ten strongest significant lexical collocations of the EFF, but clearly is consonant with the theme in which the EFF is positioned as being involved in disruptive actions, as identified in 7.3.3. The article thus links to two important trends shown in the corpus analysis.

The three exploratory analyses reported on in this section reveal different insights into both the positioning of political parties in the *Daily Sun*, and the ways in which linguistic and discursive resources are used in this positioning.

In “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members” (8.3.1), the IFP’s leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi is quoted as presenting his party in a positive light, contrasting it with others which he portrays as being hypocritical, including the ANC and NFP (National Freedom Party). In terms of linguistic and discursive resources, the article shows how specific words which do not inherently appear to be evaluative can be used to associate moral judgements with parties. This is also true of the use of names of people’s names, including that of one who is not aligned with any of the parties being positioned, Thuli Madonsela. It also shows how cultural politeness norms may interact with the linguistic and discursive resources used in political positioning: Buthelezi uses indirectness in criticizing his political opponents, but leaves readers in no doubt as to their negative political positioning.

In “Ex-buddy trashes Juju!” (8.3.2), a former EFF member, Gayton McKenzie criticizes party leader Julius Malema in strong terms, and alleges that Malema was involved in secret talks with the ANC to return to that party. This article features two negatively-charged constellations, one associated with Malema, and the other associated with McKenzie. In addition, there is a third constellation, centring on Pastor Ray McCauley, whose charging is ambiguous (as mentioned in 8.2.3). Linguistically, this third constellation is associated with complex of Capacity Judgements, expansive and contractive Engagement resources, softening Focus and upscaling Force, showing how all three sub-systems of Appraisal can couple together to accomplish political positioning.

Lastly, in “March was a success – Mchunu” (8.3.3), a long list of opposition parties joins together in denouncing xenophobic violence. They are placed in the same constellation as supporters of a peace march led by the then KwaZulu-Natal Premier Senzo Mchunu, an ANC member. Despite this, the EFF’s Julius Malema positions “the state” negatively, blaming it for the violence. This article also includes a third constellation around a group of “about 500 foreigners” who opposed xenophobic violence but would not join the peace march. This third constellation attracts mixed charging. This article shows wild fluctuations in axiological-semantic density in describing these three constellations. The beginning of the article concentrates on the action taking place at the peace march, while its end is removed from this action, describing politicians’ comments on xenophobic violence in Parliament. In these comments, grammatical metaphor, technicality and lexical strings are used to support political positioning.

The report on each exploratory analysis begins with a descriptive account which introduces the article’s subject matter, describes relevant aspects of its context and outlines the article’s structure. This is followed by a fine-grained LCT analysis in which constellations are identified, and then an SFL analysis identifying salient linguistic features in the text. Because these LCT and SFL analyses describe the same data, there is some repetition of points made in the ‘LCT analysis’ sections in the ‘SFL analysis’ sections to aid readers in navigating their way through the analyses and show how particular discursive phenomena are handled differently in each framework; however, this repetition is kept to a minimum.

Conclusions at the end of each report summarize the things one can learn from each article about how stances, ideas and values are associated with the political parties mentioned in it. In each of these conclusions, I include a table which aids in summarizing the analysis by showing the complexes of linguistic resources that are used in positioning each constellation in the article. These reports are best read with a copy of the original article close at hand. These are available on fold-out sheets in Appendix G for easy reference.

8.3.1 “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members”

8.3.1.1 Descriptive account

This article, published on 26 May 2015, describes how the IFP’s leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, welcomed new members to the party who were defectors from the NFP and ANC. The text of the article can be found in Appendix G.1. Reports of one party welcoming former supporters of another party are fairly common in the *Daily Sun*: in the corpus, there are similar stories of the DA welcoming previous ANC supporters in poor neighbourhoods of Cape Town,³ ANC defectors to the EFF returning to the ANC in the North West,⁴ and other EFF members returning to the SACP.⁵ In these articles, the new members are typically paraded as ‘trophies’ of the welcoming party and the welcome events are used to promote that party and criticize the parties from which the new members come. This article is a typical instance of this.

The rally at which these members are welcomed to the IFP takes place in Pietermaritzburg, the capital of KwaZulu-Natal, in the heartland of the IFP’s traditional support base. As explained in 2.5, the IFP originated as a Zulu nationalist party in the former black homeland of KwaZulu during the apartheid era, and still draws most of its support from the province of KwaZulu-Natal. This is also the home province of ex-president Jacob Zuma, and the article points out in particular that one of his relatives, Mbongeni Zuma, defected to the IFP.

The article is structured into a nucleus and four satellites, according to White’s (1997) description of the generic structure of news articles outlined in 5.3. The nucleus (headline and par. 1–2) sets up the article as being about the defection to the IFP of 500 former members of the ANC and NFP. The first satellite (par. 3–4) names two prominent individuals among the new members who are quoted in subsequent satellites. One of these, Mbongeni Zuma, gives his reasons for joining the IFP in the second satellite (par. 5–8). The other, Sifiso Nene, a former local ANC leader from a squatter camp, gives his opinion of the ANC briefly in the third satellite (par. 9). In the final satellite (par. 10–12), Buthelezi is quoted, using the opportunity to promote his party and criticize others.

³“Signed up! – DA is the only choice we are left with – gogos and madalas”, 9 February 2015

⁴“EFF members go home to ANC”, 13 February 2015

⁵“We made a mistake, EFF used us”, 8 June 2015

IFP	Some parties
	ANC
	NFP
more than 500 people	
Mangosuthu Buthelezi	
good leader	
Sifiso Nene	
Mbongeni Zuma	President Jacob Zuma
honest governance	corruption
good policies	people fed up
	empty promises
	advocate democracy
	will try to buy your vote
	manipulate electoral results
	talk about putting an end to poverty
	prioritise giving jobs to friends
	enriching tenderpreneurs

Table 8.4: *Constellations in “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members”*

8.3.1.2 LCT analysis

In this article, the IFP is clearly the central signifier of one constellation, while the ANC and NFP are clustered together into an opposing constellation. These two constellations are set up in the lead of the article, “More than 500 people left the NFP and ANC to join the IFP” (par. 1). In quotations attributed to Buthelezi later in the article, he does not name the NFP and ANC, but instead criticizes “some parties” (par. 11). Thus “some parties” can be labelled the central signifier of a constellation of parties and stances opposed to the IFP.

Various people are clustered into these two constellations, which are depicted in Table 8.4. One person clearly constellated with the IFP is “IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi” (par. 2). Another group mentioned in the article is the “more than 500 people” who “left the NFP and ANC to join the IFP” (par. 1). In other words, these people have moved from one constellation produced in this article to the other.

Sifiso Nene and Mbongeni Zuma, the two new recruits introduced in 8.3.1.1, are part of the IFP’s constellation. Their previous credentials in the ANC are emphasized in a way that portrays them as ‘trophy’ of the IFP, charged with positive axiological value. In the same way, the number of new recruits is foregrounded in the lead of the article (“more than 500 people”, par. 1) and also emphasized in the photo captions (“a fully packed Northdale Truro Hall”, “hundreds of members”). These references to the large number of people joining the IFP could be viewed as positively charged in the context of this article. The implication is that if so many people, including those of high standing in the ANC, are joining the IFP, then the IFP must be a much better party than the ANC and NFP. Thus the numbering of the new recruits and the emphasis on Sifiso Nene and Mbongeni

Zuma's ANC credentials are used to condense positively charged meanings into the IFP constellation without explicit evaluative language being used.

Further axiological condensation is accomplished through explicit positive evaluations of the IFP and negative evaluations of the other parties in the quotations from Mbongeni Zuma, Nene and Buthelezi. Mbongeni Zuma calls Buthelezi "a good leader" (par. 8), condensing positively-charged meanings into the IFP constellation. Buthelezi continues this by boasting of his "honest governance" and "good policies" (par. 11). These are all construed as characteristics of Buthelezi, but are associated with the IFP's constellation as a whole.

While these positive evaluations of Buthelezi are fairly sparse, there are far more negative evaluations of other parties, involving much higher axiological condensation. Mbongeni Zuma says "there's a lot of corruption" (par. 5) in the ANC. He uses axiological rarefaction to dissociate the IFP from corruption, saying "I have never heard of Public Protector Thuli Madonsela investigating any IFP official for corruption" (par. 6). Madonsela is well-known and admired in many circles for her courage in investigating various corruption scandals relating to Jacob Zuma, including the Nkandla scandal and allegations of state capture (see 2.4), and so the use of her name adds credibility to the claim that there is no corruption, or very little, in the IFP, contributing to axiological rarefaction. However, the reference to Madonsela's investigations of corruption is ultimately used to heighten the condensing of negative meanings with the ANC: "in the ANC, that is common" (par. 7). Nene clusters further negatively-charged meanings with the ANC, using the colloquialism "fed up with" (par. 9), and accusing the party of making "empty promises" (par. 9).

While Mbongeni Zuma and Nene criticize the ANC by name, in the final satellite Buthelezi weakens semantic gravity by referring to "some parties" (par. 11) when condensing negatively-charged meanings into the constellation opposing the IFP. There are a variety of strategic reasons why he might do this. Firstly, he may be trying to avoid legal prohibitions of defamation of other parties. He may also not want to draw attention to his political opponents by naming them. He may be drawing on traditional Zulu politeness conventions, thinking that it would be unwise to name his political opponents especially when the relative of one, Mbongeni Zuma, is in the audience. Lastly, weakening semantic gravity allows Buthelezi to offer a blanket criticism of other parties while appearing as though he is above the fray of everyday politics. He can create a composite criticism of many other parties, placing them in the negatively charged constellation, without being held to account for making factual assertions about specific parties that could be rebutted by others.

Buthelezi's criticisms of "some parties" are extremely dense in their negative evaluations. He uses parallelism to mention two things that these parties will do to appear morally virtuous, that is "advocate democracy" (par. 11) and "talk about putting an end to poverty" (par. 12), and then on both occasions follows these with a strong negative evaluation so as to accuse the parties of hypocrisy. The first of these refers to ways in

which parties subvert democracy: “will try to buy your vote, or manipulate electoral results” (par. 11). “Democracy” is a signifier that carries strong positive axiological charging for most readers, so such an accusation of subversion of democracy condenses extremely strong negative axiological charging into the “some parties” constellation.

The second accusation refers to ways in which parties aggravate economic inequality by making a few people rich instead of “putting an end to poverty”: they “will prioritise giving jobs to friends and enriching tenderpreneurs” (par. 12). Here the signifier “poverty” has strong negative axiological charging, and so “putting an end to poverty” would condense positive charging into a constellation. However, “giving jobs to friends” and “enriching tenderpreneurs” both have extremely strong negative charging. For “giving jobs to friends”, this is amplified through the use of the word “prioritise”, suggesting that benefitting friends is more important for these parties than ending poverty is. The word “tenderpreneur” is a South African neologism referring to someone who uses his/her political connections to make large profits by winning government tenders, usually at grossly inflated prices. This word has become a powerful negatively-charged signifier in South African society, and so strengthens axiological-semantic density significantly at the end of the article.

A profile depicting the fluctuations in axiological-semantic density in the article is shown in Figure 8.2. This profile reveals that most of the article can be described as a high semantic flatline. The headline is at a moderate strength of axiological-semantic density: while it mentions the emotion of “joy” and Buthelezi’s name as IFP leader, it does not have nearly as strong axiological-semantic density as paragraph 1, which mentions three parties, each charged with strong axiological-semantic density. Much of the remainder of the first part of the article is dedicated to the negative charging of the IFP’s rivals, leading to strong levels of axiological-semantic density predominating. There is a sharp dip to relatively weak axiological-semantic density in paragraph 10, where Buthelezi says he is “excited to welcome the new members”. Although “excited” expresses an emotion, this does not nearly have as strong an effect as other expressions in the article in evaluating either the IFP or its competitors. Towards the end of the article, Buthelezi strengthens negative evaluations considerably with his accusations levelled at “some parties” (par. 11–12).

8.3.1.3 SFL analysis

The headline of the article and the lead (par. 1) form the macroTheme of the text. In the headline, positive Happiness in the word “joy” and positive Inclination in “welcomes” couple with Buthelezi. In the lead, “More than 500 people left the NFP and ANC to join the IFP” (par. 1), upscaling Quantification is used to accentuate the significance of this event and also couple positive meanings with the IFP, as argued in the LCT analysis.

The hyperThemes of the first two satellites both mention the fact that new recruits have left the ANC: “Among those who left the ANC are...” (par. 3) and “I left the ANC

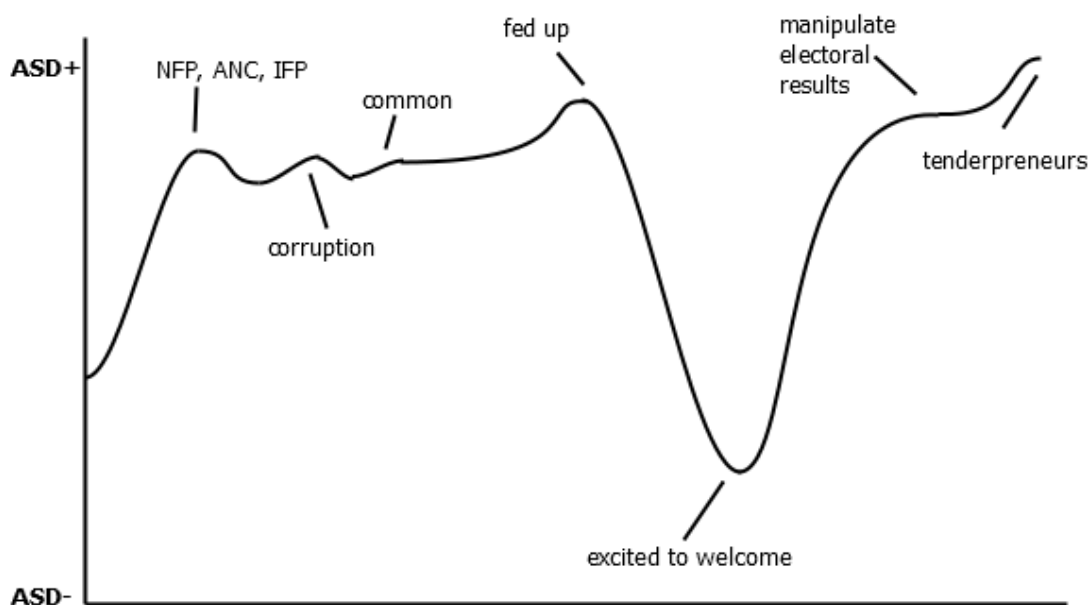


Figure 8.2: *Semantic profile of “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members”*

because...” (par. 5). This sets up “left the ANC” as a major point of departure in the article, and the ANC as a key target of negative evaluation. The word “left” could be construed as an instantiation of negative Affect: Inclination, but apart from this there are no other instances of inscribed Appraisal in the first satellite in the article. As argued in 8.3.1.2, here the main work of evaluation is done through emphasizing the seniority that Sifiso Nene and Mbongeni Zuma held in the ANC.

In the second satellite (par. 5–8), however, Mbongeni Zuma uses a variety of Appraisal resources to couple negative meanings with the ANC and positive ones with the IFP. The hyperTheme of this satellite is “I left the ANC because there is a lot of corruption in the party” (par. 5), and here a strong coupling between “corruption” and “the ANC” is established. The word “corruption” carries extremely strong negative meanings: it is an inscribed negative Judgement of Propriety, but also a nominalization of the adjective “corrupt”, distilling the meanings of a range of “corrupt” dealings. Mbongeni Zuma heightens the effect of this word using upscaling Quantification in “a lot of”.

Following this, he unpacks the hyperTheme by explaining, “I have never heard of Public Protector Thuli Madonsela investigating any IFP official for corruption” (par. 6). Here the Engagement resource of Deny is used to distance the IFP from corruption, and upscaled in Force through “never” and “any”. This is done so that in the following clause, “But in the ANC, that is common” (par. 7), an extremely strong complex of features can be used to couple negative meaning with the ANC. Here the “that” is an instance of text reference condensing the meaning in “Public Protector Thuli Madonsela investigating [an official] for corruption”, which can then be coupled with “the ANC”, along with upscaling Force in the word “common” and dialogically contractive Engagement: Counter in the word “but”.

By contrast, Mbongeni Zuma’s positive evaluation of the IFP in the hyperNew of this

satellite (par. 8) appears fairly weak. He couples “Buthelezi” with positive Judgement in “a good leader”, and bolsters this with dialogically contractive Engagement: Proclaim in “I believe that”, but does not use upscaling Force (such as “great” instead of “good”) to strengthen his evaluation. This is consistent with the general prosody of the article, in which the negative evaluations of opposing parties are much stronger than the positive evaluations of the IFP.

The third satellite (par. 9) is very short, consisting of just one clause complex in which Sifiso Nene criticizes the ANC: “The people are fed up with the ANC and its empty promises.” Once again, explicit negative evaluations are instantiated in this satellite using a complex of features. “The ANC” is coupled with upscaled negative Affect: Satisfaction in “fed up with”, as well as a Judgement of negative Veracity in “its empty promises”. This is also upscaled through infusing Graduation through use of the word “empty”. The entire quotation could be viewed as a hyperNew for this short satellite, placing these negative evaluations at a point of textual prominence.

The final satellite (par. 10–12) contains quotations from Buthelezi, in which he expresses positive Affect about the new members of his party, gives positive Judgements of the IFP and then strong negative Judgements of “some parties” (par. 11) opposing his. The positive Affect about the new members is instantiated through “excited” (Happiness, par. 10) and “welcome” (Inclination, par. 10). These couple with “the new members”, part of a lexical string that runs through the entire article, referring back to the “more than 500 people” who are said to have joined the IFP in the lead. While new meanings are associated with these people, they are used not primarily as a target of evaluation in their own right, but as a means by which positive meanings may be associated with the IFP. This is seen most clearly in the following clause complex, where Buthelezi is reported as saying that “his honest governance and good policies had attracted the new recruits” (par. 11). Here he couples positive Veracity (“honest”) and invoked positive Capacity (“good policies”) with himself, and gives this as the reason that the new members joined his party, indirectly associating positive meanings with the party.

However, again these positive meanings are dwarfed by the much stronger negative meanings that are coupled with other parties. As mentioned above, Buthelezi uses parallelism in his criticism of “some parties”. This parallelism can be depicted visually as in Figure 8.3, which points out how the parallelism is enabled by lexical strings between some of the words in paragraphs 11 and 12. In both the clause complexes in which he criticizes these parties, he describes them as talking about doing something good, but actually engaging in immoral or dishonest activities. The uses of “but” are instances of the dialogically contractive Engagement resource of Counter, which couple with the negative evaluations to strengthen them. In the first part of both clause complexes, strong instantiations of Appraisal are used to describe the good things that parties say they are doing: “advocate democracy” (a strong invoked positive Judgement of Propriety, par. 12), and “putting an end to poverty”. Here “poverty” is an inscription of strongly negative Affect: Satisfaction;

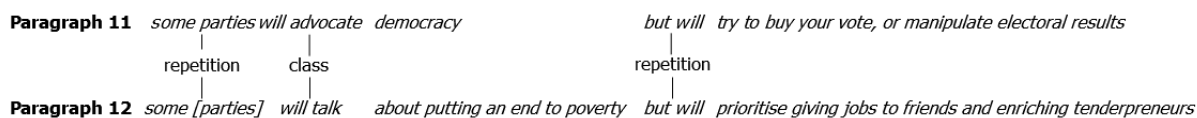


Figure 8.3: *Lexical strings and parallelism in “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members”, paragraphs 11-12*

it is also a nominalization of “poor”, and so distils the experiences of thousands of poor families into a noun. “Putting an end to poverty”, in reversing this situation, can be seen as an invoked positive Judgement of Capacity.

By contrast, the second parts of both clause complexes are replete with negative Judgements: “will try to buy your vote” is an invoked negative Judgement of Propriety, while “manipulate electoral results” is more of an inscribed negative Judgement of Propriety, as the verb “manipulate” is often used to describe immoral behaviour. In the second clause complex, there are two more negative Judgements of Propriety: “giving jobs to friends” and “enriching entrepreneurs”. The first of these is upscaled through the use of Graduation: Intensification using the word “prioritise”. However, the cumulative effect of both of these clause complexes is to offer negative Judgements of Veracity: the parties are accused of saying one thing and doing another.

The last clause complex (in par. 12) of Buthelezi’s criticisms of “some parties” is the hyperNew of this satellite of the article, and in some ways, Buthelezi’s quotations typify the general prosody of the article. Positive evaluations of the IFP are fairly modest and sparse in upscaling Force, while negative evaluations of opposing parties are strengthened through elaborate complexes of features involving not only all three Appraisal systems but also grammatical metaphor and periodicity. Thus it is clear that the IFP is being positioned as a better party not so much on the merits of its own policies, but because of the alleged failings of other political parties, including the ANC and NFP.

8.3.1.4 Conclusion

This article is an example of a frequent type of story in which defectors from one party are welcomed and celebrated by their new party. In this example, the welcoming party, the IFP, is positioned in a positively-charged constellation and the two parties from which the new members come, the ANC and NFP, are placed in a negatively-charged constellation, as part of an indeterminate group of “some parties” which are criticized. In this example, there is far more negative charging attached to the ANC and NFP than there is positive charging attached to the IFP; in other words, voters should choose the IFP because it does not follow the corrupt and hypocritical practices of other parties. While one would expect negative reporting of political parties in reports on other types of political events, such as those reporting on allegations against a particular political leader, it is quite marked that in an article reporting on free campaigning such as this one, the emphasis would be on

the negative traits of opposing parties rather than on the positive characteristics of the campaigning party.

This negative campaigning, as it may be called, has the potential to increase readers' scepticism about the political process as a whole. This article is an early indication of a trend that is described in 11.3.2: there is an emphasis on accusations against various politicians or parties in the *Daily Sun's* coverage; in other words, readers are given reasons *not* to vote for particular parties, rather than informed about policy decisions of those parties so that they can evaluate these for themselves as individuals or in public-sphere discussion. I suggest that this trend is not conducive to the development of democratic public spheres, and give some ideas as to how it can be counteracted in 11.3.3.

In examining the linguistic resources used to enact political positioning in this article, one can observe several emergent trends. Firstly, there is a number of lexical items that are not inherently evaluative but come pre-charged with axiological-semantic density, and these do plenty of charging work in the article. The leadership credentials of Sifiso Nene and Mbongeni Zuma in the ANC are used to charge the IFP positively by emphasizing the importance of the people that have been attracted to the party. The word "left" is used repeatedly to condense negative charging into the ANC and NFP, which is interesting because this word does not appear to be particularly strong in axiological-semantic density when viewed out of context. A well-known and admired personality whose name would be associated with strong positive charging for many readers, Thuli Madonsela, is used to charge the IFP positively and the ANC negatively. Cultural politeness conventions also have a possible influence in the way in which charging is accomplished in this article: Zulu politeness norms may influence Buthelezi's use of "some parties" instead of naming particular political parties. In 8.4.1 I show how these insights can enrich our understanding of axiological condensation in *Daily Sun* political news articles.

In general, positive charging in this article is accomplished through instantiations of Affect and Judgement. Positive Affect is coupled with high-level periodicity, as seen in the headline, where the words "joy" (positive Happiness) and "welcomes" (positive Inclination) couple with the macroTheme and are associated with Buthelezi and the new members. There is relatively little Graduation coupled with either the positive Affect or Judgement. By contrast, negative Affect: Inclination and negative Judgements are prominent in criticisms of other parties throughout the article. These Appraisal resources also couple with periodicity to form a complex: negative Inclination instantiated by the word "left" couples with the hyperTheme in two places (par. 3 and 5), and negative Judgement couples with hyperNews (par. 9 and 12).

In another complex, upscaling Force is prominent in coupling with negative Affect, in the form of Quantification (e.g. "more than 500 people left", par. 1) and with negative Judgement, in the form of Intensification (e.g. "prioritise giving jobs to friends", par. 12). This upscaling Graduation ensures that the negative charging of the "some parties" constellation in this article is stronger than the positive charging of the IFP constellation,

“Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members”	
<i>Constellations</i>	<i>Chief linguistic resources used</i>
IFP (positive)	+Affect & high-level periodicity
ANC, NFP (negative)	-Affect: Inclination & -Judgement & upscaling Force

Table 8.5: *Summary of “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members” analysis*

contributing to the impression that voters should choose the IFP only because it is free from some of the corruption and hypocrisy that, according to Buthelezi, plagues other parties. The chief complexes found in this article are summarized briefly in Table 8.5. These give the first impression in the exploratory analyses of how linguistic resources can couple together to enact political positioning.

8.3.2 “Ex-buddy trashes Juju! – I doubt if he will respond – spokesman”

8.3.2.1 Descriptive account

In this article, published on 11 February 2015, Gayton McKenzie, a politician and businessman well-known as “a reformed bank robber” (Southall 2011, p. 621), criticizes Julius Malema, the leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), a party which McKenzie once belonged to. The article can be found in Appendix G.2. McKenzie and Kenny Kunene, who is also mentioned in the article, formed the Patriotic Alliance (PA) political party in 2013 (Meyer, 2013). The article summarizes an open letter, entitled “From a Thug to a Thug” (par. 3) that McKenzie wrote to Malema, containing a variety of allegations against him.

The article consists of a nucleus (the headline and par. 1–2), functioning as a macroTheme, and six satellites. Each of these satellites introduces either a new accusation made by McKenzie, or material from one of the two other sources cited in the article, namely the EFF’s spokesman Mbuyiseni Ndlozi and Reverend Ray McCauley. The first four satellites mention three specific criticisms of Malema by McKenzie: that Malema is negotiating with the ANC to try to return to that party (satellite 1, par. 3–4), that he “lives off party money” (satellite 3, par. 6–8), and that Kunene left the EFF in disgust at Malema’s behaviour (satellite 4, par. 9). In between these satellites, McKenzie reveals that he helped to bankroll Malema when he was in financial difficulty (satellite 2, par. 5). In the fifth satellite, Ndlozi very briefly says that he does not think that Malema will respond to the letter (par. 10).

The sixth satellite (par. 11–12) addresses a different matter relating to Malema, namely that McCauley was mediating between the EFF and ANC to try to prevent the EFF from disrupting Zuma’s State of the Nation Address on Friday 12 February 2015, the day after this article was published. As described in 2.6, McCauley is very well-known as

Gayton McKenzie	Julius Malema
ex-EFF member	EFF
	doubt if he will respond
thug	thug
ex-buddy	money-grabbing capitalist dressed like a revolutionary
ex-con	Mbuyiseni Ndlozi, EFF spokesman
helped Malema financially	ANC
paying for flights and accommodation	ANC leaders
	take your orders from a particular faction in the ANC
sushi king Kenny Kunene	sushi king Kenny Kunene left
	his deputy, Floyd Shivambvu [sic]
	lives off party money
	go around with two EFF credit cards... use for personal purchases
	Lee-Anne Mathys [sic]
	threat to disrupt President Jacob Zuma's speech
Ray McCauley	
Rhema Church	
close to closing a deal	
mediating behind the scenes	
haven't been able yet to get it signed	
something very close to a deal	

Table 8.6: *Constellations in "Ex-buddy trashes Juju"*

the senior pastor of Rhema Bible Church, a wealthy Charismatic Christian mega-church in Johannesburg. Both the church and McCauley are controversial, with some South Africans very positively disposed toward them and others viewing them negatively.

8.3.2.2 LCT analysis

This article includes two main constellations which are in binary opposition to each other, but both of which are negatively charged: the central signifier for one of these constellations is Malema, also referred to by his nickname "Juju" in the headline; the central signifier for the other is McKenzie, referred to as Malema's "ex-buddy" in the headline. A third constellation exists in the final part of the article, centred on McCauley. This constellation may be viewed as positively or negatively-charged, depending on the reader's interpretation of this part of the article, as I show below. These constellations are depicted in Table 8.6.

This article is an example of how news articles can depart from the typical pattern of

having two constellations in a binary relationship, one positive and one negative. Both of the main constellations in the article are charged negatively, although there is some attempt to ‘redeem’ McKenzie’s constellation through the mention of the financial help he gave to Malema. A third constellation relating to McCauley could be seen as positively or negatively charged depending on how one interprets the “deal” that McCauley is trying to broker.

In the headline, the word “trashes”, a colloquialism meaning ‘to insult or criticize heavily’, is used to condense negative charging with Malema. The headline indicates this article is chiefly concerned with reporting how McKenzie condenses negative charging together with Malema and those associated with him. The second part of the headline, “I doubt if he will respond – spokesman” contains weaker axiological charging. It does not seem as though readers are expected to judge Malema negatively for deciding not to respond to such a personal attack.

Julius Malema is immediately constellated with his party, the EFF, in the lead of the article (par. 1). He is referred to as “a thug”, which negatively charges him and his constellation, but later, in the title of the open letter, “From a Thug to a Thug”, (par. 3) we learn that McKenzie condenses some negative charging into his own constellation too by labelling himself a thug. The description of Gayton McKenzie as an “ex-buddy”, “ex-con” and “ex-EFF member” (par. 2) adds signifiers to his constellation. One of these signifiers, “ex-con” acts further to charge McKenzie’s constellation negatively, and “ex-EFF member” accentuates his opposition to Malema and his party.

The signifier “money-grabbing capitalist dressed like a revolutionary” (par. 1) condenses extremely strong negative charging into Malema’s constellation and therefore has extremely strong axiological semantic density. This signifier describes Malema as a deceiver who appears to be an anti-capitalist “revolutionary”, while in fact, he is a “capitalist” who grabs money from his party members. Some of the ways in which he does this are unpacked later on in the article, where McKenzie says that Malema “lives off party money” (par. 6) and that he “go[es] around with two EFF credit cards” (par. 7), one of which he “use[s] for personal purchases”. One of these credit cards is “in Lee-Anne Mathys’ name” [sic]. Mathys, whose first name is misspelled (It should be “Leigh-Ann”.) is the EFF’s treasurer-general and a member of parliament (Cele, 2018). Thus the use of her name re-emphasizes that Malema is embezzling money belonging to the EFF, which further condenses negative charging into his constellation.

McKenzie’s accusations that Malema “is talking to the ANC in a bid to return to the party” (par. 3) and “take[s his] orders from a particular faction in the ANC” (par. 4) condense further negative charging into his constellation, as they imply that he is betraying his party members who expect him to oppose the ANC. Malema’s association with “a particular faction in the ANC” is doubly negatively charged as it links him with factionalism within the ANC. Thus this accusation forms another peak in axiological-semantic density in the article. The claims linking Malema with the ANC position the EFF in the same

constellation as the ANC, which has the potential to be a particularly damaging move as much of the EFF's political platform has been built on its opposition to the ANC.

Two other individuals are positioned in Malema's constellation, "EFF spokesman Mbuyiseni Ndlozi" (par. 10), and "his deputy, Floyd Shivambvu" (sic, par. 5. Here, Shivambu's surname is misspelled.) However, the inclusion of these two in Malema's constellation is not too significant in the context of this article, as both are known as EFF members and would be expected to be connected with Malema.

One final set of signifiers that appear to condense negative charging into Malema's constellation appears in a mention of the EFF's "threat to disrupt President Jacob Zuma's speech in Parliament" (par. 11) in the final satellite of the article. While "threat" and "disrupt" usually have negative connotations, the EFF's disruptions of parliamentary speeches have been seen by some as an effective means of protesting ANC decisions and particularly the actions of Zuma, and so such people would be likely to charge this signifier positively.

Moving to McKenzie's constellation, two signifiers appear to condense some positive charging together with him: he "helped Malema financially when he was down and out", by "paying for flights for Malema and his deputy" (par. 6). By using these, McKenzie portrays himself as a more moral "thug" than Malema.

One person constellated with McKenzie is "sushi king Kenny Kunene" (par. 9). In the article, he is associated with McKenzie by virtue of the fact that both left the EFF. Neither his nor McKenzie's current affiliation to the PA is mentioned, probably because it is an extremely small party which is not well-known. Kunene's description as "sushi king" alludes to a controversy that was sparked when Kunene served sushi off the bodies of scantily-clad woman models in a series of lavish parties he hosted (Dugger, 2014). Thus for most readers, "sushi king" would condense negative charging together with Kunene, and his mention would condense negative charging into McKenzie's constellation. In the context of the article, mentioning that Kunene left the EFF appears to imply that even someone with such poor moral judgment as Kunene did not want to associate himself with Malema because he was even less moral than he was. Thus this would condense stronger negative charging into Malema's constellation than it does in McKenzie's constellation. This is consonant with the general approach of the article, in which McKenzie, a "thug", and his constellation are charged negatively to demonstrate that Malema is an even worse "thug" and his constellation is deserving of even more intense negative charging.

The last satellite, in which Reverend Ray McCauley is quoted, appears quite separate to the rest of the article, particularly because McCauley is mediating not between Malema and McKenzie, but between Malema and the ANC, including President Jacob Zuma.

Ray McCauley is constellated with his church in "Rhema Church's Reverend Ray McCauley". Several signifiers are constellated with him which could be used to charge his constellation either positively or negatively. He is "mediating behind the scenes" with the EFF and ANC. Twice the word "deal" is mentioned: he is "close to closing a deal"

and has “something very close to a deal” although he has not “been able yet to get it signed”. On a first reading, I interpreted these signifiers as condensing positive charging into McCauley’s constellation, as they suggest that he is nearing success in brokering a truce between the EFF and ANC that would prevent the EFF from carrying out its threat to disrupt Zuma’s speech.

However, when I presented this article to a group of colleagues, various of them suggested that McCauley is being negatively charged in this context. One of them had a strongly negative view of McCauley and Rhema Church to begin with. His argument is that some of the negative charging of both Malema and McKenzie’s constellations in the main part of the article caused McCauley’s constellation to be charged negatively by association. For him, this is reinforced by the repeated use of the word “deal”, which compares the truce that McCauley was working to achieve with a financial transaction, and evokes some of the unethical financial transactions referred to in the main part of the article, such as Malema’s use of party money for personal use. This could be read as implying that McCauley’s “deal” would in some way be ethically questionable. This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that McCauley’s mediation is occurring “behind the scenes”, in secret. Hindsight shows that McCauley was not successful; the EFF did disrupt the address, and the aftermath of that disruption is described in the article reported on in 10.3.3.

A semantic profile of the article is shown in Figure 8.4. The signifier “money-grabbing capitalist dressed like a revolutionary” (par. 1) forms the point with strongest axiological-semantic density before the mention of “the letter” (par. 10), in Ndlozi’s statement that he does not think Malema will respond to it. This mention of “the letter” has such strong axiological-semantic density because it condenses all the meanings mentioned in the previous paragraphs into one two-word expression, as shown in the SFL analysis in 8.3.2.3. The last satellite of the article about McCauley is separated from the rest of the article as it builds only slightly on the meanings made in the main part of the article, and seems to interrupt its semantic flow. Since there is much less information condensed into McCauley’s constellation than Malema and McKenzie’s, it begins from a weaker level of axiological-semantic density and follows a regular wave pattern, beginning and ending with the mention of a “deal”, which condenses evaluative meanings into McCauley’s constellation.

8.3.2.3 SFL analysis

In the headline, the word “trashes” suggests that negative appraisal of Malema is the main topic of the article. In isolation, this word is difficult to code for Attitude; it seems to inscribe negative Affect: Security (“trashing” is a threat) as well as negative Judgement (“trashing” is an act of criticism). However, the word is clearly emphatic, and so carries infusing upscaling Intensification. Thus a coupling of negative Attitude with Malema is

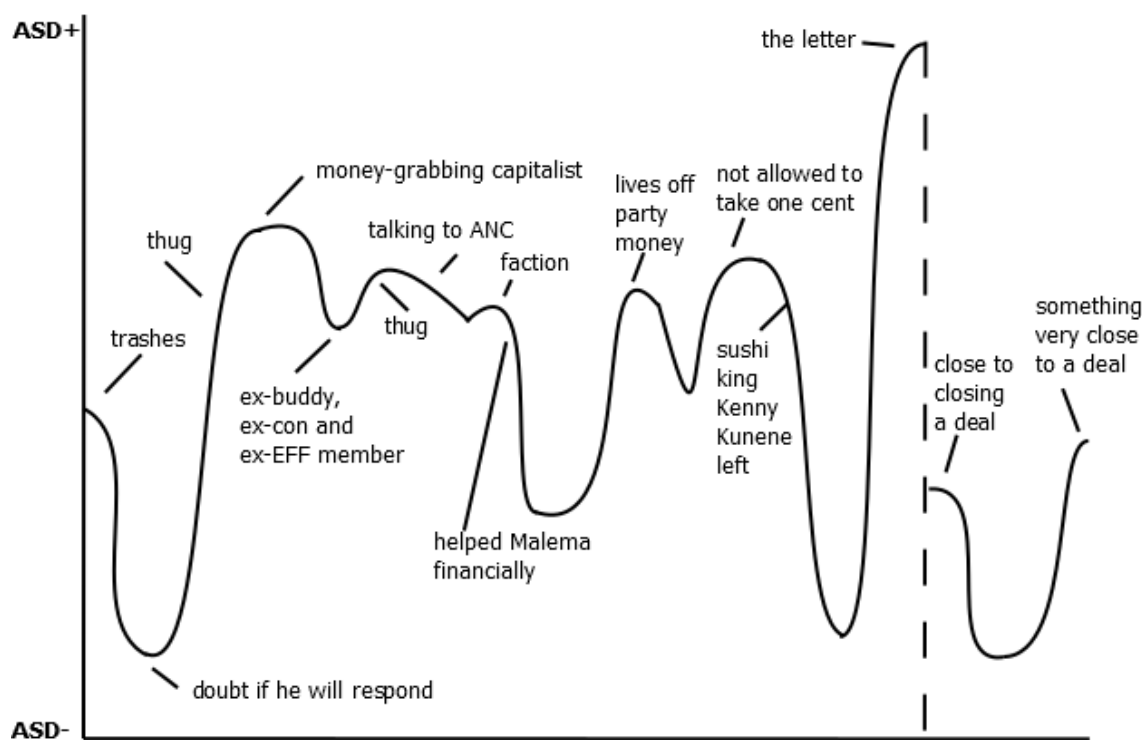


Figure 8.4: *Semantic profile of “Ex-buddy trashes Juju!”*

established which continues throughout the article. The second half of the headline plays the role of including comment from a second source, one allied with Malema, meaning that there are voices from both sides of the matter in question represented in the headline. The word “doubt” inscribes negative Security, but in this context suggests that Malema will not up the ante by responding to McKenzie’s accusations. Thus I code it as instantiating downscaling Intensification. However, it does repeat the coupling of Malema with negative Security observed in the first half of the headline.

The lead (par. 1) shows a rapid escalation in the intensity of the meanings coupled with Malema. He is portrayed as a “thug”, a strong negative Judgement of Propriety that carries clear infusing upscaling Force. The nominal group “a money-grabbing capitalist dressed as a revolutionary” couples an extremely strong complex of negative Judgements with Malema. “Money-grabbing” is a negative Judgement of Propriety, but also functions as an intensifier of “capitalist”, which is a flagged negative Judgement of Propriety, as a compliant reader (see 1.4.1) is likely to associate negative connotations with this economic system. “Dressed as a revolutionary” implies that he is a deceiver, akin to a wolf in sheep’s clothing, and so is a provoked negative Judgement of Veracity. These words are in a place of textual prominence as part of the article’s macroTheme, increasing their impact. The following line, “That’s according to ex-buddy, ex-con and ex-EFF member Gayton McKenzie” (par. 2) attributes them to McKenzie, giving them less of an impact than if they had been stated monoglossically, but the impact is nevertheless strong.

McKenzie is coupled with inscribed negative Judgement as an “ex-con” (par. 2). “Ex-buddy” and “ex-EFF member” may also afford Judgements for certain readers, which

would depend largely on their positions in relation to the EFF and Malema.

The first satellite (par. 3–4) contains McKenzie’s allegations that Malema “is talking to the ANC in a bid to return to the party” (par. 3). It begins with a marked Theme giving the source of the information attributed to McKenzie in the article, “In an open letter headlined From a Thug to a Thug”. In the title of the letter, McKenzie couples upscaled negative Propriety Judgements both with himself and with Malema again by labelling both “thugs”. Again, this is at a point of strong textual prominence, the marked Theme of a hyperTheme of a satellite. McKenzie’s contention that Malema is a “thug” is unpacked in the following satellites. All of the mentions of negotiations with the ANC in this satellite function as afforded negative Judgements of Malema’s Veracity (he is deceiving his party members) and Tenacity (he is not brave enough to continue opposing the ANC). The strongest of these allegations is the last one, “We know how you still take your orders from a particular faction in the ANC” (par. 4). Here the afforded negative Judgement is coupled with the Engagement resource of Proclaim in “We know”, and the quotation’s position as the hyperNew of this satellite. The mention of “faction” is a flagged negative Appreciation of the ANC’s Composition, which serves to heighten the negativity in this clause and couple it with Malema.

In the second satellite, McKenzie describes how he “helped Malema financially when he was down and out” (par. 5). This satellite serves to couple positive meanings with McKenzie, positioning him as a ‘charitable thug’. “Helped” flags a Judgement of positive Propriety toward McKenzie, and similarly “paying for flights and accommodation” affords a positive Judgement towards him. However, these positive Judgements are relatively sparse when compared with the negative meanings coupled with both McKenzie and Malema elsewhere. Upscaled negative Happiness is coupled with Malema in the expression “down and out”, so that the prosody of negative Attitude coupling with Malema continues even in this satellite.

The next satellite (par. 5–7) contains McKenzie’s allegations that Malema “lives off party money” (par. 6). This is an afforded Judgement of negative Propriety in the hyperTheme of this satellite, which is unpacked in the rest of the satellite through the statements that Malema “go[es] around with two EFF credit cards” (par. 7), one of which he “use[s] for personal purchases”. The use of the second person instead of the third person in this satellite seems to increase the strength of the negative Judgements through the way they address Malema directly in a scolding manner. Once again, potentially the strongest negative evaluation comes in the hyperNew of the satellite, “You’re not allowed to take one cent from your party”. Here again, a negative Judgement of Propriety is afforded through the use of the Engagement resource of Deny to insinuate that Malema is taking money from his party. The use of downscaling Quantification in “one cent” coupled with the use of negation is used to intensify the negative Propriety Judgement that McKenzie is affording here.

“Sushi king Kenny Kunene” is mentioned in the fourth satellite of the article (par. 9). As

mentioned in 8.3.2.2, “sushi king” alludes to Kunene’s controversial behaviour in serving sushi on scantily-clad women’s bodies at his parties and thus could be read as an upscaled negative Judgement of Propriety towards him. The label “sushi king” is not part of a quotation from McKenzie, and so was probably added by the article’s author. McKenzie, as Kunene’s political ally, would likely not have used this label. The fact that even this morally compromised person “left the EFF when he realised what kind of person Malema was” affords a negative Judgement of Propriety on Malema. Here the word used to attribute McKenzie as the source of information is “claims”, an instantiation of the Engagement resource of Distance. This distancing from McKenzie’s words in this satellite makes the effect of the negative Judgement afforded in this satellite smaller than if it had been coupled with the Engagement resource of Acknowledge or monoglossic Engagement, for example.

The fifth satellite (par. 10) expands on the second part of the article’s headline: it quotes “EFF spokesman Mbuyiseni Ndlozi” as saying he doubts whether Malema will respond to McKenzie’s letter. Here again, negative Security, in the form of “doubt”, is coupled with Malema. Readers may differ in their understandings of whether or not Malema is right not to respond to the letter. Some of his supporters may agree that he is right not to dignify such defamatory accusations with a response; others, possibly those who are less positively disposed to Malema, may think that the allegations constitute a case that he should answer with some kind of rebuttal. The mention of “the letter” is an instance of text reference condensing all of McKenzie’s allegations from the headline to the end of the fourth satellite of the article, but here no evaluative meanings are coupled directly with these allegations.

McCauley’s comments about the “deal” he is trying to arrange between the EFF and the ANC form the final satellite of the article (par. 11–13). Here the EFF is coupled with negative Security using the words “threat” and “disrupt”, according to a compliant reading of the article. This contributes to the coupling of Malema with negative Security through use of the word “doubt”, creating a prosody suggesting that Malema and the EFF are unpredictable and therefore dangerous. EFF supporters and others may, however, view such a disruption as a positive political tactic used to hold the ANC to account for their actions, as explained in the LCT analysis. For most of the satellite, though, McCauley makes statements that could be interpreted as invoking positive evaluations of his own actions. The repetition in “close to closing a deal” and “we have something very close to a deal” could be interpreted by a compliant reader as invoking both positive Satisfaction with the “deal”, and positive Capacity towards McCauley for being able to broker such a deal. As pointed out in the constellation analysis, though, some readers may read “deal” as flagging negative Judgements of Propriety by association with some of the illicit or underhand financial transactions mentioned in the earlier parts of the article.

McCauley’s final statement in the hyperNew of the satellite explaining that a deal has not yet been reached is carefully nuanced using a complex of features. The Engagement

resource of Deny is coupled with an inscribed Judgement of negative Capacity in “We haven’t been able yet to get it signed” (par. 13). However, Counter (“but”) is used together with two instantiations of softening Focus, “seems” and “something very close to”. The last of these includes a “very”, which upscales the Proximity of “a deal”, toning up the Judgement of Capacity afforded in those words somewhat. Thus the coupling of McCauley with either a positive or negative Judgement (depending on one’s background knowledge about him) is carefully modulated, but by the end of the hyperNew is moderately strong.

8.3.2.4 Conclusion

The article reinforces the idea of politics as a dirty game. In it, one morally compromised “thug”, McKenzie, condenses negative charging into a constellation centred on his opponent, Malema, and attempts to show that Malema is a worse “thug” than he is. Thus the main body of the article has two main constellations, both of which are negatively charged, but one of which has some positively-charged signifiers to mitigate its negative charging. The negativity in this article seems only to exacerbate the trend towards negative reporting of political leaders described in 11.3.2.

The article also seeks to constellate Malema and the EFF together with the ANC, suggesting that Malema is deceiving his supporters and voters, and his opposition to the ANC is nothing more than a charade. Politically, it is interesting that while the EFF and the ANC are mentioned, McKenzie and Kunene’s party, the PA, is not. It appears as though this party is not viewed as significant enough to mention in this context; McKenzie and Kunene’s main function is to condense negative charging into the Malema and the EFF, and constellate them together with the ANC.

The last satellite demonstrates how an article may include more than two constellations, although it is quite discontinuous from the rest of the article. The charging of McCauley’s constellation depends very heavily on one’s pre-existing charging of him as a public figure and interpretation of the value of the “deal” he is attempting to broker. This reveals that charging of constellations may be partly dependent on the axiological pre-charging of signifiers in these constellations, a point which I take up in 8.4.1.2.

To turn to SFL, political positioning in this article is accomplished most often through the use of negative Affect: Security and negative Judgement. Both of these couple with the macroTheme in the headline, instantiated by the word “trashes”. Because both of the main constellations in the body of the article are negatively charged, these two sets of resources are used to charge both of them. Inscribed and invoked Judgements of Propriety are particularly common in the article: an example of the former is the word “thug” (par. 3); and an extreme example of the latter, involving considerable prior knowledge on the part of readers, is the reference to “sushi king Kenny Kunene” (par. 9).

In the final satellite of the article, a complex of Capacity Judgements, expansive and contractive Engagement resources, softening Focus and upscaling Force is used to fine-tune

“Ex-buddy trashes Juju!”	
<i>Constellations</i>	<i>Chief linguistic resources used</i>
McKenzie (negative)	-Propriety
EFF, ANC (more negative)	-Propriety & -Security & high-level periodicity
McCauley (ambiguous)	+/-Capacity & softening Focus / upscaling Force & expansive / contractive Engagement

Table 8.7: Summary of “Ex-buddy trashes Juju!” analysis

McCauley’s statement about the possibility of a “deal” (par. 13) between the EFF and the ANC that could prevent the EFF from disrupting Zuma’s State of the Nation address in Parliament. Table 8.7 presents a summary of the complexes of linguistic resources used in this article. While 8.3.1.3 shows how general systems of Appraisal couple together with each other and with high-level periodicity to form complexes that are active in political positioning, this analysis shows the frequent use of more specific sub-systems in complexes, such as negative Propriety, negative Security and both positive and negative Capacity. These are commented on in the summary of linguistic resources used in political positioning in the exploratory analyses in 8.4.2.

8.3.3 “March was a success – Mchunu”

8.3.3.1 Descriptive account

This article, published on 17 April 2015, describes reactions to a “peace march” (par. 1) held in Durban, the largest city in KwaZulu-Natal, shortly after a series of incidents of xenophobic violence that happened in that province. The text of the article can be found in Appendix G.3. The violence was allegedly triggered by remarks made by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, who said that immigrants should “pack their bags and go” (par. 10).

The article can be divided into a nucleus and six satellites. The lead (par. 1) describes the peace march and its circumstances, and then the first satellite (par. 2–4) describes Mchunu’s evaluation of the peace march. The second satellite describes a group of people perpetrating xenophobic violence (par. 5). The third satellite (par. 6–8) explains the position of the “500 foreigners” (par. 6) who tried to start their own alternative march. The fourth satellite records the charges made against King Goodwill Zwelithini for allegedly inciting the violence (par. 9–10), and the fifth (par. 11–12) and sixth (par. 13–14) satellites describe political parties’ reactions to the xenophobic attacks, with the last focusing on Malema’s opinion.

This article can be viewed against the backdrop of previous accusations by Els (2015) that the *Daily Sun*’s reporting has contributed to negative attitudes towards immigrants, and possibly had the effect of encouraging xenophobic violence, through labelling immigrants as “aliens”, among other things (see 3.5). Here xenophobic violence is clearly positioned

in a negative light, as shown below. Further discussion of the article's representation of xenophobia in view of this context is given in the conclusion of this subsection (8.3.3.4).

8.3.3.2 LCT analysis

The two main central signifiers in this article appear to be the “peace march” (par. 1), which is the centre of a positively-charged constellation, and “xenophobic attacks” (par. 11), around which there is a negatively-charged constellation. In addition, there is a third constellation of people who are neither affiliated with the “peace march” or the “xenophobic attacks”. The central signifier of this constellation can be identified as “about 500 foreigners” (par. 7). The signifiers associated with each of these constellations are shown in Table 8.8.

In the headline, the march is positively charged as a “success” by Senzo Mchunu, who was then the premier of KwaZulu-Natal. Mchunu is an African National Congress (ANC) member. In the lead (par. 1), the march is labelled a “peace march” for the first time, and it is emphasized that “thousands of people” joined the march. Both of these signifiers serve to condense positive charging with the march.

The article headline is repeated in paragraph 2, reinforcing the positive charging of the march as “a success”. Mchunu “spoke about solidarity between foreigners and locals”: Here the positively-charged signifier “solidarity” places both “foreigners” and “locals” in the same positively-charged constellation as the march. This is a deliberate sign of resistance to xenophobic discourses which would place “foreigners” and “locals” in opposite constellations. Mchunu's association with the march also places him in the same positively-charged constellation as it.

In the first satellite (par. 2–4), Mchunu associates “American freedom fighter Reverend Jessie Jackson” (par. 3; his first name is misspelled in the article; it is in fact ‘Jesse’) with the march, which both adds him to the constellation associated with it, and condenses positive charging into the march, since Jackson is highly esteemed both as a “freedom fighter” and as a “Reverend”. Jackson does not have an unblemished record: he admitted to having been involved in an affair that resulted in the birth of a child out of wedlock (Bruns, 2005). However, in the context of this article, his presence appears to be overwhelmingly positively regarded.

This links to a broader pattern of words relating to Christianity which appear to be used to condense positive charging with signifiers in the mind of a compliant reader of this article. We know this because the “peace march” constellation that they are associated with has already been charged positively using other signifiers. Another positively-charged word in this paragraph related to Christianity is “blessed”. Later in the article, the author notes that the group of “about 500 foreigners” came together “near Diakonia Council of Churches headquarters” (par. 7). Although nothing more is said about whether there are links between this group and the Diakonia Council of Churches, this signifier could

peace march	xenophobic attacks
success	
Premier Senzo Mchunu	King Goodwill Zwelithini
thousands of people	a group of about 200 people in Dr Pixley kaSeme Street
solidarity between foreigners and locals	tried to attack two men, believed to be foreigners
blessed	
American freedom fighter, Reverend Jessie Jackson [sic]	
encourage him [Zwelithini] to continue calling for peace	comments calling on immigrants to pack their bags and go
Police	
South African National Defence Union	
laid a complaint against [Zwelithini] with the SA Human Rights Commission	faces a human rights violation charge
government (according to Macardo)	
opposition parties	
DA	
IFP	
UDM	
FF Plus	
Cope	
ACDP	
spoke out against the deaths and injuries of foreign nationals	
EFF	
Julius Malema	the state (according to Malema)
	was responsible for the violence against foreigners

about 500 foreigners
some foreigners
boycotted the official march
Diakonia Council of Churches
their brothers
were still in jail
attempted to start their own march
their leader, Kukoina Macardo (42)
appreciated government's efforts
wouldn't join the peace march
their brothers were arrested for carrying pangas
they were defending themselves

Table 8.8: Constellations in "March was a success – Mchunu"

be viewed as charging the “500 foreigners” positively by associating them with this body. However, as I show below, this does not necessarily mean that the 500 foreigners are part of the same constellation as the “peace march” or that only positive charging is associated with them.

The positioning of King Goodwill Zwelithini in the article is not clear from its beginning. In paragraph 4, it appears as though Mchunu is constellating him with the positively-charged phrase “calling for peace”. The fact that he is being encouraged to continue calling for peace implies that he has already started doing so. However, later in the article, Zwelithini is associated with “a human rights violation charge” (par. 9), “a complaint... with the SA Human Rights Commission” (par. 10) and “comments calling on immigrants to pack their bags and go” (par. 10), all of which would carry extremely strong negative charging for a compliant reader. These negatively-charged signifiers all occur within the space of two paragraphs, creating a peak of stronger axiological-semantic density. Thus it seems that in paragraph 4, Mchunu is diplomatically trying to ‘claim’ Zwelithini as a voice for peace, placing him in the positively-charged constellation, when others accuse him of having incited or aggravated the xenophobic violence. By the end of the article, however, it is the accusations which would stay in the reader’s mind, leaving Zwelithini firmly in the negatively-charged constellation.

Other people associated with the negatively-charged constellation include “a group of about 200 people in Dr Pixley kaSeme Street” who “tried to attack two men, believed to be foreigners” (par. 5). The approximate number of this group of people is mentioned, as with the number of people in the march. It therefore seems as though the “thousands of people” in the positively-charged peace march are contrasted with the “about 200 people” involved in xenophobic violence, to demonstrate that these people are in the minority. Both of these groups also contrast with the “about 500 foreigners” who neither affiliate with the march or those perpetrating xenophobic violence, as I show below.

The “police” (par. 5) use violent means, namely “stun grenades and rubber bullets”, to “disperse” the group of people involved in the xenophobic attack. Depending on their background knowledge, readers may interpret this in at least two different ways. Some may interpret the “stun grenades and rubber bullets” as charging the police negatively; others may interpret them as condensing negative charging with the group of about 200 people for provoking such violent police action. The latter reading appears to be closest to a compliant reading of the text, and would suggest that the police belong in the positively-charged constellation with members of the “peace march”, as they are against the xenophobic violence. Whichever reading is taken, the words associated with violence in this paragraph, including “stun grenades”, “rubber bullets” and “attack” constitute a peak of relatively strong axiological-semantic density.

The phrase “about 500 foreigners” (par. 7) appears to refer to the same group of people as the “some foreigners” who “boycotted the official march” (par. 6). Their leader, according to the article, is “Kukoina Macardo (42)” (par. 8), who therefore is also placed in this

constellation. This group is also constellated with “their brothers” (par. 6), presumably a group of foreigners who “were arrested for carrying pangas as they were defending themselves” (par. 8). A panga is a tool like a machete with a sharp blade (Dictionary Unit for South African English, 2002). As mentioned above, these people can be viewed as belonging to a third constellation which neither identifies with the peace march nor the xenophobic attacks. This constellation appears to attract a mixture of positive and negative charging, again depending largely on the reading position taken in relation to the article. It has already been noted that a compliant reader might view the Diakonia Council of Churches as positively charged, and charge the 500 foreigners positively by association. However, the signifier “boycotted” can be interpreted as condensing negative charging with the group of foreigners, especially since what they are boycotting is the positively charged “peace march”.

Macardo’s statement that the marchers “appreciated government’s efforts” (par. 8) condenses positive charging into their constellation, as this shows a certain generosity or graciousness towards the government. However, this is outweighed by the second part of his reported statement, that this group “wouldn’t join the peace march because their brothers were arrested for carrying pangas as they were defending themselves”. Macardo appears to constellate “government” with “the peace march” through his statement that despite the government’s efforts, his group of foreigners would not join the peace march. His comments could be interpreted in a negative light by a compliant reader, who would associate his “brothers’” arrest and “pangas” with an attempt to perpetuate violence. On the other hand, some readers may charge these “brothers” positively for attempting to defend themselves, and so charge Macardo’s group positively by association. Thus the 500 foreigners led by Macardo are positioned in a morally ambiguous way in this article: they are neither part of the “peace march”, which attracts unambiguous positive charging; nor are they perpetrators of “xenophobic attacks” or passive victims. Given the number of signifiers that condense different kinds of axiological charge with their constellation, it is impossible to say that their constellation is neutrally charged; it is rather charged ambiguously in both positive and negative ways.

The fifth satellite concerns the reaction of “opposition parties” (par. 11) towards the xenophobic violence, as expressed in Parliament. Representatives from a list of six parties “speak out against” the violence: “the DA, IFP, UDM, FF Plus, Cope and the ACDP”. In so doing, these six parties condense further negative charging with the violence, and by contrast, place themselves in the positively-charged constellation associated with the “peace march”. There are two notable omissions from this list of parties: the ruling ANC and the EFF. Although the ANC is not mentioned, Senzo Mchunu, as an ANC member, represents the party, and ordinary South African readers will also associate the ANC with references to “government” and “the state” in the article.

The EFF is not included in the list because its leader, Julius Malema, is quoted separately in the final satellite. He blames “the state” (par. 13) for the xenophobic violence in

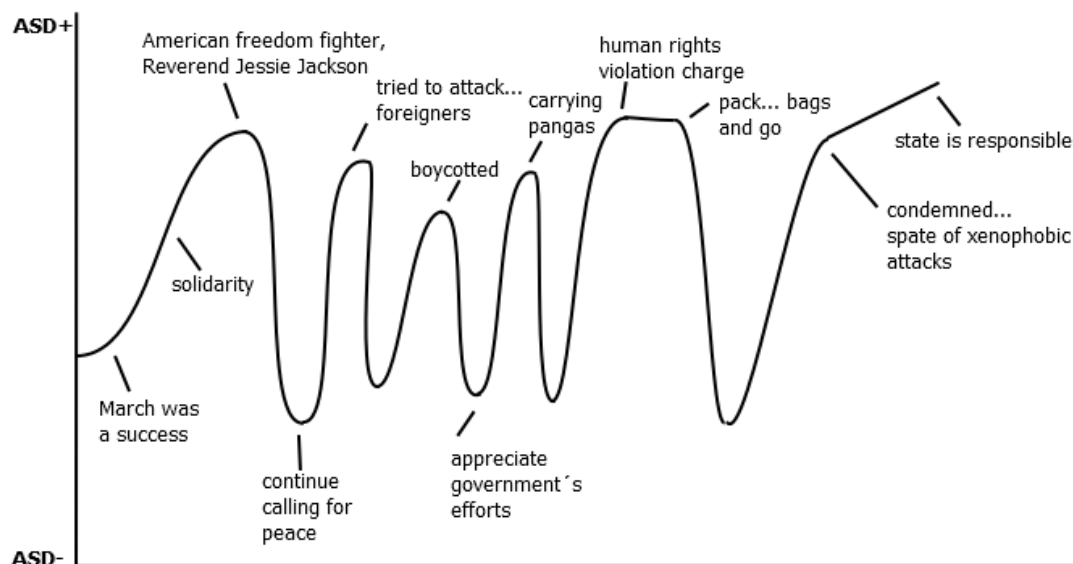


Figure 8.5: *Semantic profile of "March was a success - Mchunu"*

an utterance that is repeated once in reported speech and once in direct speech. Here Malema is trying to charge “the state” negatively by placing it in the “xenophobic attacks” constellation, and places himself and his party in the constellation opposing the violence by contrast. Malema’s blaming of “the state” conflicts with the reports of Mchunu’s words and actions as a representative of the state in the earlier parts of the article, as well as Macardo’s association of the “peace march” with the government. In the context of this article, Malema is accusing “the state” of causing the violence, and then using police action against violent people, as well as the “peace march”, to cover up this fact. No further comment is given on Malema’s words, and so it appears as though readers are left to judge for themselves whether Malema is speaking the truth or not.

The shift from the context of the “march” at the beginning of the article to the context of the SA Human Rights Commission and Parliament at the end of the article can be seen as a gradual weakening in epistemic-semantic gravity from a concrete, local context to a situation in which more far-reaching statements about the spread of xenophobic attacks across the country are being made. In the process, axiological-semantic density also appears to be progressively strengthened towards the end of the article through the use of grammatical metaphor and technicality to condense evaluations, as shown in the SFL analysis below. In the first part of the article, axiological-semantic density is also strengthened, albeit for different reasons: evaluative meanings are condensed with first the “peace march”, then the group of 200 xenophobic attackers and the group of 500 foreigners in turn. In the case of the 500 foreigners, the mixture of positive and negative charging they receive leads to a situation in which the ASD profile for this section jumps up and down rapidly as negative meanings are countered with positive ones and vice versa. This is depicted in Figure 8.5.

8.3.3.3 SFL analysis

The article's headline introduces the "march", a word which is coupled with a variety of meanings through the course of the article. The word itself is a nominalization of the Process "to march". This is coupled with another instance of experiential grammatical metaphor, in which the adjective "successful" is nominalized as "a success". The word "success" inscribes both positive Affect: Satisfaction and positive Appreciation: Valuation. This evaluation is attributed to Senzo Mchunu using the Engagement resource of Acknowledge. Thus the headline, as part of the article's macroTheme, couples positive meanings with the march, both of which are unpacked as the article unfolds.

This unpacking begins in the lead of the article (par. 1), where further meanings are coupled with the march. It is labelled a "peace march". Here and throughout the article, "peace" carries strong attitudinal meanings, including both inscribed positive Security, and a flagged positive Judgement of Propriety. The size of the march, "thousands of people", instantiates upscaling Quantification, and is foregrounded in Theme position in the lead to emphasize the march's significance. The lead is monoglossic, presenting these facts about the march as authoritative.

In the first satellite (par. 2–4), Mchunu is quoted as evaluating the march positively, using a variety of linguistic resources. The word "solidarity" (par. 2), which inscribes a positive Judgement of Tenacity, is used in the hyperTheme. It is unclear whether Mchunu is using this word to describe what was demonstrated through the march, or simply to show what dispositions are desirable for aligning "foreigners and locals" together. Whichever meaning is intended, this use of "solidarity" next to his repeated evaluation of "the march" as "a success" sets up a complex coupling positive Attitude with the march.

This is further accentuated through the use of "blessed" (par. 3), an inscription of positive Happiness, and the association of "American freedom fighter Reverend Jessie Jackson" with the march. In 8.3.3.2, I note the role of words associated with Christianity in these positive evaluations. "Reverend" in this context could be seen as a flagged Judgement of positive Propriety to a compliant reader, and "freedom fighter" as an instance of provoked positive Tenacity. These positive Judgements continue and intensify the coupling of positive Attitude with the march by association. The prosody of positive Attitude continues even when King Goodwill Zwelithini is mentioned (par. 4), with "encourage", an inscription of positive Inclination, "continue" (positive Tenacity) and "calling for peace" (positive Security and afforded positive Propriety). Mchunu diplomatically avoids negative evaluations of Zwelithini despite the charge of human rights violation levelled against him, attempting instead to co-opt him into the positive prosody created around the march.

The second satellite (par. 5) forms a dramatic contrast with the first, with expressions instantiating upscaled negative Security dominating. These include "used stun grenades and rubber bullets", and "attack". The word "attack" invokes a negative Judgement of Propriety against the "group of about 200 people" who are said to be responsible for the

attack, and “tried to” affords a negative Judgement of Capacity against these individuals as well for not succeeding in their attempt. Another such negative Judgement of Capacity is found later in the article, where the group of foreigners “attempted to” hold their own march. These negative Judgements contrast with the “peace march”, which is called “a success”, clearly showing how the author aligns with the “peace march” instead of both these other groups. This pattern is repeated in the use of Quantification, in which the number of those reportedly in the “peace march” exceeds the number of people who “tried to attack foreigners” (“about 200”) and the number who “attempted to start their own march” (“about 500”, par. 7) put together. Some readers may read “used stun grenades and rubber bullets” as a flagged negative Judgement against the group of 200 for attacking foreigners, or against the police for using excessive force, or both. What is clear is that strongly negative meanings are coupled with the group of 200 in this satellite.

The third satellite (par. 6–8) concerns the group of “about 500 foreigners” (par. 7) who align neither with the “peace march” nor the xenophobic attackers. As mentioned in 8.3.3.2, the evaluations coupled with them are mixed in polarity. The word “boycotted” in the hyperTheme (par. 6) is a flagged instantiation of negative Satisfaction on the part of this group, and could also be read as an afforded negative Judgement of Normality against them. This word could also be analysed as carrying infusing upscaling Force. The fact that “their brothers were still in jail” (par. 6) could be read as an afforded negative Judgement of Propriety on these “brothers” (par. 8), as could “arrested” (par. 8) and “carrying pangas”. The latter expression also invokes negative Security, continuing the prosody associated with violence that was begun in the previous satellite.

On the other hand, “near Diakonia Council of Churches headquarters” (par. 7) may flag a positive Propriety Judgement for some readers. The group’s leader, Macardo, instantiates a positive Valuation of the government’s work in saying they “appreciated” (par. 8) it. However, this is followed by instances of the Engagement resources of Counter (“but”) and Deny (“wouldn’t”), which narrow the dialogic space and place emphasis on the group’s endorsement of violence. “Defending themselves” may afford a positive Judgement of Tenacity for some readers, which is strengthened by the fact that this appears in the hyperNew of this satellite. Thus this group of “about 500 foreigners” remains in a morally ambiguous state.

The fourth satellite (par. 9–10), describing the accusations against Zwelithini, activates quite different complexes again. The hyperTheme of this satellite uses the Engagement resource of Acknowledge to attribute “News24”, a well-known online news source operated by the same business that owns the *Daily Sun* (see 3.4), as the source of information. Zwelithini has been given “a human rights violation charge” (par. 9). This is a relatively technical nominal group headed by a nominalization, linking into complex taxonomies regarding legal processes. These make for a very strong negative Propriety Judgement. The use of technical legal language is echoed in the nominalization “complaint” (par. 10), and supported by the naming of the “SA Human Rights Commission” as a statutory body.

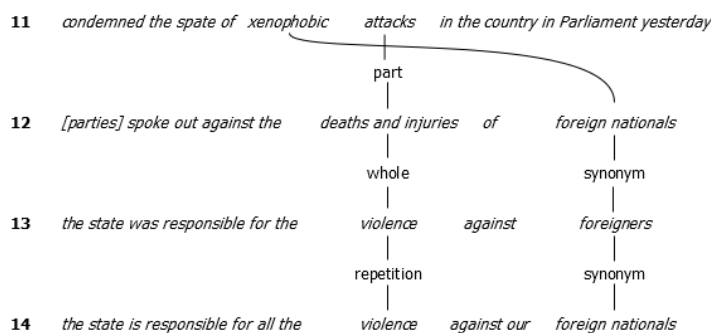


Figure 8.6: *Lexical strings in “March was a success”, par. 11–14*

The occasion for the complaint is also phrased as a long nominal group headed by a nominalization, “his reported comments calling on immigrants to pack their bags and go”. The idiomatic expression “pack their bags and go” here provokes strong feelings of negative Satisfaction towards the immigrants. In this satellite, then, technical language, as well as an everyday idiom, is used to couple strongly negative meanings with Zwelithini.

The article moves from one state institution to another in the fifth satellite (par. 11–12), mentioning discussion of the “xenophobic attacks” (par. 11) in Parliament. The use of technical lexis and grammatical metaphor increases and continues to concentrate evaluative meanings. For example, “attack”, used in the second satellite congruently as a Process (par. 5), becomes “the spate of xenophobic attacks in the country” (par. 11), now a nominalization coupled with the word “xenophobic”, which flags strong negative Judgements of Propriety, and “spate”, which upscales these Judgements. This nominal group, in turn, is coupled with “condemned”, which inscribes a negative Judgement of Propriety with upscaling infusing Force.

In each of the following three clause complexes, extending into the sixth satellite (par. 13–14), this nominal group is paraphrased in a variety of ways, each of which is headed by a nominalization, creating lexical strings which can be depicted visually as in Figure 8.6. In most of these, the experiential grammatical metaphor in “xenophobic” is unpacked into a separate noun. It becomes “the deaths and injuries of foreign nationals” (par. 12), “the violence against foreigners” (par. 13) and “all the violence against our foreign nationals” (par. 14). This repetition allows further meanings to be coupled with the violent attacks. In “the deaths and injuries of foreign nationals”, the nominalizations “deaths” and “injuries” flag strong negative Security. This negative appraisal also provides an opportunity for those who denounce the violence to be coupled with positive evaluation by contrast, and this is accomplished using the words “spoke out against”, which afford positive Judgements of Propriety towards the representatives of the political parties listed in the article.

The final satellite (par. 13–14) mentions the reaction of Julius Malema from the EFF as being distinct from representatives of the other opposition parties. This is because he couples “the state” with “the violence against foreigners” (par. 13), which has had so many

negative meanings coupled with it. This flags a repeated negative Judgement of Propriety towards “the state” for the violence. In the second instantiation of this Judgement, it is upscaled through use of the word “all” (par. 14), and the technical term “foreign nationals” is included in the nominal group headed by “violence”, which serves further to concentrate meaning into this statement.

This article, then, is characterized by a move from a positive prosody of meanings coupled with the “march” to a strongly negative prosody coupled with the “xenophobic attacks”. The ways in which meanings are aggregated into these prosodies differs according to the context in which both are mentioned. In the context of the “march” in Durban, congruent Processes such as “blessed” (par. 3), “encourage” (par. 4), and “attack” (par. 5) are used to invoke Attitude, although there is a light use of grammatical metaphor in “the march was a success”. In the context of institutions such as “the SA Human Rights Commission” (par. 10) and Parliament (par. 11), however, nominalized and technical language is used to concentrate invoked as well as inscribed instantiations of Appraisal together with the “xenophobic attacks”. Thus the article shows a pattern of slowly moving away from the immediacy of the action of the march and the violence to institutionalized discussions about xenophobic violence.

8.3.3.4 Conclusion

This article shows how it is possible not only for a third constellation to be produced in a news article, as in 8.3.2, but also for such a constellation (or, for that matter, any constellation) to attract both positive and negative charging. This may be the case particularly when an author struggles to position a particular group in relation to his/her cosmologies, as appears to be the case here. I reflect further on this in 8.4.1.3. The group of 500 foreigners led by Macardo is negatively charged because they diplomatically “appreciate” what the government has done, but stubbornly refuse to acquiesce to the dominant narrative of the “peace march”. I represent the part of the article concerning them as containing wild fluctuations in axiological-semantic density, since the negative meanings associated with them for boycotting the peace march are partly diffused (or rarefied) by their expression of appreciation for the government’s efforts, before more negative meanings are condensed with them through their endorsement of violence.

An analysis of Attitude and Engagement in this satellite of the article assists in showing how these wild fluctuations take place. This article also shows how grammatical metaphor and technicality can be used to associate evaluative meanings with particular actions and actors, as seen in the opposition parties’ criticism of the xenophobic attacks and Malema’s coupling of them with “the state”. This can support axiological condensation, as shown in the final part of the article. This use of grammatical metaphor and technicality is described further in 8.4.2.3. In this article, grammatical metaphor and technicality are employed when reporting how the xenophobic violence was described in abstract terms

“March was a success – Mchunu”	
<i>Constellations</i>	<i>Chief linguistic resources used</i>
DA, IFP, UDM, FF+, Cope, ACDP, EFF (positive)	+Propriety & +Tenacity & upscaling Quantification
xenophobic violence, Goodwill Zwelithini (negative)	-Propriety & downscaling Quantification & grammatical metaphor
about 500 foreigners (mixed)	+/-Propriety & moderate Quantification & contractive Engagement

Table 8.9: *Summary of “March was a success” analysis*

in Parliament; in a similar way, these resources come into play in other articles which describe debate in Parliament, such as the one described in 10.3.3.

In addition to grammatical metaphor and technicality, lexical strings are an ideational resource used to accumulate meanings in this article. These lexical strings allow more ideational meaning to be coupled with interpersonal meaning, strengthening the ‘reach’ of evaluations of xenophobic violence before these are finally associated with “the state” in paragraph 14. This use of lexical strings to support political positioning is also remarked on in 8.4.2.3.

Interpersonally, the positively-charged “peace march” constellation is associated with positive Propriety and Tenacity. The negatively-charged “xenophobic attacks” constellation is associated overwhelmingly with negative Propriety. The constellation surrounding the “about 500 foreigners” (par. 7) who tried to start their own march has mixed charging using a variety of Appraisal resources, although Propriety is more prominent than others. In all three constellations, Quantification is used to indicate the relative size of the groups that gathered at the march: the “thousands of people” (par. 1) constellated with the peace march compare favourably to the “group of about 200 people” (par. 5) implicated in xenophobic violence and the “about 500 foreigners”. Contractive Engagement is used in this group’s defence of their use of violence. A summary of the complexes found in this article is shown in Table 8.9. These complexes play a crucial role in political positioning, and are discussed further in 8.4.2.1.

Finally, it was noted in the descriptive account (see 8.3.3.1) that the *Daily Sun* has been accused of reinforcing xenophobic attitudes in the past through its reporting. This article appears to stand as a counterexample to this trend, but only partially so. It refers to immigrants as “foreigners” (par. 6, 7) rather than “aliens”, as the newspaper had before it was reported to the Press Ombudsman (see 3.5), but it positions a group of such “foreigners” ambiguously in a constellation with mixed charging because they refused to join the peace march, and refused to reject violence as a means of self-defence. Nevertheless, it is marked that this article, unlike others discussed in this chapter, is occasioned by a positively-charged event, a peace march against xenophobia, rather than

a negatively-charged one. Those who resist xenophobia are portrayed as upholding the moral order of South African society. Further research is required to ascertain whether the trends observed in this article are replicated across the *Daily Sun*'s coverage more broadly in the years since it was reported to the Press Ombudsman in 2008, and what influence, if any, these trends have had on the alternative public sphere facilitated by the newspaper. The *Daily Sun*'s positioning of xenophobia is addressed in more general terms in 11.3.2.

8.4 Implications of exploratory analyses

This section explains and synthesizes the insights gained from the three exploratory analyses about how language is used in political positioning in the *Daily Sun*. The first category, described in 8.4.1, comprises insights into the ways in which knowledge is condensed, charged and arranged into constellations, drawing on LCT. The second category, described in 8.4.2, includes insights into the roles of different linguistic and discursive resources in political positioning, as described using SFL. Thus this section encapsulates the knowledge gained from the exploratory analyses that assists in responding to the first research question of this study, “How is language used to associate different policy positions and moral evaluations with political parties in the *Daily Sun*?” In addition to offering a preliminary response to this question, this knowledge assisted in shaping the translation device described in Chapter 9 and in refining the method of analysis used in the targeted analyses reported on in Chapter 10.

8.4.1 Condensation, charging and the configuration of constellations

The exploratory analyses reveal insights into the relations between axiological and epistemological condensation (8.4.1.1), the ways in which constellations are charged (8.4.1.2), and the relations between constellations, particularly when more than two constellations are evident from a given text (8.4.1.3). Each of these is described in turn in this subsection.

8.4.1.1 Condensation

At some points in the exploratory analyses, the distinction between axiological and epistemological condensation appears to be blurred, or to put it more precisely, epistemological condensation appears to be aiding axiological condensation. For example, in the second half of “March was a success – Mchunu” (8.3.3), technical terms relating to legal and parliamentary processes are introduced, and the xenophobic violence discussed in the first half of the article is rephrased as a nominalization and repeated several times, with various

meanings being added to it each time. This is an instance of an event being condensed into a single group of words and being linked to a variety of agents (epistemological condensation), and those agents being given credit or blamed, depending on the constellation in which they fell (axiological condensation). It seems that epistemological condensation can bring together signifiers which can then be evaluated or positioned relative to different social groups, perpetuating axiological condensation.

8.4.1.2 Charging

The exploratory analyses reveal that the process of condensing charging together with particular signifiers is not always immediately obvious or invariant for all readers. While there are plenty of examples of evaluative words that unproblematically appear to condense positive or negative charging into a particular constellation, there are other examples of signifiers which may only condense a particular type of charging into a constellation for certain readers with particular background knowledge or particular cosmologies. Two of the exploratory analyses show that words which out of context seem to be quite weak in axiological-semantic density can be very influential in condensing charged meanings into constellations.

One example is the verb ‘left’, referring to leaving a particular party or organization. In both “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members” (8.3.1) and “Ex-buddy trashes Juju!” (8.3.2), this word is used repetitively to demarcate constellations and condense charging into them. In both cases, individuals ‘left’ one political party, and this fact is used to condense negative charging into constellations including those political parties. In SFL terms, the word ‘left’ in these situations would be considered as affording negative Attitude. Words such as this are a reminder that every lexical item has the potential to condense charging into a constellation.

Another trend that emerged strongly in the pilot analyses is the use of names of people or places in condensing charging into particular constellations. In “March was a success – Mchunu” (8.3.3), the name of “Jessie Jackson [sic]”, a respected veteran American civil rights activist, is used to condense positive charging into the “peace march” constellation. Later in the article, “Diakonia Council of Churches”, a religious institution in Durban, appears to charge positively a constellation relating to a group of foreigners. This kind of ‘celebrity endorsement’, or its opposite, association with a known ‘villain’, is perhaps the most obvious way in which people’s names can be used in charging constellations.

In other contexts, names may condense charging into constellations not so much by virtue of the name’s own charging, but rather by virtue of the role which the person or institution plays in the context. For example, in “Ex-buddy trashes Juju!” (8.3.2), the name of “Lee-Anne Mathys [sic]”, a treasurer for the EFF, is used to charge Malema’s constellation negatively in a statement that he was using a credit card in Mathys’ name for personal purchases. In “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members” (8.3.1), the name of former

Public Protector Thuli Madonsela is used to charge the IFP's constellation positively and the ANC and NFP's constellation negatively, through the statement "I have never heard of Public Protector Thuli Madonsela investigating any IFP official for corruption. But in the ANC, that is common." While Madonsela herself is not associated directly with either of the article's two constellations in this statement, her name would be recognized by many South African readers as a symbol of opposition to corruption in government through her involvement in investigating scandals such as that surrounding the state-funded upgrades at Jacob Zuma's private residence at Nkandla. Thus Madonsela's name could be said to be relatively strong in axiological-semantic density, and it condenses charging into the constellations not through association with either of them, but through her very status as an independent arbiter between different interest groups.

In some instances, people's credentials are provided, giving signals as to how to assess their significance and what kind of charging should be assigned to them, and therefore to the constellations they are associated with. In "March was a success – Mchunu" (8.3.3), the phrase "American freedom fighter" and the title "Reverend" both precede the name "Jessie Jackson". While "Reverend" and "American" may be positively or negatively charged for different readers, "freedom fighter" includes an inbuilt positive evaluation through use of the word "freedom", and indicates that the author intends for this individual to be charged positively. By extension, this allows intensified positive charging to be condensed into the "peace march" constellation he is associated with. In "Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members" (8.3.1), the previous ANC credentials of two defectors to the IFP are described in detail. This serves to strengthen the positive charging which is condensed into the IFP constellation as a result of their new association with that party.

Above I indicate that certain signifiers may be assigned different charging by readers on the basis of various factors, including their background knowledge and cosmologies. This is demonstrated in the exploratory analyses, particularly in the charging of two different constellations: the constellation associated with Ray McCauley in "Ex-buddy trashes Juju!" (8.3.2), and in "March was a success – Mchunu" (8.3.3), with the constellation associated with the group of "about 500 foreigners" who did not align with the peace march or the xenophobic violence. In both constellations, there are signifiers that some people might construe as positive, and others as negative, such as "close to closing a deal" in "Ex-buddy trashes Juju!". In this article, readers' charging of this constellation might depend on their pre-existing views about Ray McCauley. In "March was a success – Mchunu" (8.3.3), some of the signifiers associated with the 500 foreigners' constellation seem unambiguously positive, such as that they "appreciated government's efforts". Others, such as "were arrested", would be negatively charged for most readers. As a result, the factors leading one to charge this constellation negatively or positively would be more complex.

Individual speakers may also condense charging into constellations in different ways depending on their backgrounds. One influence evident in the exploratory analyses is that of politeness and other cultural conventions. In "Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new mem-

bers” (8.3.1), for example, Buthelezi refrains from mentioning the names of the ANC and NFP when he is clearly condensing negative charging into their constellation, referring instead to “some parties”. He might be doing this out of politeness, especially seeing as a relative of the then ANC leader, Jacob Zuma, is in his audience. Zulu cultural norms may be an important influence on this decision, since Buthelezi, as a Zulu traditional leader, is speaking in KwaZulu-Natal to an audience that would be predominantly Zulu. Another example of how politeness conventions influence the way in which charging is accomplished is in “March was a success – Mchunu” (8.3.3), where Mchunu says “We are in contact with King Zwelithini as we encourage him to continue calling for peace.” Even though Zwelithini had been accused of triggering xenophobic violence, Mchunu here attempts to co-opt him into the positively-charged “peace march” constellation. These two examples show some of the ways in which politeness conventions and cultural conventions, as part of individuals’ background knowledge, affect the ways in which they charge different signifiers.

These examples suggest that readers’ background knowledge does influence their views of axiological charging in the text. However, this does not mean that meaning is ‘in the eye of the beholder’, or in other words, that readers and not the text are the source of meanings. In 4.2 I argue that, on the basis of the critical realist philosophy I adopt in this study, meaning inheres in the text, but different readers bring different background knowledge to the text and so will have different interpretations of it. The more of these interpretations one can access, the better one is able to understand the text, according to this view: different readers’ interpretations do not compete with each other, but instead reveal different aspects of the meaning-potential of the text. Thus charging is not inherent in the text, but is the product of interactions between the reader’s background knowledge, including their pre-existing cosmologies, and the text. This is one of the reasons why I incorporated joint data analysis in the methods used in this study, as explained in 8.2.3.

8.4.1.3 Configuration of constellations

The exploratory analyses reveal that it is not uncommon for more than two constellations to be produced in a text, and that constellations may not necessarily appear in simple binaries consisting of a positively-charged constellation and a negatively-charged constellation.

In “Ex-buddy trashes Juju!” (8.3.2), two negatively-charged constellations are opposed to each other, describing two groups of people led by “thug[s]”. A constellation associated with Malema is compared with another constellation centred on McKenzie, an “ex-con” and “thug”. More negative charging is condensed into Malema’s constellation than McKenzie’s, and some positively-charged signifiers are condensed into McKenzie’s constellation, with the effect of portraying Malema as an even less moral “thug” than McKenzie.

In both “Ex-buddy trashes Juju!” (8.3.2) and “March was a success – Mchunu” (8.3.3),

there is also a third constellation in addition to the initial two constellations that are opposed to each other. In “Ex-buddy trashes Juju!”, this third constellation occurs at the end of the article, in a satellite that is noticeably distinct from the rest of the article, representing a break in its semantic flow. In “March was a success – Mchunu”, the third constellation is more integrated into the body of the article and its semantic flow. In both cases, the charging of the third constellation seems more ambiguous or to be more dependent on readers’ background knowledge than the initial two constellations in the article.

This may indicate a pattern: that while many articles clearly portray one group of people as the ‘hero’ and another as the ‘villain’, there can often be a third group of participants in the article who are somewhere in between these two groups and do not affiliate clearly with either of them. This group may be a group of mediators, as with Ray McCauley’s constellation in “Ex-buddy trashes Juju!”, or it may be a group of affected third parties, as with the 500 foreigners in “March was a success – Mchunu”. In both cases, however, it would not be possible to view this constellation as neutrally charged. Signifiers such as “close to closing a deal” and “defending themselves” are condensed together with these constellations; these could carry either positive or negative charging, but could not be considered as neutrally charged. More analysis is required to see how prevalent this pattern of three constellations is. Inevitably, some articles may produce more than three constellations; there is no theoretical limit to the number of constellations that may be produced in an article.

The relations between constellations can, therefore, be far more complex than a simple binary. Some individuals with whom I discussed my analysis of “Ex-buddy trashes Juju!” (8.3.2) thought that the negative charging of the first two constellations in this article spread onto the third constellation associated with Ray McCauley. Further research is required to see if such spreading of charge from one constellation to another is a common tendency.

8.4.2 Linguistic and discursive resources and their roles

In this section, I build on Martin’s (2017) account by showing how different linguistic resources are used in the articles examined in the exploratory analyses to condense meanings, with a particular focus on axiological meanings, which appear to be most involved in political positioning.

Both semantic prosodies and complexes are used in political positioning in the articles described in the exploratory analyses. An example of the role of prosody in concentrating axiological meaning can be found in “March was a success – Mchunu” (8.3.3). In this text, repeated positive evaluations are used in the first half of the article to concentrate positive emotions and judgements together with the “peace march”, and even to

co-opt Zwelithini into the group of supporters of peace. In the second half of the article, a prosody of repeated negative evaluations is used to condemn xenophobic violence, including Zwelithini's utterances which were alleged to have sparked a wave of such violence. This has the final effect of grouping Zwelithini with the perpetrators of xenophobic violence rather than the supporters of the peace march.

Plenty of complexes of linguistic resources are evident in the data. For instance, in “Ex-buddy trashes Juju!” (8.3.2), negative Propriety and Security (from the Interpersonal Metafunction) couple repeatedly with high-level periodicity (from the Textual Metafunction) and mentions of Malema and the EFF (identified using the Ideational Metafunction). Examples of this complex occur in “I doubt if he (Malema) will respond” in the headline, and “EFF leader Julius Malema is a thug” in the lead. This produces a complex which is used to concentrate negative feelings with Malema by portraying him as unpredictable and dangerous. Such complexes can be viewed at various different points on the instantiation cline, or in other words, at varying degrees of specificity: one may be very specific and examine only couplings of negative Security with Malema, or at a higher level, explore any couplings of negative Affect with a person (Zappavigna et al., 2008). Much of the process of political positioning revealed through the exploratory analyses is a process of building such complexes in a text.

Complexes also give us a framework through which to consider the various types of linguistic resources that contribute to political positioning. In the following subsections, I group these according to the three metafunctions, beginning with the Interpersonal Metafunction and then continuing to the Textual and Ideational metafunctions.

8.4.2.1 Interpersonal resources

Iconization is the component of mass that derives from the Interpersonal Metafunction (Martin, 2017). One key set of linguistic resources used in iconization is the Appraisal system, as shown in 5.4. This system is particularly useful in describing how particular people, objects or symbols come to be associated with interpersonal meanings, therefore aiding the process of iconizing them. Examples of this are evident in the headlines of all three articles: in “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members” (8.3.1), positive Affect: Happiness is coupled with Buthelezi; in “Ex-buddy trashes Juju!” (8.3.2), the word “trashes” inscribes negative Affect: Security and negative Judgement, which is coupled with “Juju”, a nickname of Julius Malema; and in “March was a success – Mchunu” (8.3.3), the word “success” inscribes positive Affect: Satisfaction and positive Appreciation: Valuation, which is then coupled with the peace march.

Invoked Attitude plays probably an even more important role in perpetuating prosodies of evaluation than inscribed Attitude does. This is in part because invoked Attitude depends and draws on previous associations that have been made in the reader's mind, and so it reinforces these associations implicitly. Doran (In preparation) also stresses the

importance of invoked Attitude in condensing axiological meanings. A good example is the mention of “sushi king Kenny Kunene” in “Ex-buddy trashes Juju!” (8.3.2), which is a reminder of Kunene’s previous questionable behaviour, invoking a negative Judgement of Propriety on him. While this couples a negative evaluation with him, in the broader context of the article it serves to intensify the complex of negative Judgement in particular associated with Julius Malema, through an argument that if such a morally questionable person left Malema’s party, then Malema himself must be even worse.

Idiomatic expressions are sometimes used to invoke Attitude. In “Ex-buddy trashes Juju!” (8.3.2), McKenzie says that he helped Malema when he was “down and out”, invoking negative Happiness. In “March was a success – Mchunu” (8.3.3), it is reported that Zwelithini told immigrants to “pack their bags and go”, provoking negative Satisfaction towards them. Because these idiomatic expressions have fixed associations in readers’ background knowledge, they can become powerful means by which to concentrate axiological meanings and recontextualize them from other settings into the context being discussed in the texts for analysis.

Graduation and Engagement also support political positioning in different ways. Graduation can be used to tone up or down the strength of a coupling between Attitude and ideational content. One way in which this is repeatedly observed in the exploratory analyses is in the use of Quantification. In “March was a success – Mchunu” (8.3.3), Quantification is coupled with three groups of people in turn: “thousands of people took part in the peace march”, “about 200 people” tried to attack a group of foreigners, and “about 500 foreigners” tried to start their own march. This has the effect of suggesting that those in the peace march were in the majority, thereby strengthening the prosody of positive evaluations surrounding the peace march and contrasting it to the other two groups whose actions are not endorsed.

Engagement can be used to modulate axiological meanings by indicating the extent to which certain information is viewed as authoritative or not. For example, in “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members” (8.3.1), Buthelezi uses parallelism to construct a complex in which Engagement is coupled with negative Judgement and lexical strings to criticize “some parties”. In this syndrome, two clause complexes in parallel begin with the dialogically expansive Engagement resource of Attribute in the form “Some (parties) will...”, before mentioning positive things that the parties say they will do; then the word “but” is used to instantiate the Engagement resource of Counter, before a negative Judgement of the parties’ actions is given. The use of Counter coupled with the negative Judgement serves to heighten the negative Judgement by contracting dialogic space to make it more difficult to disagree with the Judgement to follow. By contrast, dialogically expansive Engagement makes it easier to disagree with particular ideational – Attitude couplings, and therefore weakens them.

8.4.2.2 Textual resources

The component that the Textual Metafunction contributes to mass is named aggregation (Martin, 2017). Aggregation is used to accumulate meanings, which can then be associated with a particular object, person or symbol in political positioning. In the exploratory analyses, I observe how aggregation is accomplished through the use of periodicity and text reference, two resources mentioned by Martin (2017).

In my analyses, I link periodicity with White's (1997) work on the generic structure of news articles, which suggests that news articles are structured into a nucleus, consisting of a headline and lead, and a number of satellites, which are interchangeable in the structure of the article, and each of which have their own hyperTheme and possibly a hyperNew.

The exploratory analyses reveal that Appraisal tends to couple with periodicity: strong instantiations of Attitude tend to occur in places of textual prominence, whether these are macroThemes, macroNews, hyperThemes or hyperNews. In some instances, these evaluations are further strengthened through coupling with upscaling Force. In 8.4.1.2, I mentioned the role of the verb 'left' as a strongly charged signifier. This word inscribes negative Affect: Inclination, and in "Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members" (8.3.1) it is coupled with the macroTheme and two hyperThemes to form a complex which aids in concentrating negative meanings with the ANC and NFP. In the lead of the article, which functions as a macroTheme, it is coupled with upscaling Quantification in the clause "More than 500 people left the NFP and ANC to join the IFP," strengthening this evaluation further.

Text reference is also used to condense axiological meanings and thereby support political positioning. It condenses the meaning of passages of text, including all of the axiological meaning associated with them, into one short group of words. An example of this occurs in "Ex-buddy trashes Juj!" (8.3.2), where most of the article describes the contents of "an open letter, headlined From a Thug to a Thug" in which Gayton McKenzie criticizes Malema. Following this description, EFF spokesman Mbuyiseni Ndlozi is quoted as saying "I doubt if he (Malema) will respond to the letter." Here, "the letter" refers back to and concentrates all the evaluations of Malema and other parties made in the previous paragraphs of the article, which report on the contents of the letter.

8.4.2.3 Ideational resources

Technicality and grammatical metaphor are identified by Martin (2017) as the Ideational Metafunction's contribution to mass. Technical lexis and grammatical metaphor are frequently conceptualized as concentrating ideational meanings, but the exploratory analyses show that they can also play a role in concentrating axiological meanings, and therefore support political positioning. These analyses show that another set of ideational resources,

namely lexical strings from the Ideation system of SFL (Martin and Rose, 2007), can also contribute to concentrating axiological meanings, and therefore to political positioning.

Because there are similarities between the ways in which lexical strings and text reference work to concentrate axiological meanings, I begin by discussing these. In “March was a success” (8.3.3), xenophobic violence is referred to repeatedly in a series of nominal groups joined by lexical strings, first as “the spate of xenophobic attacks in the country” (par. 11), then as “the deaths and injuries of foreign nationals” (par. 12), “the violence against foreigners” (par. 13) and “all the violence against our foreign nationals” (par. 14). Here lexical strings create parallelism between these four nominal groups. Each time the same referent is referred to in different terms, different ideational and interpersonal meanings are associated with it, and so these meanings are concentrated together into that referent. In the last two iterations of this nominal group, Malema blames this xenophobic violence on “the state”. The overall effect is of negative meanings having accumulated around xenophobic violence in a strongly negative prosody, which is then coupled with “the state” so as to concentrate all these negative evaluations into “the state”. Lexical strings are used to create parallelism in a similar, but less well-developed way, in the last two paragraphs of “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members” (8.3.1), where Buthelezi uses them to criticize “some parties”.

Grammatical metaphor and technicality are also used in the second half of “March was a success – Mchunu” (8.3.3) to concentrate negative meanings together with xenophobic violence, and those accused of inciting such violence. In this part of the article, negative Attitude is coupled with experiential grammatical metaphor in words such as “complaints”, “deaths”, “injuries” and “violence”. Because these nominalizations already condense actions that could congruently be described in full clauses, they make available plenty of ideational meaning to be coupled with negative Attitude.

Technical lexis found in the same section of the article, such as “a human rights violation charge”, “special questions session” and “foreign nationals”, couples with the grammatical metaphors mentioned above to remind readers of the formality of the context of situation in which these words are used, and hence of the seriousness of the accusations made in this context. These words also supply more ideational meaning with which the negative Attitude can be associated, thereby strengthening the concentration of negative axiological meanings in this section. In this way, grammatical metaphor and technicality can contribute to political positioning.

8.5 Conclusion

The exploratory analyses, as an intermediate stage between the corpus analysis (Chapter 7) and the targeted analyses (Chapter 10), are essential in allowing me to explore the ways in which language is used to position political parties in the *Daily Sun* before drafting

a translation device for axiological-semantic density and refining my method of analysis for use in the targeted analyses. My descriptions of both the translation device and the refinements to the method of analysis, in Chapter 9 and 10.2 respectively, show how these exploratory analyses are crucial in shaping both of these.

In addition to this, the exploratory analyses yield significant findings that contribute to the overall impression of political positioning in the *Daily Sun* gained by this study. Two of the articles described in this chapter, “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members” (8.3.1), and “March was a success – Mchunu” (8.3.3), mention smaller political parties, whereas the remainder of the fine-grained analyses in this study concentrate on articles referring only to the three largest parties. In “March was a success – Mchunu” (8.3.3), the small parties align with the DA and EFF in opposing xenophobia. This is an issue which understandably would unite parties: no one would want to be seen to condone or support unlawful violence in Parliament. By contrast, “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members” (8.3.1) illustrates how one small party, the IFP, attempts to distinguish itself from other parties, mainly through pointing out perceived negative characteristics of those parties.

This leads to a key finding: there appears to be an emphasis in the newspaper’s coverage on negative reporting and accusations made by politicians against their opponents. Examples of such accusations are found in all three of the articles discussed in this chapter. In “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members” (8.3.1), new recruits to the IFP are celebrated, but far more space is dedicated to criticisms of the IFP’s rival parties than to describing the positive attributes of the IFP itself. The second article, “Ex-buddy trashes Juju!” (8.3.2), concentrates almost entirely on accusations made by McKenzie against Malema. Even though “March was a success – Mchunu” (8.3.3) covers an anti-xenophobia “peace march” that is positively charged, Malema uses the occasion to blame “the state” for xenophobic violence.

This emphasis on negative reporting is coupled with a lack of emphasis on individual parties’ policy positions. “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members” (8.3.1) quotes Buthelezi as saying that the IFP has “good policies”, but the article gives no indication of what these policies are. The accusations against Malema in “Ex-buddy trashes Juju!” (8.3.2) all concern his personal character traits and actions, and not his policy positions. In “March was a success – Mchunu” (8.3.3), parties voice their opposition to xenophobia, but there is no description of their positions on immigration, for example, or discussion of what they would do to prevent xenophobic violence.

This negative reporting and policy-blindness does not seem to have good implications for the alternative public sphere that the *Daily Sun* facilitates. A dearth of information on parties’ different policy stances means that even if readers are interested in discussing parties’ policies, they will not be able to learn about them from the *Daily Sun*; instead, the political coverage in the newspaper seems to assume that voters will choose parties based on their perceptions of the moral integrity of their leaders. Readers are informed about accusations against politicians and “the state”, which may have the effect of reinforcing

cynicism not only about individual politicians but about political processes as a whole. In 3.3, I show how such cynicism seems to be growing, particularly among South Africa's youth, and producing voter apathy. Such cynicism may influence readers to divert their attention from party politics and into other means of participation in democracy, such as engagement with organized civil society, or (sometimes violent) extra-institutional mass action. In 11.3.3, I make suggestions of ways in which South African democratic public spheres can be transformed in the light of the culture of cynicism toward politicians which the articles discussed in this chapter seem to reinforce.

Obviously, the findings and implications mentioned above are based on a very small amount of data, three articles. However, these findings are corroborated by the trends identified in the corpus analysis (Chapter 7) and dovetail with those found in the targeted analyses, as I show in 11.3.

Various insights into the ways in which linguistic and discursive resources are used to accomplish political positioning emerge from these analyses, and are built on in the targeted analyses. The exploratory analyses show how complexes of resources from different metafunctions accomplish positioning in *Daily Sun* political news articles. Particularly, specific Appraisal resources couple repeatedly with certain ideational meanings to produce complexes that characterize the central signifiers of constellations in the data. Idioms such as "down and out" are used to introduce invoked Appraisal into articles to aid with positioning. In addition, lexical strings are used to accumulate ideational and interpersonal meanings so that they can be used in political positioning to stronger effect. Text reference and periodicity also work similarly to make more meanings available for coupling with Appraisal instantiations at key points in articles.

In terms of LCT, the exploratory analyses allow me to shape a particular way of viewing words, expressions, clauses and passages as enacting varying strengths of axiological-semantic density and axiological condensation. This perspective is made explicit in the translation device for axiological-semantic density in *Daily Sun* political news articles, which is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 9

Translation device

9.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the way in which I developed a translation device for axiological-semantic density in my data, as well as giving a detailed description of the final translation device I arrived at through recursive testing and refinement in the process of data analysis. I describe the development of my own translation device in 9.3. Before this process is described, however, it is useful to explain some key characteristics of translation devices and their role in LCT analyses. The explanation below draws largely on Maton and Doran's (2017b) work, and in 9.2 I describe their translation device for epistemic-semantic density (ESD) by way of example, because I modelled the form of my translation device on theirs.

To start with, it is important to differentiate between two types of translation device: external languages, abbreviated to 'L2', following the convention in Bernstein (2000); and mediating languages ('L1.5'). External languages are strongly attached to one specific object of study, while mediating languages have a more general application. The translation device for epistemic-semantic density developed by Maton, Doran and others, which I outline in 9.2, is a mediating language (L1.5) in that it applies to English discourse as a whole. In the development of the translation device, it was recursively tested on many different genres of discourse, from academic journal articles to song lyrics, to see if it could describe ESD accurately in such a wide range of genres. The translation device that I develop in this thesis, by contrast, is an external language (L2) in that it is designed to describe axiological-semantic density in only one object of study, namely *Daily Sun* political news articles. L2s are generally simpler than L1.5s in form, and so my translation device is simpler in form than that described in Maton and Doran (2017a; 2017b). Despite this, my translation device is designed in such a way that it could, in further research, be developed into a mediating language through engagement with data from other objects of study.

A translation device offers a set of tools that makes more accessible the gaze which analysts

have used in their study. They are not developed *a priori*, but rather emerge out of the process of analysing data in research (Maton and Chen, 2016). They are often tested and reshaped many times through engagement with the object of study. They are as much a product of analysis as they are a tool that shapes analysis. A translation device unpacks how the analysts have enacted a particular theoretical concept, allowing them to traverse the “discursive gap” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 131) between theory and data.

For example, the ESD translation device described in the following sub-section unpacks the ways in which Maton, Doran and their research associates enacted epistemic-semantic density in the analysis of their data in two major funded research projects, the DISKS (Disciplinarity, Knowledge and Schooling) project, and the PEAK (Pedagogies for Knowledge-Building) project. In so doing, Maton and Doran (2017a) argue that they are fulfilling a social justice imperative, allowing those who previously have not had access to privileged discourses to be able to recognize the building blocks of this type of discourse. In the same way, I argue that my translation device for axiological-semantic density fulfils a social justice imperative by revealing how values and morals are clustered with particular stances in the *Daily Sun*’s political news, favouring some stances and dispreferring others, and contracting dialogic space (Martin and White, 2005) so that alternative voices that run against the grain of dominant cosmologies are not heard.

The translation device is a set of sociological categories for revealing things about knowledge, not a set of linguistic tools or model of language. It is a set of tools for fine-grained analysis of discourse to answer sociological questions, rather than linguistic ones. Here “discourse” is used in the sociological sense, as in Bernstein’s (2000) ‘vertical discourse’ and ‘horizontal discourse’ (Maton and Doran, 2017b). Because of this, translation devices should be usable by those who have no linguistic background; they should not rely on linguistic categories or tools of analysis in any way, although their design may be informed by aspects of linguistic theory, as the translation device for ESD certainly is.

Thus there is an important distinction between a translation device, on the one hand, and the linguistic features which may correlate, or co-occur, with a particular concept in LCT. This distinction is seen clearly when one compares Maton and Doran’s work on the translation device for ESD in English discourse (2017b; 2017a) with Martin’s (2017) article identifying the components that make up ‘mass’, which is a linguistic term describing linguistic features that correlate with semantic density. In this research, I both design a translation device for axiological-semantic density and identify and investigate linguistic features that correlate with axiological-semantic density, as outlined in 1.4.2.1 and 1.4.2.2. Since this is a piece of linguistic research, the linguistic features take primacy as a contribution to the field of linguistics, while the translation device should be viewed as a useful by-product of my process of analysis.

In a translation device, the characteristics of each category are “rules of thumb” (Maton and Doran 2017b, p.56) rather than being universally applicable, and have to be adapted to suit each individual object of study. This is particularly important when considering

axiological-semantic density, where meanings are much more diffuse and contextually-influenced than is the case with epistemic-semantic density. As a result, the recognition criteria for what kinds of expressions belong in which category of my translation device are not as precise as those for Maton and Doran's (2017a; 2017b) translation device for ESD; however, I do try to express the distinctions between the different criteria as clearly as possible in 9.4.1–9.4.5, while providing illustrative examples. Finally, I describe how the translation device was tested and refined in 9.5, before offering some concluding reflections on it in 9.6.

9.2 Translation device for epistemic-semantic density

The architecture of the translation device for ESD gives some important indications of how a translation device for axiological-semantic density can be structured, although the architecture of my translation device is far from being a carbon-copy of that of the ESD translation device, because of the differences between it and my translation device outlined in 9.1.

In the ESD translation device, there are four tools. Two of these describe strengths of ESD: the “wording” and “word-grouping” tools. Another two describe epistemological condensation: the “clausing” and “sequencing” tools. This means that the translation device makes explicit the distinction between epistemic-semantic density, as the amount of meaning related to “empirical descriptions or formal definitions” (Maton and Doran 2017b, p.47) that is condensed into signifiers, and epistemological condensation, as the extent to which individual signifiers gain in epistemic-semantic density.

As the names of the different types of tools suggest, the “wording” tool classifies individual words according to their strengths of ESD, while the “word-grouping” tool examines groups of words (Maton and Doran, 2017b). It shows how meanings added by groups of words may increase the strength of ESD of a word slightly within a particular category on the “wording” tool; in other words, it shows how groups of words can be used to fine-tune the ESD of a particular individual word that they modify (Maton and Doran, 2017b). The “clausing” tool analyses short passages of words that can stand on their own as a semantic unit and that work to change ESD in some way (Maton and Doran, 2017a). These may or may not correspond to clauses as a linguistic unit of analysis. Lastly, the “sequencing” tool analyses how short passages are linked together in a way that strengthens ESD (Maton and Doran, 2017a).

The concept of having different tools dedicated to different levels of analysis proves useful for the purposes of my translation device as well, because it shows that different processes work to strengthen and weaken axiological-semantic density and modulate axiological condensation at these different levels. Moreover, the impression of axiological-semantic

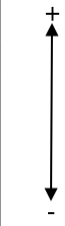
ESD	Type	Subtype	Sub-subtype
	<i>technical</i>	<i>conglomerate</i>	<i>-properties</i>
			<i>-elements</i>
	<i>everyday</i>	<i>compact</i>	<i>-properties</i>
			<i>-elements</i>
	<i>consolidated</i>	<i>specialist</i>	
		<i>generalist</i>	
<i>common</i>	<i>nuanced</i>		
	<i>plain</i>		

Table 9.1: *Wording tool for epistemic-semantic density. Source: Maton and Doran (2017b, p. 58)*

density gained from my analysis is too complex to be described adequately in only one tool, and I aimed to achieve a fine-grained impression of how axiological-semantic density could be enacted at various levels of analysis, necessitating the use of multiple tools in my translation device, even though it is an external language of description and not a mediating language. The principle of beginning with analysing individual words and then working outwards to larger units of analysis is also valuable for the design of a translation device for axiological-semantic density, as meanings are often most obvious at the lexical level but radiate outwards to affect longer stretches of text.

The individual tools in the translation device were devised by taking items from a continuum of strengths of ESD, and dividing the continuum into two to create two types of items, and then dividing those types in two again and again to create subtypes and sub-subtypes. The “wording” tool, as shown in Table 9.1, illustrates this structure.

While explaining each of the categories on this table lies outside the scope of this chapter, it is useful to describe the distinction between the two main types of wording according to the tool, in order to illustrate how a continuum of semantic density can be divided up in the process of designing a translation device. *Technical*, for the purposes of this translation device, refers to words “whose meanings are given by their location within a specialized domain of social practice” (Maton and Doran 2017b, p. 58), that is, words that are used in a specific sense in a particular discipline or other area of social activity, such as a sport or a hobby, for example. Thus words like “grammaticalization” in linguistics or “domestique” in the sport of cycling would qualify as technical words.

Everyday, on the other hand, refers to words “whose meanings are not given by their location in such specialized domains, but rather through their usage in commonplace practices and contexts” (Maton and Doran 2017b, p. 58). These are words such as “cook”, “clean” and “eat”, which could be used in casual conversation to refer to things and activities in a non-specialist way. The division of the continuum of epistemic-semantic density into these two categories is not arbitrary, but rather occurs between two sets of words that intuitively are distinct from each other in some fundamental sense. This illustrates how dividing lines in translation devices should be drawn at places where

there is the clearest distinction between words, or whatever other unit of analysis one is describing.

9.3 Method of developing a translation device for axiological-semantic density

As mentioned in 9.2, I decided to make my translation device a multi-level set of tools like the ESD translation device described by Maton and Doran (2017a; 2017b). My method of developing a tool at each of these levels drew heavily on the work done in the joint data analysis sessions with student research assistants described in 8.2.3. I begin this section by describing how I arrived at the five levels for which tools have been developed, and then describe the way in which tools were developed for each of these levels.

In the exploratory analyses (see Chapter 8), I found that phenomena that seemed to influence axiological-semantic density appear to exist at various levels of analysis. Firstly, individual signifiers possess axiological-semantic density at the smallest level of analysis. My tool to describe this level was renamed twice. In the beginning, I named it the *phrasing* tool, with the thinking that axiological-semantic density was not easily confined to individual words, but rather spreads across longer expressions, which could loosely be called phrases. The initial drafts of my *phrasing* tool aimed to describe both ‘signifiers’ which possess axiological-semantic density and ‘chargers’ which axiologically charge other expressions (for more on the distinction between these, see 8.2.3).

However, through dialogue with other researchers, I realized that the notion of a phrase was not clearly demarcated, and so the scope over which this tool applied needed to be refined. I renamed the tool as the *signifiers* tool, and specified that it described the same units that would be considered as signifiers in a constellation analysis, namely words or short groups of words identifying a particular entity such as a person, place or organization.

Later discussion persuaded me that the *signifiers* tool, as I had designed it, was describing the ways in which these signifiers were axiologically charged in the text rather than the axiological-semantic density inherent in the words themselves. Thus I replaced the *signifiers* tool with a *wording* tool (9.4.1), designed to describe the axiological-semantic density of single words or multiple-word names of entities, such as “African National Congress Women’s League (ANCWL)”. A general principle followed in the development of the *wording* tool, as well as the other tools in the translation device, is that the potential of units to generate axiological constellations or build on these constellations strengthens or weakens axiological-semantic density.

Secondly, as pointed out in 8.2.3, there are expressions which appear to charge signifiers with meaning, and so a tool was needed to describe the strength of this charging. To

describe this, I developed a *charging* tool (9.4.2) at the same time as I was developing the *signifiers* tool which was later replaced. It describes individual words and brief expressions (no longer than a clause) which are involved in axiological charging in some way.

The words around a particular signifier appeared to strengthen or weaken the axiological-semantic density of that signifier. At this level of analysis, the Appraisal system of Graduation comes into play, for example, toning meanings up and down. While the name for the tool in the ESD translation device that describes this level is known as the word-grouping tool, I decided to name my tool at this level as the *modifying* tool (9.4.3). I did this because I thought that “word-grouping” seemed to describe the cumulative effect of a group of words taken together, whereas what I am particularly interested in analysing is the ways in which words in a group strengthen or weaken axiological-semantic density by modifying the head noun.

At higher levels of analysis, such as the clause and discourse levels, linguistic features raise and lower the base from which ASD is strengthened or weakened in individual signifiers. The best analogy I can think of for this is of clause- and discourse-level phenomena being like tides, with individual words or phrases like smaller waves superimposed on those tides. The clausing and sequencing tools in the translation device described by Maton and Doran (2017a) describe not epistemic-semantic density but epistemological condensation, and it appears that in a similar way, these ‘tides’ of meaning at higher levels of analysis affect axiological condensation rather than axiological-semantic density.

Axiological condensation appeared to be heightened by the presence of more than one expression with relatively strong axiological-semantic density in the same clause. For example, the clause “DA parliamentary leader Mmusi Maimane yesterday accused Zuma of laughing as cops dragged EFF MPs out of parliament” contains at least three expressions with relatively strong axiological semantic density: “DA parliamentary leader Mmusi Maimane”, “Zuma” and “EFF MPs” (see 10.3.3). Once these three expressions are linked together in a clause, relations between them are established: signifiers are either linked together in a constellation (as is done with Maimane and the EFF MPs in this example) or contrasted with each other as belonging in oppositely-charged constellations (as with Zuma and the EFF MPs), and this heightens axiological condensation. I describe these relations using the *clausing* tool of my translation device (9.4.4).

At an even higher level of analysis, I observed that conjunctions, complementizers and other words that link together passages of text have an effect on axiological condensation. In addition, resources from the Appraisal system of Engagement usually work at this level, opening and closing dialogic space in a way that has implications for axiological-semantic density, and so a *sequencing* tool (9.4.5) was necessary to describe these effects on axiological condensation.

For each of these five tools, the *wording*, *charging*, *modifying*, *clausing* and *sequencing* tools, a similar process was followed to devise the tool and perform initial testing on

it. This process was once again modelled on the process used for the creation of the ESD translation device as described in Maton and Doran (2017b). Following my joint data analysis sessions with my student research assistants (see 8.2.3), I took rankings of different units according to strengths of axiological-semantic density, retyped them in Microsoft Excel, and tried to divide them up in half and then divide each half in half again and again recursively to produce different categories which were later used in the tools of the translation device. I used different rankings as the initial basis for each of the different tools:

- For the *wording* tool, I used the group consensus ranking arrived at in a joint data analysis session after I had given the research assistants a list of decontextualized words to rank according to their strengths of axiological-semantic density.
- For the *charging* tool, I used the group consensus ranking of a list of charging expressions according to strengths of axiological charging. I used both an original workshopping sheet which examined expressions enacting relatively strong charging in one article, and a supplementary workshopping sheet, which examined expressions enacting relatively weak charging. Rankings from these two sheets were laid end-to-end, with selected expressions from the original workshopping sheet at the top and others from the supplementary workshopping sheet at the bottom, to produce a ranking of expressions across the entire range from extremely strong charging to extremely weak charging.
- For the *modifying* tool, I used my own ranking of word groups found in “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members”, *Daily Sun*, 26 May 2015 (see 8.3.1), according to strengths of axiological-semantic density.
- For the *clausing* tool, I used my own ranking of clauses found in “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members” according to strengths of axiological condensation.
- For the *sequencing* tool, I used my own ranking of passages of text and the words that connect them in “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members” according to strengths of axiological condensation.

While group consensus rankings were used as a basis for the lower-level tools, I thought that it was going to be too difficult for me to describe to my student research assistants the ways in which axiological-semantic density and axiological condensation work at higher levels in a satisfactory way so as to allow them to rank units at these levels themselves. Thus I did the ranking myself and then split the list of ranked words into various categories. Table 9.2 presents an example showing how I divided up a list of words ranked according to their strengths of axiological-semantic density to arrive at the *wording* tool. This table shows how I first split the ranked list of words in two, yielding two types of wording. I tried to make this ‘first cut’ of the list, as well as subsequent ‘cuts’, at a point


ASD	Word	Type	Subtype	Sub-subtype
	women	<i>symbolic</i>	<i>concepts</i>	<i>ideas</i>
	values			
	principles			
	leadership			
	action			
	declaration			
	membership		<i>names</i>	<i>leaders</i>
	Jacob Zuma			
	African National Congress			
	Democratic Alliance			
	Julius Malema			
	African National Congress Women's League			
	Provincial Executive Committee			
	Polokwane	<i>particular</i>	<i>people and places</i>	<i>known</i>
	conference			
	secretary			
	Limpopo			
	Nocks Seabi			
	panties			
	face			
underwear				
heads				
Ingwe Lodge				

Table 9.2: An example showing the first attempt at developing the wording tool

which seemed to mark a qualitative difference between items, rather than simply making it at a point halfway down the list. Those above the ‘cut’ appeared to have some kind of symbolic meaning to them; in other words, they are words that immediately call to mind axiological constellations of other concepts and values associated with them, such as “women” or “Jacob Zuma”, or even “Provincial Executive Committee”, which refers to a body within the ANC and so would be associated with this party in constellations. Those below the ‘cut’ described specific people, places and things but did not seem immediately to be connected to broader constellations in the same way, such as “Polokwane” (referring to a city in South Africa’s Limpopo province), “panties” or “heads”.

Once I had made this ‘first cut’, I divided each of the types up into subtypes using the same principle, and then divided these subtypes up further into sub-subtypes. This procedure was followed for each of the tools except for the *modifying* tool. This tool was modelled on the word-grouping tool described by Maton and Doran (2017b), which has only three types with no finer distinctions between subtypes or sub-subtypes. In my *modifying* tool, I distinguished between four types of modifying that strengthen axiological-semantic density, and one type that weakens it (see 9.4.3).

I gave names to each of the categories in all five of the tools. There were three basic requirements for such names. Firstly, they had to be words that, as far as possible, did not contain axiological charging in themselves and so could not be associated with a positive or negative value judgement about the expressions they were describing. Secondly, they had to, as far as possible, be distinct from terms already used in LCT or SFL, or in other parts of the translation device. However, where I intentionally wanted to express a link between a category and an existing term from LCT or the translation device, I did use that term. For example, the *clausing* tool contains the types *constellation-building* and *constellation-embellishing* to make the point that some clauses establish connections which are essential for the production of constellations, and others make connections which add onto already-existing constellations.

Lastly, the terms needed to express as far as possible the characteristics which members of the particular type share in common. For example, all of the members of the *names* subtype referred to in 9.2 shared the characteristic of being names of people or organizations with symbolic significance. Needless to say, it was a difficult task to arrive at unique names for all the types of the five tools. However, the process of arriving at a name forced me to consider the common characteristics of each of these categories, and what distinguished the categories from each other, and so this was an important step in the development of each tool.

Once names had been assigned to all the categories, I conducted preliminary testing of the tools by attempting to apply them to other articles that I was analysing. I did this by using ranked lists of units from these articles according to strengths of axiological-semantic density and axiological charging produced in the joint data analysis sessions for the *wording* and *charging* tools, and similar ranked lists that I drew up by myself for the

higher-level tools. I tried to see whether the set of types developed using one ranked list could adequately describe ranked lists derived from these other articles. Because different tools were developed at different stages in the process of developing the translation device, these different tools were tested on different political news articles from the *Daily Sun* during this preliminary testing phase. As a result of this testing, fine adjustments were made to the tools where deemed necessary, including changes in the names of some categories; more extensive revisions were prompted by discussions about the translation device with other researchers, as shown in 9.5.

One major alteration to the tools is worth mentioning at this point: once all the tools had been developed I decided to delete the “Type” and “Subtype” layers of each tool, similar to those shown in 9.2. This left only one layer of categories for each tool, which could now be relabelled as “types”. Doing this simplified the device a great deal, making it easier to describe in this thesis. It also made it closer in form to other external languages (L2s), which tend to have only one layer of types; and less similar to the ESD translation device as a mediating language (L1.5). The original “Type” and “Subtype” layers were, in my opinion, necessary as transitional concepts assisting in the development of the translation device, but once it was complete, it became possible to do without them, simplifying the device. Once these layers were removed, some small revisions to the device were necessary to ensure that all the new “Types” were intelligible as categories on their own without needing items first to be categorized into higher-level types and subtypes. Once this was done, the device took on the substantive form that it now has. This form is described in the following section.

9.4 Description of ASD translation device

In the following subsections, I describe each of the five tools in the translation device in detail. These are:

- the wording tool (9.4.1), which describes the contribution of individual words to axiological-semantic density
- the charging tool (9.4.2), which describes the strength of charging enacted by individual words and short expressions
- the modifying tool (9.4.3), which describes the contribution to axiological-semantic density of words that modify a head word in a group of words
- the clausuring tool (9.4.4), which describes the contribution of entire clauses to axiological condensation
- the sequencing tool (9.4.5), which describes the contribution to axiological condensation of links between short passages of text


ASD	Type	Example
	<i>ideas</i>	apartheid
	<i>leaders</i>	Jacob Zuma, ANC
	<i>associates</i>	ANC Women's League
	<i>acts</i>	declaration
	<i>names</i>	Pietermaritzburg
	<i>roles and contexts</i>	secretary, conference
	<i>specified things</i>	face
	<i>unspecified things</i>	head

Table 9.3: *The wording tool*

In each of these subsections, I give ample examples of the use of the tools in describing different strengths of axiological-semantic density, axiological charging and axiological condensation in the political news articles analysed for this study. These should assist in illustrating the use of the tools. Further illustration is given in the reports on these analyses in Chapter 10. Tables outlining each of the tools and giving examples of each type in them are provided in this section, but also repeated in Appendix E for ease of reference.

9.4.1 The wording tool

This tool describes the smallest unit of analysis I consider in my study. As mentioned in 9.3, this tool went through the most revisions of any tool in the device, including two changes of name to denote changes in the length of the unit of analysis it is meant to describe. The final version of the tool focuses on the axiological-semantic density of individual words, independent of their context. It is designed chiefly to describe nouns, whether they are proper nouns or common nouns, including abstract nouns. The definition of “word” used in applying the wording tool includes proper nouns that are longer than one orthographic word, so that, as mentioned in 9.3, longer proper nouns such as “Economic Freedom Fighters” (EFF) and people’s names such as “Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi” are considered as wholes. Content words or lexical items other than nouns (i.e. verbs, adjectives and adverbs) are described using the *charging* tool (see 9.4.2). Table 9.3 summarizes the wording tool and offers examples of each type of wording.

The strongest wording type is *ideas*. This refers mainly to abstract concepts, including systems of thought and/or belief such as “apartheid” and “democracy”. Many, but not all, of these systems are marked using the suffix “-ism” in English: “capitalism”, “Marxism”, “Buddhism”, “populism”, “racism”, as Martin et al. (2010) point out. Other abstract nouns such as “values” or “principles” are included in this type because they appear to link to vast axiological constellations. Also included are some concrete nouns, particularly those referring to social categories such as “women” or “men”, “adults” or “children”, “black” and “white”, since these are often used to refer not only to people but axiological constellations

that link to them. For example, “women” have identities and rights, and so this term is often used to refer to complex bundles of values, judgements and emotions. The status of *ideas* as the strongest type of axiological-semantic density may not be universal; in political systems in other countries, another type such as *leaders* might appear at the top of the translation device. It is possible that South Africans, with their history of apartheid and relatively recent transition to democracy, may consider such *ideas* to have stronger axiological-semantic density than people and parties, whereas, in other political systems, the reverse may hold true.

The second-strongest wording type, *leaders*, has already been introduced. Here, ‘*leaders*’ refers mainly to political leaders. These may refer to state presidents past or present, such as “Jacob Zuma” or “Nelson Mandela”, to party leaders such as “Mmusi Maimane” or “Julius Malema”, or to the names of their parties, for example the “Democratic Alliance” (DA) and “Economic Freedom Fighters” (EFF) respectively. Institutions such as “government” and “parliament” would also fall under this category, as they refer to bodies whose task is to give political leadership to the country. It may also refer to well-known international leaders such as “Reverend Jesse Jackson” (see 8.3.3). The set of names that belong to this type is intentionally small and focused particularly on political leaders, since this translation device is designed to describe only political news articles. These leaders’ names enact relatively strong axiological-semantic density by virtue of the fact that they are associated with organizations and groups of people that are constellated in readers’ minds with certain political stances; in other words, readers will associate them with particular *ideas* which in turn are linked to other people and stances in constellations.

The third-strongest wording type, *associates*, consists of people and groups which are affiliated to *leaders*. Typically, these people and groups are identified primarily by their affiliation to a particular party or organization (including government), rather than being identified as individuals in their own right. For example, one may be referred to as “EFF chief whip Mbuyiseni Ndlozi” (see 10.3.3). Also included are organizations which are sub-groups or affiliates of a political party, such as the “African National Congress Women’s League” (ANCWL) or a “Provincial Executive Committee” of the party. These people derive part of their axiological-semantic density from the fact that they are associated with particular *leaders*, and so their names can be characterized as having weaker axiological-semantic density than those *leaders*.

Rounding out the top half of the wording tool is *acts*, the fourth-strongest wording type. This type includes mostly words that would be described as nominalized processes in SFL, such as “declaration” and “action”. It also includes more abstract nouns describing concepts that do not refer to full-scale belief systems, but which nevertheless are associated strongly with values and stances, such as the word “membership”. *Acts* have relatively strong axiological-semantic density because they usually involve implicit actors and implicit objects and link these together. However, because they are presented grammatically as nouns, they are treated in readers’ minds like signifiers which therefore relate with other

signifiers in axiological constellations in complex ways.

One may note that the order of the top four wording types in Table 9.3 differs from that in Table 9.2, which shows an earlier version of the wording tool. My student research assistants ranked *acts* above *leaders* and *associates* when ranking words according to axiological-semantic density, but in targeted analyses using the wording tool I found it implausible to place *acts* in this position. Often *acts* refer to the actions of *leaders* or their *associates*, and so it seemed to make more intuitive sense to accord stronger axiological-semantic density to these *leaders* and *associates* than to their *acts*. It appears most often to be the *leaders* and *associates* who lend axiological-semantic density to their *acts*, rather than the other way around.

The lower half of the wording tool begins with *names*, that is names of people and places, for example “Pastor Ray McCauley”, (see 8.3.2), or “Bethlehem” (a town in the Free State, see 10.3.1). What distinguishes *names* from *leaders* and *associates* is that *leaders* and *associates* refer to people and groups that have significance through a relatively strong association with larger constellations, while *names* do not; they would not automatically be linked with one particular political stance or another.

Such *names* are stronger in axiological-semantic density than *roles and contexts*, which includes the titles of offices in an organization, such as “secretary”, generic references to individuals, such as “a party member”, and to places where events happen, such as “conference”. These generic references have weaker axiological-semantic density than *names* because the mention of a specific person fulfilling a particular role or a specific place or named context (such as the “Legitimation Code Theory Conference 2”, which would fall under *names*) adds meaning to that particular generic reference and assists the reader in placing it in a particular constellation.

Table 9.2, which depicts an early version of the wording tool developed on the basis of research assistants’ composite ranking of words, shows two different subtypes in this part of the tool: *people and places*, which are subdivided into *known* and *unknown* sub-subtypes. I decided to revise this section of the tool because these categories depended explicitly on the background knowledge of the reader: either the reader knows about the people and places prior to reading the article for the first time or does not. This categorization contradicts the notion that axiological-semantic density is something inherent in a word, suggesting rather that it is a quality that individuals attach to a word by virtue of their background knowledge of the word’s referent.

On reflection, I realized that “Nocks Seabi”, the one example in the *unknown people and places* sub-subtype on Table 9.2, was only placed in that category because the research assistants had no knowledge about him when they completed the ranking task I had given them to do. A translation device with types such as *known* and *unknown* would be describing readers’ individual pre-charging of words as a result of their background knowledge; however, this is not what the term ‘axiological-semantic density’ refers to; in-

stead, it should describe the density of axiological meanings which a reader with complete knowledge of the referents of particular words would attach to those words. This links to philosophical considerations referred to in 4.2 and 8.2.3: critical realism acknowledges the reality of axiological-semantic density as a concept existing independent of individual readers.

The two types with the weakest axiological-semantic density in the wording tool are *specified things* and *unspecified things*. Both of these refer to concrete, non-human objects, including animals, plants and body parts. *Specified things* are those which have a more specific meaning and so are more likely to have an axiological component to their meaning, while *unspecified things* have a more generalized meaning which is less likely to be axiologically charged. On Table 9.3, “face” is given as an example of a *specified thing* and “head” as an *unspecified thing*. Other items existing in a part-whole relationship would be described similarly. For example, “engine” is a *specified thing*, while “car” is an *unspecified thing*. *Specified* and *unspecified things* may also exist in relationships of hyponymy: “bougainvillea” is a *specified thing* while “plant” is an *unspecified thing*.

As these examples show, it is useful to describe these two types in relation to each other, but demarcating the boundary between them may be difficult since both part-whole relationships and hyponymy relationships exist on continua: “nose” is more specified than “face”, which is more specified than “head”, which in turn is more specified than “body”, for example. If one finds examples of two words that exist in a part-whole or hyponymy relationship in a text, it is most useful to assign one to the *specified* category and the other to the *unspecified* category for ease of comparison, even though this means that the dividing line between the two categories will lie in a different place in each text one analyses. If one has only one object in isolation which one is trying to classify, a good guide is to ask oneself “Is there a less specific word which I could easily use to describe this object, or can I easily say it is part of a bigger object?” If the answer is yes, then the object is a *specified thing*; if not, it is an *unspecified thing*.

This explanation of the wording tool highlights some useful insights into the nature of translation devices for LCT concepts in general. Firstly, since these devices are designed to make explicit the way in which a concept is enacted so that others can critique and imitate one’s enactment of that concept, it is important, as far as possible, to describe the strength of a particular variable according to criteria inherent in the object of study, rather than according to criteria that depend on a particular coder’s background knowledge. Secondly, translation devices require constant revision: often items appear to belong in one part of the translation device, but on closer examination and reflection, one must assign them to a different place in the device. This is illustrated in my moving of *acts* from the second-highest position on the translation device to the fourth-highest. In each case, however, these changes should be well-motivated. Thirdly, it is often difficult or impossible to find completely consistent and precise criteria for assigning items to one type or another, as illustrated by the distinction between *specified things* and *unspecified things*. This is why


Charging	Type	Example
	<i>multidirectional</i>	fed up with
	<i>resonant</i>	empty promises
	<i>vigorous</i>	excited
	<i>placid</i>	common
	<i>salient</i>	decided
	<i>frequent</i>	again
	<i>relating</i>	brought

Table 9.4: *The charging tool*

translation devices are still only a set of “rules of thumb” (Maton and Doran 2017b, p. 56), and should always be treated as such in an analysis. Neither this tool nor the others in my translation device describe axiological-semantic density in my data perfectly, but they are not intended to do so.

9.4.2 The charging tool

The charging tool describes the strength of axiological charging inherent in short expressions. In most cases, the expressions described by the charging tool are single words, but they may also be longer groups of words that work together to accomplish charging. Any kind of grammatical structure may be described using the charging tool, but for the most part, it is used to describe lexical items apart from nouns, as well as their modifiers. Adjectives and their modifiers, verbal groups and adverbial groups, as described using SFL (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014) are prime candidates for description using this tool. Where words that work together to accomplish charging transgress the boundaries of grammatical constituents, as in “fed up with” (a phrasal verb and a preposition), then those words are still considered together as a unit for the purposes of the charging tool.

The charging tool consists of seven types, which are shown diagrammatically in Table 9.4.

The strongest type of charging is *multidirectional* charging. This type is so named because *multidirectionals* assist in axiologically charging more than one signifier. For example, in the sentence “The people are fed up with the ANC” (see 8.3.1), the expression “fed up with” charges “the ANC” negatively, but also describes “the people” and places them in an opposing constellation to the ANC. Another example of *multidirectional* charging is the word “clash” in the headline “ANC and DA clash!” (see 10.3.1), where this word is used to charge both the ANC and DA negatively as parties to the conflict.

Resonant charging is the second strongest type of charging. Expressions belonging to this type are unidirectional, that is, they only charge one signifier positively or negatively. However, the charging is of a type that resonates from one context to another. In other words, resonants often involve some form of metaphor or other kind of figurative language, which extends across from another domain of meaning into the domain being used in the text. An example is the phrase “empty promises” in “The people are fed up with the

ANC and its empty promises.” (see 8.3.1). In this phrase, the word “empty” is used metaphorically to describe “promises” as being like containers of meaning. However, *resonants* do not all have to involve lexical metaphor. “Assault” in “DA members say they are going to lay charges of assault today” is a *resonant* because there are a variety of different actions that constitute “assault”, and it is a term that is used in a wide variety of different contexts, including some in which it is used metaphorically, such as in “the vibrant colour of the bird’s plumage assaults the senses”. In both “empty promises” and “assault” used as a noun, grammatical metaphor also plays a role in condensing meanings, allowing for the word’s meanings to resonate across contexts.

By contrast, *vigorous* charging refers to expressions that denote a strong emotion or a drastic action, but one that does not have different meanings in different contexts as *resonants* do. The word “excited” in “he was excited to welcome the new members” (see 8.3.1) is a prototypical example of such an expression. Another would be “energised” in “I feel energised by a new mood I sense sweeping across this nation” (see 10.3.2). While *resonants* tend to involve either grammatical or lexical metaphor or some other figure of speech that enables meanings to resonate across contexts, *vigorous* chargers tend to be adjectives which are non-figurative in nature.

The fourth strongest type of charging is *placid* charging. This refers to expressions that contain some kind of evaluation (that is, they would be considered to be instantiations of Attitude in SFL), where this evaluation is weak and lacks the drastic character of *vigorous* charging. An example is the word “common” in “But in the ANC, that [investigation by the Public Protector of corruption among party representatives] is common” (see 8.3.1). Here, “common” is used to evaluate the ANC negatively, but does not describe a strong emotion or intentional action. *Placid* charging may also be accomplished through less overt means, such as in “a crowd of fewer than 1 000 largely black DA supporters” (see 10.3.2), where “fewer than 1 000” implicitly charges the DA negatively for not attracting more supporters.

While the four types of charging thus far can clearly be said to evaluate signifiers in some way, the remaining three types do not obviously evaluate them, but may support evaluation through repeating meanings, toning meanings up or down or simply associating signifiers with each other. The first of these types is *salient* charging, which describes words or expressions that cannot be said to be evaluative, but which are specific to the topic of the article in some way, and so are likely to appear more frequently in the article in question than in a larger corpus of political news articles. An example is the word “decided” from “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members”, as it describes the intentionality with which the new members joined the IFP (see 8.3.1). The word “videotaped” is a *salient* charger in an article about a clash between members of two parties that was recorded on video (see 10.3.1). Such *salients* support charging by reminding readers of the main themes or topics of the article and showing how the words in their environment contribute to those themes.

Frequent charging, on the other hand, involves words or expressions that are likely to appear with the same frequency in any political newspaper article. Such expressions are lexical items which can easily go unnoticed because of their frequency, but which often function to support or enable other meanings. For example, in the sentence “a man wearing an ANC shirt is seen in a white Toyota bakkie [light delivery vehicle] asking a DA member to go away” (see 10.3.1), the word “asking” is a *frequent* charger, yet the content of what is asked (“go away”) negatively charges the ANC member for his rude behaviour toward the DA member. *Frequent* chargers can also be used to tone a meaning up or down in various ways. For example, the word “one” in “democratic institutions were being undermined to protect one man” (see 10.3.3) is a *frequent* that supports charging by emphasizing how small the number of people is who benefit from such destructive action.

The weakest type in the charging tool is *relating* charging, which is used merely to relate two nouns or two parts of a sentence together. The word “said” and its related word forms is an extremely common *relater* in political news articles, and is usually used to connect a quotation with its source without adding any further meanings to the text, as in “DA MPL Roy Jankielsohn said: ‘Councillor Dulandi Leach and I were assaulted by councillors of the ANC caucus in the Dihlabeng Local Municipality.’” (see 10.3.1). Similarly, the word “used” in “Maimane told Zuma he used the term ‘honourable’ out of respect for Parliament, but Zuma was not an honourable man” (see 10.3.3) does not evaluate Zuma directly, but relates Maimane with “the term ‘honourable’” in such a way that enables Maimane to charge himself and Zuma axiologically. Thus even expressions with very little axiological meaning of their own can enable charging and so are included as part of the charging tool.

9.4.3 The modifying tool

The modifying tool describes how the axiological-semantic density of individual words (described using the wording tool, see 9.4.1) is modulated by the words that modify these words. It is similar to the word-grouping tool in the ESD translation device (see 9.2), except that it refers particularly to the effects of modifiers, rather than the effect of the entire group of words, as the word-grouping tool does. Words can be modified by words either before or after them that associate the word with other signifiers, or that tone up or down the meaning of the word. Table 9.5 summarizes the modifying tool and offers examples of each category in it.

The type of modifying enabling the strongest axiological-semantic density is *complex-modifying*. This occurs where three or more axiologically-charged signifiers are associated with each other and therefore charge each other axiologically, as in “a money-grabbing capitalist dressed like a revolutionary” (see 8.3.2), where the words “money-grabbing”, “dressed like” and “revolutionary” are associated with the head noun “capitalist”, and together create a complex impression of someone (in this case, Julius Malema) who is

ASD	Type	Example
ASD↑↑↑↑	<i>complex-modifying</i>	a money-grabbing capitalist dressed like a revolutionary
ASD↑↑↑	<i>symbolic-modifying</i>	Malema and the ANC
ASD↑↑	<i>particular-modifying</i>	rush-hour traffic
ASD↑	<i>enriching</i>	down and out, will be taken
ASD↓	<i>downplaying</i>	a minor event, could face

Table 9.5: *The modifying tool*

hypocritical and deceptive. Another example of *complex-modifying* is “a clash between rival ANC and DA councillors” (see 10.3.1), where the signifiers “ANC” and “DA” occur together in the same group of words as “clash”, and strengthen the axiological-semantic density of the “clash” by emphasizing the significance of the participants in the clash.

Next strongest is *symbolic-modifying*, where a phrase is modified using one noun that would be classified as belonging in the top half of the wording tool (i.e. an *idea*, *leader*, *associate* or *act*), or a *multidirectional* or *resonant* charger. For example, in “EFF MPs” (see 10.3.3), the *leader* “EFF” modifies “MPs”, making this an instance of *symbolic-modifying*. Similarly, in the phrase “Malema and the ANC” (see 8.3.2), two *leaders* are joined together by “and” in a group of words, so both enact *symbolic-modifying*, strengthening the axiological-semantic density of each other.

Following this is *particular-modifying*, where a noun is modified using one word from the bottom half of the wording tool (i.e. a *name*, *role*, *context* or *thing*), or a *vigorous* or *placid* charger. In “rush-hour traffic” (see 10.3.1), the *salient* “rush-hour” is used to modify “traffic”, enacting *particular-modifying*. In the headline “Eye on the big prize!” (see 10.3.2), the word “prize”, which modifies “eye” is an *unspecified thing*, and so it enacts *particular-modifying*.

Enriching occurs where some modifier that does not evaluate on its own, such as an intensifier, is used to strengthen meaning. An example would be “more than can be seen on screen” (see 10.3.1), where “more” strengthens the meaning of this group of words. The idiom “down and out” (see 8.3.2) enacts *enriching* through conjoining two adjectives using the word “and”, both of which are used to strengthen the axiological-semantic density of each other. Lastly, modal verbs that strengthen the probability of an event, such as “will” in “will be taken” (see 10.3.1), also enact *enriching*.

Downplaying is the one type of modifying through which axiological-semantic density is weakened. This is usually done through the use of a modifier that tones down or softens the meaning of a phrase. For example, in “apparent political slap-fest” (see 10.3.1), the word “apparent” plays down the meaning of “political slap-fest”. In “a minor event” (see 10.3.2), the word “minor” does the same. Modal verbs that weaken the probability of an event, such as “could” in “could face” (see 10.3.1) also enact *downplaying*.

As is shown in this description, the modifying tool relies partly on the wording and

AC	Type	Example
+ ↑ ↓ -	<i>constellation-building</i>	More than 500 people left the NFP and ANC
	<i>constellation-embellishing</i>	Among those who left the ANC are former party leader at Jika Joe squatter camp, Sifiso Nene and former Mafakatini ANC leader, Mbongeni Zuma
	<i>describing</i>	He was excited to welcome the new members
	<i>associating</i>	I joined the IFP
	<i>value-acting</i>	Democratic institutions were being undermined
	<i>value-saying</i>	DA members claim
	<i>neutral-acting</i>	There is more than can be seen on screen
	<i>neutral-saying</i>	DA MPL Roy Jankielsohn said

Table 9.6: *The clausing tool*

charging tools to determine how modifiers should be classified. The other higher-level tools, clausing and sequencing, also rely on these tools to some degree. However, this does not mean that these higher-level tools are redundant. It is one thing to say that the word “Malema” is a *leader*, and quite another to say that “Malema and the ANC” is a *symbolic-modifying* group of words, because in it, two *leaders* appear in close association. It is the association between the two *leaders* that strengthens axiological-semantic density, and creates a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts. To put it another way, “Malema and the ANC” has stronger axiological-semantic density than an imaginary passage in which “Malema” appears at the end of one sentence and “ANC” at the beginning of the next one, with no clear relations between the two. All three of the higher-level tools of the translation device work on this basis, as I continue to demonstrate below.

9.4.4 The clausing tool

The clausing tool describes how signifiers are brought together to charge each other axiologically in clause-length units. The clausing and sequencing tools describe higher and lower levels of axiological condensation. In the clausing tool in particular, the emphasis is on how signifiers are brought together in clauses so that they can charge each other axiologically. For the purposes of this tool, a clause can be defined loosely as a verb, all the nominal groups that take part in the process denoted by the verb, and the words describing the circumstances under which that process takes place (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). Embedded clauses are analysed separately, and also analysed as part of the main clauses they form part of. Table 9.6 summarizes the clausing tool and provides examples of each category in it.

The higher levels of this tool draw on the positioning of signifiers in constellations to classify clauses. Thus in illustrating the tool, it is helpful to draw examples from only one or two articles, so that the constellations in each can be borne in mind. The two articles chosen as sources of examples are “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members” (see 8.3.1) and “ANC and DA clash!” (see 10.3.1).

The types of clausing responsible for the highest axiological condensation are *constellation-building* and *constellation-embellishing* clauses. *Constellation-building* clauses play an integral role in building the core of a constellation, by relating central signifiers to each other or establishing key signifiers for one of the constellations. The headline “ANC and DA clash!” is a good example of such a clause. It includes not only the central signifiers of two constellations, “ANC” and “DA”, but also the charger “clash” that describes the conflict between them. Another is “more than 500 people left the NFP and ANC”, which introduces two important signifiers that belong together in the same constellation, and one, “more than 500 people” which now will be associated with a different constellation.

Constellation-embellishing clauses simply elaborate on an existing constellation by relating three or more signifiers to each other or contrasting them with each other. An example is the clause “Councillor Dulandi Leach and I were assaulted by councillors of the ANC caucus in the Dihlabeng Local Municipality”. This clause links together several signifiers, namely “Councillor Dulandi Leach”, “I” (referring to “DA MPL Roy Jankielsohn”) and “councillors of the ANC caucus in the Dihlabeng Local Municipality”. However, these are all associative signifiers, rather than central signifiers in their respective constellations. Similarly, in “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members”, the following clause adds associative signifiers to the constellation of new members of the IFP: “Among those who left the ANC are former party leader at Jika Joe squatter camp, Sifiso Nene and former Mafakatini ANC leader, Mbongeni Zuma.”

While *constellation-embellishing* clauses involve more than two axiologically-charged words, the next pair of types, *describing* and *associating* clauses, link only two axiologically-charged words together per clause. *Describing* clauses describe the manner in which these two signifiers are linked together; in other words, they add information in addition to linking the signifiers. For example, in “The DA members were trying to make a video of the ANC convoy”, the “DA members” and the “ANC convoy” are linked together, but information is added in the word “trying”, which indicates that they encountered difficulties making the video. Another example is “He was excited to welcome the new members”, where Buthelezi is associated with his party’s new members, and his emotions about this event are described.

Associating clauses simply associate different signifiers together without any additional description. For example, in “I joined the IFP”, the speaker is associated with the IFP without much further information being given. Similarly, in “*Daily Sun* is in possession of two videos”, the newspaper is associated with the videos, with little information being added.

On the bottom half of the clausing tool are clauses that mention only one signifier. Such clauses by nature do not link signifiers together, but can be used to describe the actions associated with signifiers, or the fact that people are quoted as having said particular things. This can be done in two types of ways: the words used to describe the actions could be value-laden (enacting some form of axiological charging), or neutral. The value-laden

clauses are divided into *value-acting* and *value-saying* clauses. In *value-acting* clauses, a value-laden word is used to describe an action. There are no examples of *value-acting* clauses in the two articles from which the rest of the examples in this subsection come. One from another article is “democratic institutions were being undermined” (see 10.3.3). Here the word “undermined” denotes that these institutions are being threatened, and suggests that someone is to blame for undermining them. Another example is “people work hard” (see 10.3.2), where this hard work is portrayed as a good characteristic.

In *value-saying* clauses, which enable slightly less axiological condensation than *value-acting* clauses, a value-laden word is used to describe an act of speaking. Both *value-saying* and *neutral-saying* clauses are usually used to introduce a quotation or stretch of reported speech. To use terms from SFL, they project material that is quoted or reported. These clauses play an important role in news articles, which have as a generic convention the fact that they quote information and opinions from sources. For the purposes of the clausing tool, the words introducing a quotation or reported speech are treated as a clause on their own, without the words that they quote or report. An example is “but DA members claim”. The verb “claim” is probably the word that is most often used to describe speech in a value-laden way; it suggests that the text producer distances himself/herself from the claim that is made (see 5.4). A more unusual example of *value-saying* is “Maimane huffed and puffed”, where the phrase “huffed and puffed” refers to Maimane’s speech, but does so using an allusion to the Big Bad Wolf from the fairytale “The Three Little Pigs” (see 10.3.2).

The weakest types of clausing for enabling axiological condensation are *neutral-acting* and *neutral-saying*, in which only one signifier is referred to in the clause, and the verb used does not clearly enact axiological charging in any way. Another example is “they [policies] would be realised in due course” (see 10.3.2). In this example, “would be realised” denotes that the policies, which are the only signifier in the clause, will be made a reality in the future. The clause “There is more than can be seen on screen” is also an example of *neutral-acting*. Here there is only one signifier, “more than can be seen on screen”, which is simply declared to exist using the verb “is”. Such declarations of existence are also considered as neutral “actions” for the purposes of the translation device.

Neutral-saying is most often enacted through the use of the verb “said”, which simply declares that someone said something, without giving an opinion on what was said. Examples of such clauses abound in news articles. “DA MPL Roy Jankielsohn said” is one example from “ANC and DA clash!”, and “said Mbongeni” is an example from “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members”.

The clausing tool demonstrates that the contribution of clauses to axiological condensation lies mainly in the way in which clauses can link different signifiers together with each other, and with charging expressions. Clauses have a strong potential to build and embellish constellations, but equally may simply be used to describe one signifier or quote one source of information in a political news article.


AC	Type	Example
	<i>transporting</i>	“In a nation led by a DA government, every child will have the opportunity to realise their potential,” he said. He could not spell out policies to achieve this
	<i>asserting</i>	Maimane huffed and puffed but failed to connect with a crowd of fewer than 1 000 largely black DA supporters
	<i>linking</i>	one of their member’s shirt was torn when they were pushed away by angry ANC councillors
	<i>revisiting</i>	They claimed they were also given a hot klap [hiding] and one of their member’s shirt was torn ... My shirt was torn and she was hit in the face.
	<i>adding</i>	A clash between rival ANC and DA councillors has been videotaped. The video shows DA councillors being sworn at and chased away by ANC councillors.
	<i>attributing</i>	DA members say they are going to lay charges of assault today.
	<i>implicit</i>	Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members ... More than 500 people left the NFP and ANC to join the IFP.

Table 9.7: *The sequencing tool*

9.4.5 The sequencing tool

The sequencing tool describes how short passages are joined together in ways that enact axiological condensation. These passages may be joined using particular connecting words such as conjunctions and complementizers, or they may simply be linked through the repetition of particular names, or pronouns referring to people that have already been mentioned in the text. For the purposes of this ASD translation device, passages do not need to appear directly next to each other for there to be sequencing relations between them; a passage may have long-range sequencing relations with another passage much earlier by repeating words that were used in that much earlier passage. This still enables axiological condensation, as it allows additional axiological charging to be associated with the words that were used in the earlier passage.

Table 9.7 summarizes the sequencing tool and provides examples of each of the types of sequencing.

The strongest type of sequencing is *transporting*, where one passage is condensed into one expression and transported into the context of the second passage. This use of the word “transporting” is borrowed from the description of the same process at work in the ESD translation device’s sequencing tool (Maton and Doran, 2017a); however, it is not used as the name of a type, subtype or sub-subtype in this device. *Transporting* enacts the highest level of axiological condensation because it allows additional axiological meanings to be associated with the entire first passage, thus building constellations rapidly. An example of this occurs in the passage “The apparent political slap-fest happened in Bethlehem on Tuesday during an ANC by-election campaign” (see 10.3.1). Here “the apparent political

slap-fest” condenses everything that has been described in the article up to that point and transports it into the context of the current passage. Similarly, *transporting* occurs in the following passage: “‘In a nation led by a DA government, every child will have the opportunity to realise their potential,’ he said. He could not spell out policies to achieve this.” (see 10.3.2). Here, “this” refers to the entire content of the quotation, which was spoken by Maimane. The word “this” condenses it and transports it into the context of policies which could be used to fulfil this promise.

In *asserting*, the second-strongest type of sequencing, a word linking two passages together indicates that some kind of strong statement is being made by the author or speaker through which (s)he is trying to assert his/her own opinion forcefully in contrast to other opinions. This may be a statement that contradicts or runs against what is said in the first passage. Frequently this is accomplished through the use of the word “but”, as in “Maimane huffed and puffed but failed to connect with a crowd of fewer than 1 000 largely black DA supporters” (see 10.3.2). Another example appears in the following passage: “I have never heard of Public Protector Thuli Madonsela investigating any IFP official for corruption. But in the ANC, that is common” (see 8.3.1).

The third-strongest type of sequencing is *linking*. Here the passages are linked by an explicit connector that shows some kind of relationship between the two passages that adds meaning so that the sequence is more than the sum of its parts. In the following *linking* sequence, the connector “when” suggests that the actions of the two passages happened at the same time, adding immediacy to the account: “one of their member’s shirt was torn when they were pushed away by angry ANC councillors” (see 10.3.1). Another example, which shows the connector “as” being used in a similar way, is “DA parliamentary leader Mmusi Maimane yesterday accused Zuma of laughing as cops dragged EFF MPs out of Parliament” (see 10.3.3).

Halfway down the sequencing tool is *revisiting*, in which sizeable elements of a first passage (i.e. more than one group of words) are repeated in the second, with meanings added in the second, enabling further axiological charging. For example, the passage “They claimed they were also given a hot klap [a hiding] and one of their member’s shirt was torn” is revisited in the passage “My shirt was torn and she was hit in the face” (see 10.3.1). Another example occurs where the passage “You are a broken man presiding over a broken society.” revisits the headline “Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society” see (10.3.3). *Revisiting* accomplishes far more than simple repetition; because large proportions of a first passage are repeated in the second, but some words differ, it can allow for the rapid accumulation of axiological meanings.

While large proportions of a previous passage are repeated in *revisiting*, the next type of sequencing, *adding*, relies on reference to only one or two signifiers which were mentioned in an earlier passage. The second passage adds meanings to the signifiers which are recalled from the first passage. An example of *adding* is the relationship between the following two passages: “A clash between rival ANC and DA councillors has been videotaped. The

video shows DA councillors being sworn at and chased away by ANC councillors.” Here the “DA councillors” and “ANC councillors” from the first passage are mentioned again in the second one, and meanings are added to them in the second passage. In particular, the ANC councillors are negatively charged for swearing at and chasing away the DA councillors. Another example of *adding* is the relation between the headline “Eye on the big prize! – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029” and the lead “Democratic Alliance leader Mmusi Maimane launched his party’s Vision 2029 at a low-key event in the ANC stronghold of Soweto at the weekend” (see 10.3.2). In the lead, the only elements repeated from the headline are “Democratic Alliance” (in its full form, rather than as an acronym) and “2029”. The lead adds plenty of meanings to both of these signifiers.

In *attributing*, the second passage is attributed to an individual speaker, and not the author, weakening the authority in which the second passage is to be held. This enables lower axiological condensation than *adding* because the meanings in the second passage are not necessarily presented by the author as being factual. Any instance of direct or reported speech would enact this kind of sequencing. An example is the following passage: “DA MPL Roy Jankielsohn said: ‘Councillor Dulandi Leach and I were assaulted by councillors of the ANC caucus in the Dihlabeng Local Municipality’” (see 10.3.1). Another would be the following: “He told Zuma: ‘You use hooliganism to silence the opposition’” (see 10.3.3).

Implicit sequencing is the subtype of sequencing with the least potential for axiological condensation. In *implicit* sequencing, elements of the second passage recall the first, but there is no repetition or pronominal reference to establish an explicit link between them. Because the links between the passages are only implicit, it is difficult for the reader to associate axiological meanings from the second passage with items mentioned in the first. There are not many examples of this type of sequencing in cohesive news articles. One example is the relationship between the headline “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members” and its lead, which reads “More than 500 people left the NFP and ANC to join the IFP.” (see 8.3.1). Here, no elements of the lead explicitly recall the headline, but the word “join” can be associated with “new members” in the headline. Another example is the following passage: “Democrats, I don’t know about you, but I feel energised by a new mood I sense sweeping across this nation. People are beginning to reject the political straitjacket of the past” (see 10.3.2). The second sentence in this passage once again contains no lexical items from the first; there are instead only implicit links between “this nation” in the first sentence and “people” in the second, and a relationship of antonymy between “new” and “the past”, implying a relationship of contrast.

The sequencing tool shows how linking words such as conjunctions and complementizers can support axiological condensation, along with other cohesive ties such as repetition. It also shows the role played by verbs attributing a passage to someone, which would be described as verbal processes in SFL (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). These linguistic resources facilitate axiological condensation as part of their function of binding texts

together.

9.5 Method of testing and refinement

The translation device described in 9.4.1–9.4.5 is the product of much testing and refinement over the course of the research described in this thesis. This testing and refinement were conducted through three chief methods: analysis of further articles using the translation device, discussion of the device with fellow researchers, and detailed description of the device. Below I describe each of these in turn.

Firstly, once the device was devised, it was tested through use in the targeted analyses. As explained in 9.3, articles from the exploratory analyses were used as initial data on which to base the initial development and testing of the device. Joint data analysis sessions were used to develop rankings of different units of analysis according to axiological-semantic density, axiological charging and axiological condensation, and types and subtypes developed on the basis of examining rankings from one article were used to analyse rankings of different articles to see whether they could describe these other rankings adequately. All of this occurred during the initial development of the translation device. However, following this stage, each tool in the translation device was used to analyse articles in the targeted analyses, as described below (see 10.2.1).

In this process of analysis, the most obvious change made to the translation device was the reordering of the top four types in the wording tool, as explained in 9.4.1. As explained there, I decided on this reordering because I found it intuitively difficult to consider *acts* as being stronger in axiological-semantic density than *leaders* and *associates*. Only in detailed description of the wording tool in 9.4.1 did I work out a rationale explaining why this was the case. Testing of the device during the targeted analyses also had a less perceptible, but no less valuable impact in sharpening the definitions of the different types. Inevitably, the targeted analyses revealed outliers which I needed to use to determine where the boundaries of each category lay. When I encountered further outliers, I needed to make sure that my criteria for assigning an expression to one type or another were enacted consistently. As a result of this, I was able to express the characteristics of each type more precisely when writing 9.4.1–9.4.5.

The second method of testing and refining the device, discussion with fellow researchers, was immensely valuable in shaping it. Just as I had a variety of sessions in which I have presented draft analyses to colleagues (see 8.2.3), so I presented the translation device to colleagues in various forums and received their feedback on it. Table 9.8 lists these.

There are various examples of ways in which these discussions led to improvements of the device. My discussion with Doran convinced me that there needed to be clearer articulation of the recognition criteria for the different types in the translation device. He also encouraged me to split up the original phrasing tool, which analysed both signifiers

Discussion forum	Location	Date
One-on-one discussion with Yaegan Doran	Sydney, Australia	June 2017
English Language and Linguistics Postgraduate Mini-Conference 2017	Grahamstown/Makhanda, South Africa	September 2017
Legitimation Code Theory Grahamstown (LCTGHT) group	Grahamstown/Makhanda, South Africa	November 2017 (2 sessions)

Table 9.8: *Discussions of drafts of the translation device*

and charging expressions, into two separate tools, which became the wording and charging tools of the final device. In the Legitimation Code Theory Grahamstown / Makhanda group, I presented the early form of the wording tool shown in 9.2. Discussion in this group pointed out to me that it was problematic to make a distinction between types relying on the reader's knowledge, as the original distinction between *known* and *unknown people and places* did. This discussion was one of the factors that prompted me to revise the types in this section of the wording tool. I finally arrived at *names* and *roles and contexts* as replacements for these two types.

The final means by which the device was tested and refined is through detailed description. After I initially developed the device, I wrote a detailed written description of it. Writing this description assisted in clarifying the definitions of the different types in my mind. However, at this stage of development, the criteria for inclusion in each of the types was still fairly vague. This early description became the basis for the descriptions of the modifying, clausing and sequencing tools in 9.4.3–9.4.5. The wording and charging tools had not been developed in their current form at the stage when I wrote the early description.

When I rewrote detailed descriptions of each of the tools in 9.4.1–9.4.5, I was able to describe them with much more precision because I had already written an earlier draft of these tools. The process of writing also necessitated critical reflection on the tools in relation to the examples given in these subsections, which resulted in refinements to some of the types. For example, during this writing process I observed that most of the names of types in the translation device are adjectives ending in *-ing*; however, the name for the weakest wording type was *relaters*; I decided on this basis to change it to *relating*. However, this created a problem because the third-highest type of sequencing was named *relating*, so this was changed to *linking* sequencing. In short, I was able to check the translation device for consistency while writing the detailed description of it that appears above.

9.6 Conclusion

At the close of this description of my translation device, it is useful to reflect on several key characteristics both of the method by which the translation device was tested and refined, and of the device itself as a ‘product’ of this method.

One may observe that the methods of testing and refining this translation device, as described in the previous section, mirror the methods of testing and refining my analyses of individual articles. The idea of developing the translation device and then testing it on the targeted analyses mirrors the way in which I used the exploratory analyses to explore more generally the linguistic resources that can enact axiological-semantic density, and through that developed a more consistent method of analysis for the targeted analyses (see 6.2). Both my analyses of articles and the translation device were refined through discussions with colleagues (see 8.2.3). Finally, much of my analysis is accomplished and refined through reporting on that analysis, just as the translation device was refined through writing a detailed description of it. In this way, both the translation device and the analysis show the benefits of a methodology that values reflexivity, engagement with knowledgeable colleagues and recursive refinement.

The key to understanding the role of the translation device is to bear in mind that it demonstrates the way I understand axiological-semantic density, axiological charging and axiological condensation, and thus the way that I enact these concepts in this particular study. In the exploratory analyses (see Chapter 8), the way in which I enacted these concepts was left fairly implicit as I was developing a basis on which to construct this device; in this chapter, the device is made explicit. In the targeted analyses that follow in Chapter 10, there is explicit reference to types from the translation device, allowing the reader to see how my analysis reflects the understanding of axiological-semantic density portrayed in the translation device. In this way, one can observe examples of the translation device in use, and so should be able to use the device to analyse other *Daily Sun* political news articles, or to adapt it for use in analysing other types of data.

Although this translation device focuses on axiological-semantic density, which by its nature emphasizes relations between people, in the translation device I attempt to classify expressions according to criteria inherent in language as the object of study, rather than criteria that depend on individual interpreters. This allows one to identify strengths of axiological-semantic density in the text regardless of who the interpreter is. The opposite side of the coin to this is that while I try to delineate the different types in the translation device as clearly as possible, there are boundaries that remain fuzzy, and as a result the translation device could be described as a set of “rules of thumb” (Maton and Doran 2017b, p.56) to an even greater extent than the ESD translation device is. Constant revision is necessary to ensure that the device describes the ways in which I enact axiological-semantic density accurately. Thus, while the device as described here reflects my enactment of axiological-semantic density by the end of this study, further

modifications will be needed even for further analysis of *Daily Sun* political news articles, let alone adaptations of the device for use on other types of data.

Another important insight into the device is that the bottom halves of each tool, which describe language in which axiological-semantic density, axiological charging or axiological condensation is weak, are as important as the top halves. This was not immediately obvious to me as I was developing the device, but in the process of development, I discovered that there are small, but important distinctions even in language in which these concepts are exhibited weakly. It is helpful to bear in mind that, for example, *relating* expressions do still play a role in axiological charging, and that this is different from the role that *frequent* expressions play.

In 9.4.3 I also mention briefly the ways in which the higher-level tools in the device (the modifying, clausing and sequencing tools) are partially dependent on the lower-level tools (wording and charging). This cross-reliance of some tools on others does not imply that the higher-level tools can be reduced to the lower-level ones; rather it introduces some economies in what is already quite a complex translation device, and shows that what happens at small levels of analysis has ripple effects on higher levels of analysis. I reflect on this further in 11.2.1, where key insights gained from the development of the translation device are summarized in the conclusion of this thesis.

Finally, the relations between this translation device and various linguistic features are important to point out. In each of the tools, tendencies exist that seem to mirror descriptions of certain linguistic features. For example, the wording tool tends to describe nouns while the charging tool describes verbs, adjectives and adverbs. The modifying tool describes modifying relations that tend to occur within nominal groups. The clausing tool relies on the number of signifiers in a clause to classify clauses into types; this could be (but does not have to be) related to the argument structure of clauses, described in SFL's Transitivity system (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). In the sequencing tool, *transporting* relies largely on the linguistic resource of text reference, described in 5.3, and *asserting* has similarities with dialogically contractive Engagement resources, while *attributing* is similar to the Engagement resource of Attribute (see 5.4).

This does not mean at all that there is a one-to-one mapping of these tools to linguistic features; rather, it suggests that certain resources at the level of language may influence the way knowledge (described using axiological-semantic density) is produced in *Daily Sun* political news articles. Language and knowledge could be seen as two different layers, or strata, of reality, each of which can be analysed on its own terms, using different theoretical frameworks: in the case of this study, SFL for investigating language, and LCT for investigating knowledge practices. I build on this description of the relationship between linguistic features and the translation device in 11.2.3. The following chapter (10) shows how I use this translation device to enact axiological-semantic density in my targeted analyses.

Chapter 10

Targeted analyses

10.1 Introduction

The three analyses of articles in this section form the culmination of this study. The three articles analysed in this chapter are carefully selected to reflect as many of the chief trends in political positioning described in the corpus analysis (see Chapter 7) as possible. These articles also demonstrate the innovative method of analysis used in this study at its most fully developed: they show how the translation device described in Chapter 9 can be used to analyse fluctuations in axiological-semantic density in the data, and they also demonstrate how the linguistic and discursive resources identified as being active in political positioning in the exploratory analyses (see 8.4.2) are used in diverse ways to shape axiological meanings. The role of the targeted analyses in the methodological process of this study as a whole is illustrated clearly in Figure 10.1, which is repeated from 6.2.

Figure 10.1 shows that the targeted analyses draw on the preliminary findings of the exploratory analyses on how linguistic and discursive resources are used to associate different policy positions and moral evaluations with political parties in the *Daily Sun*, and provides confirming evidence for these findings. As a result, these analyses allow me to arrive at a stronger warrant for my final description of the roles of these resources in political positioning (see 11.2.2). Equally, because the articles analysed in this section are selected to reflect chief trends in the corpus analysis, they provide an important basis for describing how the collocations described in the corpus analysis are developed to form part of constellations produced in the unfolding of the text of individual articles. This allows me to draw conclusions about the organizing principles, or cosmologies, that lie behind these constellations (see 11.3.2). Finally, these analyses provide a strong basis from which to draw implications from this study for the transformation of political discourses in South African public spheres (see 11.3.3).

For the targeted analyses, three articles are chosen as representative of some of the strongest significant lexical collocations of each of the three largest political parties, as

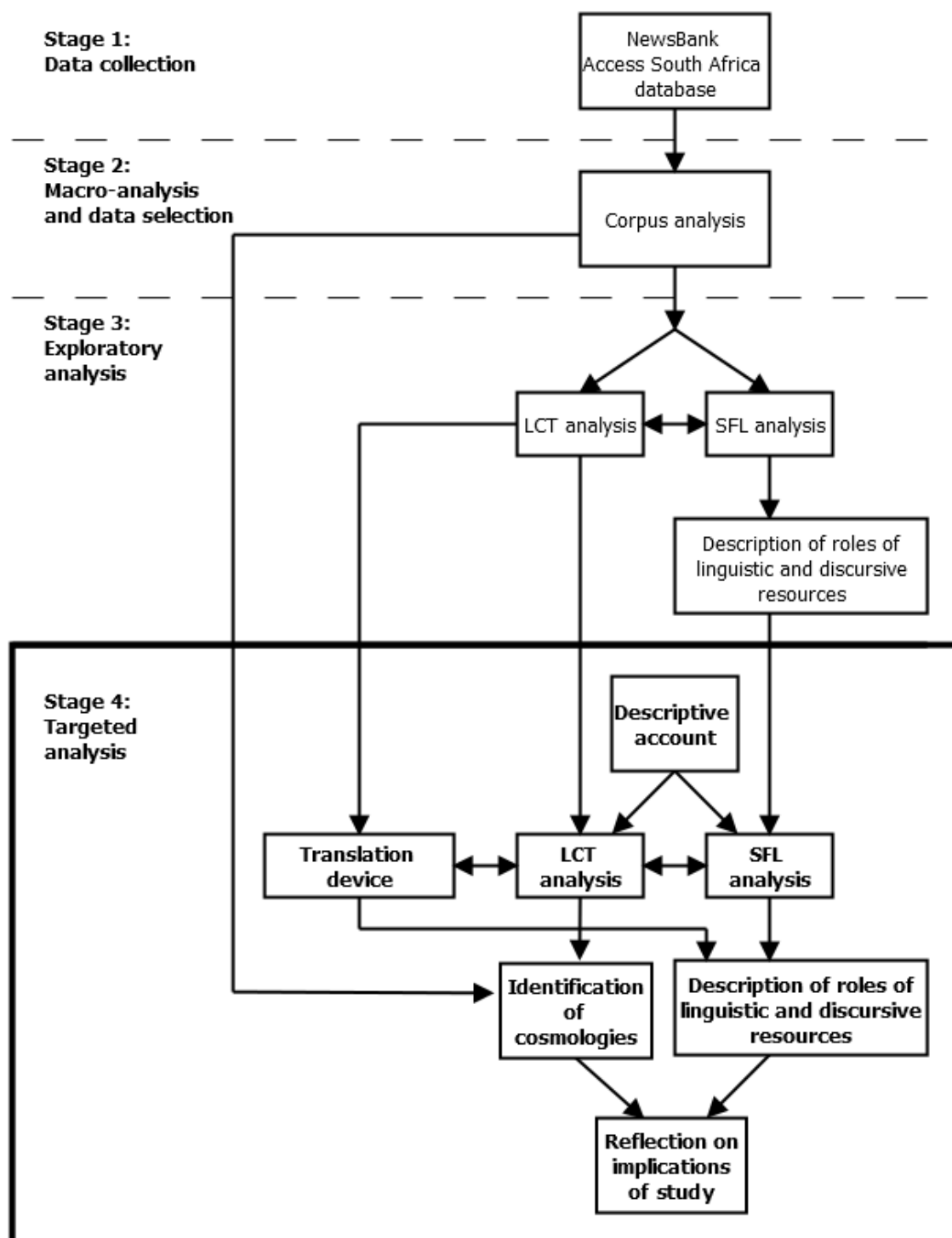


Figure 10.1: *Structure of methodology, with targeted analyses highlighted*

described in 7.3. The first article, “ANC and DA clash” (10.3.1), illustrates the use of “clash” and “wearing (T-shirts)” as collocations of the ANC. The second, “Eye on the big prize! – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029” (10.3.2), shows how “Helen Zille”, “Mmusi Maimane”, “leader” and “led” are used in collocation with the DA. Finally, “Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society” (10.3.3) gives an example of how “Julius Malema”, “Mbuyiseni Ndlozi”, “MP”, “whip” and “leader” are used as collocations with the EFF. Although these three articles are selected as examples of the representation of one major party each, they also display how other parties are positioned in relation to them. Thus in “ANC and DA clash”, the relationship between the ANC and the DA is foregrounded, while in “Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society”, much space is given to the DA’s critiques of the ANC, and all three parties are positioned.

The targeted analyses were conducted in a similar fashion to the exploratory analyses, with two important exceptions. Firstly, the analytic method is more well-developed in the targeted analyses by comparison to the exploratory analyses. Secondly, the targeted LCT analyses make frequent use of terms from the translation device for axiological-semantic density, and in so doing illustrate how the device can be used in fine-grained analyses. Both of these differences from the exploratory analyses are described in much further detail in 10.2.1. Following this, I describe the final steps of analysis in this study. In 10.2.2 I describe how I used the constellations described in the exploratory and targeted analyses to arrive at insights into the cosmologies that lie behind the *Daily Sun*’s political coverage. Finally, in 10.2.3, I describe how I drew implications from this study for the project of transforming South African public discourse.

Following this description of the methods used in the targeted analyses, I report on the findings of these three analyses. The way in which the analysis is reported in this chapter is similar to that in Chapter 8. First, a descriptive account of each article is given. These descriptive accounts differ from those in Chapter 8 in ways explained in 10.2.1. Following this, I report on the LCT analysis, including the constellations and fluctuations of axiological-semantic density produced in the article. Then I describe the ways that linguistic resources are used in the article using SFL before giving a conclusion which summarizes the trends found in the article. A general conclusion describing the chief insights gained from the targeted analyses is given in 10.4.

A more detailed description of the insights that can be gained from all three stages of analysis (corpus, exploratory and targeted) is given in Chapter 6.4. In 11.2, I give a final description showing what complementary LCT and SFL analyses can reveal about how language is used in political positioning in the *Daily Sun*. I show what these analyses reveal about South African political discourses and give suggestions as to how these discourses can be transformed to become more free, open, equitable and useful to the country’s development as a democracy in 11.3.

10.2 Method of analysis

The targeted analyses form the final and most complex stage of analysis, as shown in Figure 10.1. This stage emerges from the previous stages of analysis and incorporates insights gained from them, as the diagram shows. The translation device described in detail in Chapter 9 reveals much about the way that LCT analysis, in particular, was done in this stage of analysis, as it shows how I identify different strengths of axiological-semantic density in the data. The LCT and SFL analyses that form the core of this stage of analysis are developments of those undertaken in the exploratory analysis (see 8.2.1 and 8.2.2).

To avoid unnecessary repetition from these sections, in 10.2.1 I describe only the introduction of descriptive accounts as part of the targeted analysis, and the ways in which the targeted LCT and SFL analyses differed from those in the exploratory analyses. The description of the roles of linguistic and discursive resources in political positioning draws on the results of the SFL analysis and the ways in which these resources are reflected in the translation device. Similarly, the LCT analysis is used to gain an impression of the cosmologies that lie behind the *Daily Sun*'s political coverage (see 10.2.2). Out of these, implications of the study for South Africa's political discourse are drawn (see 10.2.3). Because the targeted analyses build cumulatively upon the groundwork done in the previous stages of analysis, the description of this stage in this section is relatively brief compared to the space dedicated to the previous stages and the development of the translation device. In it, I aim to give a clear account of the methodological innovations that improved on the work done in previous stages of analysis, and how the eventual findings of this research were arrived at.

10.2.1 Differences from exploratory analyses

One distinguishing feature of the targeted analyses is the principled way in which data for these analyses were selected in order to illustrate significant collocations found in the corpus analysis (see 7.3). Aside from this important data selection process, four key methodological decisions distinguish the method used in the explanatory analyses from that used in the targeted analyses. Descriptive accounts were introduced as a way of examining articles prior to the LCT and SFL analyses. Secondly, the order in which these analyses were conducted was altered slightly. Thirdly, the translation device was used to describe strengths of axiological-semantic density in the article. Lastly, the SFL analysis was enriched and made more rigorous through the introduction of tables of couplings found in the articles. In this subsection, I motivate and describe each of these decisions in some detail. Following this, I briefly show how the description of linguistic and discursive resources found to be influential in condensing and rarefying axiological meanings in the targeted analyses was improved through the use of the translation device and the tables

of couplings.

In LCT and the Bernsteinian tradition from which it comes, empirical descriptions that are independent of theory are valued as a way of immersing oneself in the data and understanding its unique dynamics before constructing theory-laden analyses of it (Maton and Chen, 2016). Such description allows the analyst “to concentrate on the potential meanings emerging from the data rather than attempting to fit data into pre-existing concepts” (Maton and Chen 2016, p.39-40), a task which was particularly necessary following the creation of so many analytic concepts in the process of developing the translation device. For this reason, I wrote what I name “descriptive accounts” at the beginning of each targeted analysis. These descriptive accounts fulfil at least three functions.

Firstly, they allow me to explain how the article functions in South Africa’s socio-political context. In the process of writing a descriptive account, I searched for pertinent information on this context, particularly that which would enable a reader from outside the country’s socio-political context to understand the developments described in the article. This included information about the geographical context, where pertinent, and information about the political events immediately preceding and following those described in the article. I also explained the meanings of any distinctively South African idioms or borrowings from South African languages found in the article. While this information was sourced primarily to serve readers of the descriptive accounts, it also enabled me to keep a fuller impression of the context in mind when conducting the analyses, which strengthened them.

Secondly, they describe the structure of the article in detail. In the descriptive accounts, I explained in pre-theoretical terms what is happening in the article, paragraph by paragraph. This aided in later grouping these paragraphs into satellites, using White’s (1997) description of the generic structure of hard news articles (see 5.3). These satellites were then used as units of analysis in the SFL analysis. The descriptive account allowed me to gain a feel for the internal structuring of the article before introducing theory to describe it.

The most important function of the descriptive accounts, though, is that they reveal basic trends in the article’s internal logic or construction. These trends were later described using LCT and/or SFL, but they may not have been discovered, or may have been forced into the mould of one of these frameworks, had the descriptive accounts not taken place. This is not to say that the descriptive accounts were effortless, however; I found them more difficult to write than the LCT and SFL analyses that followed them, because in doing so I deliberately had to ignore the analytic concepts used elsewhere in the analysis process. However, the fact that these concepts were ignored did not mean that I approached the texts as a *tabula rasa*, or even as an everyday reader of political news would; as Maton and Chen emphasize, “one’s specialized gaze is always active in research” (2016, p. 39). Thus I looked for the dynamics that condensed and rarefied axiological meanings while trying to describe them in soft-focus language. This process occasioned reflection on what the

concepts of axiological-semantic density, axiological charging and axiological condensation mean, which assisted in clarifying their meanings in the more hard-focus sections of the analysis. As a result, the descriptive accounts became the initial stages in the process of refocusing described in 6.1.

For the purposes of presentation, most of the theory-independent description of trends in the data is not included in the final descriptive accounts given in this thesis, as these same trends are described in more hard-focus terms in the LCT and SFL analyses. Thus what appears under the heading “Descriptive account” in the reporting on the targeted analyses in 10.3 is a much-reduced form of these accounts which includes only information about the article’s socio-political context, and an outline of its structure. I draw on White’s (1997) description of the generic structure of hard news articles in these outlines because his concepts of a nucleus and satellites are used in both the LCT and SFL analyses, and doing so avoids the redundancy of outlining the structure of the article more than once.

The second difference between the exploratory analyses and the targeted analyses is that the order of the LCT and SFL analyses was changed slightly. In the exploratory analyses, as reported in 8.3 constellations were identified first, then the full SFL analysis was conducted and only following that was a semantic profile drawn and fluctuations in axiological-semantic density investigated. In the targeted analyses, I had the benefit of using the translation device for the LCT analysis. In the exploratory analyses, fine-grained SFL analysis was relied upon in showing detailed differences in meanings which affected strengths of axiological-semantic density.

This does not necessarily imply that there was inappropriate mixing of the two frameworks in the exploratory analyses, or that SFL was used directly as an external language of description for axiological-semantic density in these analyses; however, the SFL analysis enabled a more detailed investigation of the language of the article, which made it easier to make a fine-grained description of strengths of axiological-semantic density. In the targeted analyses the translation device could be used for that task, and so it became easier to draw semantic profiles and describe strengths of axiological-semantic density independent of the SFL analysis. Thus in the targeted analyses, the entire LCT analysis was completed before the SFL analysis was begun. This assisted in enacting clearer alternating between the frameworks, as described in 6.1. As a result, the contributions of each of the frameworks towards the eventual findings of the analyses became clearer.

Use of the translation device is the third difference between the exploratory and targeted analyses. In the following paragraphs, I describe as precisely as possible how this was done, and how the targeted analyses were improved through the use of the device. Before the targeted analyses began, I made annotation schemes for each of the tools in the draft translation device in UAM CorpusTool, so that I could annotate the articles for the targeted analyses using the translation device, in a similar manner as I did with the linguistic resources from SFL, as described in 8.2.2. One coding layer was created for each of the tools in the translation device. Then once a descriptive account had been written

for a particular article, the article was coded using each of the tools of the translation device in UAM CorpusTool.

Each of the five tools of the translation device describes axiological-semantic density, axiological charging or axiological condensation in specific units of analysis of varying sizes. Each of these contributes to fluctuations in axiological-semantic density in the article, but some way to observe and assess the cumulative effect of the phenomena described by these five different tools was needed. This was done by using text formatting (including bolding, italics, underlining, indenting and superscript and subscript numbers) to show where examples of each type were found in an article. A scheme of annotating the articles using text formatting was adapted from Maton and Doran (2017b; 2017a). This scheme is described in Appendix F.

The scheme is designed in such a way that there is a specific type of formatting associated with each tool. The wording tool is indicated using bolding and capitals. Pronouns are placed in the same wording type as their referent, and a superscript 'P' is added at the end of the pronoun. The charging tool is indicated using italics (to mark the stronger types of charging) and superscript numbers in descending order from the strongest type of charging to the weakest. The modifying tool uses square brackets to show the borders of the groups of modifiers it describes, and subscript numbers to indicate the type of modifying, again in descending order from the strongest type of charging to the weakest, with *downplaying* modifying given a number of -1. The clausing tool is indicated using different types of underlining. The sequencing tool is indicated using different styles of brackets. For this tool, the word or words joining two passages together are put in single brackets, and the passages that they join are indicated using double brackets. Further, indentation is used to indicate *transporting*, *asserting*, *linking* and *revisiting* sequencing. This use of text formatting means that one can clearly see the ways in which effects described by one tool are layered onto effects described by another.

Because the options of ways in which text can be formatted without hindering ease of reading are limited, in most of the annotation schemes, types are put together in groups of two, so that, for example, *ideas* and *leaders* share the same kind of formatting. This means that the text annotation is not as precise as the coding according to the translation device in UAM CorpusTool, but the annotation using text formatting provides an easier synoptic view of how the effects described by each tool interact to form fluctuations in axiological-semantic density in the article. An extract from an article which is annotated in such a way is given in Figure F.1 in Appendix F.

Using the synoptic view produced through this method of text annotation, I was able to describe fluctuations in axiological-semantic density to a fine level of detail in the reports on the targeted LCT analyses in 10.3. In these descriptions, I described constellating, charging and fluctuations of axiological-semantic density through the unfolding of the text in a paragraph-by-paragraph manner. I mentioned significant expressions as enacting different types from the translation device. Reporting on the analysis in this way allowed

me to gain a close sensitivity for fluctuations of axiological-semantic density in the texts, which enabled me to draw more accurate semantic profiles for the articles following the report on each targeted LCT analysis.

The final difference between the exploratory analyses and the targeted analyses lay in the precision of the SFL analyses. In these analyses, I created large tables to show the ways in which linguistic resources couple with each other in the articles. These tables are shown in Appendix I. In these tables, every instantiation of Attitude is listed, along with the number of the paragraph it appears in, and the target of evaluation in each case, or in other words, the person or entity with whom axiological meaning is being associated. To the right of this, there are columns to note what instantiations of Graduation, Engagement, and grammatical metaphor or technicality couple with these Attitude instantiations. Finally, the last column on the right notes whether the instantiation occurs at a place of textual prominence according to periodicity, or whether it couples with an instance of text reference. I arrange the table by instantiations of Attitude because these tend to be the most frequent linguistic resource used in most texts, and the smallest in length too: short Attitude instantiations tend to couple with resources shaping longer stretches of text such as Engagement and periodicity. Such tables provide a detailed synoptic view of the couplings made in the article. This means that they enable me to count instances of such couplings, making it easier to establish the existence of complexes consistently and to observe which complexes are numerically dominant in a given stretch of text.

I have developed a consistent naming convention for these complexes: an ampersand (&) indicates that two or more features co-occur in a complex. In names of complexes, features are ordered in a specific way, with ideational material being mentioned first, then Attitude sub-systems, and then other linguistic features involved in the complex. For example, the name 'DA & -Satisfaction' refers to a complex in which the party name 'DA' repeatedly couples with negative Satisfaction. In the reports on the targeted analyses, I mention the most dominant complexes and give the numbers of instantiations of each. This, in turn, assists in showing how the linguistic resources shown on the tables relate to waves of axiological-semantic density in the text, as is reported on in the conclusion of each targeted analysis.

As mentioned at the beginning of this subsection, the translation device and tables of couplings also assisted in gaining a more precise view of the roles of linguistic resources in enacting axiological-semantic density in the text, aiding the description of these roles. While the translation device does not explicitly use concepts from SFL, and SFL concepts do not map directly onto any of the tools or types in it, there are many places where linguistic resources from SFL non-deterministically influence the ways in which expressions are classified into types in the translation device. For example, experiential grammatical metaphors tend to be classified as *acts* as in the wording tool, although other words apart from experiential grammatical metaphors may also be placed in this category.

A much larger-scale example is the sequencing tool, in which Engagement influences the

classification of sequences of passages into types. Contractive resources, including particularly Proclaim, Counter and Deny, are generally classified as *asserting* sequencing, and some expansive resources, especially Acknowledge, would normally fall under *attributing* sequencing. In addition, tables of couplings were used to assist in the identification of prosodies and complexes in the targeted analyses. These gave quantitative evidence of the prevalence of particular complexes in the data. I was therefore able to list the complexes that are most prominent in condensing and rarefying axiological meaning, and mention them in the description of linguistic resources, explaining how each of these complexes aids in modulating axiological meanings.

In summary, the targeted analyses benefited from a few refinements to the analytic process which assist in making it more precise than that used in the exploratory analyses. These refinements enable a clearer view both of the positioning of political parties in the articles analysed, and of the interplay between axiological-semantic density and linguistic resources in these articles.

10.2.2 Identification of cosmologies

The following task in the targeted analyses, as shown in Figure 10.1, is to identify the cosmologies that form the organizing principles behind the constellations from the *Daily Sun* analysed in this thesis. While the linguistic and discursive resources used to condense and rarefy axiological meaning were identified in two stages, once after the exploratory analyses and once after the targeted analyses, this task was left to the end of the analytic process because it requires as broad a view as possible over the data, embracing the general trends identified in the corpus analysis as well as the examples of them shown in individual articles in the exploratory and targeted analyses.

Even with the multiple perspectives offered in these three different types of analysis, the findings of the study cannot be said to be fully representative of the positioning of parties in the *Daily Sun*'s political news articles over the course of the sampling period due to the limited number of articles that could be analysed in a fine-grained manner. Instead, I focus on *how* political positioning is accomplished using the language of these articles. This means that the identification of cosmologies is merely a partial view, which draws on the trends found in the corpus and exploratory and targeted analyses, rather than a definitive mapping of the ideas behind the *Daily Sun*'s political coverage. It also means that the study can reveal more about South African public discourses in progress and the way in which they are conducted, rather than giving a complete account of the salient issues that were being discussed during the sampling period. Thus viewing the study's findings as being about the *how*, rather than the *what* of South African political discourses is crucial to the process of identifying cosmologies and drawing implications from these findings.

At the outset, the definition of 'cosmologies' in LCT must be borne in mind. As explained

in 4.4, cosmologies are the organizing principles behind constellations, which explain why certain sets of ideas are popular and powerful in a particular society and others are not. They also “imbue constellations with meanings from beyond the stances” (Maton 2014, p.152), adding meanings to these constellations from text producers and audiences’ existing structures of knowledge in their minds. This means that by their nature cosmologies are usually not plainly visible in texts; instead, their presence must be inferred from the ways in which constellations are configured in those texts. Thus a first step towards identifying these cosmologies is knowing how these constellations are configured.

For this reason, I compiled a table summarizing the constellations in all the articles analysed in the exploratory and targeted analyses, which is included in this thesis as Table 11.2. This table groups these constellations in columns according to their charging. It lists the central signifiers for each of these constellations, as well as the names of political parties included in the constellations. This table gave me a synoptic view both of how political parties are positioned in the articles, and of how they are constellated with some key topics for discussion mentioned in the article. In conjunction with this table, I drew on the results of the corpus analysis in 7.4, which give a quantitative view of what people, issues and moral stances are associated with each of the parties in the corpus as a whole. These two sources of information allowed me to begin to tease out the organizing principles behind the constellations.

These two sources of information needed to be considered in light of the social context of the research, as described in chapters 2 and 3. The importance of this context is highlighted in the phrasing of the second research question of this project, which I seek to address through identifying cosmologies: “What organizing principles lie behind the grouping of different policy positions and moral evaluations with political parties in these newspapers, in the light of South Africa’s socio-political context?” All of the material in these two chapters is important to consider in answering this question

With the findings of the corpus analysis, the constellations found in the exploratory and targeted analyses and the social context in mind, I attempted to discern the cosmologies in the data by asking and answering the following four questions. Under each of the questions, I elaborate on how I went about answering each of them.

1. What constellations are each of the three largest political parties (the ANC, DA and EFF) placed in, and on what basis?

I referred to Table 11.2 in answering this question. In addition to observing where the political parties are placed on the table, I considered the other central signifiers mentioned on the table and what is contrasted with the parties in each instance. I reflected on what commonalities existed between all the parties and central signifiers in the ‘positively charged’ column and between all those in the ‘negatively charged’ column, so as to try to understand the basis on which these parties and signifiers are charged positively and negatively. In doing so, I kept in mind the context of the *Daily Sun*’s political coverage as

described in chapters 2 and 3, particularly the description of the characteristics of South Africa's new tabloids in 3.5, and asked myself what could make the groups of parties and other signifiers in each column cohere in this context.

2. *What themes are associated with each of these parties in the corpus analysis?*

In answering this question I referred to the summary of results of the corpus analysis presented in 7.4, and particularly Table 7.7. I observed the ways in which the themes identified in the corpus analysis related to the constellations examined in response to the previous question. As pointed out in 7.4, the collocations identified in the corpus analysis are difficult to relate to positive or negative charging because different readers may attach different charging to the individual collocates; one needs to analyse the use of these collocates in the context of a whole article to identify how they are charged, if at all. In identifying cosmologies, the trends identified in the corpus analysis are important information that allows one to make claims about the extent of some of the patterns found in the analyses of individual articles. For instance, if an analysis of individual articles finds that the ANC is charged negatively for being involved in a "clash", the corpus analysis can show that the collocation between "ANC" and "clash" is a strong one, and so this negative charging is likely to be repeated in other articles featuring the same collocation. Thus the corpus analysis provides evidence that reinforces the patterns found in response to the first question above.

3. *On what basis are stances and actions are being charged positively and which are being charged negatively?*

The response to this question builds on my reflections on what makes the different groups of parties and other signifiers in each of the columns of Table 11.2 cohere. The characteristics that link these groups together provide clues as to what is valued in the articles analysed, and what is not, and therefore to the basis on which some stances and actions are favoured and others are not. Instead of looking for specific reasons why each of the stances are favoured, I searched for general, and therefore more abstract, tendencies that might explain the patterns of charging.

4. *What provides "sex appeal" (Gellner 1959, p. 2) in the articles; in other words, what aspects of the events covered in them are foregrounded to attract readers?*

In responding to this question I developed on the response to the last question, and considered it in the light of the *Daily Sun*'s relationship with its audience. The newspaper's coverage does not exist in a vacuum, but rather is there to inform readers and, since the *Daily Sun* is a commercial enterprise, to sell newspapers. As shown in 3.5, South Africa's new tabloids place high importance on giving the people what they want, that is the kind of content they think they will be interested in reading. This is where Gellner's metaphor of "sex appeal" (1959, p. 2) is especially apposite: the *Daily Sun* runs content that its editorial staff believes will have sex appeal for its readers. Thus in selecting particular angles on political news stories, the editorial staff are making assumptions about their

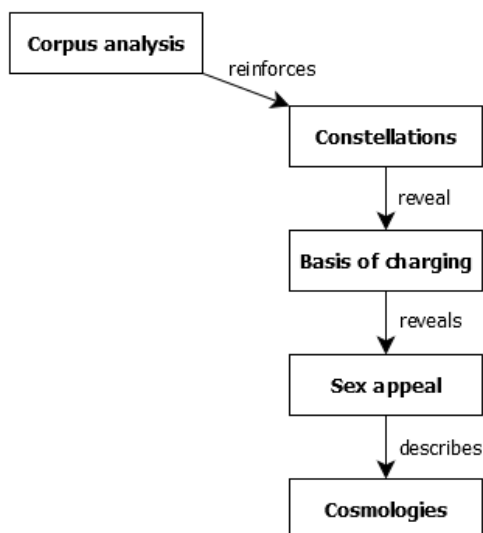


Figure 10.2: *The process of identifying cosmologies in the data*

readers' interests. They expect readers also to align with the patterns of charging found in the articles. Reflecting on the reasons why the editorial staff may hold that particular aspects of political news articles have sex appeal therefore enables one to understand the cosmologies behind the positioning of political parties in these articles.

Figure 10.2 gives a diagrammatic summary of the ways in which the four questions mentioned above assist in providing clear insights into the cosmologies behind the coverage analysed in this study. It shows how trends identified from the corpus analysis reinforce the impression created by examining the constellations produced in the individual articles analysed in this study. These constellations reveal the basis on which particular parties and stances are charged positively or negatively, which in turn reveals what is assumed to have sex appeal in the newspaper's coverage. The ways in which particular stances and actions are accorded sex appeal enable one to describe the cosmologies that lie behind the data. These cosmologies are reported on in detail in 11.3.2. In the following subsection (10.2.3), I show how these cosmologies enabled me to draw out the implications of this study for discourses in South African public spheres.

10.2.3 Reflection on the implications of this study

The final task of analysis in this research is to reflect on the implications that this study has for two areas, as mentioned in the last research question:

- a) The ways in which the use of language in political positioning can be conceptualized using Legitimation Code Theory and Systemic Functional Linguistics
- b) The transformation of discourses in South African public spheres

These two different types of implications draw on two different prior tasks, namely the description of the roles of linguistic and discursive resources in positioning political parties

and the identification of cosmologies respectively. In this subsection, I describe how each of these two types of implications was arrived at in turn.

In arriving at implications for the ways in which the use of language in political positioning can be conceptualized, I needed to move from previous accounts in this thesis which focused on the role of language in modulating axiological meaning, to consider how language is used to position political parties and individual politicians in the data. One of these accounts, using LCT, is the translation device for axiological-semantic density in the *Daily Sun* data (see Chapter 9); the others, using SFL, are the descriptions of the roles of linguistic and discursive resources at the end of the exploratory analyses (see 8.4.2) and in the conclusion to this thesis (see 11.2.2).

Each of these required a slightly different approach in examining their implications for political positioning. For the translation device, I wrote an explanation showing what is innovative about it, and what its relations to other existing translation devices and means of analysing axiological-semantic density are. This explanation appears in 11.2.1. For the descriptions of linguistic resources from SFL and discursive resources, I reflected on each of these resources individually, examining how they played a role in political positioning in the data. Finally, I synthesized the knowledge gained about the roles of all of these resources and couplings in a more general account and drew a diagram showing these roles in relation to each other. These explanations and account appear in 11.2.2.

Once separate explanations were written of the roles of language in political positioning as conceptualized first using LCT and then using SFL, I wrote a joint account, which appears in 11.2.3, in which I attempted a final response to the question, “How is language used to accomplish political positioning in the data?” As is highlighted throughout this thesis, the word “how” is crucial here: this account describes the process of political positioning, rather than what is positioned where by whom.

Arriving at the implications of this study for the transformation of discourses in South African public spheres required a different kind of reflection, which needed to be informed by the cosmologies identified from the data, as well as the social context as described in chapters 2 and 3. In this process of reflection, I considered the following questions:

1. How is the space of possibles in South African political discourse configured as a result of these cosmologies?
2. What effects might this configuration have on readers of the *Daily Sun* and South African society in general?
3. How could the space of possibles be broadened to include a greater diversity of views?
4. As a result of this, how could greater engagement in public sphere discussions on politics be facilitated?

Some explanation and unpacking of these four questions is necessary. The first question refers to Bourdieu's idea of "the space of possibles" (1991, p. 10), introduced in 4.4. As Maton (2014) shows, cosmologies tend to narrow the space of possibles by making it seem as though it is only possible to hold positions in a given discourse on a given topic. A cosmology, by its nature, will also tend to portray some of these positions as more morally virtuous or popular than others. However, if a cosmology can narrow the space of possibles, it might also be able to broaden it, for example by suggesting that many points of view are equally virtuous or popular. I purposely phrase the question in such a way as to be open to this potential. In either case, I view cosmologies as having a real effect on the conditions under which political discourse takes place in a given public sphere, such as the alternative public sphere which the *Daily Sun* is supposed to assist in facilitating (see 3.5).

The second question allows for further explication of the response to the first one by seeking to unpack the ways in which this configuration of possible stances may influence readers' mindsets. The content of the positions that the cosmology leaves open for readers to take is significant because they have a particular relationship with South Africa's socio-political history, as described in Chapter 2. They may either reproduce positions that were possible under apartheid, or they may transform these by offering the potential for new positions. Consequently, the cosmologies may be more or less conducive to readers' engagement in rigorous public sphere discussions on politics in particular ways.

While the first and second questions are descriptive in nature, the third and fourth questions can be used to produce recommendations about how South African political discourses, and particularly those in the *Daily Sun*, can be transformed. The third question asks how these discourses can become more inclusive of a variety of positions. In accordance with my political position as described in 1.3, I view the ability to afford dialogic space to a wide range of positions as a public good. The more positions are available in the space of possibles, the more alternative policy directions can be raised and debated, so that better courses of action can be arrived at. These courses of action may not necessarily conform to pre-existing constellations constructed on the basis of previous cosmologies, which is why it is important for these cosmologies to be challenged and transformed.

For example, it may (for argument's sake) be in the best interests of South Africa's future prosperity for the country to lower barriers to trade with other countries (something usually constellated with neo-liberal economic policy), and radically increase spending on social grants (something usually constellated with a 'developmental state' economic policy). If the dominant cosmologies in the public discourse continually pit a neo-liberal economic policy against a 'developmental state' one, then such a possibility may be missed; however, if the space of possibles is broadened to allow people to take a wider range of positions in economic debates, then such a possibility may be seen.

The final question follows on from the third one and builds on the response to it, by asking how South African society in general, and tabloids like the *Daily Sun* more specifically,

could become more conducive to vigorous, free, open and equitable public sphere dialogue. It seeks to find out, on the basis of the findings of this study, what kinds of changes in this society would facilitate greater public sphere engagement. This includes changes in various spheres of society, including education and organized civil society, which is mentioned in 3.3 as important in facilitating public sphere discussions in South Africa. This question also seeks to describe the kind of reporting of political news that would open the space of possibles to more positions, and encourage more constructive political engagement while still appealing to the *Daily Sun*'s large lower- and lower-middle-class target market.

The response to this question takes into account the arguments of the proponents of tabloids' potential to facilitate public sphere engagement as they are described in 3.5. This is naturally a difficult question, and a study of this nature can only generate recommendations to a limited extent because it has not entailed hands-on engagement with the *Daily Sun*'s staff or target readers. However, in responding to this question I seek to show the full extent to which the findings of this study have practical applications for the editorial style of the *Daily Sun* and other South African tabloids, as well as for other areas of society.

The responses to the first two questions are written into the account found in 11.3.2, and the answer to the third and fourth appears in 11.3.3. It is here that the socially transformative value of this research is described in its fullest form. This section accompanies the final joint account of this study's findings on how language is used to accomplish political positioning in the *Daily Sun*, in 11.2.3. In this way, the concluding chapter of this thesis (Chapter 11) describes in detail the implications of the findings of this study both for further research and for transforming South Africa's public discourses.

10.3 Reports on targeted analyses

This section describes in detail the targeted analyses that in many ways form the analytic heart of this thesis. In it, I report on the three targeted analyses. Each of these reports is extremely detailed, even more so than the reports on the three exploratory analyses in 8.3. This reflects the fine-grained nature of the analysis that took place in order to give a full description of how linguistic and discursive resources are used to accomplish political positioning in the articles. As mentioned in 10.1, the three articles reported on in this section are carefully and methodically selected to reflect the chief trends discovered in the corpus analysis (Chapter 7). These articles are listed below, together with the number of the section in which each is reported on, a list of the collocations that each was selected to illustrate:

- “ANC and DA clash!”, 29 January 2015 (10.3.1): illustrates collocations between “ANC” and “clash”, and “wearing (T-shirts)”

- “Eye on the big prize! – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029”, 15 June 2015 (10.3.2): illustrates collocations between “DA” and “Helen Zille”, “Mmusi Maimane”, “leader” and “led”
- “Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society”, 18 February 2015 (10.3.3): illustrates collocations between “EFF” and “Julius Malema”, “Mbuyiseni Ndlozi”, “MP”, “whip” and “leader”.

Each of the reports on these analyses begins with a descriptive account, followed by reports on the LCT analysis and then the SFL analysis. Since the method of analysis is more well-developed for the targeted analyses than for the exploratory analyses, and definitive findings are drawn from these analyses about the use of language in political positioning, the reports on the LCT and SFL analyses in this section are longer than those in the exploratory analyses (8.3). As in the reports on the exploratory analyses, there is some repetition between the ‘LCT analysis’ and ‘SFL analysis’ sections of each report to show how the same data can be described differently using each framework, but this is kept to a minimum.

It is helpful to mention some typographical conventions I use in both of these kinds of analysis. In the LCT analyses, the names of types from my translation device for axiological-semantic density are written in italics for ease of reference. Cross-references are given to the descriptions of each of the tools of the translation device in 9.4. Outlines of each of the tools can also be found in Appendix E. In the SFL analyses, I use initial capital letters to refer to names of linguistic resources described using SFL, including Appraisal resources. I also use an ampersand (&) to indicate where linguistic resources are coupled together to form a complex (see 5.1). For example, “DA & -Security” refers to a complex in which the name of the DA is coupled with instantiations of negative Security. Typically in the names of such complexes I mention resources from the Ideational Metafunction first, then interpersonal and/or textual resources. In each of the three reports on analyses, a conclusion summarizes the chief findings from the analysis about how parties are positioned in the article, and how linguistic and discursive resources are used to accomplish this positioning.

10.3.1 “ANC and DA clash!”

This article, published on 29 January 2015, depicts a “clash”, or violent encounter, between municipal councillors from the ANC and DA. The text of the article can be found in Appendix H.1. As mentioned above, it was selected for analysis because it exemplifies the use of the collocations between the ANC and the words “clash” and “wearing (T-shirts)”. This clash also involves members of South Africa’s second largest party, the DA. The article gives an example of the ways in which violent conflict is associated with the ANC, who are portrayed in it as the perpetrators, and DA members as the victims. In the

following descriptive account (10.3.1.1) I discuss the geographical context in which this article takes place as well as the structure of the article, before reporting on fine-grained analyses of the article using LCT (10.3.1.2) and SFL (10.3.1.3). In the conclusion of this section (10.3.1.4), I argue that the unflattering portrayal of politicians from both parties found in this article is likely to compound distrust in politicians and political processes, further alienating already sceptical readers (see 3.3) from engagement in party politics.

10.3.1.1 Descriptive account

The action in this article takes place in the geographical context of Bethlehem, a town in South Africa's Free State province. It is helpful, especially for international readers, to understand some background information about this town so that some of the nuances of meaning in the article can be understood more easily. Bethlehem is the principal town of the Dihlabeng Municipality, in which the ANC members and one of the DA members mentioned in the article served as councillors (see par. 12, Appendix H.1). The incident takes place in the run-up to a municipal by-election (par. 5). To give an impression of the size of the town, it has a population of approximately 60 000 people, and the whole municipality has a population of 128 704 according to 2011 census data (Frith, 2011). The name Bethlehem means "house of bread" in Hebrew, and the South African town was so named because it is in a fertile wheat-growing area (South African History Online, 2017). It is a service centre for this wheat-growing area, and also for nearby tourist destinations in the Maluti Mountains, including the Golden Gate Highlands National Park (Local Government Handbook, 2017b; South African History Online, 2017).

In the 2011 municipal elections, the ANC won 74% of the vote in the municipality, and the DA, as the second largest party, won 20% (Independent Electoral Commission, 2011). This means that in this municipality, the ANC is stronger in terms of share of the vote than is the case at the national level (where it had 66% of the vote), while the DA had roughly the same proportion of the vote as it then had at the national level (17%; see 2.5). While English is a lingua franca in Bethlehem as in most of South Africa, Afrikaans is spoken as a first language by 12% of the population in the Dihlabeng Municipality (Frith, 2011). Thus it is unsurprising that local residents would insert colloquialisms and swear-words from Afrikaans into their talk, as is portrayed in paragraph 8 in the article.

This article can be divided into a nucleus and nine satellites. In the article's reporting on the clash, there are three apparent sources of information: two videos of the encounter, which do not show any evidence of physical violence between the two parties' representatives; the DA members, including Roy Jankielsohn, an MPL (Member of the Provincial Legislature) who is quoted; and an ANC councillor, Job Tshabalala. Since Jankielsohn is a member of the Free State provincial legislature, rather than a representative of the party on a municipal level, he is the highest-ranking politician mentioned in the article. Jankielsohn and Councillor Dulandi Leach of the DA allege that the ANC members phys-

ically assaulted them (par. 12), and Tshabalala “dismissed the allegations” (par. 16). The nucleus (headline and lead), and the second (par. 5), fourth (par. 7–9) and fifth (par. 10) satellites and are devoted to explaining what is depicted in the videos from a viewer’s perspective. Four satellites are dedicated to the DA members’ version of events: the first (par. 2–4), third (par. 6), sixth (par. 11–13) and seventh satellites (par. 11–15). The ANC councillor is quoted only in one brief satellite (par. 16). The final satellite simply gives a link to a website where readers can watch the video of the incident (par. 17).

Such a structure allows the DA much space to criticize the actions of the ANC members, and relatively little space to the ANC to make counter-criticisms of the DA members’ actions. Despite this, the nucleus ascribes responsibility to both the ANC and DA members, using the words “ANC and DA clash” and “a clash between rival ANC and DA councillors” (par. 1). Another description of the event, “the apparent political slap-fest” (par. 5), does not directly ascribe responsibility to either party. Thus the author appears to assume some neutrality although much space is given to criticisms of the ANC members’ actions.

10.3.1.2 LCT analysis

Two constellations are clearly evident in the article: one associated with the ANC and one with the DA. Many more signifiers are associated with the ANC than with the DA, and most of the signifiers associated with the ANC are negatively charged while those associated with the DA are charged in a variety of different ways. These constellations are presented in Table 10.1.

The two central signifiers of the constellations, “ANC” and “DA”, are both named in the headline, “ANC and DA clash”. The word “clash” in this headline denotes that both are involved in the conflict, and so it condenses negative charging into both constellations. This word is repeated in the article’s lead (par. 1) and becomes a cover term to refer to what happened in the incident described in the article.

The lead, as part of the nucleus, unpacks the headline slightly, mentioning “ANC”, “DA” and “clash” again together in the same phrase. The word “clash” again charges both “ANC” and “DA” negatively with *multidirectional* charging (see 9.4.2). Further information is added in the lead, including that the clash was between municipal councillors who are described as “rival”, and that it was videotaped. The word “rival” is used in its everyday meaning, but still condenses negative charging into both constellations since it is associated with conflict. The fact that the conflict was videotaped does not add much further axiological-semantic density to the paragraph, but is a salient fact to the article, so “videotaped” can be viewed as a *salient* charger. Because the entire sentence merely states that the clash was videotaped, it is only a *neutral-acting* clause (see 9.4.4). Thus axiological-semantic density is weakened in the lead, compared to the headline.

DA	ANC
clash	clash
rival	rival
DA councillors	ANC councillors
DA members	sworn at
were trying to make a video of the ANC convoy	chased away
	more than can be seen on screen
	hot klap [hiding]
	one of their members' shirt was torn
	pushed away
	angry
	by-election campaign
	convoy
	using municipal vehicles for their party's benefit
	about four traffic vehicles leading the convoy
	a man wearing an ANC T-shirt
	asking a DA member to go away
"Why are you doing this?"	another woman in blue jeans and an ANC shirt
"Jou moersk***" [your mother's c***]	says, "Jou moersk***" [your mother's c***]
	another woman
flees	tries to grab the cellphone
	about four traffic vehicles can be seen leading the ANC's convoy
	charges of assault
MPL Roy Jankielsohn	councillors of the ANC caucus in the Dihlabeng Local Municipality
Councillor Dulandi Leach	shirt was torn
	hit in the face
intentions were to investigate the ANC's abuse of municipal vehicles for party political purposes	abuse of municipal vehicles for party political purposes
	would have been the right thing to deploy traffic officials to direct rush-hour traffic instead of leading an ANC convoy
dismissed the allegations	councillor and regional election co-ordinator Job Tshabalala
	peacefully

Table 10.1: *Constellations in "ANC and DA clash!"*

The first satellite (par. 2–4) unpacks the action of the clash further. It shows that it included DA councillors “being sworn at” and “chased away” (par. 2) by ANC councillors. Although this is phrased in the passive voice, the ANC councillors are clearly marked as the agents of these actions, and so these become negatively-charged signifiers associated with the ANC constellation. “Being sworn at” and “chased away” are slightly lower-level cover terms for what happened during the clash, so they can also be viewed as examples of *vigorous* charging. These are linked together in a *constellation-embellishing* clause, resulting in relatively high axiological condensation and a local peak in axiological-semantic density.

The word “but” at the beginning of paragraph 3 indicates *asserting* sequencing, heightening axiological condensation around the DA members’ claim that “there is more than can be seen on screen”. However, this claim is attributed to the DA members, and there are no specific phrases in the ‘claim’ that might bolster its axiological-semantic density, so axiological-semantic density is even weaker than in paragraph 1.

Paragraph 4 gives the DA members’ additional claims about the incident. Here “a hot klap” and “torn”, referring to one of the DA members’ shirts, are added to the ANC constellation. The tearing of the shirt is interesting in the light of ANC shirts being a prominent means of signalling party identity in paragraph 7 and 8. If the shirt that was torn was a DA T-shirt, then the act of tearing the shirt could be seen as an insult towards the party, but this speculation is not supported by the text. The “hot klap” and tearing of the shirt are actions which are enlarged on later in the article. The word “klap” is a colloquial South African English word borrowed from Afrikaans which can be loosely translated as “a hiding”. “Pushed away” and “angry” are also added to the ANC’s constellation, although these are weaker in axiological-semantic density, with both being examples of *vigorous* charging. These signifiers are linked together in a *constellation-embellishing* clause, indicating a relatively high degree of axiological condensation. Because these are all parts of the DA members’ claims, there is lower axiological condensation than there might have been if these things had been categorically stated as the truth. Nevertheless, this paragraph functions to condense specifically violent actions into the ANC’s constellation, and so enacts strengthening axiological-semantic density.

More information about the circumstances surrounding the clash is given the second satellite (par. 5). Most of this circumstantial information is not heavily charged axiologically. However, the phrase “the apparent political slap-fest” condenses all the information conveyed in the previous paragraph in a rather flippant manner, and so enables *transporting* sequencing. The word “apparent” functions in a similar way to “claimed” in the previous paragraph. It indicates that the presence of the violence has not been confirmed and thereby weakens the axiological-semantic density of the phrase slightly. In this paragraph, no one is given responsibility for “the apparent political slap-fest”, so it is not associated directly with one constellation or the other. The words “by-election campaign” are constellated together with the ANC. This campaign in itself is not portrayed as reflecting

either positively or negatively on the ANC; what is negatively evaluated later in the article is the use of municipal traffic vehicles in the campaign. Thus this paragraph appears to condense more epistemic meaning than axiological meaning into “the apparent political slap-fest”.

The third satellite (par. 6) gives the DA members’ reasons for making the video recordings in the first place. The fact that they “were trying to make a video of the ANC convoy” condenses additional information into the DA constellation, although this does not seem to have any positive or negative axiological charging at this point. By contrast, the DA members make another claim that the ANC members were “using municipal vehicles for their party’s benefit”, which condenses negative meanings into the ANC’s constellation.

A description of the videos is given in the fourth satellite (par. 7–9). These videos do indeed show municipal vehicles leading the ANC convoy. A long phrase, “two videos that show the convoy of hooting cars and about four traffic vehicles leading the convoy” (par. 7), associates “about four traffic vehicles” together with “the convoy of hooting cars”, and hence with the ANC constellation. The “traffic vehicles” appear to show evidence of the DA members’ claims and so assist in condensing negative charging into the ANC constellation. This entire phrase is an example of *complex-modifying*, the type of modifying enacting the strongest axiological-semantic density. This paragraph also tells of the actions of “a man wearing an ANC shirt”, showing how party shirts are used to identify people and cluster them into the ANC constellation. The man identified here is in a bakkie (a South African English term for a light delivery vehicle), but while this fact does not introduce additional axiological charging, his actions do. He asks “a DA member to go away”. This use of “go away” recalls “chased away” (par. 2) and “pushed away” (par. 4) and like them is an example of *vigorous* charging which constellates hostile behaviour together with the ANC. The clause in which this is mentioned is a *constellation-embellishing* clause enacting relatively high axiological condensation. This contributes another highpoint in axiological-semantic density to this paragraph.

Paragraph 8 introduces another person in an ANC shirt, this time a woman. She simply asks “Why are you doing this?”, implying that the DA members are engaged in questionable behaviour without stating this explicitly. This is used to charge the DA negatively in a relatively weak manner. Following this in the description of the videos, people associated with the ANC are referred to using the word “another”, rather than overtly mentioning their party affiliation. The second woman mentioned in this paragraph insults one of the DA members with the extremely vulgar swearword “Jou moersk*** (Your mother’s c***)”. While this insult condenses strongly negative meanings into the DA’s constellation, it is quite plausible to say that it condenses even more negative meanings into the ANC’s constellation because of the rude behaviour of the woman as someone associated with the ANC.

Both the second woman mentioned in paragraph 8 and the one mentioned in paragraph 9 are described using only the word “another”, and so there is only an implicit association

between them and the ANC. Nevertheless, it appears as though their behaviour does condense negative meanings into the ANC's constellation. The woman mentioned in paragraph 9 "tries to grab the cellphone", presumably the device on which the video recordings were made. It is uncertain what she aimed to do with the cellphone, but the word "grab" indicates the forcefulness of this action and so can be seen as condensing further negative charging into the ANC constellation. The DA member "flees", which might indicate a degree of cowardice and so condense some negative charging into the DA constellation.

The link between the "four traffic vehicles" and "the ANC convoy" is repeated in the fifth satellite (par. 10), which describes the second video. This serves to strengthen the association between the traffic vehicles and the ANC convoy, and hence the evidence supporting the DA members' claims of wrongdoing. Thus this repetition of "four traffic vehicles" works to strengthen the negative charging of the ANC constellation.

In the sixth satellite (par. 11–13), the DA members say they will lay "charges of assault" (par. 11), presumably against the ANC councillors. This adds yet another negative meaning to the ANC constellation which is more explicit than in the previous paragraph. "Assault" can be interpreted as condensing the reports of violence, including the hitting and tearing of a shirt mentioned in the previous paragraphs, and so has very strong axiological-semantic density as a *resonant*.

The word "assault" is repeated in Jankielsohn's words in paragraph 12. This is the first time that a member of either party is named in the article. Jankielsohn and his colleague, Leach, are constellated with the DA, but the names of both do not appear to be too important to the DA constellation; thus both these names can be said to be *associates* (see 9.4.1). As mentioned above, Jankielsohn ranks higher in the party hierarchy as a member of the provincial legislature, and so his name seems to carry stronger axiological-semantic density than that of Leach. Jankielsohn names the alleged perpetrators of the assault using a long and unusually formal phrase, "councillors of the ANC caucus in the Dihlabeng Local Municipality". This phrase condenses various epistemological and axiological meanings. It links the alleged perpetrators with the ANC, and specifically "the ANC caucus in the Dihlabeng Local Municipality" in which Bethlehem is situated and in which the by-election took place. The word "caucus" refers to the party's representatives in the municipality acting together as a group, and so effectively this whole group is charged negatively.

In paragraph 13, Jankielsohn repeats what is reported in paragraph 4, namely that a shirt was torn and a DA member was hit. However, meanings are added here in that the 'victims' of each of these actions are now identified more specifically, and the body location in which Leach was hit is mentioned. Thus this passage counts as an instance of *revisiting* sequencing (see 9.4.5), in which further axiological meanings are added to previously-mentioned statements. The fact that Leach was hit "in the face" adds *vigorous* charging to this action, as the face is a particularly painful and insulting place on which

to be hit.

Jankielsohn indicates the “intentions” that he and Leach had in the seventh satellite (par. 14–15). It is here that he turns from the immediate action being reported on in the article to the underlying cause of the incident. In the process, he condenses strong negative charging into the ANC’s constellation once again, and condenses positive charging with his own party’s constellation. He presents himself and Leach as investigating an instance of corruption, which enacts *vigorous* positive charging. The negative charging condensed into the ANC’s constellation is far stronger. The phrase “the ANC’s abuse of municipal vehicles for party political purposes” (par. 14), is an instance of *complex-modifying* in which a variety of signifiers are brought together in charging the ANC negatively. It condenses references to the use of the vehicles, described in paragraphs 6, 7 and 9, into the term “abuse”. This creates another instance of *transporting* sequencing. The “abuse” is presupposed, leaving no room for this allegation to be questioned. This strengthens the extent to which “abuse” charges the ANC negatively, and makes it another example of a signifier that condenses meanings from previous paragraphs. “Municipal vehicles” are also constellated with the ANC, which strengthens the allegations of wrongdoing.

Jankielsohn unpacks “the ANC’s abuse of municipal vehicles for party political purposes” in paragraph 15. As mentioned in the descriptive account, he adds contextual information demonstrating how much the municipal traffic vehicles were needed elsewhere in the town. This information is relatively weak in axiological-semantic density apart from the expression “load shedding”, which is a strongly negatively-charged signifier of the incapacity of Eskom, the country’s electricity utility. However, in this article meanings are not added to this expression and so it is being used simply to enact *vigorous* charging. Jankielsohn mentions a course of action which “would have been the right thing” in these circumstances, and says that despite this, the traffic vehicles were used to lead the ANC convoy. Here “the right thing” enacts *vigorous* charging again. The “ANC convoy” is obviously constellated with the ANC and by now has attracted so much negative charging that it can be regarded as an *associate* on its own. The clause in which this is mentioned is an instance of *constellation-embellishing* clausing, as it links “the right thing”, “traffic officials” and “the ANC convoy”, adding relatively strong negative charging to the ANC constellation.

The ANC’s response to the DA’s allegations appears only in the eighth satellite (par. 16). The word “allegations” condenses paragraphs 3–4 and 11–15 of the article, *transporting* them into the context of this paragraph, and so carries extremely strong axiological-semantic density. Most of the ANC’s response is also condensed into a single word, “dismissed”, an instance of *vigorous* charging. This very brief response could be interpreted as signals that the ANC does not deem the allegations serious enough to pay more attention to. Tshabalala’s alternative version of events is commensurately brief: “all they did was peacefully ask the DA members to leave their event”. Here “peacefully” concentrates *vigorous* positive charging into the ANC constellation. “Their event” arguably

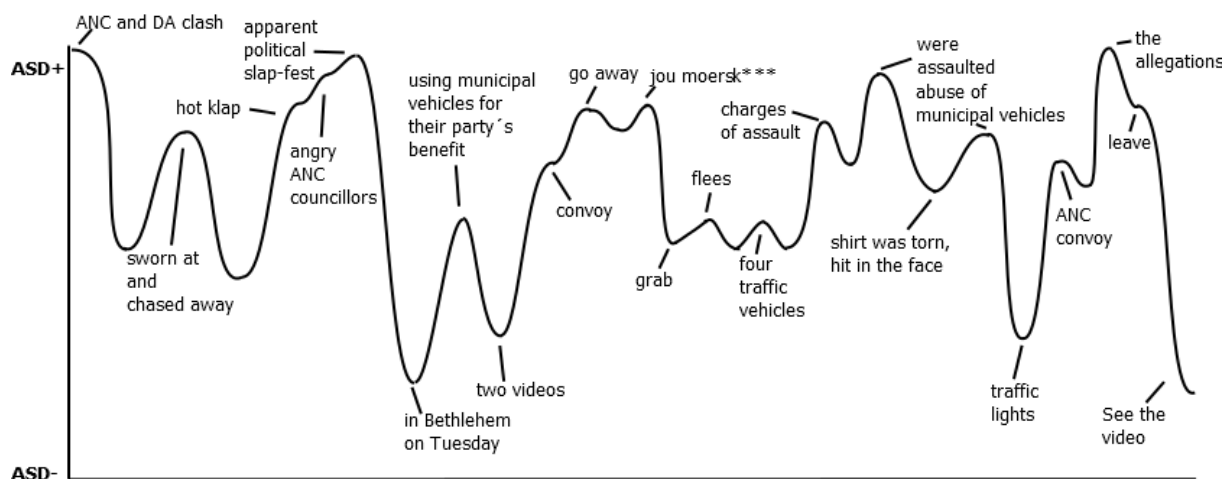


Figure 10.3: “ANC and DA clash” semantic profile

condenses stronger negative axiological-semantic density into the DA’s constellation as it insinuates that the DA members were trespassing on ANC territory. However, “ask... to leave” is reminiscent of “chased away” (par. 2), “pushed away” (par. 4), and “go away” (par. 7), and so may reinforce the negative charging of the ANC constellation that has already been established using these words. The article ends with one final satellite (par. 17) consisting of a brief sentence inviting readers to “see the video”, presumably one of the two videos taken by the DA members. This sentence ends the article on a note of relatively weak axiological-semantic density.

Figure 10.3 shows a semantic profile of the changes in axiological-semantic density in the article. This semantic profile shows that the article exhibits a wide semantic range, with simple statements of the time and place at which the incident took place enacting the weakest axiological-semantic density, and the strongest axiological-semantic density being exhibited in phrases which condense various actions that are described in the article, namely “clash”, “apparent political slap-fest”, “assaulted”, “abuse” and “the allegations”. It is difficult to discern a clear pattern in the semantic profile: there are waves of unpacking and repacking of terms which are relatively strong in axiological-semantic density, but the waves vary widely in amplitude and frequency. However, a pattern does emerge once one considers the peaks of extremely strong axiological-semantic density, as I show below.

The article begins at an extremely strong level of axiological-semantic density, as the headline “ANC and DA clash” condenses together the central signifiers of the two constellations built in the article, and the most prominent action that charges both of them. There are then two waves building up to the term “apparent political slap-fest” (par. 5) which condenses the actions reported in the first satellite of the article. This is followed by a deep trough in which some contextual details with relatively weak axiological-semantic density are added to the account.

Following this, there is another slow build-up, through two waves, to the place where the violent confrontation is described in greatest detail, reaching a climax with the insult, “jou

moersk***' (your mother's c***)" (par. 8). After this insult is given, the article returns to a moderately strong level of axiological-semantic density as other, more prosaic, details of the incident are given.

The incident is condensed into the word "assault" in the next two wave peaks. The second of these is highest, because, in this instance, the perpetrators and victims of the "assault" are mentioned in more specific detail than previously in the article. Jankielsohn's charge of "abuse of municipal vehicles" condenses meanings from earlier paragraphs again, creating a relatively high point in axiological-semantic density, but then he gives more contextual information which is relatively weak in axiological-semantic density.

The final peak in the semantic profile comes when the DA members' accounts are condensed into the term "the allegations". Following that, axiological-semantic density drops off dramatically in the final paragraph encouraging readers to "see the video".

In summary, the semantic profile reveals a picture of axiologically charged actions being condensed into single signifiers that are hyper-charged with axiological-semantic density, including "clash", "apparent political slap-fest", "assault" "abuse" and "the allegations". These signifiers do not only condense the axiological charging from preceding paragraphs; they also frame the events in a particular way that favours a particular interpretation of them, and hence a particular type of axiological charging. A "clash" emphasizes violence. In "apparent political slap-fest", the word "apparent" indicates that the veracity of the reports is not certain, but the neologism "slap-fest" frames the event in a humorous light and may have the effect of trivializing it, suggesting that the politicians were involved in a petty squabble. "Assault" frames the events in a more serious light in terms of criminality, and the ANC is effectively blamed for this criminality. "Abuse" continues this reference to criminal, or at least immoral, behaviour, delivering a judgement on the use of traffic vehicles in the ANC's convoy. Finally, "the allegations" also comes from the vocabulary of the criminal justice system, but once again implies that the veracity of the reports has not been tested. In this way, the incident reported on in this article and the supposed misuse of municipal vehicles that precipitated it are at first made light of, then viewed as possible criminal behaviour reflecting negatively on the ANC.

Therefore this article provides a helpful example of how actions can be condensed into hyper-charged signifiers in a text, and how this affects the way in which the text is structured into semantic waves. The things that are emphasized by these hyper-charged signifiers can assist in pointing to the cosmologies behind this article: physical violence and criminality among politicians appear to be sensationalized. In 10.3.1.4 I reflect on what implications this might have for participation in public sphere discussions among readers. In 10.3.1.3 I show how linguistic and discursive resources are used to accomplish the hyper-charging found in this article.

10.3.1.3 SFL analysis

Two strong complexes of linguistic resources in this article begin in the nucleus, consisting of the headline and lead. One couples the DA members with negative Security, and another couples ANC members with negative Propriety. In as many as 12 instances, these two sets of Appraisal resources are used together in expressions that can be double-coded as instantiating both of them. Most of the words describing conflict in the nucleus and the first satellite (par. 2-4) can be coded as invoking these two Appraisal resources. This applies particularly to the word “clash” in the headline and lead, while “rival” also invokes negative Security without necessarily having negative Propriety attached to it. The words “clash” and, to a lesser extent, “rival”, also realize infusing, intensifying Graduation. The repetition of “clash” in the headline and lead, as the macroTheme of the article, cements the position of this word as a cover term condensing meanings from the paragraphs that follow. In the lead, it appears as an experiential grammatical metaphor so that more meanings can be associated with the “clash”. Both the headline and lead are stated monoglossically, and so the clash is given the status of an established fact, strengthening its impact.

The first satellite gives an overview of what is described in “the video” as well as a précis of the DA members’ allegations of violence, unpacking what occurred in the clash. Here the complexes of negative Security coupled with the DA members and negative Propriety coupled with the ANC members are perpetuated through the expressions “sworn at”, “chased away”, “hot klap”, “shirt was torn” and “pushed away”. The word “hot” adds intensifying Graduation to the expression “hot klap”, and the word “also” preceding “hot klap” and “shirt was torn” adds upscaling Quantification. “Klap” is also an experiential grammatical metaphor, the nominalization of the Process “to klap”. Here meaning is condensed by rephrasing the Process as a noun. Negative Satisfaction is instantiated through the word “angry”, and also coupled with the ANC councillors. This is the beginning of another complex which is developed further in the third satellite (par. 7-9). Where this satellite differs from the nucleus is in its patterns of Engagement. The satellite begins with “The video shows...”, an instance of Contract: Endorse, strengthening the extent to which the material that follows is portrayed as fact. However, this is followed by “But”, instantiating Contract: Counter, and the DA members’ testimony about the event, which is usually projected using the word “claim”, instantiating Expand: Distance. This indicates that the veracity of this information is much less sure in the eyes of the author.

The ANC & -Propriety and DA & -Security complexes couple both with Endorse and with Distance, but the instances coupled with Distance (“hot klap”, “shirt was torn” and “pushed away”) are more violent than those coupled with Endorse (“sworn at” and “chased away”). This pattern recurs throughout the article, with Endorse interchanging with Attribute: Distance and Attribute: Acknowledge, and the more violent lexis often coupling with Attribute. This means that some of the words that are stronger in evaluative meaning

have their impact mitigated through being included as part of less certain knowledge claims. However, in paragraph 4, an opposite effect can also be seen: the DA members' allegations of violence, including "hot klap", "shirt was torn" and "pushed away", are positioned in the hyperNew of the satellite. In this way, the author emphasizes the more sensational allegations of the DA members while also signalling weak commitment to the truth of these allegations.

In the second satellite (par. 5), the author adds contextual information about where and when the clash happened, as is observed in the LCT analysis (10.3.1.2). He Entertains the truth of the DA members' allegations by referring to the event as "the apparent political slap-fest". In "slap-fest", the invoking of negative Propriety is continued, but because the word also seems to make light of the incident, it could also be said to invoke negative Valuation. "Apparent" also acts as an instantiation of softening Graduation, while "slap-fest" contains infusing intensifying Graduation, and "on Tuesday" expresses the Proximity of the event in time, an instance of upscaling Quantification. In the one-clause satellite, two experiential grammatical metaphors, "slap-fest" and "campaign", as well as the technical term "by-election", are related using the Process "happened" in a logical metaphor. These are used to condense plenty of ideational meaning, but interpersonal meaning is not condensed in a similar way. In this satellite, once again, one can observe the interplay of resources which call the veracity of certain details of the incident into question, and other resources which upscale it as a sensational event.

The third satellite (par. 6) explains why the DA members were present at the incident, and what they might have done to enrage the ANC members. The most significant evaluation in this satellite occurs in the hyperNew, where "using municipal vehicles for their party's benefit", is an afforded instance of another negative Propriety Judgement on the ANC. "Benefit" is an experiential grammatical metaphor in which the Process of benefitting is nominalized. This is coupled once again with Distance instantiated through the word "claiming". Thus as in paragraph 4, negative Propriety is coupled with the ANC, Distance, and the hyperNew, creating a complex in which negative accusations are sensationalized even as their epistemic status is placed in doubt. In this instance, experiential grammatical metaphor strengthens the coupling further.

In the fourth satellite (par. 7-9), the first video is described. This is introduced with "Daily Sun is in possession of two videos that show..." instantiating Endorse. Here, "possession" is an experiential grammatical metaphor, which packages up the videos and the fact that the *Daily Sun* possesses them into one long nominal group. One of the videos shows "about four traffic vehicles leading the convoy", providing evidence for the allegation that the ANC is misusing municipal vehicles, and thus affording a negative Propriety Judgement. Another negative Propriety Judgement is invited when an ANC member swears at a DA member, saying "jou moersk***" (your mother's c***), and still another is invoked by the word "grab". In this word, the prosody of negative Security and negative Propriety re-emerges. Both "jou moersk***" and "grab" carry infusing intensifying Graduation.

As mentioned above, negative Satisfaction features strongly in this satellite, through the expressions “asking a DA member to go away”, “jou moersk***” and the question “Why are you doing this?” The first two examples are coupled with people wearing an “ANC shirt”, perpetuating the ANC & -Satisfaction complex. In the hyperNew, the word “flees” carries infusing, intensifying Graduation and invokes both negative Security and a Judgement of negative Tenacity towards the DA members. This satellite, in unpacking the event described in the nucleus and first satellite (par. 2-4), perpetuates and embroiders on the complexes established at the beginning of the article, creating an accumulating impression of the conflict.

The fifth satellite (par. 10) describes the activity shown in the second video. Here “about four traffic vehicles can be seen leading the ANC’s convoy” affords a Judgement of negative Propriety on the ANC once again. Graduation resources both soften this Judgement, using “about”, and upscale it, using the number “four” to instantiate upscaling Quantification. Endorse is instantiated through “can be seen” to strengthen the epistemic status of the observation made in this satellite. This adds to the evidence of the misuse of municipal vehicles.

In the sixth satellite (par. 11–13), the DA members, and particularly Jankielsohn, level allegations of assault against the ANC members. The words “assault” and “assaulted” in the hyperTheme continue the DA & -Security and ANC & -*Propriety* complexes; in fact, as shown above, it is more accurate to say that they condense the meanings of instantiations of negative Security and negative Propriety from earlier in the article. These are again unpacked to a degree in the hyperNew where “shirt was torn” and “hit” describe the “assault” more concretely. “In the face” upscales the negative Security and negative Propriety associated with the word “hit”.

In general, Jankielsohn uses a variety of technical terms, including “councillors” and “caucus”, and in the next satellite, “load shedding” and “deploy”. He appears to be speaking in language borrowed from a legal register, which heightens his claim to authority in the article. However, Attribute: Acknowledge is used throughout this satellite to position the DA members as sources of information in it, weakening the author’s commitment to the veracity of the statements included in it. “Assault” in paragraph 11 is an experiential grammatical metaphor, and it is linked to another experiential grammatical metaphor, “charges”, in a technical term, “charges of assault”, which condenses plenty of ideational and interpersonal meanings, including negative Security, negative Propriety, and the uncertain status of knowledge claims by an aggrieved party. This is thus a point at which the ANC & -Propriety and DA & -Security complexes culminate.

In the seventh satellite (par. 14-15), Jankielsohn turns to the situation that precipitated the violent incident. He refers to this as “the ANC’s abuse of municipal vehicles for party political purposes”. The word “abuse” inscribes negative Propriety and once again couples it with the ANC. This word is also an experiential grammatical metaphor, allowing “the ANC”, “municipal vehicles” and “party political purposes” to be packed into the nominal

group it heads, thus condensing all these meanings. By contrast, Jankielsohn invokes a positive Propriety Judgement on himself and his colleague for “investigating” this “abuse”. Once again, the word “abuse” in the hyperTheme is unpacked in the hyperNew. Here this is done by mentioning a course of action which “would have been the right thing” (inscribing positive Propriety), and contrasting it with what allegedly occurred (“leading an ANC convoy”), thus invoking negative Propriety. As with Jankielsohn’s allegations in the previous paragraph, this information is relayed using Acknowledge. In between, contextual information is added as evidence in aggravation of the negative propriety Judgement: “all traffic lights in Bethlehem were out of order due to load shedding”. Here, “out of order” and “load shedding” would both invoke negative Satisfaction for South African readers, heightening the effect of the negative Propriety Judgement that Jankielsohn brings against the ANC.

Tshabalala from the ANC refutes the DA members’ allegations in the eighth satellite (par. 16). Here the word “allegations” is both a technical term and an experiential grammatical metaphor condensing all the actions that the DA members accuse the ANC members of perpetrating. “Dismissed the allegations” appears in the hyperTheme, and inscribes a negative Reaction towards these allegations while invoking a Judgement of negative Veracity towards the DA members, who, it is implied, are not telling the truth. The word “peacefully” in the hyperNew instantiates positive Security and positive Propriety, attempting to counteract the ANC & -Propriety, and DA & -Security complexes that continue throughout the rest of the article. However, “leave” invokes negative Satisfaction with the DA members, perpetuating the ANC & -Satisfaction complex. Tshabalala’s comments thus fit the pattern of the rest of the article very well, rather than adding significant new information that might alter readers’ perceptions of the events.

There is little to add about the final satellite (par. 17), except that it returns to the monoglossic Engagement used in the nucleus of the article, and rounds it off by referring back to the video that is referred to in the lead. This satellite does not seem to be a significant enough ‘conclusion’ or ‘take-home point’ of the incident to be considered a macroNew.

In the entire article, certain complexes recur frequently, coupled with different stages in periodicity. Highly condensed expressions are found almost exclusively in hyperThemes, often instantiating both negative Security and negative Propriety (such as “clash”, “apparent political slap-fest” and “assault”) or at least one of these resources (such as “abuse”, inscribing negative Propriety). These are then often unpacked over the course of the satellite, particularly in hyperNews, where both strong instantiations of negative Propriety and negative Security (such as “sworn at”, “pushed away”, “shirt was torn” and “hit”) and instantiations of negative Satisfaction (such as “angry” and “leave”) are found. These two types of evaluation are both coupled with the participants from the two parties to form complexes, i.e. a DA & -Security complex, an ANC & -Propriety complex, and an ANC & -Satisfaction complex. Table 10.2 shows the prevalence of these complexes

Complex	ANC & -Propriety	DA & -Security	DA & -Satisfaction
<i>Total instances</i>	21	14	5
<i>Upscaling Force</i>	13	8	1
<i>Downscaling Force</i>	1	1	1
<i>Expansive Engagement</i>	12	7	3
<i>Contractive Engagement</i>	9	4	3
<i>Grammatical metaphor / Technicality</i>	9	5	0
<i>High-level periodicity</i>	15	10	3

Table 10.2: *Complexes in “ANC and DA clash!” and their couplings with various other linguistic resources*

in the article, and the number of times that they couple with other linguistic resources. This table is based on counts compiled from a larger table showing all the couplings with instantiations of Attitude in the article (Appendix I.1).

Numerically, the ANC & -Propriety complex is by far the strongest, with 21 instances in the article. Next is the DA & -Security complex, instantiated 14 times. Lastly, the ANC & -Satisfaction complex is instantiated five times. These three complexes are both used to associate negative evaluations with the ANC, albeit in different ways: the ANC & -Propriety complex portrays the ANC as engaged in immoral and illegal actions, the DA & -Security complex portrays the ANC as threatening to the DA, while the DA & -Satisfaction complex portrays the ANC as intolerant of the DA’s presence and actions.

An interchange of contractive Engagement (mostly in the form of Endorse) and expansive Engagement (mostly in the form of Attribute) interacts with these complexes. All three complexes co-occur with both expansive and contractive Engagement, but the instances of this complex that denote more violent behaviour co-occur exclusively with expansive Engagement, since these more violent actions are not evident on the videos given to the *Daily Sun*. While there is less evidence for these more extreme instances, they are more sensational, and so frequently couple with high-level periodicity in hyperNews as places of textual prominence.

What can easily be missed is the role of grammatical metaphor and Technicality in strengthening particular couplings in the ANC & -Propriety and DA & -Security complexes, particularly the former. Individual instances of experiential grammatical metaphor and Technicality are mentioned in this section, but Table 10.2 shows that collectively, these instances have a significant impact. In most of the instances, experiential grammatical metaphor is used to package an action as a noun, such as “clash”, “klap”, “assault”, “abuse” or “allegations”, which then becomes an instantiation of Attitude. Such nominalizations evaluate more than simply the action, however; they include the subject and direct object of the action, condensing ideational meaning, which then becomes charged with interpersonal meaning as an Attitude instantiation. All of the words described as hyper-charged

“ANC and DA clash”	
<i>Constellations</i>	<i>Chief linguistic resources used</i>
DA (mixed)	no clear pattern
ANC (negative)	-Propriety
	-Security
	-Satisfaction

Table 10.3: *Summary of “ANC and DA clash” analysis*

signifiers in the LCT analysis of this article (see 10.3.1.2) are experiential grammatical metaphors coupled with hyperThemes.

10.3.1.4 Conclusion

In most of the article, negative charging is constellated with the ANC. Meanwhile, far fewer signifiers are used to associate a mixture of positive, negative and neutral charging with the DA. The actions reported on in this article are condensed into a few hyper-charged signifiers, which act to condense much of the material that appears before them in the article. Two of these hyper-charged signifiers, “clash” and “apparent political slap-fest”, are associated with both parties, while another three, “assault”, “abuse” and “allegations”, suggest wrongdoing by the ANC. SFL analysis reveals that these hyper-charged signifiers only occur in hyperThemes. It also shows that even though they condense preceding material, they are often unpacked again into less dense signifiers within the satellites that they are a part of. Frequently, some of these less dense signifiers with negative axiological charging form part of the hyperNews of these satellites.

The SFL analysis also reveals that the negative charging is accomplished by means of complexes of evaluations: an ANC & -Propriety complex, an ANC & -Security complex, and an ANC & -Satisfaction complex. The frequent repetition of these evaluations builds a cumulative picture in readers’ minds of the ANC’s wrongdoing in this situation. The ANC’s rebuttal of the allegations does not escape this picture. It denies the ANC & -Propriety and DA & -Security complexes using the word “peacefully”, but continues the ANC & -Satisfaction complex. The main trends in this article are summarized in Table 10.3.

A few aspects of this analysis give clues as to the cosmologies underlying this article, particularly in relation to coverage of the ANC. Firstly, it is evident that the coverage of political parties in this incident remains at a relatively strong level of semantic gravity. It addresses concrete actions taken in a physical “clash” between two parties. Even when the causes of the incident are discussed, these relate to concrete things like traffic vehicles, and are not linked to broader policy debates. No space is given for more abstract reflection on what the ANC and DA’s policy directions are. Instead, what gives ‘sex appeal’ in this article is the violence of the confrontation between the two parties, not policy differences or reasoned inter-party debate. This, in turn, does not provide much fuel for public sphere

discussions on the merits of parties' policy directions; rather, the kind of public sphere discussions that could be stimulated by such an article would only give moral judgements on the party members' behaviour.

The complexes of negative evaluation in this article in which the ANC is involved, and the fact that even the DA is not unambiguously positively charged, may draw on and feed cynicism towards politicians among the *Daily Sun's* readers. This article could be said to be characteristic of Barnett's "age of contempt" (2002, p. 404) in political journalism, in which politicians are depicted as pathologically dishonest at best and lowlifes at worst. It perpetuates the stereotype of politics as a dirty game.

Such a putative cosmology in which conflict and violence between parties are what give 'sex appeal' may have the effect of deepening distrust in political processes. If politicians are portrayed as resorting to violence to settle disputes, then there is little reason to trust them to exercise good leadership in political processes. And to compound this, there is little reason why readers should trust political processes, or engage in public sphere discussions about them, instead of seeking other ways of making their needs known to those in power. Thus articles such as this one may have a stultifying effect on public sphere engagement.

The above impression is based only on the findings from this one article; in 11.3.2 I evaluate the extent to which it is confirmed or disconfirmed by evidence from the other exploratory and targeted analyses as well as the corpus analysis. Thus the observations given in this section form only one small part of the cumulative impression of the cosmologies underlying the *Daily Sun's* political news coverage.

10.3.2 "Eye on the big prize! - DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029"

10.3.2.1 Descriptive account

This article, published on 15 June 2015, describes the launch of the Democratic Alliance (DA)'s "Vision 2029", a campaign in which the party revealed its vision of what a South Africa ruled by the DA would be like by the year 2029. The text of the article can be found in Appendix H.2. "Mzansi" is a popular nickname for South Africa, derived from the word for "south" in the Nguni languages, which include the two most widely-spoken languages in the country, isiZulu and isiXhosa. The article's sub-heading misrepresents the DA's vision somewhat. In the vision as outlined on the party's website, the DA would become the leading party in a coalition government in 2019, and win an outright majority in 2024; thus 2029 would be the tenth anniversary of a DA-led government (Democratic Alliance, 2017). This article illustrates the collocation of "DA" with the names of Mmusi Maimane and Helen Zille, and the words "leader" and "led", which are all in the 10 strongest significant lexical collocations of the DA in the *Daily Sun* corpus.

The launch described in this article happened on 13 June 2015, just over a month after the election of Mmusi Maimane as DA leader, succeeding Helen Zille, on 10 May 2015 (Areff and Khoza, 2015; ENCA, 2015). This fact is alluded to in paragraph 5 of the article.

The location of the launch, Soweto, is also extremely significant. Soweto is part of greater Johannesburg and is, as paragraph 1 says, an “ANC stronghold”. It is probably the largest and most well-known South African township, a residential area reserved for black Africans during apartheid. Both Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu lived there for significant periods. However, it is also Maimane’s hometown, and the launch happened on his birthday (ENCA, 2015). Thus the choice of Soweto as the place from which to launch this vision symbolizes the DA’s plans to entice black African voters, who are in the majority in South Africa, away from the ANC and other parties. Because of Soweto’s connections with the anti-apartheid liberation struggle, it also signifies the DA’s efforts to position themselves as part of the movement to reverse the injustices of apartheid, which are referred to explicitly in paragraph 9. In its recent campaigns, the DA has appropriated plenty of anti-apartheid imagery, drawing the ire of the ANC, which positions itself as having been the largest anti-apartheid liberation movement. For example, the DA used images of Mandela on posters prior to the 2016 local government elections and was heavily criticized by the ANC for doing so (Tandwa, 2016).

This article comprises a nucleus and five satellites. The nucleus (headline and par. 1) describes the launch of Vision 2029 in Soweto, and gives an indication that the author may not have a particularly high opinion of the event through the use of the word “low-key”. The event is described in more detail, and far less complimentary terms, in the first satellite (par. 2–3). The main intention of the launch and its theme are introduced in the second satellite (par. 4–5). An excerpt of Maimane’s speech is quoted directly in the third satellite (par. 6–7). In the fourth satellite, Maimane’s description of his own background is reported (par. 8). He describes himself as having humble origins in order to present himself as a ‘man of the people’ who can relate to working-class South Africans. Finally, the fifth satellite (par. 9–10) reports Maimane speaking of a desire for all children in South Africa to have equal opportunities.

In paragraph 9, Maimane refers to Alexandra, another poor black African township in Johannesburg, and Sandton, one of the city’s wealthiest areas, which is situated just next to Alexandra. He uses the contrast between the two areas to expound the DA’s vision of equality of opportunity. This feeds into controversial policy debates that have occurred within the DA and between the DA and ANC. The DA has historically supported ‘equality of opportunity’ while opposing policies that seek more direct measures of redress for the injustices of apartheid, such as the ANC’s Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) policy. As explained in 2.5, the question of whether or not race-based economic empowerment measures are necessary has been a subject of intense debate within the DA. Under Maimane’s leadership, the party has moved towards the position that empowerment for people disadvantaged under apartheid is necessary, while rejecting the ANC’s version

of BBBEE. The author ends the article on a critical note, observing that Maimane “could not spell out policies to achieve this [equality of opportunity]”. This supplements the criticisms of the event mentioned in paragraph 2.

The launch of Vision 2029, then, was a pivotal moment at which Maimane announced the direction the party would take under his leadership. However, the event itself is described as something of an anticlimax by the author of this article. Maimane positively evaluates the launch event and the party’s plans, while negatively evaluating the country’s apartheid past; by contrast, the author downplays the impact of the event. This creates two competing sets of binary constellations in the article, one produced by the author and another produced by Maimane. The author’s scepticism towards Maimane and the DA continues the trend of negative coverage of political parties observed in the exploratory analyses (8.5) and also present in the previous analysis (10.3.1). It also continues the trend of policy-blindness found in these articles, with no definitive information given in this article as to the DA’s policy positions under Maimane’s leadership, despite vague references to the DA’s stance on ‘equality of opportunity’.

10.3.2.2 LCT analysis

As mentioned in 10.3.2.1, two sets of binary constellations can be observed in this story. In both these sets, there is one well-developed constellation, and one poorly-developed constellation. Because, in general, the author charges the DA negatively, he produces a well-developed negatively-charged constellation centred on the DA, and a very small neutrally-charged constellation centred on the ANC. These constellations are shown in Table 10.4. On the other hand, Maimane is principally concerned with outlining his party’s new vision, and so produces a large positively-charged constellation around the notion of “a new future”, and a very small negatively-charged constellation around “the past”. His constellations are portrayed in Table 10.5. In this table, some key associative signifiers are marked in bold. These form central signifiers of smaller constellations within the larger constellations built around “A new future” and “The past”. The other signifiers in these smaller sub-constellations are listed under each of the signifiers in bold. The strong positively charged central signifiers “a new future”, “freedom”, “fairness” and “opportunity” spread positive charging to the signifiers constellated with them by association.

To assist in distinguishing between the constellation produced by the author and the one produced by Maimane, in the following description I examine Maimane’s constellations first, and then turn to those of the author. First, however, it is important to pay attention to the headline, which establishes the background against which both sets of constellations are built. The first part of the headline, “Eye on the big prize!” alludes to various historical references. A prominent television documentary series and companion book on the American civil rights movement is named *Eyes on the Prize* (Williams, 2013). The name of the documentary derives in turn from a folk song that became popular in

ANC	DA
	wants to lead Mzansi by 2029
	Mmusi Maimane
	Vision 2029
stronghold of Soweto	low-key event
	hyped
	minor event
	the opposition
	Jabulani Technical High School
	huffed and puffed but failed to connect
	fewer than 1 000... supporters
	a few
	the party's way forward
	DA leadership
	could not spell out policies to achieve this
	would be realised in due course

Table 10.4: *The author's constellations in "Eye on the big prize – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029"*

A new future	The past
Democratic Alliance	
freedom	apartheid
democrats	political straitjacket
fairness	
opportunity	denied black South Africans opportunities
a child born in Alexandra will have the same opportunities as a child born in Sandton	
every child will have the opportunity to realise their potential	
Mmusi Maimane	
wasn't born into a privileged or rich family	
his mother	
a cashier	
his father	
worked for a locksmith	
Vision 2029	
a nation led by a DA government	
a new mood... sweeping across this nation	
new future	

Table 10.5: *Maimane's constellations in "Eye on the big prize – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029"*

the movement, “Keep your eyes on the prize” (Williams, 2013). This song alludes to two verses from Paul’s letter to the Philippians: “I press on toward the goal for the prize of the upward call of God in Christ Jesus” (Philippians 3:14, Holy Bible, ESV), and “Brothers, join in imitating me, and keep your eyes on those who walk according to the example you have in us” (Philippians 3:17, ESV).

This chain of intertextual references serves to charge the headline with a variety of meanings. Maimane is a Christian pastor as well as a political leader (Maluleke, 2015), and so bears similarities to Martin Luther King Jr., as a leader in the civil rights movement. The Bible verses and allusion to the civil rights movement suggest that Maimane is, similar to King, engaged in a struggle which he sees as being righteous. In his speech, Maimane himself imitates aspects of King’s rhetoric, as is shown below in my analysis of paragraph 9. The allusions in “Eye on the big prize!” link Maimane with the notion of heroic struggle and with Christian discipleship, charging him with overwhelmingly positive meanings for a compliant reader. For these reasons, the phrase can be considered an instance of *resonant* charging. These allusions can also be seen as linked with various meaning-making resources described by SFL, as is shown in the SFL analysis below.

The remainder of the headline is relatively weak in axiological-semantic density, with the name “DA” and “Mzansi” (both considered *leaders*) as the only signifiers with relatively strong axiological-semantic density. The words “wants to lead” introduce leadership, another *resonant*, as a key concern in the article. The word “lead” is constellated with the DA, an association which is reinforced throughout. “By 2029” gives a time limit by which they hope to achieve their goal, which becomes another *resonant* that echoes throughout the article. Thus while there is relatively weak axiological-semantic density in the headline, there is strong charging, which associates the DA with concepts that are generally viewed positively. However, the words “DA wants to” remind readers that this is the party’s vision, allowing the author to distance himself from it.

Maimane’s positively-charged DA constellation is built around three *ideas* with extremely strong axiological-semantic density, introduced in paragraph 5: “freedom”, “fairness” and “opportunity”. These are all constellated with “future”, which becomes a central signifier holding together the constellation Maimane is building. The future is a central concept in much of Maimane’s rhetoric: he has authored one book, entitled *Believe in Tomorrow* (Maimane, 2018). The words “future”, “freedom”, “fairness” and “opportunity” form part of Maimane’s “rallying cry”. In addition to carrying strong axiological meanings of their own, they charge Maimane and the DA positively. The association between Maimane, the DA and the word “leader” is continued in this paragraph by the author as well, and is constellated together with Maimane’s “rallying cry” through use of the conjunction “since”, which joins together meanings from the first and second halves of the paragraph using *linking* sequencing. The name of Helen Zille, as former party *leader*, is also strong in axiological-semantic density and constellated with the DA, but she does not seem to play a significant role in constellating or charging other signifiers apart from that.

Maimane constellates further meanings with the “future” in the section of his speech quoted in the third satellite (par. 6–7), and creates a small opposing constellation around “the past”. The word “democrats” is used to refer to members of the DA and charges them positively as a *resonant*. The conjunction “but” enacts *arguing* sequencing, which contracts dialogic space around his view, and “energised” continues the positive charging of the constellation as an instance of *vigorous* charging. “The past” is constellated with “political straitjacket”, a metaphor which forms an *idea* that succeeds in charging this constellation negatively without much further development of the constellation being needed. By contrast, Maimane’s “new future” is constellated with “new possibilities”, which echoes and elaborates on “opportunity” in his “rallying cry”. References to “this nation”, and “people” suggest that this “new future” is what South Africans want.

Much constellating and charging work is done by a single, long, *complex-modified* phrase, “a country where people work hard, play by the rules and respect each other” (par. 7). Here three characteristics of the “new future” are unpacked using words that are weaker in axiological-semantic density but nonetheless contribute to axiological condensation. More specifically, these characteristics add meaning by unpacking the word “fairness” in Maimane’s rallying cry. Each of them also counters negative stereotypes commonly associated with South Africans, namely that they are lazy, lawless and disrespectful towards each other, especially across societal divides such as ‘race’ and class.

Maimane condenses positive charging into his own name in paragraph 8 through associating himself with common, working-class South Africans. He does this by saying he was not “born into a privileged or rich family”, thereby enacting axiological rarefaction by denying a possible association with privilege or wealth. Instead, the pronoun “he” is used to constellate Maimane with working-class characteristics through his parents, by mentioning their occupations. “His mother” and “his father” are *associates*, constellated with him by virtue of being his family members, and so their working-class occupations as a “cashier” and “work[ing] for a locksmith” are constellated with him by extension. As pointed out in the descriptive account, this is necessary since the DA as a party is traditionally associated with the middle class. Thus in this context, Maimane’s parents’ occupations are positively charged and so condense positive charging into his name.

Maimane picks up the signifier “opportunity” from his “rallying cry” and associates further meanings with it in paragraph 9. Again, he begins with negative charging enacted through the signifier “apartheid”, which has extremely strong axiological-semantic density, and the idea that it “denied” opportunities to some people. This contributes to the small constellation Maimane has built around “the past”, since apartheid is considered to be something that happened in the past. By contrast, the signifier “opportunities” is used to condense further positive charging into “the future” Maimane envisages through the statement that he “envisions a country where a child born in Alexandra will have the same opportunities as a child born in Sandton”. This statement is once again reminiscent of Martin Luther King Jr., who, in his famous “I have a dream” speech, said, “I have a

dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.” (King, 1963, p. 5).

Instead of referring directly to ‘race’, Maimane compares children according to the place in which they are born, which in post-apartheid South Africa is linked to both racial and class distinctions: children born in Alexandra are probably poor black Africans, while those born in Sandton may be members of any ‘race’ but will probably belong to the middle or upper class. Maimane’s use of geography as a distinguishing factor rather than race could suggest that his party is no longer preoccupied with the racial classifications of past South Africa, but rather concerned about giving equal opportunities to the poor regardless of their ‘race’. As 10.3.2.1 points out, this is consistent with the DA’s established policy of equality of opportunity, which follows from a liberalism that is individualistic and arguably ‘colour-blind’. Therefore here, an indirect allusion to King’s speech condenses positive charging together with Maimane (for a compliant reader), by associating him with King and his struggle for freedom. However, the point that Maimane is making is carefully calculated to de-emphasize ‘race’ and instead refer to the more complex associations between ‘race’ and class reflected in post-apartheid South Africa’s social divides, while reflecting his party’s liberal political philosophy.

The theme of “opportunity” is elaborated and made more explicit in paragraph 10, where Maimane repeats the clustering of “DA”, the word “led” and “opportunity”, as well as another *idea* relatively strong in axiological-semantic density, the word “potential”. This reminds readers that Maimane’s plan for “the future” has the notion of DA leadership of the country at its centre. The all-embracing nature of this vision is shown in “every child”, which serves to amplify the positive charging associated with the DA, and Maimane’s plan as a constellation. He constellates himself and his party strongly with “the future”, positioning the DA as forward-looking and representing a strong break with the injustice and oppression of South Africa’s past.

By contrast, the author of the article uses his voice to express a strong degree of scepticism about Maimane’s vision. This is begun in paragraph 1, the lead. This paragraph contains the only mention of another party’s name, “the ANC”, followed by the word “stronghold”, a lexical metaphor which condenses relatively strong axiological meanings together with the ANC. Although these meanings are strong, it is difficult to say conclusively whether they are meant to reflect positively or negatively on the ANC, and so the association of “ANC” with “stronghold” can be seen as a very small neutrally-charged constellation produced by the author, which is not developed elsewhere in the article. However, the word “low-key” downplays the significance of the DA’s launch. This word begins a pattern of deflating the launch event’s significance which is continued in other paragraphs where the author’s voice, rather than Maimane’s voice, is prominent in the article.

This pattern is developed much further in the first satellite (par. 2–3), where a negatively-charged constellation centred on the DA begins to emerge. The conjunction “but” at

the beginning of the paragraph indicates that this paragraph uses *arguing* sequencing, enacting axiological condensation in a way that closes dialogic space around the author's portrayal of events. This paragraph is relatively sparse in words with relatively strong axiological-semantic density: the *leaders* "opposition", "Maimane" and "DA" are each mentioned once. Here, "the opposition" is constellated with "DA", and in fact, the two words are used interchangeably. There are many words that charge the DA's constellation negatively using *vigorous* charging: the launch event was "hyped" (given more significance than it warranted), but was "minor".

The phrase "huffed and puffed" alludes to the Big Bad Wolf in the fairy tale of the Three Little Pigs. Whereas in the headline and paragraph 10 allusion is used to charge Maimane positively by association with Martin Luther King Jr. and the American civil rights movement, here it charges him negatively by association with the Big Bad Wolf, enacting *resonant* charging. Following this, the word "but" is used to connect two passages together in a way that heightens axiological condensation using *arguing* sequencing, and "failed" again enacts *vigorous* negative charging. One instance that may run counter to the trend of charging the DA negatively is the constellation of the word "black" with "DA". This could provide some indication that the DA is doing something right by attracting black supporters; however, this effect is diminished by the small number of supporters at the event: "fewer than 1 000" is also used to charge the DA's constellation negatively using *placid* charging.

Paragraph 3 simply mentions two other groups of people who were at the launch: "a few white supporters and provincial leaders". These two groups are added to the DA's constellation. Again, the word "a few" is used to charge this constellation negatively using *placid* charging. The word "leaders" here has relatively strong axiological-semantic density, echoing the use of "lead" in the headline and "leader" in paragraph 1.

The event being described is condensed into the word "launch" in the second satellite, and paragraph 4, in particular, gives the intended purpose of the event. Here, unlike in the previous paragraphs, it is described without negative charging. The word "leadership" again co-occurs with "DA", increasing the strength with which the two terms are constellated together.

After extensive reporting of Maimane's speech, the article switches back to the author's voice in the final paragraph (par. 11). Here negative charging is concentrated with Maimane in that he "could not spell out policies to achieve this". Here "this" refers at least to the contents of paragraph 10, and at most to the contents of his entire vision of "the future". Thus "this" here enacts *transporting* sequencing, condensing meanings from a relatively long stretch of text into one word, making for extremely strong axiological-semantic density which is then appropriated to charge Maimane negatively. By comparison, Maimane's reported countering of this accusation, namely that "they would be realised in due course" appears indefinite and carries very little semantic density, and so does little to condense further positive charging with Maimane's "new future".

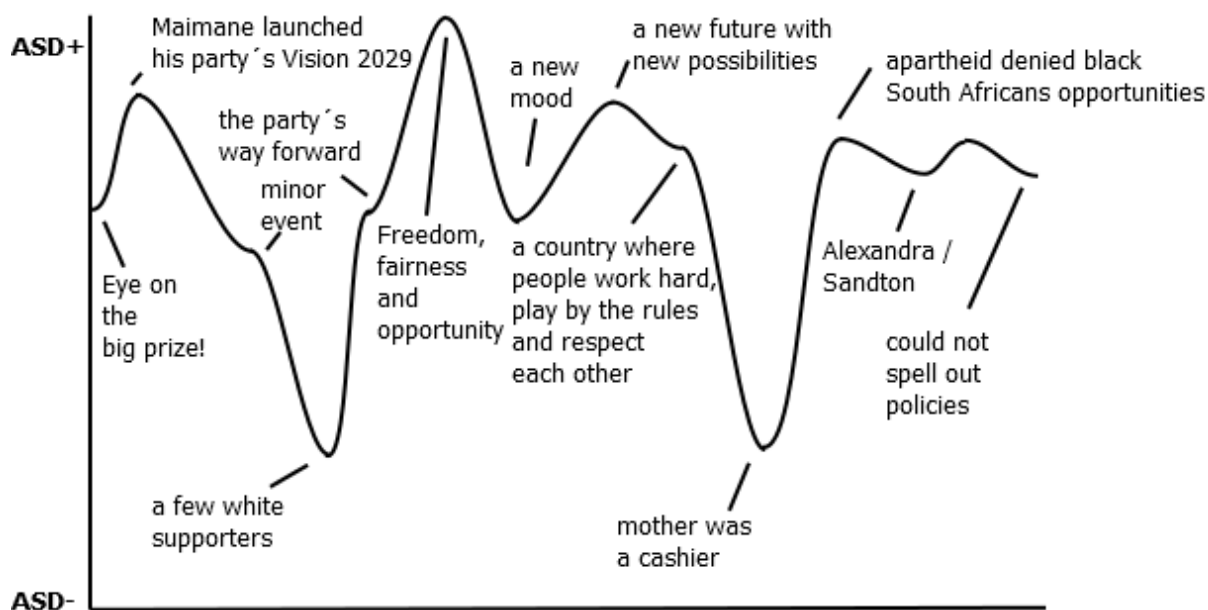


Figure 10.4: *Semantic profile of “Eye on the big prize! – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029”*

In Figure 10.4, a semantic profile for the article is shown. This profile clearly shows the mention of Maimane’s rallying cry, “A future built on freedom, fairness and opportunity” as a high point in axiological-semantic density in the article, and the following paragraphs as unpacking this rallying cry at weaker levels of axiological-semantic density. The mention of “a new future with new possibilities” and of “apartheid” as “den[ying] black South Africans opportunities” form lesser high points, and axiological-semantic density trails off towards the end of the article, where it is mentioned that Maimane is not able to “spell out policies” for achieving his new vision.

10.3.2.3 SFL analysis

This analysis begins with a description of the iconization work done by the intertextual reference in the headline of the article, and then describes how meaning-making resources unfold in the article, beginning with the nucleus and running through each of the subsequent satellites in turn.

As mentioned in the LCT analysis, the headline of this article instantiates a chain of intertextual reference to valued texts in and about the American Civil Rights movement, and ultimately to Paul’s letter to Philippians in the Bible. From an SFL perspective, such allusions propose bonds between the author and readers, and iconize actors and objects involved in the chain of allusion. This process is described in detail by Caple (2010), whose work I draw on in this explanation of the effects of the allusions in this article. Firstly, for allusions to work, readers need to recognize what the author is alluding to. In the case of the headline “Eye on the big prize!”, they need to be aware that the phrase “eyes on the prize” was used in valued texts in the American Civil Rights movement, or at least be reminded of the biblical passage that the phrase draws on. This recognition

creates a community of people who understand the author's covert references to these texts. In the process, the allusion proposes a bond: it becomes a bondicon (see 5.5) that readers either rally around or disaffiliate from. This process charges people or things with interpersonal meaning. In this way, the allusion aids in iconization. Thus "Eye on the big prize!" associates the DA with the American civil rights movement and, some may even argue, with the early Church, thereby iconizing the DA as a movement, or Community in terms of discourse iconography (see 5.6), in pursuit of a lofty goal.

The nucleus of this article, as its macroTheme, introduces two complexes that dominate it, namely one in which positive Capacity is coupled with Maimane and the DA and another in which negative Capacity is coupled with them. Some of these invocations of Capacity lie behind inscriptions of other Appraisal resources. In the headline, "big prize" inscribes positive Reaction, but "Eye on the big prize!", invokes positive Capacity and positive Tenacity by suggesting that the party is oriented towards the "big prize" of winning power over the country, which would be the first step towards realizing this goal. By contrast, the word "low-key", which inscribes negative Reaction and softening Focus, invokes a negative Capacity Judgement towards the DA for not managing to arrange a larger event. The words "lead" in the sub-heading and "leader" in the lead of the article also invoke positive Capacity in that leading requires competence and leaders are usually viewed as competent people. The phrase "ANC stronghold" could be seen as invoking positive Capacity Judgements towards the ANC, the party which the DA has to defeat in order to win leadership of the country. Thus the nucleus makes clear that this article is about appraising the DA's capacity to "lead Mzansi [South Africa]" as it aspires to do.

The first satellite (par. 2-3) gives a strongly negative assessment of this capacity. It says that the event was "hyped", an invocation of Intensified positive Inclination, as a "milestone moment", inscribing a positive Valuation. However, it turned out to be "a minor event", inscribing negative Valuation. This again invokes a Judgement of negative Capacity on the DA for failing to organize a bigger event, as does "fewer than 1 000" and "a few", instances of downscaling Quantification which re-emphasize the smallness of the event. The negative Capacity Judgements extend to Maimane, as seen in "huffed and puffed", and "failed". "Huffed and puffed" instantiates upscaling Vigour, as though Maimane was making a great effort but still failing to connect with his audience. All of these Judgements that appear in paragraph 2 are coupled with the Engagement resource of Counter, suggesting that there is dialogic contraction around the version of events put forward here by the author; it is thus positioned as authoritative. The allusion to the Big Bad Wolf in "huffed and puffed", like the allusion in the headline, does important iconizing work, but in the opposite direction to it. Here Maimane is associated with a character which compliant readers would disaffiliate from, thus charging him with stronger negative interpersonal meanings.

The intentions behind the launch event are described in more neutral terms in the second satellite (par. 4-5). Paragraph 4 describes these without using any instantiations of Ap-

praisal apart from “leadership”, which once again invokes the article’s emphasis on Judgements of Capacity. The slogan in paragraph 5 describes the values on which Maimane purports to be concentrating during his tenure as party leader: “freedom, fairness and opportunity”. These are heavy with Affect, with “freedom” inscribing positive Satisfaction and “opportunity” invoking positive Happiness, as new opportunities are frequently occasions for excitement. “Freedom” and “fairness” also instantiate positive Judgements of Propriety. These positive Propriety Judgements couple with descriptions of the DA’s new values to form a new complex which recurs throughout the satellites reporting on Maimane’s speech. As explained in the LCT analysis, these terms are unpacked, and meanings are added to them, in the satellites that follow.

The second satellite describes important changes in the iconography of the DA, which can be described using discourse iconography. The DA’s leader, or its chief Hero, has changed from Helen Zille to Mmusi Maimane. In keeping with this change and the party’s repositioning as a party capable of governing, Maimane has introduced “a future built on freedom, fairness and opportunity” as a new set of Values for the party. The following satellites in the article give an opportunity to observe the iconization of both Maimane as Hero and his new Values.

The third satellite (par. 6–7) quotes a short excerpt from Maimane’s speech which is used to add meanings to the words “future”, “freedom” and “fairness” in his rallying cry. He introduces this with the hyperTheme “Democrats, I don’t know about you, but I feel energised by a new mood I sense sweeping across this nation.” Here Maimane uses the contractive Engagement resources of Deny (“I don’t know about you”) and Counter (“but I feel energised...”) to bolster the extent to which this “new mood” is viewed as a real phenomenon. Maimane uses the word “new” three times, once in conjunction with “future” in “a new future”. The word “new” inscribes a positive Reaction, but the nominal groups modified by “new” (“a new mood”, “a new future”, “new possibilities”) could also be seen as invoking positive Inclination, a willingness for change. This effect is heightened by more positive Inclination in the word “energised”, and negative Inclination in the word “reject”, referring to past constraints.

The mentions of “new” and the prosody of positive Inclination all add meaning to the “future” element of Maimane’s rallying cry. “Freedom” is alluded to obliquely in the word “straitjacket”, which as an instantiation of invoked negative Satisfaction and Propriety is associated with the opposite of freedom. Paragraph 7 elaborates on the value of “fairness” through the phrases “work hard”, instantiating positive Tenacity, and “play by the rules” and “respect each other”, instantiating positive Propriety. These actions are emphasized by being placed in the hyperNew of this satellite. Throughout this satellite, Maimane projects these desires onto “people”, making it appear as though his new Values for the DA are responding to the desires of ordinary South Africans rather than simply being a set of values strategically worked out by the DA leadership.

The fourth satellite (par. 8), is dedicated to iconizing Maimane as the DA’s new Hero.

It does this by associating him with invoked Judgements of positive Normality. Both “wasn’t born into a privileged or rich family” in the hyperTheme, and the descriptions of his parents’ careers in “a cashier” and “worked for a locksmith” emphasize that Maimane comes from a ‘normal’ working-class background. This is significant for the DA as a party historically known for representing middle-class interests, which is now trying to extend its reach among South Africa’s working class majority. The fact that the Engagement resource of Deny needs to be used in “wasn’t born into a privileged or rich family” suggests that many people perceive Maimane as being privileged, and that he feels the need to combat this perception so as to position himself as a ‘man of the people’.

As noted in the LCT analysis, the final satellite (par. 9–10) unpacks the word “opportunity” in Maimane’s “rallying cry”. The word “opportunity” is mentioned once in paragraph 10 and “opportunities” are mentioned twice in paragraph 9. This term is coupled with positive Satisfaction and positive Propriety to form a complex in this satellite. Initially, in the hyperTheme, Maimane links a lack of opportunities with “apartheid”, a term loaded with negative Satisfaction, negative Security and negative Propriety. The negative Satisfaction and negative Propriety are continued in “denied black South Africans opportunities”. By contrast, “a child born in Alexandra will have the same opportunities as a child born in Sandton” invokes positive Satisfaction, and Maimane’s envisioning of a country where this is the case invokes positive Propriety towards him.

Similarly in paragraph 10, “every child will have the opportunity to realise their potential” invokes both positive Satisfaction and positive Propriety, bolstered by the allusion to Martin Luther King Jr’s “I have a dream” speech discussed in the LCT analysis. This allusion likens Maimane to King, connecting a Hero of the American civil rights movement with the DA’s new Hero. In this way, it charges Maimane with strong positive interpersonal meaning, just as the DA is charged in the headline. Equality of opportunity is presented here as a means of redressing the wrongs of apartheid. This feeds into traditional DA policy which emphasizes equal opportunities for people of all races over means of positive discrimination such as the ANC’s BBBEE policy (see 2.4). As alluded to in 10.3.2.1, it is interesting that on this point, Maimane reverts to this traditional DA policy rather than suggesting a turn towards acceptance of economic empowerment policies for previously-disadvantaged people, as he has argued for elsewhere. Thus in this respect, he retains elements of continuity from the DA’s older Values in his new set of Values for the party.

This satellite also marks a return to the complexes of positive and negative Capacity Judgements coupled with the DA that is evident in the first three paragraphs of the article. The word “led” invokes a positive Capacity Judgement on the DA as a party fit to lead the country, echoing the use of “lead” in the headline. Later the author writes that Maimane “could not spell out policies to achieve this”, invoking a negative Capacity Judgement against him. As pointed out in 10.3.2.2, here “this” is an instance of text reference packing up the meanings in Maimane’s quotation in paragraph 10 into a single pronoun. This extends the reach of this negative Judgement significantly. In this way,

Complex	DA / Maimane & +Capacity	DA / Maimane & -Capacity	DA / Maimane & +Propriety
<i>Total instances</i>	7	7	7
<i>Upscaling Force</i>	2	1	1
<i>Downscaling Force</i>	0	4	0
<i>Expansive Engagement</i>	1	0	7
<i>Contractive Engagement</i>	0	4	0
<i>Grammatical metaphor / Technicality</i>	2	1	2
<i>High-level periodicity</i>	4	2	3

Table 10.6: *Complexes in “Eye on the big prize – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029” and their couplings with various other linguistic resources*

the complexes of Capacity Judgements coupled with mentions of the DA frame the rest of the article.

As Table 10.6 shows, the three largest complexes in the article by number of instantiations are the DA/Maimane & +Capacity complex, a DA/Maimane & -Capacity complex, and a DA/Maimane & +Propriety complex. This table, compiled out of counts from Appendix I.2, reveals various trends relating to these three complexes. First, it is notable that there are as many couplings of the DA and Maimane with positive Capacity as there are with negative Capacity. However, all but one of these are word-forms or derivations of the verb “to lead”, including “leader”, “led” and “leadership”. These are coded as invoking positive Capacity in the context of this article because of its heavy emphasis on the concept of leadership, but do not necessarily indicate positive assessments from the article’s author of the DA’s competence to lead. Four out of the seven instances of positive Capacity are coupled with high-level periodicity, three of which are in the macroTheme of the article, focusing attention on the DA’s ambitions to lead as a topic or point of departure for the article. Thus the DA/Maimane & +Capacity complex is used mainly to raise the question of whether the DA has the capacity to lead, rather than to state outright that it does have such capacity.

The DA/Maimane & -Capacity complex is marked by four instances of downscaling Force and four instances of contractive Engagement. The downscaling Force refers, in all cases, to the small attendance and impact of the “low-key” launch of Vision 2029, according to the author’s assessment. Thus this downscaling Force does not mitigate the strength of the negative Capacity Judgements, but rather increases them. Likewise, the contractive Engagement refers in each case to the resource of Counter, which is used to make the point that the launch event was small, contrary to the DA’s expectations. Therefore both of these resources are used to strengthen the negative Capacity Judgements, positioning the DA negatively as a party incapable of holding an impressive event, let alone governing the country.

By contrast, the DA/Maimane & +Propriety complex is used in the satellites describing Maimane's speech to position the party as taking the moral high ground. All seven of the instances of this complex are coupled with expansive Engagement, and so it would be more accurate to call it the 'DA/Maimane & +Propriety & expansive Engagement' complex. The expansive Engagement positions these positive Propriety Judgements as being part of the DA's new slogan and set of values (using Entertain), or as being spoken by Maimane rather than the author (using Acknowledge). This allows plenty of room for readers to differ with Maimane's positioning of the party, weakening the eventual impact of the complex in positioning the DA positively.

Thus in this article, there seem to be two main agendas at play: the DA's efforts to iconize Maimane as its new Hero and the party's new Values, and the author's efforts to call the DA's capability to lead into question. There is considerable discord between these two competing agendas, which correspond to two different sets of bonds (see 5.5) with which the reader can choose to affiliate. The first set of bonds is instantiated through Judgements of positive Propriety coupled with Maimane's new Values of "freedom, fairness and opportunity", and a few Judgements of positive Normality coupled with Maimane. However, these are framed by the second set of bonds, instantiated through coupling Maimane and the DA with positive and negative Capacity Judgements. These are linked with the DA's expressed ambition to "lead" the country. The author, through mainly invoked negative Capacity Judgements, suggests that, judging by the launch event and the lack of "policies to achieve" the new Values, the DA is not yet capable of leading. While they aspire to emulate the American civil rights movement and the early Church as successful movements with a righteous cause, the author suggests that they are doomed to fall short of these aspirations.

10.3.2.4 Conclusion

This article shows how multiple voices may lead to multiple sets of binary constellations in a news article: Maimane's voice as projected in the article produces an entirely different set of constellations from those produced by the author of the article. In Maimane's set of constellations, he contrasts his plan for South Africa's future with what happened in the past. The author, meanwhile, creates a negatively-charged constellation around the DA under Maimane's leadership, and a very small neutrally-charged constellation around the ANC. Consistent complexes of linguistic resources are used to produce the two larger constellations in the text: Maimane's positive constellation around his vision for the future is held together by positive Propriety expressed through the semantically dense concepts of "freedom, fairness and opportunity", coupled with expansive Engagement. To a lesser extent, he uses positive Normality coupled with Maimane himself as an individual. Maimane contrasts the party's new, future-oriented value system with "the past", which he couples with sporadic instances of negative Satisfaction, Security and Pro-

“Eye on the big prize! – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029”	
<i>Constellations</i>	<i>Chief linguistic resources used</i>
Maimane’s constellations	
future, DA (positive)	+Propriety & expansive Engagement
	Maimane & +Normality
past (negative)	-Satisfaction
	-Security
	-Propriety
Author’s constellations	
ANC (neutral)	+Capacity
DA (negative)	-Capacity

Table 10.7: *Summary of “Eye on the big prize! – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029” analysis*

propriety. The author’s negatively-charged constellation around the DA is produced mainly through invoked negative Judgements of Capacity. The two sets of constellations and the linguistic resources that are used to enact them are summarized in Table 10.7.

In terms of political positioning, this article reveals some scepticism towards the DA on the part of one journalist featured in the *Daily Sun*. Other analyses (see 10.3.1, for example) reveal similar scepticism and downright contempt towards the ANC. Thus it appears as though the Daily Sun (re)produces cosmologies in which all political parties are to be treated with suspicion. However, in this article, the scepticism expressed towards the DA is grounded primarily on their inability to hold a successful campaign launch event, and only secondarily on the fact that Maimane has no policies in place to achieve its vision. Thus the ways in which political parties are evaluated remain rather superficial, rather than addressing matters of policy in a considered manner. This means that this article again provides a fairly slender, and possibly misleading, basis on which the DA’s new Values can be discussed in the alternative public sphere facilitated by the *Daily Sun*: the party’s capacity to govern is evaluated based on its organization of one event.

10.3.3 “Maimane – Broken man Zuma presides over a broken society”

10.3.3.1 Descriptive account

This article, published on 18 February 2015, describes a parliamentary debate on President Jacob Zuma’s State of the Nation Address. The text of the article can be found in Appendix H.3. The address itself, which had been given on 12 February, is remembered more for a conflict that happened in the National Assembly chamber than for anything that Zuma said. EFF MPs disrupted the address and refused to leave the chamber when ordered to do so by the National Assembly Speaker, Baleka Mbete. Eventually, all the EFF MPs were forcibly removed by security guards. These actions are described in more

detail in a *Daily Sun* article on the address, published on 13 February 2015.¹ DA and EFF MPs' reactions to this incident are reported in this article. Both parties harshly criticize Zuma and Mbete, who is also an ANC member.

This article is structured into a nucleus and four fairly long satellites. The nucleus (the headline and paragraph 1) introduces Maimane's comments in the debate on Zuma's State of the Nation address. These comments are elaborated on in the first satellite (paragraphs 2–6). The second satellite relays Malema's comments during the debate (paragraphs 7–9). In the third satellite (paragraphs 10–13), EFF MPs Ndlozi and Shivambu complain about Mbete's conduct in calling Malema a cockroach, and Modise responds as the presiding officer in the debate. The final satellite records a complaint by Steenhuisen,² from the DA, that Mbete made the decision to remove the MPs from the House on the basis of information gained from outside the House, and Modise's response to this complaint. Structurally, each satellite begins with the name of an MP who speaks in the debate, and each satellite ends with a quotation either from that MP (in the case of satellites 1 and 2) or from Modise (in the case of satellites 3 and 4).

The attribution at the end of the article shows that it was not written by the *Daily Sun* staff, but instead taken from Sapa (South African Press Association), a newswire that at one stage had provided news to all of South Africa's main newspapers but by 2015 was only supplying Media24, the *Daily Sun*'s parent company (Van der Velden, 2015). Sapa closed down in March 2015, the month after this article was published, as it became clear that the big four newspaper houses (see 3.4) which had owned it were no longer interested in sustaining its existence (Van der Velden, 2015). Despite the fact that this article is not attributed to the *Daily Sun*'s journalists, a search of NewsBank's Access South Africa database and a Google search of online news articles confirms that no other newspaper published the same article as the *Daily Sun*. Moreover, the lead paragraph uses the colloquialism “cops”, instead of the more formal “policemen”, which one would expect to find in newswire copy. This evidence suggests that the article was at least modified by the *Daily Sun* editorial staff to suit the newspaper's editorial style and audience (see 3.5).

While this article was selected for analysis because of the presence of a large number of strongest significant lexical collocations of “EFF” in it, another candidate for selection, an article containing even more of these collocations but no mention of other political parties, also was sourced from Sapa (see 7.3.3). This means that analysing an article from Sapa was almost unavoidable if I was to select an article exemplifying many of the collocations of “EFF” mentioned in the corpus analysis. For these reasons, while this article was not initially written by *Daily Sun* staff, I consider it to be a suitable example of *Daily Sun* political news coverage for analysis in this study.

¹“Chaos in the House! – President speaks after rocky start”, 13 February 2015

²This is the correct spelling of his surname; it is spelled incorrectly in the article, as “Steenhuizen”.

10.3.3.2 LCT analysis

Two large constellations appear to be produced in this article: a positively-charged constellation including opposition MPs from the DA and EFF, and a negatively-charged constellation consisting of government officials, including Zuma, Mbete and Modise. These two large constellations can be broken down into a number of clusters surrounding each of the main individuals mentioned in the article. This is depicted in Table 10.8, in which these individuals are identified in bold type, and the signifiers relating to them are listed under the name of each.

One mechanism enabling the coherence of these two constellations is the structure of the article. Each new section of the article begins by mentioning the name of an opposition MP, who criticizes a government official. In the last two satellites of the article (paragraphs 10–15), another official, Thandi Modise, responds to criticism against her colleague Baleka Mbete. In the following analysis, I describe how constellations are built and axiological-semantic density is modulated in each of the satellites in turn, beginning with the nucleus.

The headline introduces the first opposition MP quoted, Maimane, and the target of his criticism, Zuma. From this headline, one would assume that these two figures might be central signifiers for the two constellations in the article, but the presence of other opposition MPs and other government officials in the later sections of the article suggests otherwise. In both the headline and lead, Maimane condenses considerable amounts of negative charging together with Zuma. In the headline, this is accomplished mainly through the repeated word “broken”, which would be classified as a *resonant*. Zuma, as a *leader*, is a “broken man”, constellated with “a broken society”, South Africa in 2015.

This negative charging is strengthened further using two words in paragraph 1 that would be classified as *vigorous* charging: “accused” and “dragged”, and one *resonant*, “laughing”. The “cops” are constellated with Zuma by virtue of the fact that he is portrayed as taking pleasure in what they do. They clearly belong together with him in the negatively-charged “Government” constellation. Meanwhile, the “EFF MPs” appear to be constellated with Maimane and the DA if one considers the structure of the article as a whole and the ways in which opposition MPs are portrayed as criticizing government officials at every point. The headline, and more particularly paragraph 1, forms a peak in axiological-semantic density by virtue of the number of *leaders* who are named, both organizations and individuals: the DA, Maimane, Zuma, the EFF and Parliament. In paragraph 1, the clauses in which these *leaders* are mentioned are joined together through the use of the words “of” and “as”, enacting *linking* sequencing which heightens axiological condensation.

Maimane condenses further negative charging with Zuma’s name in the first satellite, paragraphs 2 to 6. In the first clause of paragraph 2, axiological-semantic density is maintained at a strong level through the mention of Maimane’s name, and “the debate of the president’s state of the nation address”, a phrase in which “debate”, “the president” and “the nation” are clustered together. By contrast, Maimane’s words reported in this

Opposition	Government
Mmusi Maimane	Jacob Zuma
DA	broken man
EFF (MPs)	broken society
respect for parliament	laughing
in heated debate	cops
	dragged
	democratic institutions were being undermined
	honourable (technical sense)
	laughed
	trampling on Madiba's legacy
Julius Malema	pay back the money spent on his private home at Nkandla in KwaZulu/Natal
true state of the nation	state of the nation address
	failed the poor
	used violence
elected opponents	silence his elected opponents
"cockroaches"	use hooliganism
	silence the opposition
Mbuyiseni Ndlozi	Baleka Mbete
tackled	ANC
an insect matter	referred to "cockroaches" like Malema
Floyd Shivambu	ordering MPs to be removed
honourable	relied on comments made outside the house
John Steenhuizen [sic]	Thandi Modise
right	do not want to make a precedent of one presiding officer presiding over another presiding officer
	cannot apologise on behalf of the speaker

Table 10.8: *Constellations in "Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society"*

paragraph are weaker in axiological-semantic density, but accomplish significant axiological charging. Here the word “democratic” charges “institutions” positively, but the fact that these valued institutions are being “undermined” introduces strong negative charging which is then directed towards “one man”, identified in paragraph 3 as Zuma. The word “protect” in this context also carries negative charging, as it refers to protecting Zuma from justice.

Paragraphs 3 and 4 centre on Maimane’s tactical use of the word “honourable” to describe Zuma. Here Maimane distinguishes between two uses of the word: its everyday use, in which it is charged with positive axiology as a *resonant*, and its ceremonial use in parliament which is a *frequent*, offering very weak charging. First Maimane associates the word with Zuma without specifying which meaning he is selecting, in “this honourable man is in our presence today”. When he says “he used the term ‘honourable’ out of respect for parliament”, he specifies that he intends the ceremonial sense with weaker charging to be constellated with Zuma. At the same time, Maimane charges himself positively using “respect for parliament”. Here “respect”, as an *act*, has relatively strong axiological-semantic density along with strong positive charging. By contrast, he disassociates Zuma from the everyday positively-charged sense of the word ‘honourable’, in “Zuma was not an honourable man.”

Maimane’s use of the words “respect” and the phrase “honourable man” are reminiscent of Act III Scene II of Shakespeare’s play *Julius Caesar*. In this scene, Brutus introduces his defence of the reasons why he killed Caesar with the words “believe me for mine honour, and have respect to mine honour, that you may believe” (ll. 14–15, Shakespeare, 1895). Later in the same scene, Mark Antony’s eulogy for Caesar is punctuated with the ironic refrain “Brutus is an honourable man” (ll. 87, 92, 99). The irony is pushed to its logical conclusion by a citizen in the audience, who says of Brutus and his co-conspirators, “They were traitors: honourable men!” (l. 158). Here, as in Maimane’s speech, much is made of the tension between the ceremonial sense of the word “honourable” and its everyday meaning. If Maimane were consciously alluding to *Julius Caesar*, he could be interpreted as likening Zuma to Brutus, as a traitor.

However, this allusion is likely to escape much of his audience, and so Maimane makes his position clear by saying “Zuma was not an honourable man”, using the everyday meaning of “honourable”. Many readers, especially those in the *Daily Sun*’s working-class and lower-middle-class target market, may not be able to identify the source of the allusion, but may recognize the words as familiar in some way. Shakespeare’s ironic use of “honourable” in *Julius Caesar* could be viewed as having become a permanent part of the English language’s meaning-making resources, colouring subsequent uses of the word in contexts such as that of the State of the Nation debate. If the allusion is in any way familiar or part of the language’s meaning-making resources as I suggest, then it is likely that it is axiologically charged in some way, and aids in negative axiological charging. For those who are able to trace the allusion back to *Julius Caesar*, this would give stronger

even negative charging to Maimane's use of the phrase "not an honourable man".

Maimane's words in paragraph 5 repeat the headline. This is an instance of *revisiting* sequencing, in which axiological condensation is heightened through the repetition of material mentioned earlier, strengthening the relations between Zuma, the description "broken man", and "broken society". This repetition continues into paragraph 6, where Maimane elaborates on the circumstances of Zuma's laughter, first mentioned in paragraph 1. The laughter is associated with "trampling on Madiba's legacy". Here, the name "Madiba" carries extremely strong axiological-semantic density as the clan name for the revered icon Nelson Mandela, and the *idea* of a "legacy" also carries strong axiological-semantic density. This strong axiological-semantic density adds great weight to the *vigorous* negative charging inherent in the word "trampling". This is further strengthened by the phrase "in the week we celebrated the 25th anniversary of his release". Here, the word "celebrated" charges the anniversary, and therefore Mandela's release, positively. In addition to this, the "release", an *act*, is associated with the determiner "his", referring to Mandela, creating a peak of relatively strong axiological-semantic density which then receives the positive charging. This positive charging condenses further meaning into "trampling", exacerbating the negative charging carried by this word and therefore constellated with Zuma as the one who did the trampling.

Paragraph 7 introduces the second satellite of the article, in which another opposition politician speaks, namely Julius Malema. Malema's name carries relatively strong axiological-semantic density, along with his designation as "EFF leader". Malema's words reported in this paragraph are condensed into a long phrase headed by the word "demands", an *act* that carries negative charging by suggesting either that Malema is being unnecessarily demanding, or (more likely in this context) that he has a concern that needs to be addressed. Much meaning is condensed into the word "demands" through the words that modify it in this phrase.

Zuma's name is associated here with "pay back the money". This became a slogan of the EFF, and was chanted regularly by EFF MPs in Parliament, to the extent that Mngxitama's group of dissident EFF members said that they could no longer take part in the "pay back the money chant"³ as a sign of their disagreement with the party's leadership (see 7.3.3). This chant has thus become iconized as part of the EFF's Values, according to discourse iconography. It is also associated with Nkandla, which has become well-known as the location of Zuma's private home, and so has become iconized as an *associate* highlighting Zuma's alleged corruption. The entire scandal regarding the upgrades at Zuma's home has become known as "Nkandlagate". Thus Malema's "demands" effectively cluster Zuma with corruption using language that has become hypercharged in the minds of many readers. This cements Zuma's place as an icon against which the opposition MPs and those who align with them rally.

³"It's EFF against EFF – Mngxitama chased down the streets", 13 February 2015

This continues in paragraph 8, where Malema continues his negative charging of “the President” using the words “failed the poor” and “used violence to silence his elected opponents”. “Violence” has relatively strong axiological-semantic density as an *act*, in addition to charging “the President” negatively. “His elected opponents” also positively charges the Opposition constellation by emphasizing the legitimacy of the people positioned in it. All of this is condensed by Malema into the phrase “the true state of the nation”, an alternative account to that presented in Zuma’s interrupted address. Paragraph 9 repeats elements of paragraph 8, increasing axiological condensation. Here “violence” is replaced with the synonym “hooliganism”, associating far stronger negative charging with Zuma. “His elected opponents” is condensed into the shorter phrase “the opposition”, a group of political *leaders* with stronger axiological-semantic density. Thus paragraph 9 forms a final peak of axiological-semantic density at the conclusion of Malema’s comments in the second satellite.

Ndlozi and Shivambu negatively charge Mbete for allegedly referring to “cockroaches’ like Malema” in the third satellite, and Modise, as the presiding officer over the day’s sitting, responds to them. In paragraph 10, strong axiological-semantic density is attached to both Ndlozi and Mbete through use of titles, marking them out as *associates*: Ndlozi is constellated with the EFF, and Mbete is constellated with the National Assembly as its speaker. The word “cockroaches” was allegedly intended by Mbete to charge Malema negatively, but in a reversal of fortunes, Mbete attracts much stronger negative charging for using the word in the first place. This effect comes about partly because the word “cockroaches” was used in Rwanda in the 1990s to refer to Tutsis in the run-up to the genocide in that country in which hundreds of thousands were slaughtered (O’Grady, 2016). It is thus viewed as a dangerous slur, bordering on hate speech, which entails an extremely strong negative evaluation of Mbete as its user. Ndlozi “tackled” Mbete, an action which could charge him positively in the eyes of readers who would disapprove of her reported verbal abuse of Malema.

Shivambu and Modise are introduced in paragraph 11 as a pair of *associates*, similar to Ndlozi and Mbete. Like them, both are imbued with stronger axiological-semantic density through their titles. The word “this” in this paragraph condenses “reports that Mbete referred to ‘cockroaches’ like Malema at a weekend ANC congress”, enacting *transporting* sequencing by placing it in the context of the current paragraph, resulting in another peak of very strong axiological-semantic density. Asking Modise to “rule on this” amounts to a challenge to her to show in which constellation she belongs: she can either associate herself with Mbete’s reported bad behaviour, or with the opposition’s constellation.

Modise chooses to defuse the challenge through humour in paragraph 12. She again *transports* the reports of Mbete’s “cockroaches” utterance into the context of this paragraph, but rephrases them in terms with weaker negative charging, as “an insect matter”. As I show in the SFL analysis, this also shifts the negative charging from Malema himself to the “matter”, presenting it as an irritating, insignificant topic. She emphasizes the

insignificance of the matter by saying that “it did not happen in the house”, weakening axiological-semantic density. In paragraph 13 she positively charges Shivambu using the parliamentary form of address, “honourable”, while dismissing the matter as not relevant to “the joint sitting of this Parliament.” This reference to Parliament, as a leading institution, strengthens axiological-semantic density somewhat at the close of this satellite.

The DA’s John Steenhuisen picks up on the topic of comments made outside Parliament when he raises a further complaint in the final satellite of the article (par. 14–15). Steenhuisen is the party’s “chief whip” (par. 14) in Parliament, and so occupies an important role, but his name possesses axiological-semantic density by virtue of his being an *associate* of the DA. He charges Mbete negatively through the words “ordering” and “removed”, which are here viewed as improper actions. In the context of the discussion in the previous satellite, the fact that she “relied on comments made outside the House” also contributes to her negative charging.

As with Shivambu, Modise positively charges Steenhuisen, this time somewhat more strongly, by calling him “right”. However, her use of the word “but” at the beginning of the next sentence indicates that she is about to strengthen axiological-semantic density by expressing ideas that run counter to this positive assessment of Steenhuisen. In her explanation for not ruling against or censuring Mbete, she uses the word “precedent”, referring to an abstract *idea* that is relatively strong in semantic density. She constellates with herself a reluctance “to make a precedent of one presiding officer presiding over another presiding officer” and an inability to “apologise on behalf of the Speaker”. While Modise may be procedurally correct in refusing to do these things, ultimately this refusal aligns her with Mbete and Zuma in the “government” constellation, with the result that the negative charging attached to this constellation in the rest of the article spreads to her as well. The article closes at a moderate level of axiological-semantic density due to these refusals on Modise’s part.

A semantic profile of the entire article is presented in Figure 10.5. This profile provides a synoptic overview of fluctuations in axiological-semantic density throughout the article. The highest peaks coincide with Maimane and Malema’s harshest criticisms of Zuma, while criticisms of Mbete generally are at a weaker level of axiological-semantic density. The record of Maimane’s critique of Zuma follows a ‘V’-pattern, which begins with relatively strong axiological-semantic density as various political leaders are mentioned in the politically-charged context of parliament (par. 1), then dips to a trough where he distinguishes the technical, parliamentary sense of the word ‘honourable’ from its everyday meaning (par. 3–4), and strengthens again as he returns to his thesis that Zuma is “a broken man presiding over a broken society” (par. 5), who is “trampling on Madiba’s legacy” (par. 6). Such a ‘V’-shape is common in the structuring of news articles; it mirrors the waves of information flow from the hyperTheme to the hyperNew of a satellite as described using periodicity (see 5.3). However, what is notable about such a shape is that the shifts from stronger to weaker axiological-semantic density and vice versa are sharper,

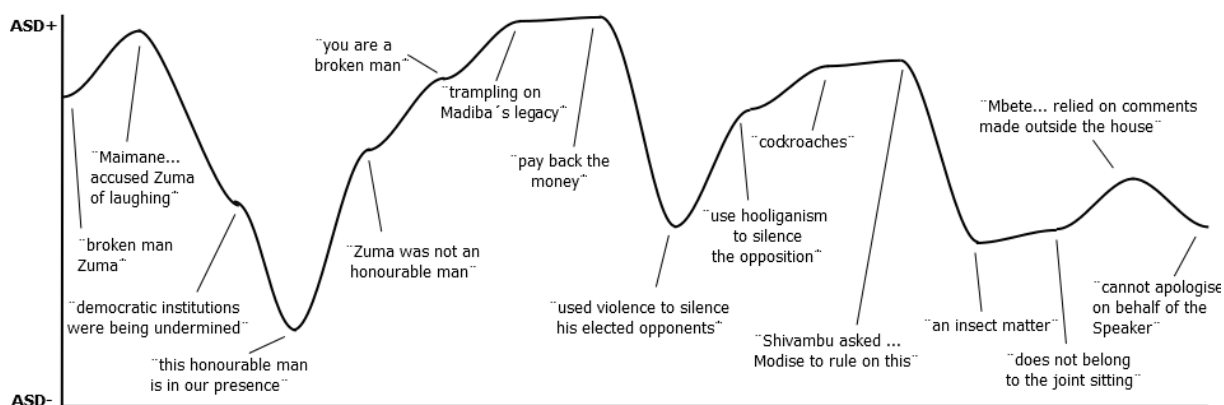


Figure 10.5: *Semantic profile of “Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society”*

steeper and more dramatic than those expected in the regular, wave-like structure of stretches of text.

Malema’s criticisms of Zuma similarly describe a ‘V’-shape, albeit not descending to such a weak level of axiological-semantic density, as he moves from his slogan “pay back the money” (par. 7) to the conclusion that Zuma “used violence to silence his elected opponents” (par. 8), which is rephrased in stronger terms as “you use hooliganism to silence the opposition” (par. 9). Ndlozi’s accusation that Mbete used the word “cockroaches” to refer to Malema (par. 11) condenses much axiological meaning, and the use of “this” (par. 11) to enact *transporting* keeps the discourse at a strong level of axiological-semantic density. Modise weakens axiological-semantic density by referring to the accusations as “an insect matter” (par. 12), and then strengthens it slightly by referring to how the matter is not admissible for discussion in “the joint sitting of this parliament” (par. 13). The final accusation against Mbete, levelled by Steenhuisen, again strengthens axiological-semantic density a little (par. 14), but Modise’s final comments again have the effect of weakening axiological-semantic density at the end of the article (par. 15). The following SFL analysis (10.3.3.3) explores the linguistic resources that are used to enact these fluctuations in axiological-semantic density.

10.3.3.3 SFL analysis

In this article as in others, complexes of couplings across systems of language allow for layers of meaning to be added to each other, strengthening evaluations. In this analysis, I look specifically at how these complexes work to iconize the actors mentioned in the article, particularly Zuma and Mbete as a representative of his government.

For example, two aspects of Maimane’s speech are highlighted in the headline and lead, which form the nucleus and macroTheme of the article: his statement that Zuma is “a broken man presiding over a broken society”, and his accusation that Zuma was laughing as the EFF MPs were forcibly removed from Parliament. Each of these involves Appraisal

resources which couple with the macroTheme. The word “broken” inscribes negative Appreciation: Composition with infusing upscaling Force, and invokes negative Happiness, as a broken person is typically an object of pity. Both of these meanings are key to Maimane’s argument: there is a fundamental problem with both Zuma and the society he leads which prevents them from functioning in a state of wholeness, and this should inspire sadness in people who love South Africa, if not in Zuma himself. The use of Appreciation as a means of evaluating Zuma also objectifies him, which aids iconization: instead of considering Zuma as a real person, the reader is invited to see him as an object or icon associated with negative feelings. To use the language of discourse iconography, Zuma, the broken man, is the Hero for South Africa, a broken Community.

The use of “broken” contrasts with “laughing” in the lead as an inscription of positive Happiness. Here its use with the word “accused” shows that it is also intended as an invoked negative Propriety Judgement. This begins a complex of negative Propriety Judgements coupled with Zuma, which is continued in the word “dragged”, suggesting that security officers used excessive force in removing the EFF MPs. It may not be too much of an exaggeration to say that the juxtaposition of “broken” and “laughing” brings to mind literary tropes of an unhinged tragic hero, who laughs ironically at his own demise. Such an image would appeal to the melodramatic aesthetic of a tabloid like the *Daily Sun* (see 3.5). It also sets the scene for a prosody of overwhelmingly negative evaluations of both Zuma and Mbete in the remainder of the article.

The second satellite begins by giving the context of Maimane’s remarks, “the debate of the president’s State of the Nation address”. This nominal group is headed by the experiential grammatical metaphor “debate”, and within it is embedded another technical term headed by a grammatical metaphor, “State of the Nation address”. This is an early signal that grammatical metaphor and technicality are used more frequently than in the other *Daily Sun* articles described thus far. Part of this may reflect the fact that the article is sourced from Sapa rather than written by *Daily Sun* journalists, but it also reflects the uncommonsense context of Parliament, with various technical terms referring to roles and practices in Parliament being mentioned in the rest of the article. As shown below, grammatical metaphor and technicality not only condense ideational meaning in this article, but also, somewhat surprisingly, play an important role in iconization.

While these technical terms do not appear to be active in concentrating evaluative meaning, another term, “democratic institutions”, which might be described as “flexi-tech” (Martin 2013, p. 29; see 5.2), does assist in the negative evaluation of Zuma. The word “democratic” here invokes positive Valuation and positive Propriety, and so the undermining of “democratic institutions” becomes a negative Propriety Judgement with infusing upscaling Force. The Zuma & -Propriety complex extends to “protect”, in that it is improper to protect someone who should be brought to justice. This is upscaled through the Quantification present in “one man”, emphasizing the smallness of the group that is benefitting at the expense of the majority. Thus paragraph 2 extends the prosody of

negative Propriety started in the nucleus.

A considerable amount of semantic work is done around the word “honourable” in paragraphs 3 and 4. In paragraph 3, “this honourable man” comes across as a discordant coupling of positive Normality with Zuma, who has been coupled with many negative judgements in the article thus far. However, in paragraph 4, Maimane attempts to separate the word’s ordinary interpersonal meaning from its technical use as a parliamentary term of address, as shown in 10.3.3.2. His rationale for using “honourable” as a mere term of address couples this term with experiential and logical metaphor to emphasize its ‘technicality’ and package “respect for parliament” as a thing, a positive attribute that can be associated with Maimane and aid in iconizing him positively.

By contrast, his use of “honourable” to denote its ordinary interpersonal meaning is marked by the Engagement resources of Counter and Deny: “but Zuma was not an honourable man”. In the process, Maimane can couple positive Propriety with himself (as someone who respects Parliament), and continue coupling negative Normality with Zuma (as “not an honourable man”). As mentioned in 10.3.3.2, intertextual links to Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar* strengthens the effect of these Appraisal choices. Zuma is once again iconized as a Brutus-like person who has betrayed his high position through his dishonourable conduct; by contrast, Maimane is like Mark Antony, properly paying respect to those who occupy an “honourable” position, while problematizing the use of the word “honourable” to refer to an individual such as Zuma.

Paragraphs 5 and 6 echo the headline and lead of the article. Paragraph 5 is a direct quotation of Maimane’s words that are reported in the lead, and paragraph 6 enlarges on Zuma’s laughter. There is also a noticeable shift to use of second-person pronouns in paragraphs 5 and 6. This makes Maimane’s criticisms appear more personal, reinforcing the negative evaluations further. The instantiation of the negative Propriety Judgement in paragraph 6, “trampling”, carries upscaling infusing Intensification, since it suggests that Zuma is not merely treading Mandela’s legacy underfoot, but stamping his feet on it with vigour, creating a strong metaphor for dishonour. To compound this, what Zuma is trampling on is “Madiba’s legacy”. “Madiba” is the clan name of Nelson Mandela, the father of democratic South Africa, and so carries extremely strong upscaled positive Normality. As explained in 10.3.2, the DA in recent years has drawn heavily on imagery associated with Mandela, much to the ire of the ANC. The negative Judgement on Zuma is upscaled still further through “in the week we celebrated the 25th anniversary of his release”, which emphasizes the Proximity of this event. This negative Propriety Judgement with all the means of upscaling Force attached to it is coupled with the hyperNew of this satellite, forming a still stronger peak of evaluation.

The second satellite begins with Malema repeating “his demands for President Jacob Zuma to pay back the money spent on his private home at Nkandla in KwaZulu-Natal” in paragraph 7. This long nominal group headed by an experiential grammatical metaphor, “demands”, is packaged as information already known to the reader. The grammatical

metaphor is once again used to recast these demands as a thing which can be associated with both Malema and Zuma in iconization processes. The EFF MPs disrupted Zuma's address to put forward these demands, which was a reason behind their removal from the House in the first place. The word "demands" and the phrase "pay back the money" invoke upscaled negative Satisfaction towards Zuma, while both "pay back the money" and "spent on his private home" invoke negative Propriety, implying that this money was spent improperly on Zuma's private interests and so should be reimbursed. Since this evaluation is made inside a nominal group, it is presented as unarguable information which the reader is already expected to be familiar with, reinforcing previous negative evaluations of Zuma which readers may have heard of or read.

Malema's next remark, in paragraph 8, also uses coupling to package and strengthen negative evaluations of Zuma, this time centred on the word "true" in "the true state of the nation". This is obviously a reference to Zuma's State of the Nation address. By suggesting an alternative account of "the true state of the nation", Malema invokes a negative Veracity Judgement against Zuma as well as a positive Veracity Judgement towards himself. The word "true" also instantiates sharpening Focus and the Engagement resource of Proclaim to heighten the effect of the evaluations that follow. This includes a negative Capacity Judgement (Zuma "failed the poor"), and two negative Propriety Judgements ("used violence", and "silence"). "Violence" is an experiential grammatical metaphor, packaging a variety of violent actions into a noun, thus giving this evaluation greater scope over time and space. This attribute of violence can then be associated with Zuma in attempts to iconize him. Zuma's opposition, including the EFF, are given a positive Judgement of Normality as "elected opponents", thus making Zuma's act of silencing carry an even stronger negative evaluation.

Following the same pattern as Maimane, Malema is quoted as using the second person in the hyperNew of this satellite, paragraph 9. This act of addressing Zuma directly appears to have the effect of heightening the negative evaluations he makes of him in this hyperNew. His words in this hyperNew repeat and distil elements from paragraph 8, using lexical strings. Particularly, "violence" is referred to using the synonym "hooliganism", which inscribes the negative Propriety Judgement that is only invoked in "used violence", and adds upscaling infusing Intensification. Secondly, the Process "silence" is repeated, invoking a further upscaled negative Propriety Judgement. "The opposition", a parliamentary technical term headed by an experiential grammatical metaphor, is given as a synonym for "elected opponents". This term, "the opposition" thus condenses experiential meaning and couples it with the negative Appraisal to reinforce it. These lexical strings are portrayed visually in Figure 10.6.

By the end of the second satellite, a variety of different couplings have been used to produce images that are in turn used in iconizing Zuma. He is portrayed as a fallen, unhinged hero laughing at his own demise in the headline and paragraph 1, as a dishonourable man like Brutus in paragraphs 3 and 4, and as needing to "pay back the money" for Nkandla in

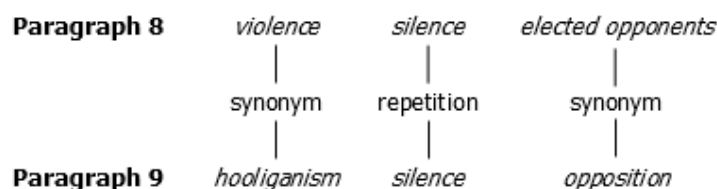


Figure 10.6: *Lexical strings in paragraph 8 and 9 of “Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society”*

paragraph 7. He is also being positioned as a counter-icon to Nelson Mandela, trampling on his legacy, in paragraph 6.

In the hyperTheme of the third satellite, the target of negative evaluation changes from Zuma to Mbete. The EFF’s Ndlozi reportedly “tackled” Mbete in paragraph 10, which could be read as a positive Tenacity Judgement towards him, coupled with infusing up-scaling Vigour. Mbete’s alleged reference to “cockroaches” is an extremely strong negative Judgement, but it is uncertain which sub-system of Judgement it might fall under. As pointed out in 10.3.3.2, this word functions as an allusion to the Rwandan genocide, which greatly strengthens the negative Judgement that Mbete makes, but exacerbates the negative Propriety Judgement which Ndlozi invokes against Mbete for this incident even further. This is because the allusion iconizes Malema as being like the Tutsis who were the victims of the Rwandan genocide, while Mbete is iconized as being similar to the Hutu instigators of the genocide.

The allegations against Mbete are condensed into a nominal group headed by the experiential grammatical metaphor “reports”, which once again packages them up into a thing that can easily be associated with Mbete, iconizing her. However, the Engagement resources used in this paragraph introduce some uncertainty: “reports that Mbete referred to ‘cockroaches’ like Malema” merely Entertains the possibility that this incident took place, rather than Attributing the reports to a particular source. Thus while the hyperTheme position, intertextual allusion and upscaling Force couple to strengthen the negative Judgement on Mbete, the use of Entertain acts as a counter-influence, weakening the Judgement slightly.

By contrast to the hyperTheme in paragraph 10, paragraph 11 is sparse in its use of Appraisal. The word “this” instantiates text reference, condensing “reports that Mbete referred to ‘cockroaches’ like Malema at a weekend ANC congress”. This enables further evaluative meanings to be added to the reports referred to in this nominal group.

This is done in paragraph 12, where Modise humorously and euphemistically refers to the reports as “an insect matter”. This uses text reference to refer back to, and condense, the nominal group headed by “reports” in paragraph 10. In so doing, she creatively and diplomatically decouples the negative Satisfaction associated with cockroaches from Malema himself, and instead couples it with the “matter” of the reports. Thus the reports, rather than Malema, become the source of irritation. She uses the Engagement resources

of Counter (“but”) and Deny to say that this matter “did not happen in the House”, using downscaling Proximity to mark the problem as outside the scope of the current debate. The effectiveness of this ploy is shown by the fact that “MPs laughed”, breaking some of the tension present in the debate.

Modise’s final ruling in paragraph 13 forms the hyperNew of this satellite. She uses the parliamentary honorific “honourable” to refer to Shivambu, which could be interpreted as a Judgement of positive Normality or simply as a term of address, in the context of Maimane’s use of the term in paragraph 4. She then uses the Engagement resource of Deny once again to say that the “insect matter” lies outside the scope of debate in the sitting. In this satellite, then, Modise is presented as expertly defusing the tension around the EFF’s complaint without attempting to defend Mbete’s indefensible reported statement.

The fourth satellite reports on another complaint against Mbete. The ordering of this complaint in the article’s structure makes it appear as though it may be a response to Modise’s ruling on Mbete’s reported use of the word “cockroaches”. Modise ruled that discussion of Mbete’s reported remarks outside the House was outside the scope of debate, and so Steenhuisen argues in paragraph 14 that Mbete was wrong for letting comments made outside the House influence her decision to remove MPs during the State of the Nation Address. This means that “relied on comments made outside the House” carries a negative Judgement of Propriety in this context. As Modise did, Steenhuisen uses downscaling Proximity, in “outside the house”, to downplay the importance of the comments that Mbete relied on, but here this serves to strengthen the negative Judgement against Mbete. “Comments” is also an experiential grammatical metaphor, allowing “comments made outside the House” to be packaged as a thing that Mbete could rely on.

This time, Modise’s strategy as reflected in paragraph 15 is initially to agree with Steenhuisen, giving him a positive Veracity Judgement inscribed by the word “right”. As with her previous response, however, she uses the Engagement resources of Counter (“but”) and Deny (“do not want to”) to narrow dialogic space and explain her refusal to take action relating to Mbete. She expresses negative Inclination in “I do not want to make a precedent of one presiding officer presiding over another presiding officer”. In the final clause complex of the article, she uses Deny again to recapitulate the limits of her authority: she “cannot apologise” (that is, express negative Satisfaction at previous actions) on Mbete’s behalf. This statement forms the hyperNew of the final satellite, summing up Modise’s response to Steenhuisen.

Thus this second half of the article (the third and fourth satellites) iconizes officials in Zuma’s government. Mbete is associated with Zuma by virtue of the fact that they come from the same party, and that Mbete was seen to be acting in his favour by removing the EFF members, whom she cast as “cockroaches”. She is also painted as flouting the rules of Parliament by removing them on the basis of things said outside the House. Although Modise uses ingenious strategies to try to defuse conflict between the opposition MPs and

Complex	Zuma & -Propriety	Mbete & -Propriety
<i>Total instances</i>	11	2
<i>Upscaling Force</i>	9	1
<i>Downscaling Force</i>	0	1
<i>Expansive Engagement</i>	9	2
<i>Contractive Engagement</i>	2	0
<i>Grammatical metaphor / Technicality</i>	2	2
<i>High-level periodicity</i>	9	2

Table 10.9: *Complexes in “Maimane – Broken man Zuma presides over a broken society” and their couplings with various other linguistic resources*

Mbete, ultimately she has to reject their requests and so is associated with Mbete and Zuma, as shown in the LCT analysis.

To summarize, inscribed and (more frequently) invoked negative Propriety is used to evaluate Zuma and Mbete negatively in this article. There is a clear complex of negative Propriety Judgements coupled with Zuma, as illustrated in Table 10.9. This table is derived from counts of features documented in Appendix I.3. What is noticeable about this complex is that there are three sets of linguistic resources which couple with nine out of the eleven instances of negative Propriety. Two of these are upscaling Force and high-level periodicity. These resources tend to strengthen the impact of the couplings in each case. However, the third resource, expansive Engagement, positions the evaluations as being the words of a speaker (either Maimane or Malema), and therefore admit of the possibility of alternative voices, weakening the impact of the complex somewhat.

Mbete is only coupled with negative Propriety twice, but in both instances, a significant bundle of linguistic resources is used in conjunction with this coupling. Both instances of this coupling occur in hyperThemes which are also coupled with experiential grammatical metaphor and expansive Engagement. Thus these evaluations could be said to constitute a small, but strong complex, which could be labelled as ‘Mbete & -Propriety & expansive Engagement & hyperTheme’.

This section also shows how experiential grammatical metaphor is used periodically throughout the article to package information in a way that assists in associating particular intertextual references or evaluations with Zuma and Mbete. Two noticeable instances of strong evaluation are the result of a five-way coupling with negative Attitude, upscaling Force, experiential grammatical metaphor, hyperTheme position and an intertextual reference. These are the EFF’s slogan “pay back the money” (which is embedded in the nominal group “demands for President Jacob Zuma to pay back the money spent on his private home at Nkandla in KwaZulu-Natal”, headed by an experiential grammatical metaphor, par. 7), and “cockroaches” (embedded in the nominal group “reports that

Mbete referred to ‘cockroaches’ like Malema at a weekend ANC congress”, par. 10).

Although evaluations of members of the Opposition are more sparse, these individuals are evaluated using a variety of Judgement resources, including positive Propriety, positive Veracity and positive Normality (two instantiations each). Evaluations of them are coupled with Acknowledge in five out of nine instances. This is unsurprising as most of this article consists of quotations and reported speech from various sources, as is common in news articles. Four of the nine evaluations of Opposition members appear in places of textual prominence, three in the hyperTheme and one in the hyperNew. Experiential grammatical metaphor condenses meanings together with evaluations of opposition members in two instances: where Maimane says “he used the term ‘honourable’ out of respect for Parliament” (par. 4), and where Malema makes his “demands” (par. 7) referred to above. This allows one to see how coupling across systems of language contributes additional layers of meaning, strengthening evaluation significantly.

The strategic language of Modise provides other interesting patterns of coupling. Twice in the article, positive appraisals of her Opposition interlocutors are coupled with the Engagement resource of Acknowledge, while her later use of negative Appraisal is coupled with the contractive Engagement resource of Deny and hyperNew position. This reveals the way in which she is presented as partially aligning with the opposition MPs before rejecting their requests.

10.3.3.4 Conclusion

This article builds two constellations which are clearly binary opposites: an “Opposition” constellation consisting of DA and EFF MPs which is largely positively charged, and a largely negatively-charged “Government” constellation consisting of Zuma as the president and Mbete and Modise as parliamentary presiding officers and the “cops” who removed the EFF MPs from Parliament during the interrupted State of the Nation address. In the nucleus and each satellite, smaller clusters of meanings are added to the actors mentioned in these satellites, so that the final constellations are built up out of a collection of these clusters. Since the article is reporting on the opposition’s criticisms of government behaviour in the interrupted State of the Nation Address, it is perhaps unsurprising that this is the case; the opposition is given ‘airtime’ to condense negative meanings with the government and positive meanings with themselves. Following the general pattern noted in previous analyses, the criticisms of government officials, and even ANC members’ criticisms of the opposition are personalized, and not focused on differences in policy. Thus this article may attract readers by describing a colourful debate in Parliament, but again provides little information on parties’ policy stances to fuel discussion in the alternative public sphere facilitated by the *Daily Sun*.

A variety of linguistic resources are used to accomplish this, including patterns of Appraisal and periodicity common to the other articles described in this chapter. The analy-

sis does, however, point to some resources whose use in this article is particularly notable. The first is the use of intertextual reference, a tendency also noted in 10.3.2. Here, “an honourable man” iconizes Zuma as someone whose conduct does not befit his high position, similar to Brutus in *Julius Caesar*; “pay back the money” is a phrase that has been strongly charged in other contexts as an EFF slogan; and the reference to “cockroaches” is extremely strongly charged due to its use in the Rwandan genocide. This pre-charging strengthens the axiological-semantic density of these expressions, lifting the axiological-semantic density of the paragraphs in which they are found. It associates actors in the article with this pre-charging, providing an extremely strong means of iconizing these actors.

Secondly, experiential grammatical metaphor is used to construct long nominal groups which package up events, the actors involved in them and their circumstances. These nominal groups can then be used more easily in iconization. In the case of “pay back the money”, this intertextual reference is associated with “demands”, “President Jacob Zuma”, “his private home” and “Nkandla” in a single nominal group. “Cockroaches” is constellated with “reports”, “Mbetse”, “Malema” and the “ANC” in another nominal group. This use of grammatical metaphor may be more present here than in other *Daily Sun* articles because this article came from the Sapa newswire, and may originally have been pitched at a middle-class audience rather than the *Daily Sun*’s working-class and lower-middle-class target audience. In 10.4, I return to the implications of this for the extent to which my targeted analyses are able to exemplify key trends in the *Daily Sun*’s reporting. More important, however, are the theoretical implications of this use of experiential grammatical metaphor. Experiential grammatical metaphor is usually associated with the condensation of ideational meaning; however, it appears that it can also play a very significant role in facilitating iconization. In 11.2.2 I argue on the basis of this that iconization need not always involve a discharging of ideational meaning.

Lastly, Modise’s language shows an alternating pattern of positively appraising members of the “Opposition” constellation before using contractive Engagement to deny their requests. In LCT, this could be seen as a pattern of axiological rarefaction followed by axiological condensation. For Modise, this is an important strategy by which she can be viewed as an impartial presiding officer negotiating between the two sides of the debate, even though she is ultimately constellated with the government. Despite this, Modise’s use of linguistic resources in this negotiation gives a clue as to how constellations can be eroded or called into question in order to open up dialogic space for alternative stances. The analysis of this article is summarized in Table 10.10, showing the chief constellations and the complexes of linguistic features used to enact them.

“Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society”	
<i>Constellations</i>	<i>Chief linguistic resources used</i>
DA, EFF (positive)	+Propriety
	+Veracity
	Normality
Government, ANC (negative)	-Propriety
	experiential grammatical metaphor
	intertextual reference

Table 10.10: Summary of “Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society” analysis

10.4 Conclusion

The targeted analyses reveal significant findings about both the ways in which political parties are positioned in the *Daily Sun* and, more importantly for the purposes of this study, the language used to accomplish this positioning. In this section I summarize these briefly, anticipating the fuller description of the final findings of this study that appears in Chapter 11.

As mentioned repeatedly throughout this chapter, there is a continued trend of negative reporting on political parties in the articles examined in the targeted analyses. In two of these articles, “ANC and DA clash!” (10.3.1) and “Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society” (10.3.3), there is a focus on the misdemeanours of ANC politicians in particular. By contrast, in 10.3.2, the DA is treated not with scepticism of their moral propriety, but scepticism of their capacity to attain their ambitions to become an effective governing party in South Africa. What appears to attract readers is articles’ portrayal of individual politicians’ misdemeanours, and politicians’ own accounts of the positive characteristics of their own parties are downplayed. I enlarge on this description significantly in describing the possible cosmologies behind the *Daily Sun*’s coverage in 11.3.2. In general, though, these articles seem to show how the *Daily Sun*’s party political reporting follows trends characteristic of tabloidization, which may contribute to scepticism in party politics in general and a decrease in political participation rather than constructive political engagement in an alternative public sphere.

These analyses also show various ways in which linguistic resources can be used to enact political positioning. Instantiations of Attitude couple with other sub-systems of Appraisal and ideational and textual meanings to build complexes which support the condensing of axiological meaning. Intertextual references are powerful means of introducing material that is pre-charged with axiological meaning, speeding up the process of condensing axiological meanings with the names of particular people, groups and things to form icons. High-level Themes and News from the system of periodicity couple with some instantiations of Attitude to condense axiological meaning, and text reference is used to condense a large number of meanings into one word or a short phrase which can

then be evaluated positively or negatively, extending the reach of these evaluations over large stretches of text. Lexical strings can work in a similar way to text reference, repeating semantically related ideational content so that further interpersonal meanings can be coupled with them, allowing for these meanings to accumulate in a way that supports iconization. There is not much use of grammatical metaphor and technicality in the *Daily Sun*, but where it is used (such as in “Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society”, 10.3.3) it can support the condensation of axiological meanings by pulling multiple meanings into complex nominal groups headed by an experiential grammatical metaphor, for example.

The *Daily Sun* is sceptical (some might even say cynical) in its portrayal of party politicians, and emphasizes sensational news of moral misdemeanours instead of informing readers about parties’ policy decisions. However, these features also make the newspaper fertile ground in which to study processes of iconization at work: a rich variety of resources are drawn on to attach axiological meanings to parties and their politicians. In Chapter 11 I draw together a description of these resources, and show the implications that this study has both for advancing the dialogue between LCT and SFL, and for transforming South African public sphere discourses.

Chapter 11

Conclusion

11.1 Introduction

This study assists in building knowledge on a variety of different topics relating to the role of language in South Africa's political discourses, particularly in the *Daily Sun*. In this conclusion, I review and reflect on this knowledge, and also show how it suggests directions for future research on language and political positioning. The account is arranged in such a way as to respond to the research questions of this study, namely:

1. How is language used to associate different policy positions and moral evaluations with political parties in the *Daily Sun*?
2. What organizing principles lie behind the grouping of different policy positions and moral evaluations with political parties in this newspaper, in the light of South Africa's socio-political context?
3. What are the implications of the responses to the above questions for: (a) the ways in which the use of language in political positioning can be conceptualized using Legitimation Code Theory and Systemic Functional Linguistics, and (b) the transformation of political discourses in South African public spheres?

In 11.2, I respond to question 1, and in 11.3 I respond to question 2, summarizing the findings of this study. As is evident throughout this thesis, this research has implications for methodology, in showing how SFL and LCT can be used as complementary frameworks for analysing the use of language in political positioning. In 11.2.1 and 11.2.2, I show what these methodological implications are, responding to question 3(a). Possibly even more pertinent is the response to question 3(b), namely the practical implications of this study for transforming the ways in which political discourse takes place in the *Daily Sun* and in South Africa's public spheres in general. These implications are described in 11.3.3. Since this thesis is motivated by a concern to nurture and preserve the ideals of a non-racial, democratic and equitable South Africa, I show how this research can make a

small contribution to the realization of these ideals. Following this, I show in 11.4 how the limitations of this research and the implications discussed in this chapter open up promising directions for future research.

11.2 The use of language in political positioning

This research arose partly out of an interest in understanding the ways in which language is used to associate groups (such as political parties) and individuals (such as politicians) with particular stances and evaluations of those stances. At the beginning of this research my interest, in general, was to show how language is used to map these stances and place them on a metaphorical plane of such stances, which corresponds to Bourdieu's idea of the "space of possibles" (1991, p. 10). Political discourses provide a useful arena in which to do this, because so much of political discourse has to do with managing social relations, affiliating with particular groups of people and disaffiliating from others (see 2.2). Party political discourses are useful for such an inquiry for two other reasons. Firstly, they are frequently reported on in the news media, yielding a large amount of data on the topic which can be analysed. Secondly, parties are well-known and often referred-to groups which are easy to identify and search for using a corpus analysis. In themselves, parties hold to a bundle of stances on different debates, and finding out what makes these bundles of stances cohere is in itself an interesting topic for research. In this research, I focus more on how the *Daily Sun* uses language to map out a particular space of possibles, the South African 'political landscape'.

This section is divided into three subsections. In the first, 11.2.1, I consider the methodological contribution this study makes to Legitimation Code Theory (LCT) by showing how a translation device for axiological-semantic density has been built to characterize the detailed way in which this concept is enacted in this study. Secondly, in 11.2.2, I examine the contribution Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) makes in showing the linguistic and discursive resources that I found to enact political positioning in the data. The findings that I present in this subsection elaborate on the concept of 'mass' as described by Martin (2017), showing how the different components of mass work together to enable political positioning, and how other linguistic and discursive resources not described as part of mass also contribute to positioning. Finally, I put these two frameworks together to develop a joint account of the ways in which political positioning is accomplished in *Daily Sun* political news articles (11.2.3).

11.2.1 Reflections on building a translation device for axiological-semantic density in *Daily Sun* political news articles

In this study, I conducted complementary analyses of my data using LCT and SFL (see Maton et al., 2016), so that I could do justice to describing both the ways in which *Daily Sun* articles build political knowledge, and to the ways in which language is used in building this knowledge. These complementary analyses also allow me to explore in detail the relationship between LCT and SFL, building methodological knowledge on the ways in which these two frameworks can be used together. Because I could not rely on concepts from SFL to act as a translation device for LCT concepts, I needed to build a detailed translation device to show how I enact axiological-semantic density for the purposes of this study. This device, and the process of building it, is described in detail in Chapter 9. In reading this section it would be useful to make constant reference to the outline of the translation device which is found in Appendix E.

The translation device demonstrates a few key insights about the way that axiological-semantic density is enacted in the data. Firstly, the distinction between the wording tool and the charging tool reveals that there may be a division of labour between classes of words that are more useful in enacting axiological-semantic density, and other classes of words and expressions that are more useful in charging these words axiologically. In the translation device, the wording tool largely describes nouns, while the charging tool describes mostly verbs, adjectives and adverbs and multi-word expressions that combine them (see 9.4.1).

Secondly, as I show in 9.4.1, the top four types in the wording tool were reordered in the process of refining the device. I eventually opted to place *ideas* above *leaders*, and then *associates* and finally *acts*. *Ideas* belong at the top, as they refer to the abstract systems of thought, often reflected in English through use of the suffix ‘-ism’, which most frequently are central signifiers in constellations. However, in some political systems, it is conceivable that *leaders* may be placed higher than *ideas* in terms of axiological-semantic density. The high position of *ideas* shows that more axiological meanings attach to systems of ideas in South African politics than to individual parties and political leaders. However, I could not maintain that the same is true of *acts*, significant actions that often appear as what would be described as nominalized processes in SFL. While my student research assistants placed *acts* as being stronger in axiological-semantic density than *leaders* and *associates* in their rankings of words, such a ranking seemed to produce very idiosyncratic results in my targeted analyses, and so I moved *acts* in the translation device to a position under *leaders* and *associates*. This is because often it is the *leaders* and *associates* who perform the *acts*, and so the *leaders* and *associates* are associated with the axiological meanings attached to their *acts*, rather than the other way around.

In designing the charging tool, I found that the chief factor that distinguishes the stronger types of charging from each other is the extent to which the charging expressions have

resonance, that is, the extent to which the expressions influence a variety of meanings, rather than just one or two (see 9.4.2). This meaning of the term ‘resonance’ is described and used by Maton and Doran (2017b). The strongest type of charging, *multidirectional* charging, refers to expressions which axiologically charge more than one signifier in the text; for example, they may charge one signifier positively and another negatively. The second strongest type, *resonant* charging, refers to expressions which charge only one signifier in the text, but which are used in many different contexts, often with both a figurative and a literal meaning. Some examples of *resonant* charging involve lexical metaphor, which condenses axiological meanings by adding one layer of lexical meaning onto another, but not all examples of *resonant* charging do this. The third strongest type of charging, *vigorous* charging, refers to expressions that are used typically only in one context, and which tend only to have a literal meaning. This shows that strength of charging, in the *Daily Sun* data, has much to do with the extent to which the meanings of charging expressions can be transferred to other signifiers and other contexts.

The modifying tool is not reducible to the wording and charging tools, but is dependent on them for criteria for placing items in particular types. What this means, in other words, is that the word group has its own contribution to make to axiological-semantic density and axiological condensation, but that this contribution is influenced significantly by what happens at the level of individual words and expressions. For example, the modifying tool’s categories depend on the categories in the wording and charging tools, as shown in 9.4.3. The strongest type of modifying is *complex-modifying*, in which three or more axiologically-charged signifiers are combined in a group of words. The second-strongest is *symbolic-modifying*, in which one signifier from the top half of the wording tool, or a *multidirectional* or *resonant* charging expression is used to modify another signifier. This is distinguished from *particular-modifying*, in which one signifier from the bottom half of the wording tool, or a *vigorous* or *placid* charging expression, modifies another. This does not make the word-grouping tool redundant, because what strengthens axiological-semantic density, in this case, is the combination of different signifiers and chargers into a word-group. This means that long word-groups, such as what would be described as long nominal groups in SFL, tend to strengthen axiological-semantic density. This suggestion is developed further in 11.2.2, where I show that grammatical metaphor is often involved in the creation of such long nominal groups.

In the clausing tool, as with the modifying tool, a chief organizing principle is the number of signifiers which are brought together in any one clause. This is because axiological-semantic density is the strength of relationships between different signifiers that emphasize social relations. Therefore, the more signifiers are brought into contact with each other, the more opportunity there is to develop strong relations between them. *Constellation-building* and *constellation-embellishing* clauses, the strongest two types in the clausing tool, both bring three or more signifiers into contact with each other (see 9.4.4). *Describing* and *associating* clauses, the third and fourth strongest types, bring two signifiers into

contact with each other. Here the potential for clauses to bring different signifiers into contact with each other is affected by the grammatical structure of the clause: transitive clauses have two noun arguments, and so easily allow for two signifiers to be associated with each other. Clauses in the bottom half of the clausing tool mention only one signifier, and thus tend to be intransitive clauses. However, the grammar does not determine the number of signifiers that can be brought into contact absolutely: it is quite possible for two signifiers to be mentioned in one nominal group, for example, which could be either the subject or direct object of a clause. Instead, the clausing tool shows again that there is a non-deterministic relationship between grammatical structure (investigated in this thesis using SFL) and the way in which knowledge is (re)produced in a text.

The sequencing tool shows how various ways of connecting passages of text work to increase or decrease axiological condensation. These ways of connecting passages appear initially to be quite diverse and disparate, but there is an underlying logic to them. The strongest type of sequencing, *transporting*, refers to instances where large stretches of text are packaged up and referred to in other passages using a short expression, such as “this” or “the letter” (referring to the contents of a letter which are reported on earlier in the text). This draws on the concept of text reference in SFL, described in 5.3. In *transporting*, all the axiological meanings from that stretch of text are condensed into this brief expression. The second-strongest type of sequencing, *asserting*, relies on connecting words that indicate that the speaker is trying to assert his / her point of view strongly in relation to other points of view, such as “but” or “however”. This is analogous to contractive Engagement in SFL, which is described in 5.4. The third-strongest type, *linking*, refers to where an explicit linking word is used to show how one passage links to another, such as using the word “when” to show that one passage indicates the time at which the events in another passage took place. From the fourth-strongest type of sequencing, *revisiting*, onwards, there is no explicit connecting word to signal to the reader how the passages should be read in conjunction with each other.

The second-weakest type of sequencing, *attributing*, refers to passages that are linked by words such as “says”, showing that the words in one passage are attributed to a speaker identified in another passage. This draws on the expansive Engagement resource of Attribute. *Attributing* enacts relatively low axiological condensation because of the nature of expansive Engagement: it allows for the insertion of different voices in a text, but also places the veracity of what these voices say in question. This tool is structured by the use of more and less explicit linguistic connecting devices, some of which are described in SFL using Engagement, indicating that these connecting devices have an important role to play in facilitating axiological condensation.

Figure 11.1 depicts salient features from the above discussion in diagrammatic form. It identifies the types of constituents that tend to be associated with each of the tools, and the linguistic resources described in SFL that have a relationship with each of the tools. Arrows are drawn between the wording and charging tools and the modifying tool

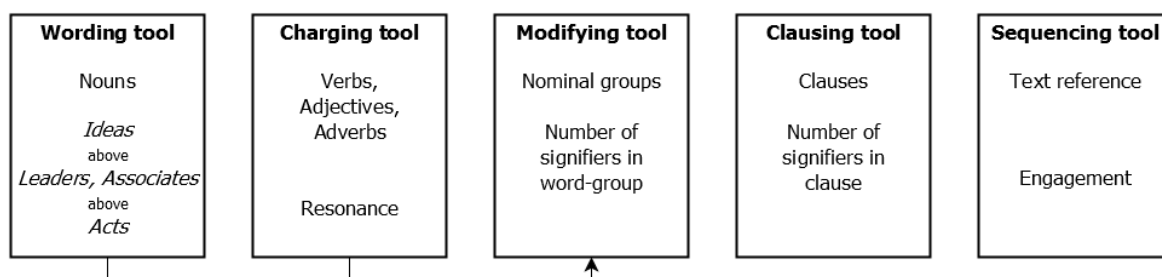


Figure 11.1: *A summary of the features of the translation device tools*

to show that the modifying tool draws on the categories given in these two tools. It is important to remember that in each tool, the relationship between axiological-semantic density or axiological condensation and the linguistic resources mentioned above is non-deterministic: these resources simply allow the kind of structure in which stronger or weaker axiological-semantic density or axiological condensation can take place.

Thus the construction of the translation device reveals one or two relatively minor insights into South African political discourses, and much more about the nature of axiological-semantic density as it is enacted in these discourses. It shows that more significance is still attached to abstract ideas in South African political discourses than to individual political parties and leaders. This can be seen as a positive sign, as it shows that discussing policy in South African politics is still seen as meaningful; it is more than just a game in which parties and politicians jockey for position. The idea of resonance appears to be pivotal in influencing the strength of axiological charging in this data. Furthermore, there are strong links between the strengths of axiological-semantic density at smaller levels of analysis in the data, such as individual words and charging expressions, and what happens at larger levels of analysis, such as the word-group and clause. Generally speaking, the longer word-groups and clauses are, the more chance there is that they will bring many axiologically-charged signifiers together, strengthening axiological-semantic density or axiological condensation.

But this means that one can also observe a relationship between axiological-semantic density and axiological condensation and the presence of certain linguistic features at these levels. Longer nominal groups seem to be more conducive to stronger axiological-semantic density than shorter ones. At the clause level, the number of arguments a particular clause can take has an influence on the number of signifiers it can bring together, allowing for axiological condensation. In sequencing, text reference and Engagement resources from SFL have a relationship with axiological condensation. It is important to notice that at each level, the relationship between axiological-semantic density or axiological condensation and the linguistic resources mentioned above is non-deterministic: these resources simply allow the kind of structure in which stronger or weaker axiological-semantic density or axiological condensation can take place. The following subsection gives far more examples of such relationships between linguistic resources and axiological-

semantic density.

This research demonstrates one way in which a translation device for axiological-semantic density can be built, tested and refined. Such a translation device plays a crucial role in demonstrating the analysis of political positioning in the articles I studied. In this study, as described in 8.2.1 and 10.2.1, constellation analysis is done in a methodical, but fairly impressionistic manner. The translation device assists in bringing methodological rigour to the targeted analyses by enabling a more clearly-articulated perspective on how language is used to condense axiological meanings in the data so as to position political parties. In this way, the translation device obviously contributes to the third research question of this study, by showing ways in which the use of language in political positioning can be conceptualized using Legitimation Code Theory. However, it also, by extension, contributes to the first research question, by showing how language is used to condense meanings so that they can be used in associating different policy positions and moral evaluations with political parties.

11.2.2 Linguistic and discursive resources used in political positioning

In this subsection, I give a detailed account of the linguistic and discursive resources identified in my SFL analyses as having a relationship with axiological-semantic density and as being used to position political parties in the data. This, like 11.2.1, assists in answering the first research question and part of the third research question for this study. Firstly, this subsection shows in detail how language is used to associate policy stances and moral judgements with political parties in the *Daily Sun*. Secondly, it shows how SFL can be used to describe this use of language, and suggests ways in which this study can advance our understanding of the relations between different linguistic resources described in SFL.

I took Martin's (2017) concept of mass as a starting point for my investigation of the linguistic resources used to position political parties in the *Daily Sun*, because these resources are identified as having a relationship with semantic density in LCT, and so can be viewed as strengthening relations between meanings, allowing for parties and individuals to be placed in complex constellations of such meanings. However, in the process of analysis, I found both that the resources that form part of mass are used in political positioning in ways that were not described by Martin (2017), and that there are additional linguistic and discursive resources that play a significant role in political positioning. In the account below, I describe these resources according to the metafunctions they relate to. Within each metafunction, I follow a Given – New structure, beginning with the linguistic resources identified by Martin (2017), and then in two of the three metafunctions, proceeding to describe new linguistic and discursive resources which I identify as having an influence on political positioning. After I consider each of the metafunctions, I discuss

how these resources are combined in ways that compound their effects and drives political positioning.

11.2.2.1 Interpersonal resources

In the Interpersonal Metafunction, I analyse the process of iconization chiefly by identifying instantiations of Appraisal (see 5.4) and the ways in which these combine into discourse prosodies, which are manifested as repeated patterns of Appraisal instantiations. All three systems of Appraisal are useful in political positioning. Attitude is primarily used to associate feelings, judgements and evaluations with the different political parties and politicians described in the data. All three of the sub-systems of Attitude (Affect, Judgement and Appreciation) are frequently used in the data, but Judgement is especially prominent, since there seems to be a preoccupation with moral and ethical evaluations of politicians and parties in the data. A good example of such complexes is found in “Eye on the big prize! – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029” (10.3.2). Maimane’s positive constellation around his vision for the future is held together by positive Satisfaction and positive Propriety coupled with “freedom, fairness and opportunity”, and to a lesser extent, positive Normality coupled with Maimane himself. Meanwhile, the author of the article’s negatively-charged constellation is produced mainly through invoked negative Capacity coupled with the DA.

Graduation is used to tone up or down, sharpen or soften instantiations of Attitude, and so assists in modulating the process of iconization, speeding it up, slowing it down or even in some cases reversing it. This resource is used often in “Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society” (see 10.3.3). For example, it is instantiated in the word “broken” in the headline, and expressions such as “trampling on Madiba’s legacy” (as opposed to simply treading on it). This use of Intensification seems to contribute to the ‘sensationalization’ of the articles, helping to attract readers while further iconizing the people and objects with which it is coupled, such as Jacob Zuma in the two examples given here.

Engagement also modulates iconization in a similar fashion. Dialogically contractive instantiations of Engagement position a given description or version of the facts as the only correct one. If this description includes information that associates a person, group or other entity with particular axiological meanings, thereby aiding iconization, then the dialogically contractive Engagement will close down space to argue with this portrayal, and in so doing aid the process of iconization further. By contrast, dialogically expansive instantiations of Engagement make room for alternative points of view and therefore place the veracity of the information presented in doubt, including information associating a person, group or entity with axiological meanings. Thus dialogically expansive Engagement tends to slow down the process of iconization. Sometimes an alternating pattern of expansive and contractive Engagement resources is used. An example of this pattern is

given by Thandi Modise in “Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society” (see 10.3.3). Here, positive Attitude is coupled with expansion, while negative Attitude is coupled with contraction. Modise positively appraises members of the opposition before using contractive Engagement to deny their requests, along with negative Attitude to indicate some form of dissatisfaction with these requests. These alternating expand-contract sequences can be viewed as enacting axiological rarefaction by reversing prosodies of evaluations (positively appraising something that one would expect the speaker to appraise negatively, in these examples), before enacting much higher axiological condensation by reverting to the original prosody, this time with evaluations reinforced through coupling with contractive resources.

Other sets of discursive resources that work to further iconization include idiomatic expressions, intertextual references and allusions. Martin (2017) refers to idiomatic expressions as an example of the endpoint of the process of iconization: idioms are almost completely bleached of ideational meaning, but are replete with interpersonal meaning. In my data, there are only a few examples of idioms, but where they do appear, they assist in iconizing the individuals or groups they are associated with. For example, the idiom “down and out” is used to describe Malema in one article (see 8.3.2), which aids in depicting him as having been in financial distress at a particular time in the past.

Intertextual references and allusions are not mentioned by name in Martin (2017), but he refers to Caple’s (2013) research on image-nuclear news stories, in which she shows how these resources are used in iconization. In this study, I did not initially search for such intertextual references and allusions, but found that they were both numerous and had a striking degree of influence in furthering and accelerating iconization. Like idioms, allusions are often charged with interpersonal meaning before they enter into the current text being analysed, and so can function to associate extremely strong interpersonal meanings with an individual or party very rapidly. A good example of this is the use of the word “cockroaches” in one article (see 10.3.3), which alludes to the rhetoric used to incite the Rwandan massacre. In this article, it is alleged that the Speaker of the National Assembly, Baleka Mbete, an ANC member, referred to EFF leader Julius Malema using the word “cockroaches”. Given the history of the word’s usage, this reflects far more negatively on Mbete than on Malema himself, since Mbete could now be iconized as an inciter of genocide by association with this term.

In some instances, there are allusions which many *Daily Sun* readers would not be able to trace back to their source. Such allusions can still be effective in iconization: even if readers have only heard a similar allusion being used once or twice before, they may recognize the allusion as a familiar phrase, and remember some of the interpersonal meanings conveyed by this phrase the last time it was used. Thus intertextual references and allusions are an unexpectedly strong influence on political positioning in the data.

The endpoint of processes of iconization can be described using discourse iconography (Tann 2010; 2013; see 5.6). This framework does not directly describe the linguistic or

discursive resources used in iconization, but is worth mentioning because it proves useful in several analyses to describe the relationships between different iconized entities. In one article (see 10.3.2.3), I observe how Mmusi Maimane is iconized as the new Hero of the Democratic Alliance (a Community), and how he introduces new Values for the party, “A future built on freedom, fairness and opportunity”. Other analyses do not yield as complete an iconography as this example, but still reveal some components of it, such as a Community and Hero (see e.g. 10.3.3). What this reveals is simply that interpersonal resources combine to enact iconization in the data, producing particular kinds of icons which function in different ways in affiliation, and by extension, in political positioning.

11.2.2.2 Textual resources

In the Textual Metafunction, Martin (2017) identifies two sets of resources which contribute to aggregation, a component of mass. These are periodicity and text reference. Both of these resources are used to condense meanings in ways that reinforce political positioning. There is plenty of evidence of both of these sets of resources in the *Daily Sun* data, and below I reflect briefly on how they function in the data.

Periodicity refers to the ways in which a text produces “waves of information” (Martin and Rose, 2007, p. 188). High-level Themes predict the material that follows them, while high-level News distil information from what precedes them (Martin and Rose, 2007; see 5.3). This produces highpoints in information flow at the beginnings and ends of information units, and troughs in the middle of them. In this analysis, the chief types of information unit I consider are the nucleus and satellites, as described in White’s (1997) characterization of the generic structure of hard news articles. Because of the concise nature of the genre, satellites tend to be so short that most of the text appears either in a high-level Theme or a high-level New of some kind. If political positioning coincides with a high-level Theme or a high-level New, its impact is boosted. This means that where the interpersonal resources mentioned above couple with these high-level Themes and News, they have a stronger effect because information in these positions is likely to be accorded more significance by the reader. Additionally, these interpersonal resources are likely to have a longer ‘reach’ over a greater amount of ideational meaning because high-level Themes and News aggregate these meanings together.

In my analysis, there are many cases in which Attitude and the other interpersonal resources mentioned above couple with high-level Themes and News. More consistent complexes of such couplings were rarer, but some of these were found. One example comes from “ANC and DA clash!” (see 10.3.1), where there are a variety of hyper-charged words condensing a large amount of interpersonal meaning, each of which only occurs in hyper-Themes. These words include “clash” (par. 1), “slap-fest” (in “apparent political slap-fest”, par. 5), “assault” (par. 11), “abuse” (par. 14) and “allegations” (par. 16). All of these can be seen as instantiations of negative Propriety Judgements. All but “slap-fest” are also

experiential grammatical metaphors, resulting in a three-way coupling between ideational, interpersonal and textual resources.

Each of these words serves as a ‘cover term’ for a variety of other activities, which are typically unpacked and described in the remainder of the satellite that follows. Evidence of the unpacking is shown through the way in which lexis charged with less interpersonal meaning is found in the hyperNews of the satellites where these hyper-charged words are found. For example, the word “clash” (par. 1) is unpacked into “hot klap [hiding]”, “shirt was torn” and “pushed away” (par. 4). Generally speaking, periodicity tends to function in relation to Appraisal instantiations as the rise and fall of the tide does in relation to individual waves: it raises and lowers the base from which Appraisal instantiations start, allowing Appraisal instantiations at peaks of information flow to have more impact in positioning. This is depicted diagrammatically in Figure 11.2.

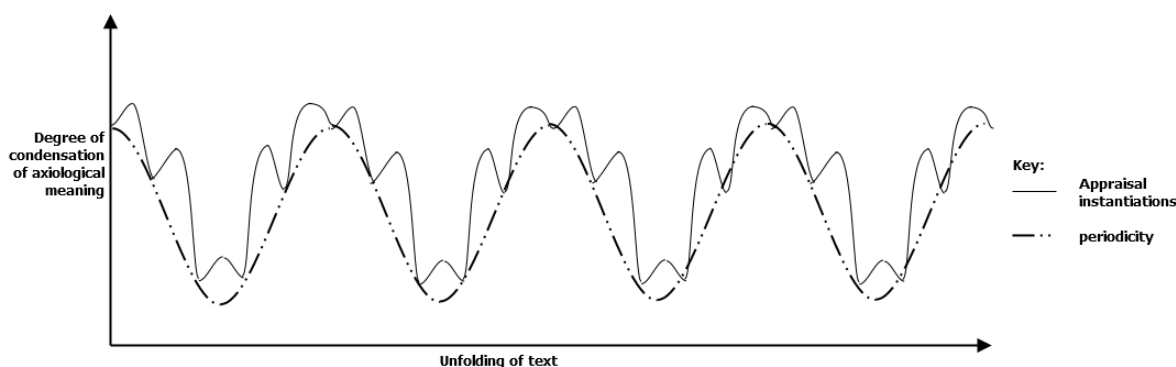


Figure 11.2: *The contribution of periodicity and Appraisal to condensation of axiological meanings in a hypothetical text*

Text reference also plays a role in condensing meanings. There are only a few examples of this in the data that I analysed, however, and only one in which text reference is used to aid political positioning in a significant way. In this example, an article states that incoming DA leader Mmusi Maimane “could not spell out policies to achieve this”, where the reference of “this” is unclear (see 10.3.2.3). At a maximum, this the use of the word “this” could be considered as referring all the promises that Maimane had made in the parts of his speech reported in the article. The effect of condensing all of these meanings into the word “this” is that it allows the author to make one final negative Judgement of Capacity (“He could not spell out policies to achieve this.”) that extends over the entirety of these promises, thus allowing for very rapid and complete negative positioning. This potential is realized through the coupling of text reference with the negative Capacity Judgement in this instance, and amplified through coupling with the final hyperTheme of the article. Elsewhere in the articles I analysed, where text reference is used, it also condenses many meanings, but usually is not coupled with such strong instantiations of Appraisal, and so does not work to condense axiological meanings or accomplish political positioning in such a strong way. To differing extents, both periodicity and text reference aggregate meanings together so that they can be evaluated or iconized using interpersonal

resources.

11.2.2.3 Ideational resources

In the Ideational Metafunction, Martin (2017) refers to grammatical metaphor and technicality as resources used to condense meanings. These resources are used in this way in the *Daily Sun* data, and in particular, grammatical metaphor is used in ways that pose a challenge to the traditional definition of iconization. Another set of ideational resources not identified by Martin (2017), namely lexical strings, is drawn on in condensing axiological meanings.

The *Daily Sun* is quite sparse in its use of grammatical metaphor and technicality. This may be due to the fact that the newspaper is aimed at a working-class and lower-middle-class audience, many of whom may be reading in their second, third or fourth language (see 3.5). The article in my analysis which appears richest in use of these resources, “Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society” (see 10.3.3) was originally not written by the *Daily Sun* staff, but sourced from the newswire Sapa, which catered to a wider audience including publications targeted more towards the middle class. Where these resources are found, they tend to cluster with each other in sections of articles that describe events taking place in contexts such as parliament, removed from concrete actions happening on the country’s streets. Technical lexis is used to emphasize the seriousness of situations such as a wave of xenophobic violence (see 8.3.3.3). It also provides more ideational material which could be coupled with Appraisal instantiations to strengthen evaluations of people such as the perpetrators of this violence.

Experiential grammatical metaphor is most often used to condense ideational meanings. However, in various places in the data for this thesis, it is used to condense interpersonal meanings along with these ideational meanings, through coupling with Appraisal resources. For example, in one article, the nominal group “[Malema’s] demands for President Jacob Zuma to pay back the money spent on his private home at Nkandla in KwaZulu-Natal” appears (see 10.3.3.3). Here the experiential grammatical metaphor “demands” allows for the creation of a long nominal group in which at least three processes are condensed: Malema’s demanding, Zuma’s hypothetical payment of the money, and the spending of that money. Congruently, each of these would be realized in a separate clause.

In addition, this nominal group carries large amounts of interpersonal content. The word “demands” invokes negative Satisfaction. “Pay back the money” is an oft-repeated slogan of the EFF. This slogan is in effect an icon which many South Africans rallied around in opposing Zuma’s alleged corrupt actions. In terms of Attitude, it could be said to invoke both negative Propriety and negative Satisfaction. This negative Propriety Judgement is heightened by use of the word “private”, emphasizing that Zuma had allegedly spent public funds on his private residence. “Nkandla” had also become an icon representing Zuma’s alleged corruption throughout the controversy about the scandal relating to his

house, which became known as “Nkandlagate”. The embedding of “money spent on his private home at Nkandla in KwaZulu-Natal” within the nominal group indicates that the fact that the spending took place is presupposed, and the proposition that this money was spent is not arguable.

This interpersonal meaning is packaged together into the long nominal group headed by “demands”. This means that the same nominal group is used to condense both ideational and interpersonal meanings. Both of these types of meaning are associated with Zuma, and so this nominal group participates in a larger process of iconizing Zuma as a negative icon against which opposition parties rally. Such examples are not necessarily isolated, either: in the article containing the example cited above, grammatical metaphor couples with negative Judgement in a robust complex to perpetuate iconization throughout the unfolding of the text.

Martin describes iconization as “a process whereby ideational meaning is discharged and axiological meaning charged” (2017, p. 129). However, here ideational meaning is being charged alongside axiological meaning, and the effect is clearly to position Zuma more strongly as an icon to be rallied against. This should lead one to question whether this description of iconization is indeed accurate. The findings from my analyses suggest that, instead of ideational meaning fluctuating in an inversely proportional relation to axiological meaning, the two are independent of each other, and indeed, in some instances, resources that typically condense ideational meaning couple with those that typically condense interpersonal meanings. If this is the case, then it may not be helpful to define iconization in relation to the discharging of ideational meaning, but rather to describe iconization more transparently as the process by which a word or expression comes to be presented as an icon to be rallied around or against.

Lexical strings are not mentioned in Martin (2017) as working to condense meanings, although they are mentioned in Tann (2010; 2013) as aiding iconization. I found lexical strings to be active in condensing meanings in a manner similar to that found in instances of aggregation, as described above. In the data, these strings of semantically-related words were used several times to structure parallelism, with the effect of accumulating interpersonal meanings which could then be associated with a particular political entity or person. One well-developed example is discussed in 8.3.3.3. Here, at the end of an article, one finds a series of parallel clauses on xenophobic violence. These contain one lexical string of experiential grammatical metaphors describing the action that had taken place (including “attacks”, “deaths and injuries” and “violence”), and another lexical string denoting the victims of these actions (including “xenophobic”, “foreign nationals” and “foreigners”). Each time these words occur, they pick up ideational and interpersonal meanings from the surrounding words, creating a ‘snowball effect’ in which these meanings accumulate. In the last two clauses, this violence is associated with “the state”, which is held to be responsible for it. As a result, “the state” becomes coupled with all the meanings that are built up around these lexical strings, and is negatively positioned in a

strong manner as a result.

Lexical strings work similarly in the reporting of another accusation made by Malema in “Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society” (see 10.3.3). Here, “used violence to silence his elected opponents” (par. 8) is rephrased in stronger evaluative terms as “You use hooliganism to silence the opposition” (par. 9) in the hyperNew of a satellite. The first quotation is given in reported speech and the second in direct speech. The effect of this is to condense axiological meanings at the end of a satellite. In both this and the previous example, lexical strings assist in creating parallelism between two or more clause complexes. However, the use of lexical strings in political positioning is not confined to instances where such parallelism exists. In one article (see 8.3.1), a lexical string referring to new members who have joined the Inkatha Freedom Party accumulates interpersonal meanings throughout the unfolding of the text without the presence of such parallelism.

Lexical strings are different from the other ideational resources mentioned in this section in that while these other resources are usually associated with academic texts, or other texts construing uncommonsense fields, lexical strings can appear in almost any text. This is shown in my data, where lexical strings are found in a variety of articles (see 8.3.1.3, 8.3.3.3 and 10.3.3.3), while grammatical metaphor and technicality are most prevalent in an article sourced by Sapa and not written by the Daily Sun editorial staff for the Daily Sun’s regular readership (see 10.3.3.3). While technicality and grammatical metaphor are viewed primarily as condensing ideational meanings, no such preference exists for lexical strings; they can equally condense axiological meanings as well as ideational meanings. Lastly, lexical strings have some characteristics in common with aggregation, which is a textual resource: as with the textual resources discussed above, lexical strings accumulate meanings through the unfolding of a text, and like text reference, it can be used to package meanings from previous stretches of text into a single word. This means that lexical strings play an interesting role: they are an ideational resource that in some ways behaves more like a textual resource in the way they condense meanings.

11.2.2.4 Coupling and complexes

Figure 11.3 gives a schematic view of the linguistic and discursive resources discussed in this section and the ways in which they interact to enable political positioning. It shows how the textual resources enabling aggregation, and ideational resources, including technicality, can couple together with the interpersonal resources that enable iconization. Through coupling with these interpersonal resources, they act to strengthen the condensation of axiological meanings, which strengthens the effect of the political positioning carried out by the interpersonal resources. Although all three sets of resources can be used to condense meanings, positioning seems to be accomplished most directly by iconization in the data analysed for this study. One can think of interpersonal resources as the en-

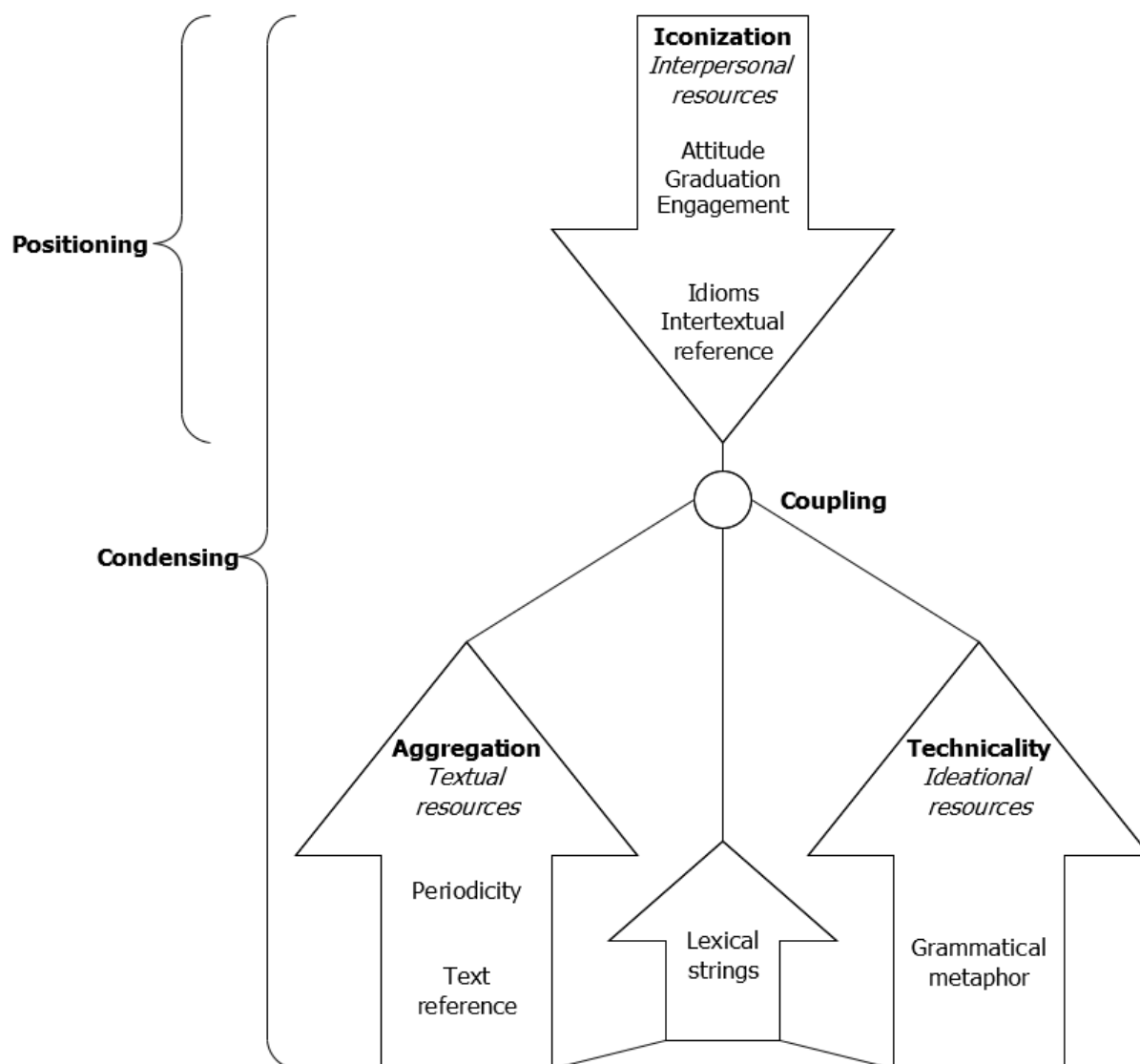


Figure 11.3: A schematic diagram of the linguistic and discursive resources used in political positioning in the Daily Sun data

gine that drives political positioning in the data, and ideational and textual resources as turbo-charging this engine through coupling. Figure 11.3 also positions lexical strings in between aggregation and technicality, reflecting its status as an ideational resource that functions similarly to aggregation.

The pivotal role played by coupling is emphasized throughout this section. It is important to add that these couplings are often not individual instances, but form part of systematic and regular repeated patterns, which I name complexes. In chapters 8 and 10 I illustrate the prevalence of these complexes by showing how linguistic resources repeatedly combine, and evidence for these is shown in Appendix I. The most common complexes in the data are those formed through the coupling of ideational material (often a party or person's name) with a particular Attitude resource. These complexes in turn couple repeatedly with various other linguistic resources, as I show in Chapter 10 using tables reflecting the frequency with which such couplings occur. Because complexes are repeated, they

reinforce in the reader's mind the association of particular parties with particular values to a great extent, building a cumulative picture of the positioning of particular political entities. For this reason, complexes are crucial to the work of mapping the political landscape that is accomplished in news articles.

11.2.3 How political positioning happens in the *Daily Sun*: a joint account

The previous two subsections examine political positioning from the perspective of knowledge, using LCT (see 11.2.1) and from the perspective of language, using SFL (see 11.2.3). In this section I briefly bring these two descriptions together to produce a joint account of the ways in which political positioning is accomplished in *Daily Sun* political news articles, proposing a final, integrated response to research question 3(a), "What are the implications of the responses to the above questions for the ways in which the use of language in political positioning can be conceptualized using Legitimation Code Theory and Systemic Functional Linguistics?" This account is best illustrated diagrammatically in Figure 11.4, in which I combine figures 11.1 and 11.3.

Figure 11.4 clarifies a few insights into the way in which political positioning is approached in this thesis. Firstly, it shows that one set of tools is used to analyse political positioning at the level of language, and another at the level of knowledge. In this analysis, language and knowledge are treated as two separate strata of reality. Here, I use the word strata not in the SFL sense, where 'strata' refer to different levels of analysis in language and its context, but in the related sense of the word used in critical realism, where 'strata' are used to refer to phenomena at different scales which are typically studied in different academic disciplines (Collier, 1994). For example, physics would be considered one stratum, and chemistry another; or to choose examples more familiar to the humanities, psychology, the study of individual minds, would exist in a lower stratum than sociology, the study of complete societies (Collier, 1994).

In critical realism, higher strata are not reducible to lower strata, although the processes taking place at lower strata affect those that take place in higher strata (Collier, 1994). This is how I conceive of the relationship between phenomena at the level of language and those at the level of knowledge in this study. At the level of language, a complex array of linguistic and discursive resources, many of which can be described using SFL, are drawn upon in condensing meaning and positioning particular political parties and actors in specific ways. However, this positioning actually takes place at the higher stratum of knowledge, in which semantic density condenses political parties and politicians together with particular values and stances to form different constellations.

This means that the references to linguistic resources in the arrows in the 'language stratum' section of the diagram differ from the references to similar resources in the boxes

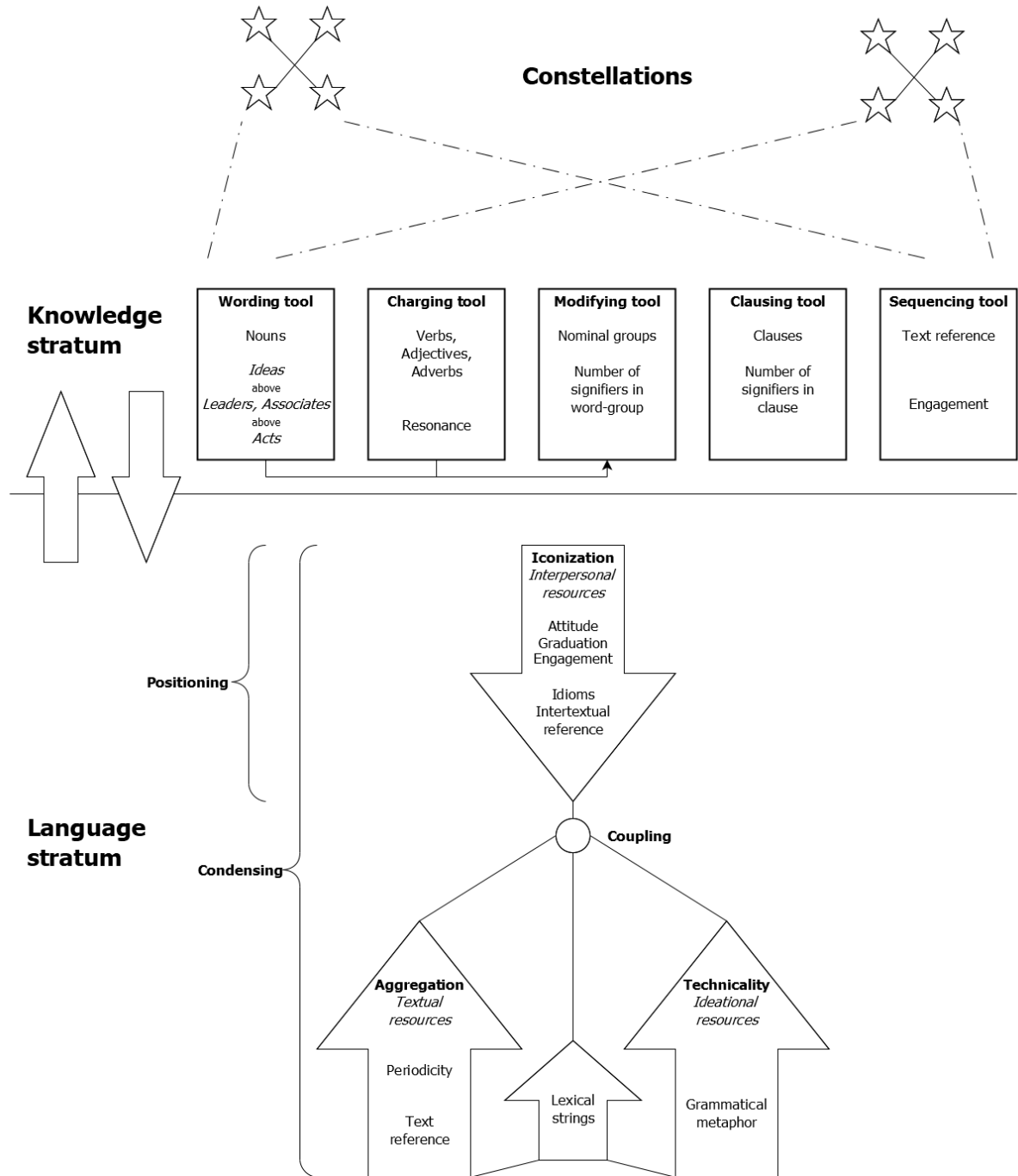


Figure 11.4: A joint diagram of tools used to analyse political positioning in Daily Sun political news articles

in the ‘knowledge stratum’. In the language stratum, every time these resources are linked together into couplings and complexes, they are used to condense meanings, and every time the interpersonal resources are used in a political context, political positioning will result. However, in the knowledge stratum these resources are no longer used deterministically, but merely reflect tendencies that can be used as resources to condense knowledge, and so serve as an inspiration for the design of tools in my translation device for axiological-semantic density. So for example, while text reference always aggregates meanings together in the language stratum, it may not always be used to transport politically significant meanings that allow for higher axiological condensation.

Another example of the differences between these strata can be illustrated by the fact that the clausing tool in the knowledge stratum draws on the number of signifiers in a clause. In the language stratum, the number of signifiers in a clause could be compared to its argument structure, which could be analysed using the Transitivity system in SFL’s Ideational Metafunction (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). However, in my analysis, I did not find articles in which the Transitivity system seems to influence the condensation of axiological meanings significantly. This is not to say that this system may not be used to condense axiological meanings at all. On the contrary, it appears intuitive that Relational Processes, which join Participants together in relationships of attribution or identification (for example, expressing that *X is Y*), might enable higher axiological condensation than other types of Processes, such as Material Processes (which express that *X did something to Y*). However, these effects did not appear strongly enough in my data to warrant my undertaking a full Transitivity analysis of it. The relationship between Transitivity and semantic density remains an interesting possibility for future research, and may be stronger in other types of data than *Daily Sun* political news articles. To come back to the differences between the two strata, the important point to note is that Transitivity does not appear significant in condensing meanings at the level of language, while the number of signifiers per clause is seen as significant at the level of knowledge.

In short, what this research demonstrates is that a variety of linguistic and discursive resources are used to condense meanings in *Daily Sun* political news articles. These linguistic and discursive resources affect the ways in which knowledge is configured, allowing for different strengths of axiological-semantic density and axiological condensation as shown by the translation device. Axiological-semantic density and axiological condensation in turn are used to cluster political stances together into constellations on the basis of the text producers’ cosmologies.

This study advances the dialogue between SFL and LCT in a number of ways. Firstly, it shows how axiological-semantic density, which is an under-explored concept in LCT, can be systematically enacted in a large dataset, using corpus analysis and fine-grained analyses of individual articles. It catalogues and uses some linguistic resources from SFL which have been shown to have a relationship with axiological-semantic density, thus developing Martin’s (2017) work with a focus particularly on the axiological aspects of

semantic density. In this thesis, I show how Martin's (2017) concept of mass can be used in analysis, and suggest additional linguistic and discursive resources which contribute to the condensation of axiological meanings, including intertextual references and lexical strings.

This is possible because of the multi-stage methodology which I use in the study, including a corpus analysis, exploratory analyses and targeted analyses. Doing analysis in this way allows me to innovate methodologically and refine tools for analysis through the course of the research. This multi-stage process of analysis enables this study to differ from other (mostly unpublished) analyses of axiological-semantic density by inter alia Doran (In preparation), Jones (2015), Szenes and Tilakaratna (2018), and Hao and Martin (2017) in various respects. Firstly, it includes full complementary analyses of texts using both LCT and SFL; some previous approaches use SFL concepts as an external language of description for LCT concepts or otherwise use concepts from the two frameworks together in a single analysis. By using full complementary analyses, I am able in this research to examine the LCT and SFL concepts in more depth, and generate more explanatory power through the analyses, as Maton et al. (2016) predict would be the case.

I have constructed a detailed, five-level translation device for axiological-semantic density that is partially inspired by some concepts from SFL, but does not rely on these concepts for its use. Such a device could be adapted for use in future research examining other types of data. For example, it could be used as an analytic tool for studying political news articles in other countries, and adjusted to suit the different generic properties of these articles. Lastly, I have investigated the effects of a wide range of linguistic resources from SFL on the condensation of axiological meaning, including resources from the ideational and textual metafunctions whose significance for this process of condensation can easily be overlooked. As a result, I show how LCT and SFL can be used in complementary analyses to generate a rich and detailed account of the way that political positioning is done in *Daily Sun* political news articles.

11.3 Discourses in South African public spheres

While this study makes a theoretical contribution to the dialogue between LCT and SFL, it makes an equally important contribution to our knowledge on the ways in which discourse is carried out in one alternative South African public sphere, facilitated by the *Daily Sun*. The division between this alternative public sphere and the dominant public sphere is permeable, and due to the sheer size of the *Daily Sun*'s audience, this alternative public sphere is having an increasing influence on broader national conversations. In this section, I show the implications of this research for this alternative public sphere.

I begin by reviewing the constellations found in the data (see 11.3.1) and then describe and interrogate the organizing principles, or cosmologies, lying behind these constellations

Party	Themes
African National Congress (ANC)	Internal and external conflict, concrete places/objects
Democratic Alliance (DA)	Community-spirited good deeds, leadership
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	Disruptive actions, internal conflict, rank-and-file-members, leaders

Table 11.1: *Themes in the strongest collocations of South Africa’s three largest parties in the Daily Sun data, repeated from 7.4*

(see 11.3.2), thereby showing my response to this study’s second research question, namely “What organizing principles lie behind the grouping of different policy positions and moral evaluations with political parties in this newspaper, in the light of South Africa’s socio-political context?” Following this, I suggest some ways in which South Africa’s public discourses could be rendered more free, open and equitable in the light of these findings, responding to the second part of this study’s third research question, “What are the implications of the responses to the above questions for... the transformation of political discourses in South African public spheres?” It is my hope that this section will prove useful in the process of building South Africa’s developing democracy.

11.3.1 Constellations

In this section, I summarize the findings of this study on how political parties, especially the ANC, DA and EFF, South Africa’s three largest parties, are positioned in the *Daily Sun* political news coverage analysed in this study. Table 11.1, repeated from 7.4, shows the different themes that emerge from an analysis of the collocates of the three largest political parties in the corpus analysis.

The corpus analysis shows the *Daily Sun*’s depiction of political parties to be characterized by internal contestation. The ANC is portrayed as often violently in conflict with itself and with other political parties. The DA is shown to be filled with community-spirited do-gooders and to be conducting a more peaceful leadership transition, while expressing its ambition to lead the country in the future. Coverage of the EFF is characterized by the violent break between Mngxitama and the dominant faction of the party, as well as by disruptive acts in Parliament and in public places.

Different readers may affiliate with or disaffiliate away from each of these portrayals of the parties: some may find the DA’s largesse attractive, while others may be attracted by the disruptive strategies of the EFF. It is difficult to discern positive or negative positioning from most of the analyses of collocates; one may arrive at a better-justified description of whether parties are being evaluated positively or negatively through fine-grained analyses of individual articles. A marked characteristic of coverage of all the parties, however, is

an emphasis on concrete events and power struggles between different leaders, rather than on the policy agendas that these parties and leaders promote.

The different constellations found in the articles selected for fine-grained analysis to a large extent echo what is found in the corpus analysis, with the exception that these fine-grained analyses can transparently make an argument that particular parties are being positioned positively or negatively. Due to the small number of fine-grained analyses, they are more useful for examining how political positioning is done (as described in 11.2) than showing which parties are positioned with which others. However, they are helpful in illustrating how some of the tendencies identified in the corpus analysis are instantiated in particular articles.

The constellations found in the articles for fine-grained analysis are described most clearly in synoptic form in Table 11.2. In this table, the central signifiers from each constellation found in the articles analysed in the exploratory and targeted analyses are listed according to whether those constellations were charged positively, negatively or with neutral charging or a mix of different types of charging. All the political parties mentioned in the articles are also plotted on the table in the same cells as the central signifiers with which they were constellated. In one article, “Eye on the big prize! – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029”, two sets of constellations are produced (see 10.3.2.2).

Various patterns are evident in these constellations, although what is most noticeable at first is that the positioning of political parties in them is complex and varied. No one party is charged positively or negatively or neutrally in all articles. The data show evidence of a complex ecology in which the three larger parties exist alongside numerous smaller parties, and associations between them are shifting and vary depending on the subject matter of the article. This is quite different from the picture one might expect to find in a well-established Western democracy with two large parties, and media publications that consistently align with one of them. In some ways, the complexity of the patterns found in Table 11.2 may be viewed as healthy for the stimulation of a vibrant public sphere: the *Daily Sun* does not show a univocal alignment towards one party or another, but appears to report on the merits and demerits of each party, allowing for complex discussions on these among readers.

Despite this, there are some clear tendencies in the positioning of different parties. Firstly, it is notable that the ANC is always portrayed negatively, apart from one article where it is described in neutral terms. Where it is portrayed negatively, this is due to accusations of corruption and hypocrisy (see 8.3.1, 8.3.2 and 10.3.3) and a violent confrontation with members of another party (see 10.3.1). This partly exemplifies the finding in the corpus analysis that the ANC is associated with violent conflict with members of other parties. The one neutral description of the party simply mentions that a particular urban area (Soweto, Johannesburg) is an ANC “stronghold” (see 10.3.2). This reinforces the impression that the *Daily Sun*’s coverage is not too complimentary towards the ruling party.

Article		Positively-charged	Neutral/mixed charging	Negatively-charged
Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members		IFP		“Some parties”, ANC, NFP
Ex-buddy trashes Juju!			McCauley	McKenzie (PA) Malema, EFF, ANC
March was a success – Mchunu		peace march, DA, IFP, UDM, FF+, Cope, ACDP, EFF	about 500 foreigners	xenophobic violence
ANC and DA clash!			DA	ANC
Eye on the big prize! – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029	<i>author’s constellations</i>		ANC	DA
	<i>Maimane’s constellations</i>	the future, DA		the past
Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society		opposition, DA, EFF		government, ANC

Table 11.2: *Political parties’ positioning in constellations in the Daily Sun data*

The DA is the only party appearing in all three columns, as positively charged in some articles, negatively charged in others and accorded mixed charging in another. In general, the articles seemed to value the DA for its role in political opposition. This includes opposition to the government (see 10.3.3) and opposition to xenophobic violence (see 8.3.3). Maimane also positively charges his own party for its aspirations to lead South Africa in the future (see 10.3.2), providing an example of the close association between the party and the idea of leadership, as shown in the corpus analysis. However, in this same article, the author expresses caution against supporting the party wholeheartedly, charging the party negatively for its seeming lack of capacity to hold a big launch event for its new vision and a lack of policies designed to help it realize its vision. Where the party is given mixed charging, its members are portrayed as victims of the ANC's violence, but also as appearing far from valiant in the face of this violence (see 10.3.1).

Thus the articles used in the exploratory and targeted analyses give a rather ambivalent reflection of the party. This ambivalence could be related to the party's struggles to define itself in post-apartheid South African society, including its internal debates about whether to continue adhering to an individualistic, liberal, 'colour-blind' political philosophy or whether to advocate for some kind of race-based redressive action, like BBBEE (see 2.5). Such reservations suggest that *Daily Sun* readers are advised to adopt a 'wait-and-see attitude' regarding whether or not to support the DA.

The EFF is positioned positively when it appears alongside other opposition parties like the DA, where it is seen to be opposing the government and xenophobic violence, but when the party is associated with the ANC, it is negatively charged. In other words, it is valued for its function as an opposition party, even when that opposition extends to the disruptive actions in Parliament highlighted in the corpus analysis (see 8.3.3 and 10.3.3). By contrast, statements that EFF leader Julius Malema was holding talks with the ANC are framed in a negative light, as though he was about to betray his supporters (see 8.3.2). It is apt that the EFF, as a new party pursuing disruptive strategies, should be positioned either unambiguously positively or negatively in articles: people either approve or disapprove of its actions, with seemingly no middle ground.

Thus while the positioning of political parties in the *Daily Sun* is varied and complex, this positioning does show tendencies which suggest the existence of particular cosmologies among the newspaper's editorial staff. These cosmologies are discussed in detail in the following subsection.

11.3.2 Cosmologies

The brief characterizations of the positioning of South Africa's three largest political parties in 4.4 bring out a common theme which gives an indication of the cosmologies behind the reporting analysed in this study: political opposition is valued. It is notable that all the parties listed in the "Positively charged" column in Table 11.2 are opposition

parties. In one article, the concept of “opposition” is used explicitly as a central signifier for the positively charged constellation (10.3.3). In others, the idea of political opposition is not far below the surface of consciousness, although this does not refer necessarily to opposition against the government. One article positively charges a string of opposition parties for taking a stand against xenophobic violence (8.3.3); in another, the IFP is positively charged because it is contrasted with “some parties” that are typecast as corrupt and hypocritical, including the ruling party (8.3.1). A possible counterexample to this trend is “Eye on the big prize! – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029” (see 10.3.2), where DA leader Mmusi Maimane strikes an optimistic tone and lays out his vision for his party’s future using positively charged language. Yet even here, he opposes something: injustices that are portrayed as belonging to South Africa’s apartheid past. Thus in every case, parties are valued to a greater or lesser extent because of what they oppose.

In general, negative positioning seems to be privileged above positive positioning: all of the six articles subjected to fine-grained analysis produce negatively-charged constellations, while only four produce positively-charged constellations. It seems that in many of the articles, negative developments are the ‘hook’ which is used to attract readers, and more particularly, accusations against particular political actors. This can be seen in headlines such as “Ex-buddy trashes Juju!”, where accusations against EFF leader Julius Malema are used to attract readers (8.3.2) and “Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society”, featuring plenty of accusations against the former president, Jacob Zuma (10.3.3). If one includes IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s accusations against “some parties” in “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members” (8.3.1) and the accusations that ANC members committed violence in “ANC and DA clash!”, then four out of the six articles used in the exploratory and targeted analyses feature such accusations prominently. In a fifth article, “March was a success – Mchunu”, Malema accuses “the state” of being responsible for xenophobic violence, but this is only mentioned at the end of the article.

Closer examination of these accusations reveals further commonalities between them. In two instances, the accusations are individualized: in one article, Malema is specifically targeted, and Zuma is in another (see 8.3.2 and 10.3.3). Here individual behaviour is focused on rather than the collective decision-making of these politicians’ parties. In one article, what is criticized is a concrete instance of violence between parties (see 10.3.1), and in another, it is xenophobic violence in the country as a whole (see 8.3.3). In still another article, parties are accused of being hypocritical, that is not living up to their ideals (see 8.3.1). Only in one article is mention made of a political party’s policies, and there this is done to highlight the absence of such policies for fulfilling the DA’s new vision (see 10.3.2). This reinforces the impression of a kind of policy-blindness present in the data: what is seen as popular and attractive to readers is concrete accusations levelled against parties or politicians, rather than policy-level decisions.

Thus the *Daily Sun*’s cosmologies appear to value political opposition and emphasize what is seen as negative attributes of parties and politicians. The focus appears to be on

concrete actions of politicians, fostering a general policy-blindness. In the remainder of this section I briefly explain two factors which may have led to such cosmologies, and then answer the questions, “How is the space of possibles in South African political discourse broadened or narrowed as a result of these cosmologies?” and “What possible positions are offered to readers to take up in this discourse as a result?” These questions assist in responding to the second research question of this study, “What organizing principles lie behind the grouping of different policy positions and moral evaluations with political parties in these newspapers, in the light of South Africa’s socio-political context?”

One contributing factor behind such cosmologies may be the *Daily Sun*’s ownership. As shown in 3.4, the newspaper belongs to Media24, South Africa’s largest media conglomerate, which has grown out of Naspers [National Press], largely owned by Afrikaner capital. During the apartheid era, Naspers produced Afrikaans-language newspapers that were largely supportive of the apartheid government. In the post-apartheid era, Media24 has tended to follow a ‘watchdog’ model of journalism, where journalism is seen as important particularly for holding the government to account for its actions. This would make it no surprise that the reporting in the *Daily Sun* tends to be negative towards the ANC as the governing party.

Secondly, a focus on negative news is nothing new. Negativity is one of the key news values described in Galtung and Ruge’s (1965) extremely influential study of these values, which is held to describe all news media for all types of audience in all parts of the world. Furthermore, these cosmologies are also remarkably similar to some of the criticisms levelled against tabloids, particularly in Western countries, by those who see them as inimical to fostering public-sphere debate, as shown in 3.5. The *Daily Sun*’s editorial staff may simply see such a cosmology as part and parcel of tabloid news values. Such a cosmology appears to perpetuate the “Age of Contempt” (Barnett 2002, p. 404), in which politicians are portrayed as irredeemably immoral and worthless, unwilling or unable to meet the people’s needs. Those active on social media might summarize this cosmology in a hashtag: #PoliticiansAreTrash.

The *Daily Sun* reports on a wide variety of parties, and how its coverage of them is complex: no one party is univocally positively charged or negatively charged. This suggests that the space of possibles in the newspaper’s coverage is wide open, and that different groups can, and are, represented in them. Aside from political parties, Table 11.2 shows that other individuals and groups are represented as having distinctive positions. For example, Ray McCauley can present himself as an independent negotiator between the EFF and ANC (see 8.3.2), and a group of 500 foreigners can position themselves as supporting neither xenophobic violence, nor the peace march against this violence (see 8.3.3).

However, the cosmologies described in this section illustrate a general organizing principle in the newspaper’s coverage: although some neutrally-charged groups exist, most people and groups are either part of the opposition or they are part of the problem (a negatively-charged constellation). The things that are negatively charged include “the past” (a

reference to oppression under apartheid); corruption and hypocrisy among “some parties”, including the ruling ANC and its government; and xenophobic violence. Good people are those who stand against these things. Opposition parties are good insofar as they oppose negatively-charged things; on closer examination their leaders are not to be trusted due to character flaws and immoral behaviour (in the case of the EFF’s Julius Malema; see 8.3.2) or because they lack the capacity to fulfil their promises to voters (in the case of the DA’s Mmusi Maimane; see 10.3.2). This means that readers ultimately can align themselves as being against the negative things that the newspaper reports on, or align with the problematic government and flawed opposition parties.

Such cosmologies could well reinforce the disillusionment of particularly young readers, who increasingly see political participation as irrelevant to their lives, according to the research reported on in 3.3. They could also reinforce a low level of trust in political processes. If politicians are portrayed as resorting to violence to impose their will over their opponents, there appears to be no reason why readers should not do the same, instead of engaging in political processes to make themselves heard. Thus at worst, one consequence of the cosmologies underlying the *Daily Sun*’s coverage may be a rise in recourse to violent mass action, which bypasses legitimate democratic processes. However, this need not be the only option: readers could engage more vigorously in civil society rather than party political structures, and thus band together to address problems and gaps in service delivery which the government is not addressing. As pointed out in 3.3, there is some evidence that levels of trust in civil society organizations are generally much higher than trust in government, and that these organizations are taking a more politically active role across the country. I return to the role of civil society in facilitating vibrant public spheres in 11.3.3.

To summarize, the cosmology that appears to be active in the *Daily Sun* articles is one in which accusations against politicians (often made by their political opponents) are held to attract readers; news about their misdeeds is seen as attracting more readers than reasons for why a particular individual or party is morally virtuous. These misdeeds tend to be of an individualized, concrete nature: they are specific immoral things that individual politicians do, rather than broad policy decisions taken by collectives. On the other side, the politicians that are positioned as morally virtuous (most of the time) are those who speak up against other politicians’ misdeeds; in other words, those that provide effective opposition, both against the government and against social ills like xenophobic violence.

This cosmology is in keeping with the traditional ‘watchdog’ approach to journalism, but seems to confirm the “crisis in journalism” narratives of Barnett (2002), Buckingham (2000) and Sampson (1999), among others (see 3.5). Although positive stories about politicians working together to meet community members’ basic needs or confront social evils do exist, the core of the *Daily Sun*’s political coverage does not seem to be the service journalism touted by proponents of the tabloids as facilitators of democratic participation (e.g. Steenveld and Strelitz, 2010; Glenn and Knaggs, 2008). Rather, such service

journalism seems to be kept quite distinct from party political coverage. It may be that a key to transforming the *Daily Sun*'s approach to political reporting may be to blur the distinctions between them. In 11.3.3 I explore this possibility further, and suggest some other ways in which this situation could be transformed to allow for more free, open and equitable political engagement among South Africans.

11.3.3 Transforming South Africa's public discourses

A healthy democracy is often held to depend on an engaged citizenry who not only vote for the party of their choice once every few years, but are involved in discussing government's policy decisions, contesting those which they disagree with, and seeking social cohesion within their own communities. Such democratic participation is enabled by a plurality of interconnected public spheres in which a wide range of political voices can be heard, if the Habermasian and Bakhtinian view of public spheres that I argue for in 3.2 is correct. For underprivileged communities who have been denied both material and discursive resources, it is necessary that alternative public spheres be developed in which people from these groups can 'find their voice' and develop their arguments, so that they can stand on a more equal footing with others when they do engage in mainstream or dominant public spheres.

The *Daily Sun* has plenty of potential to facilitate such an alternative public sphere, as argued in 3.5. However, the task of transforming public discourses is formidable and wide-ranging, affecting many aspects of society. Many further research projects could examine different interventions to achieve this goal, paying attention to the practicalities of each kind of intervention. In this section, I merely provide some exploratory thoughts on how the transformation of South Africa's public discourses could be pursued in three arenas of society, based on the findings of my study: education, civil society and the media. In my discussion of each of these spheres, I suggest ways that the space of possibles in these public discourses could be broadened to include a greater number of positions, and greater engagement in public sphere discussions on politics can be facilitated to circumvent the popular disillusionment with politics observed in 3.3 and 11.3.2.

Firstly, South Africans should be educated about the ways in which discursive resources are used to position people and groups. This research identifies a wide variety of such discursive resources, including some that were previously not considered significant in political positioning. Many people would have an awareness of at least some of the interpersonal resources identified in this study: they would be able to point out where emotive language (which I describe using the Attitude and Graduation systems of Appraisal) is being used to express opinions. However, what is evident from this research is that the discursive resources used to condense axiological meanings, including ideational and textual resources, are also extremely significant in supporting political positioning.

An understanding of the effects of such linguistic resources should form part of what is

called critical language awareness (Fairclough, 1992). In South Africa, Janks (1996; 2000) has done extensive research and activism work on promoting critical language awareness in basic and higher education, even editing a series of booklets on this topic for use in classrooms. Although critical language awareness is traditionally closely associated with Critical Discourse Analysis, a framework which I critique in 1.4.1, it is nevertheless a useful term to describe the kinds of competencies needed to take a critical orientation toward texts and ensure that this critique is well-grounded in a close reading of the linguistic features of these texts.

Critical language awareness has been written into South African school curricula as an important competency for learners to acquire in their home languages from Grade 4 (age 9/10 years old) onwards. This is true of all home language curricula from English to South African Sign Language (Department of Basic Education 2011b; 2011d; 2011a; 2014). It is also to be taught in first additional language subjects from Grade 7 (age 12/13 years old) onwards (Department of Basic Education 2011c). These aims are admirable, but may prove difficult to attain in practice. From my experience in teaching the critical analysis of texts to first-year university Linguistics students, I am well aware that students still battle to master this skill after having left school.

This study foregrounds the roles of specific linguistic and discursive resources in political positioning, and this suggests that a strong understanding of the grammatical structures of a language and the ways in which these make meanings is necessary for awareness of the ways in which language encodes different political stances. Many of these grammatical structures are prescribed for teaching in schools in home languages and first additional languages. In my teaching of critical text analysis at first-year university level, I have found that students' knowledge of grammatical concepts frequently trips them up in their efforts to analyse texts critically. This thesis can be seen as making a strong argument that a solid grounding in grammatical knowledge is necessary for desirable levels of critical language awareness. The linguistic and discursive resources identified in this thesis can, and should, be taught to learners in an accessible format as a means by which different stances are conveyed using language.

As discussed in 3.4, most South Africans consume media in English, which is a second, third or even fourth language for the majority of them. This makes the acquisition of grammatical knowledge and critical language awareness in this language even more important. Genre-based literacy programmes, such as Reading to Learn (Rose and Martin, 2012), integrate grammatical knowledge and critical language awareness into everyday reading and writing instruction and practice; the wider implementation and adaptation of such programmes could be instrumental in cultivating both of these types of knowledge.

Given that most South African adults received an inferior education under the apartheid-era Bantu Education system, it is also important that ways be found to raise critical language awareness among these adults. One way in which this can be done is through brief, interesting opinion articles which highlight examples of ways in which language is

used to position different people and groups. Such articles need not be overly didactic in tone. If it is true that many readers consume tabloids for the pleasure of taking a sceptical view of the ‘news’ presented in them, as suggested in 3.3 and 3.5, then such articles could attract readers fairly easily by taking a similar sceptical viewpoint and turning it toward constructive critique of representations of recent political events, and ending with questions that open up space for dialogue, such as “What do you think about these issues?” The reach of such opinion pieces could be extended through the use of other media. Radio inserts could be particularly helpful given the popularity of this medium in South Africa (see 3.4), as could inserts for television news or documentary programmes. On the Internet, there would be much wider latitude for disseminating such material as podcasts or YouTube videos, for example.

The necessity of raising critical language awareness among school learners and adults alike is becoming more and more apparent in the so-called ‘post-truth’ era, as described in 2.2, in which it is becoming harder and harder to distinguish facts from fake news (Jordan, 2016). Critical language awareness can empower people to enter into dialogue with media texts in a more rigorous fashion, and so discover the ways in which they are being used to narrow dialogic space and exclude certain views from the “space of possibles” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 10). As a result, people can have more fruitful discussions about what they read, see and listen to in the media, and possibly contribute to public sphere dialogue on the basis of this. Thus both formal and informal efforts at raising critical language awareness have an important role in opening up public sphere discussions in South Africa.

Secondly, civil society can and should be used to open up public sphere discussions. In 3.3, I describe how organized civil society, including trade unions, residents’ associations, religious organizations and sports clubs are important for the development of democratic public spheres. Many such organizations were extremely active in the struggle against apartheid; the United Democratic Front which coordinated the resistance to apartheid from inside South Africa while the ANC was in exile was essentially a very large alliance of civil society organizations (see 2.3). Generally, these organizations were depoliticized during the country’s transition to democracy in the 1990s, as most of the political organizing functions they had fulfilled were taken up by political parties. However, in recent years there has been a resurgence in involvement by civil society organizations in matters that are seen as political or in the public interest. Some examples of this resurgence are described in 3.3.

In some respects, civil society organizations command important advantages over political parties. As shown in 3.3, levels of trust in them are far higher than in government. Civil society organizations do not need to face the burden of either governing or contesting elections in which there is universal suffrage. This means, firstly, that their leaders are less susceptible to suspicions that they are acting out of ambition to power or an intention to misuse state resources for personal gain. This is important considering the cosmologies described in 11.3.2, which emphasize accusations against politicians. Secondly, civil

society organizations can position themselves as ‘non-partisan’, unaligned with existing political parties, and so as transcending political divides. It is notable that in one of the articles described in the exploratory analyses, “March was a success – Mchunu” (see 8.3.3), various civil society organizations associated with a peace march were placed in the same positively-charged constellation as opposition parties because all of them opposed xenophobic violence. If the *Daily Sun*’s cosmologies, broadly speaking, favour opposition to corruption in political parties and social ills such as xenophobia, then civil society organizations are convenient vehicles for such opposition which can claim to be free from political partisanship.

A further advantage that civil society organizations have is that they bring diverse participants together around a common interest (such as a sport like soccer), a common set of values (in the case of many religious organizations) or a common project (such as in advocacy groups like the Treatment Action Campaign). This common ground gives a basis for shared engagement with each other, meaning that discussions between participants in these organizations are more likely to be constructive than discussions among people who are complete strangers to each other and have competing interests. Online fora such as social media platforms and the comments threads on online news articles often lack a similar sense of common ground, which could be one reason why discussions in these fora are more likely to degenerate into vitriol and insult-trading, which are extreme examples of the use of language in negative positioning found in this study.

Thus if people are disenchanted with political parties and government, organized civil society forms a useful and usually non-violent way of bypassing political parties in addressing matters of public interest. Civil society organizations can open up public sphere dialogue by holding face-to-face discussion forums (or, as they are sometimes called in South Africa, *imbizos*) on matters that their members are particularly concerned about or in which they have some common interest. The diversity of such forums is important: the more they can bring together people from different races, classes and political viewpoints, the more they can foster understanding of a variety of views across the social divides that are strongly evident in post-apartheid South Africa. In some circumstances, this might call for historically ‘black’ organizations to cooperate with similar organizations with a historically ‘white’ membership, and vice versa. Among those South Africans who are privileged enough to have Internet access, such forums can also fruitfully be moved online to social networking platforms such as Facebook or WhatsApp, as long as the common ground which keeps members of the organization together extends to these platforms and assists in moderating these dialogues so that they have a good chance of yielding constructive results, such as increased activism or awareness, or transformed social behaviour around a particular issue.

Lastly, the media, including the *Daily Sun*, can use their influence to open up public sphere discussions in many ways. In 3.2, I showed how the media are viewed as playing an integral role in facilitating public sphere discussion since the original theorizing of

this concept by Habermas (1989). In this section, I leave discussion of the role that the media can play in opening up public sphere discussions to last so as to demonstrate that this task is a shared one, but that does not mean that their role is insignificant. The media has the potential to facilitate vibrant public spheres, in which important matters relating to South African political discourses can be discussed and a wide range of political voices can be heard. This would allow readers to compare different opinions and policy stances on any topic for debate, and evaluate them for themselves. In what follows, the recommendations I give are directed mainly to tabloid newspapers such as the *Daily Sun*, but could be adapted for use in other sectors of the media as well.

It is important to emphasize the many ways in which South Africa's tabloids already do facilitate vibrant alternative public spheres, as described in 3.5. For example, Smith and Adendorff (2014b; 2014c; 2014d; 2014a) show that the *Daily Sun* already has a vibrant letters page that fosters an imagined community in which particular values are shared and promoted. However, because political news articles are the object of study in this thesis, this study can generate recommendations about how this sub-genre can provide better fuel for discussions on these letters pages, on street corners and in other places where tabloids are read and discussed.

While I argue that overly negative reporting of political parties and politicians may be inimical to the development of vibrant alternative public spheres (see 11.3.2), the opposite type of reporting, a kind of 'sunshine journalism' that only describes positive developments, or is sympathetic towards one political party or another, may be equally damaging. A clear example of the failure of such an approach is *The New Age*, a daily newspaper explicitly aligned with Jacob Zuma and his faction of the ANC which is mentioned in 3.4. This newspaper was owned by the Gupta family, who were implicated with Zuma in numerous allegations of large-scale corruption referred to as "state capture" (Wolf 2017, p.3), as described in 2.4. It carried news largely sympathetic to the ANC government, and particularly Zuma's faction, during the years of his presidency. However, for this reason, the newspaper was widely viewed with scepticism.

When the Guptas started to face legal difficulties due to the corruption allegations, the newspaper was sold to another Zuma ally, Mzwanele Manyi. Manyi tried to rebrand the newspaper as *AfroVoice*, purporting to offer more Afrocentric coverage than the mainstream newspapers. However, this too failed, and the newspaper was eventually closed in June 2018 (Anderson, 2018). Although readers and advertisers distanced themselves from *The New Age* partly due to its association with Zuma and the Guptas, the newspaper's story also demonstrates that South African readers tend to be sceptical of publications overtly slanted towards one political orientation or another. The media need to be realistic in their portrayal of South African political developments, or run the risk that readers from any part of the socio-economic spectrum will reject them. Furthermore, political reporting that is overtly partisan merely promotes one of the existing bundles of policy options espoused by South Africa's politicians. This does little or nothing to open up

dialogic space for alternative views to be represented or engaged with.

In the following paragraphs, I suggest some things that the news media, and particularly tabloids, can do to facilitate public sphere discussions in a way that is inclusive of a diversity of views and potentially transformative. Firstly, as noted in 3.5, tabloids are reputed to report on political events only when they are perceived to have a direct impact on readers' lives, such as successes and failures in government service delivery, particularly to working-class townships and rural areas, or economic decisions that affect the prices of commodities that their readers often need to use. One way in which they can support better public sphere discussions is through expanding on this trend by broadening the range of political events that they cover, and showing how these events are relevant to their readers' lives. This would be fruitful especially when it comes to parties' policy decisions.

For example, when the Democratic Alliance (DA) released a statement that it did not support the government's Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment programme (BBBEE; see 2.5), a tabloid like the *Daily Sun* could have compared the government's BBBEE programme to the alternatives suggested by the DA, and shown how each of these would be likely to affect the newspaper's predominantly black readership. Such reporting would go some way towards remedying the 'policy-blindness' found in the *Daily Sun's* reporting (see 11.3.2), while remaining relevant to readers' lived experiences.

Secondly, as shown in 3.5, tabloids specialize in the unexpected, and this tendency can be exploited to broaden coverage of policy developments. Tabloids' preoccupation with the unexpected may be one reason behind the fact that the *Daily Sun* often carries stories of local politicians doing 'good deeds' for the community, like raising funds for a poor elderly person's funeral or donating shoes to a school (see 7.3.2). These stories help in showing that politicians are not uniformly as hypocritical and corrupt as they are made out to be in other parts of the tabloid's political coverage, but they do not necessarily reflect on their policy decisions. Thus one way for tabloids to extend their coverage of policy decisions would be for them to highlight unexpected policy developments.

In South Africa, there are times at which these appear to be plentiful. For example, the DA's statement on the government's BBBEE programme, while perhaps not entirely unpredictable, was a dramatic move that directly reflected tensions within the party on this topic, as shown in 2.5. This came within a few days of another dramatic policy decision announcement by Ramaphosa that the ANC had decided to change the constitution to specify the conditions under which land could be expropriated without compensation to speed up land reform (Friedman, 2018). Tabloids can easily make mileage out of the suddenness of these decisions and assist in fostering public sphere debate on the issues surrounding these decisions at the same time.

Thirdly, tabloids can foster dialogue by running campaigns on topical political issues. As described in 3.5, historically tabloids have been characterized by campaign journalism:

series of articles written on a particular topic that is close to readers' hearts. In many cases, these campaigns include overt calls for a change in approach to the issue at hand, in the form of governance reforms or social transformation. Such campaigns could be fruitful in generating public discussions about a wide variety of political matters. For example, in 2018 as land reform and the prospect of land expropriation without compensation are being hotly debated, a tabloid could have a very useful and rich campaign centred on this topic, reporting the different opinions on the matter, and highlighting different considerations that influence it. This could fuel better-informed discussions on this matter in the alternative public spheres facilitated by the tabloids, which would better equip readers in forming their own views on land reform and evaluating different parties' stances on the issue, as well as engaging in activism that could influence these parties' stances. This is particularly pertinent to a complex and emotive topic such as land reform: both individuals' feelings on the topic (axiology) and matters of fact as well as practical considerations (epistemology) could be reported on in a way that promotes understanding of various sides of the argument and civil engagement between them.

Campaign journalism in a South African context could also easily have an investigative element to it. This is relevant because in present-day South Africa most investigative journalism is carried out by publications like the *Mail & Guardian* which target an élite audience. As argued in 3.3, this is an undesirable state of affairs because it means that if investigative journalism uncovers unflattering information about the government and other political actors, they can simply dismiss the publications in which this investigative journalism appears as being elitist or untransformed. If more investigative journalism were carried out by tabloids such as the *Daily Sun* as well as mainstream publications, then it would become more difficult to use this as a defence, and tabloids could run more political exposés that could stimulate a great deal of public sphere discussion.

Campaigns and everyday political reporting in tabloids should also include multiple ways of engaging imagined communities (Anderson, 1991) of readers in discussion. As noted in 3.5, the *Daily Sun* and other tabloids have a very strong rapport with these communities of readers. Many helpful methods of engaging media audiences fall under what is known as "participatory journalism" (Singer et al., 2011). There is a strong and diverse body of research literature on both of these concepts which could fruitfully be explored for examples of how the media can engage audience members in discussion and creation of content, and to some extent, various South African tabloids are already involved in these kinds of initiatives. In this section, I mention only a select few illustrative examples.

Much of participatory journalism involves electronically-mediated interaction over the Internet. The *Daily Sun*'s website (www.dailysun.co.za) includes a readers' poll in which readers are given the opportunity to give their opinion on a particular topical issue by voting for a particular opinion from a pre-defined list. This allows for some engagement with the publication's news, but the limited nature of the pre-defined list of options does not allow for much depth of engagement. Each article on the website also has a comments

thread underneath it in which readers can leave their comments on the article. The use of such online comments threads has been strongly contested in recent years, as well as the use of other online forums and social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter as spaces for public sphere discussion. Such comments threads frequently become known for the dissemination of aggressive and often discriminatory posts by a small group of users that tends to dominate discussions, a phenomenon referred to as ‘trolling’. Some research shows that trolling makes audiences wary of reading or engaging in online comment feeds (Da Silva, 2015). The challenge of trolling causes some publications to moderate their comments feeds closely, which is an extremely resource-intensive task (Canter, 2013).

One thing that publishers can do to reduce trolling is force online commenters to reveal their true names, thus disallowing the anonymity that some trolls hide behind (Santana, 2014). Others use their community of online commenters to moderate each other through systems of collaborative moderation, but this, in turn, introduces complex and possibly stifling power differentials into the community of online commenters (Da Silva, 2015). On the *Daily Sun* website, the comments threads are extremely poorly utilized, with most articles not receiving a single comment. However, the newspaper’s letters page advertises its Facebook page (www.facebook.com/sadailysun), which attracts a fair number of likes and comments on articles, and its Twitter feed (www.twitter.com/dailysunsa), which appears to attract fewer replies and retweets. One may find that the reason for such usage patterns is that readers find it easier to engage with the newspaper’s offerings on Facebook than they do by using the newspaper’s website. A full analysis of readers’ comments on these social media outlets could offer interesting insights into the character of public-sphere discussions in these fora. However, one must bear in mind that given South Africa’s growing but still low levels of Internet penetration, particularly in rural areas (see 3.4), many tabloid readers may simply not have regular Internet access, and so are not able to engage in such forums.

The *Daily Sun* has a vibrant letters page, as mentioned in 3.5. This is one forum in which readers use the opportunity to engage with the news reported in the paper vigorously. However, at the beginning of the letters page, only an email address for the newspaper is given, meaning that if users are to interact with the imagined community of readers in this forum, they again need Internet access to do so. The newspaper and other tabloids could do more to solicit comment from readers by having small text boxes underneath individual articles encouraging readers to have their say by sending comments to the newspaper via email or short message service (SMS). SMSes received from readers could be published on or near the letters page, as is currently done in various other South African newspapers. Many more South Africans have access to SMS than are able to access the Internet, and so this could usefully broaden the diversity of ways in which engagement with the newspaper could happen.

What could be even more effective for the under-resourced audiences of the *Daily Sun* and other tabloids is if the newspapers could literally come to where their readers are

and facilitate face-to-face discussions among them about matters of public concern. They could hold readers' imbizos, or public discussion forums where their readers could exchange views on these matters. Such imbizos would be particularly helpful if tied to journalistic campaigns on politically salient and complex topics, such as land reform. These imbizos would have to be situated where the tabloids' readers are: in working-class townships, or better still, in the densely populated rural areas which are not served well by the mainstream media, and whose residents may have very little or no sense of contributing to national conversations. Depending on the nature of the topic, local politicians from a variety of parties could be invited to give their viewpoints on the topic before listening to members of the public. Such imbizos would be extremely resource-intensive, but these costs could be offset through creative sponsorship arrangements with advertisers. They would also be a productive way of making political news: the views shared in them could be reported on in the newspaper as a way of continuing the dialogue and also relaying the people's voice back to the politicians and other individuals in positions of power who read the newspaper.

At this point, some may ask what incentive the tabloids have for altering their coverage and their approach to readers so as to facilitate more vibrant alternative public spheres. Such arguments would hold that these newspapers are commercial enterprises, and their large readerships show that they are already giving readers what they want in terms of content and engagement, and so there is no need to take risks by tinkering with these. In response, I would argue that putting more effort into facilitating more robust public sphere engagement could improve readership figures, rather than threaten them, if this is done with an eye to tabloid readers' interests and needs. If the tabloids demonstrate the relevance of political policy developments to their readers, more readers would gain an interest in these kinds of developments and so be more interested in reading about them in the future.

As I believe I demonstrate throughout this thesis, South Africa's political sphere is so dynamic and unpredictable that there is usually plenty of surprising news that comes out of it, which would draw readers' interest. Campaign journalism has been used as a tactic to boost tabloids' readerships for over a century (see 3.5), and there is no reason why well-positioned campaigns could not be used to the same effect today, especially if combined with investigative reporting. All of the above recommendations for changes in content are tailored to be consistent with, and extend, the existing generic characteristics of tabloids. Changes to content should be gradual and incremental, so that existing readers are not repulsed by being faced by something entirely different from the kind of content they are used to. Even the most costly recommendation I make here, that of readers' imbizos, could be used to strengthen the relationships which readers have with publications, and to attract readers by creating interest around the imbizos and demonstrating the extent to which a newspaper cares about the imagined community that has grown up around it and values its opinions. Thus facilitating further engagement in alternative public spheres

could increase, rather than threaten, tabloids' profits.

People outside of education, organized civil society and the media can also contribute to transforming public discourses. Businesses usually employ a cross-section of South African society, from working-class support staff to wealthy executives. Particularly following the introduction of employment equity legislation, their staff are of necessity racially diverse. Thus businesses could hold very fruitful discussions in which these employees have an opportunity to gain understanding of others' views on political matters and the motivations behind them. The success of these discussions, however, would depend largely on participants' willingness to 'bracket out' unequal power relations and differences in discursive resources between different employees. The government should be working to encourage more robust discussions in the consultative forums and public participation processes that are prescribed by post-apartheid legislation (see 3.3). Even families and friendship groups can work towards more open and civil discussions about politics around dining room tables and braai (barbecue) fires. The task of transforming South Africa's public discourses is an important and urgent one if the country's democracy is to succeed.

11.4 Directions for future research

This research is necessarily been limited in many ways; as tends to be the case with PhD studies, the scope of the study was narrowed many times during the process of carrying it out. Developing a translation device for axiological-semantic density in *Daily Sun* political news articles and discovering linguistic and discursive resources that are active in political positioning necessitated a long and complex process of analysis, which is outlined in 6.2. This process demonstrates that much space and time is necessary to do justice to the complexities of the use of language in political positioning in *Daily Sun* news articles. However, this means that this study completes much useful groundwork which can be used to open up various directions for future research. In this section I suggest some such directions, focusing on four areas: data, methods, the immediate context of the study and means of transforming South Africa's public discourses.

The long process of developing the methodology and the extremely fine-grained nature of the analysis meant that only three articles could be analysed in the exploratory analyses, and three in the targeted analyses. Support from the results of the corpus analysis of 516 articles is helpful, but there can still be much less certainty about how generalizable the study's findings about the constellations produced in the data and the cosmologies behind them are. In addition, by the end of the study, the data, which was collected in 2015, appears somewhat outdated. While it is unlikely that the linguistic and discursive resources used in political positioning have changed over the four-year period of the study, South Africa's political situation has changed somewhat, especially due to the replacement of Jacob Zuma by Cyril Ramaphosa as the country's president. With this change,

the constellations and cosmologies produced in the *Daily Sun*'s coverage may well have changed significantly. Thus, essentially, the contribution of this study is to develop an understanding about *how* political positioning is accomplished in the data using linguistic and discursive resources, and to provide a basis for further research on *what* politicians and parties are associated with which stances in the news media.

This means that the methods of analysis used in this study could be adapted to analyse a wide variety of discursive data and explore the political positioning at work in it. Initially, it would be interesting to use them to analyse political positioning in other South African media publications. I initially planned to include analyses of articles from the *Business Day*, a South African newspaper targeted at a financially-literate élite, in this study. However, time and space constraints precluded this. A comparative study of the *Daily Sun*'s political news articles with those of a newspaper like *Business Day* has the potential to reveal interesting insights into the ways in which the use of language to accomplish political positioning varies according to the perceived audience of a given media publication. More broadly, the methods of analysis used in this study could be used in analyses of articles on a single topic or news event across different publications, observing the different constellations produced in these publications and generating insights into the cosmologies behind the production of the different articles.

Furthermore, to address the problem of data becoming outdated as it is being analysed, in future I aim to adapt the methods used in this study to find ways of completing analysis more quickly without losing attention to the linguistic fine grain of articles. Doing so would allow an analyst to analyse a set of articles about a given topical issue or news event, such as the debates in 2018 around the possible use of land expropriation without compensation to speed up land reform in South Africa, and write and publish articles yielding insights into the media's positioning of actors and stances related to the issue quickly, while the issue is still being discussed. Such research would not only have relevance for linguistics, but could contribute to discussions both in academia and in broader public spheres, through the publishing of short opinion pieces online or in newspapers about the language of the media's coverage of the particular issue at hand.

More sophisticated use of corpus analysis may be useful in such a "sped-up" version of the method used in this study. This study uses corpus analysis fairly sparingly because my emphasis is on discovering how positioning takes place within the unfolding of individual articles, rather than discovering broad trends across articles. For that reason, I used only one of the tools available to corpus analysts, namely collocation. However, a more complex use of corpus analysis may enable one to see further patterns across large collections of articles that quickly make patterns in positioning evident. This is an area that could be developed much further particularly for use in conjunction with tools of analysis from LCT and SFL.

The multi-level translation device for axiological-semantic density developed in this project is only designed to describe South African political news articles, particularly those from

the *Daily Sun*; however, it could be adapted, with a few changes, to identify strengths of axiological-semantic density in any other kind of discursive data. It thus can be useful to researchers using LCT to describe knowledge in a wide range of social fields, including the media and formal education, but not limited to these areas. Similarly, the method of SFL analysis used in this study could be adapted to research the use of language in positioning in many different discourse types. Since positioning is traditionally described using other methods such as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA; see 1.4.1), the use of similar methods to those used in this thesis could further open up a new perspective on the phenomenon of discursive positioning.

This study can also open the way for further methodological development. While I use a wide variety of linguistic resources from SFL in my analysis, there remain others whose potential relationships with axiological-semantic density is yet to be explored. One such set of resources which is mentioned in 11.2.3 is the Transitivity system in the Ideational Metafunction. Further research using complementary LCT and SFL analyses could be done to find out how, if at all, such sets of resources can act to condense or rarefy meanings and so aid in political positioning or the packaging of knowledge in significant ways.

Additionally, a possible criticism of this study is that the analysis relies to a great extent on my subjectivity as an analyst in assigning particular words and expressions to certain Appraisal categories or categories in my translation device for axiological-semantic density, for example. I tried to mitigate this dependence on subjectivity through using student research assistants to help with the design of the translation device, and presenting completed analyses to knowledgeable peers for constructive feedback (see 8.2.3). I also try to articulate the characteristics of the different types in the translation device as clearly as possible in Chapter 9 so that others could use it and arrive at a similar analysis to mine. I acknowledge that when considering meanings and interpretations there will always be some variation in the coding of data between individuals, and so subjectivity is in one sense unavoidable. However, one of the implications of the critical realist philosophy underpinning this study (see 4.2) is that engagement with other knowers, each with their own subjectivity, can lead one to a deeper and more accurate knowledge of the real object of study. Thus research in which a group of coders use a tool like the translation device designed in this study and compare their results could be enlightening in revealing differences in interpretation, and could assist in refining the tool for further use.

A third set of avenues for future research which may be very fruitful lies in discovering more about the immediate context of the *Daily Sun*'s political news coverage, or what would be called its context of situation in SFL (Butt et al., 2000). This research focuses solely on the text of *Daily Sun* political news articles, and these are analysed in the light of knowledge about the broader socio-political context of South Africa, presented in chapters 2 and 3. However, this study does not give as much attention to the immediate contexts in which *Daily Sun* political news articles are produced and read, simply because there is not much published research available on this topic.

These contexts could be the object of study for valuable ethnographic studies. Ethnographic research in the *Daily Sun* newsroom could provide helpful insights into the kinds of editorial decisions made there, including the ways in which the newspaper selects news for publication and explains the relevance of that news to readers. For instance, it would be instructive to observe how the newspaper's editorial staff takes copy from elsewhere, like the article from Sapa which is described in 10.3.3, and recontextualizes it for its own audience. Ethnographic studies could also shed much light on the *Daily Sun* journalists' newsgathering routines, and the roles that readers play in alerting the newspaper to potential news stories. Wasserman (2010) has done some useful work on *Daily Sun* journalists' professional identities, but further research that follows them through their day-to-day work lives could be invaluable.

On the audience's side, ethnographic studies of reader engagement with the newspaper could reveal much about how it is read and discussed on a daily basis, and how informal discussions of the newspaper's content on street corners, at workplaces and in homes form part of the alternative public sphere facilitated by it. From comparing circulation figures with readership numbers, we know that the average copy of the *Daily Sun* is shared by as many as nine readers (Wasserman, 2010); however, little is known about what conversations around the newspaper's content happen in such settings of sharing. Such work could usefully complement existing discourse-analytic work on the ways in which the newspaper's content and particularly its letters page fosters an imagined community of readers (Smith and Adendorff 2014b; 2014c; 2014d; 2014a).

More specifically, research is needed on the ways in which readers bring their background knowledge and linguistic competence to bear on their interpretations of the *Daily Sun*'s content. Readers of the *Daily Sun* are reading in English, which for most is their second language, and as they read, they must draw on their existing knowledge of South African politics (in the case of political news articles), arts and entertainment, sports or whatever else the fields of the articles are. Research describing the meanings that real readers derive from such content would be extremely useful. I have conducted some such research, focusing on how easy readers find it to comprehend the content of a political news article from the *Daily Sun*, compared with the *Herald* (a Port Elizabeth-based regional daily newspaper targeting a middle-class audience) and *Business Day* (Siebörger and Adendorff, 2009). However, much further research targeted specifically at particular areas of readers' meaning-making resources would be helpful. One particular area that this study highlights as demanding considerable use of background knowledge is the use of intertextual references, such as the EFF's slogan "pay back the money" (see 10.3.3) or the allusion to the Bible and the American civil rights movement in the headline "Eye on the big prize!" (see 10.3.2). Detailed studies would be useful to discover how regular readers of the *Daily Sun* process such intertextual references.

Further, detailed studies on readers' meaning-making processes could examine their interpretations of the constellations built through readings of articles. Part of the background

knowledge that readers bring to their readings of articles is what would be described in LCT as their own cosmologies. In the case of political news articles, this includes their own pre-existing political stances. These cosmologies will affect the ways they perceive the constellations built in the text. Doran (In preparation) notes the strong link between constellations and interpretations of invoked Attitude, and particularly of afforded Attitude, the least explicit type of Attitude instantiation. This implies that the constellations that readers perceive in articles will affect the ways which they interpret invoked Attitude in the text.

Detailed studies of readers' interpretations of articles could in effect allow readers to take up some of the analyst's role that I play in this study, letting them describe the constellations that the text is building. These could then be compared with the constellations identified by other readers and an analyst, thus triangulating an analysis of an article in addition to discovering insights into readers' processes of interpretation. Obviously, such studies would have to be designed extremely carefully to elicit this information, and would probably have to involve lengthy interviews with readers, in which well-designed questions are used to elicit the constellations they perceive in the data. However, studies such as this could provide extremely helpful confirmation and extension of the findings of my current study.

One final set of avenues for future research lies in exploring the possibilities for transforming South Africa's public discourses mentioned in 11.3.3. Some of the possibilities mentioned here, such as fostering critical language awareness in education and using civil society organizations as forums for public sphere discussion and action, build on activities that are already happening in these spheres of society. These activities could be researched to find out how effective they currently are in fostering public sphere engagement, and how they could be made more effective. Other possibilities could be realized through activities which have not yet been initiated, such as *Daily Sun* readers' imbizos. Here, fruitful action research (Kemmis and McTaggart, 2005) could be undertaken by establishing small pilot projects of initiatives, evaluating their effectiveness and recommending ways in which they could be improved for greater public sphere engagement in future.

At the close of this thesis, it is appropriate to remember that part of the motivation for this study as expressed in 1.2 is a commitment to South Africa's post-apartheid democratic project and a desire to see the country's diverse citizens live and thrive together in a peaceful and cohesive society. Another part of this motivation is an interest in finding out what holds together competing constellations in the country's political discourses, or in other words, what gives cohesion to competing visions of the country's future and divides those who affiliate with these competing divisions. Due to the nature of the political coverage in the *Daily Sun*, I have not been able to find out much about what holds different bundles of policy positions together, but I have been able to analyse the language that is used to polarize people politically by offering moral judgements of those on either side of debates.

As a moral realist (see 4.2), I hold that South Africans can only make moral progress toward shared living arrangements for a shared future by talking with each other through a robust system of interconnected public spheres. In the process, we need to resist the temptation to fragment into ghettoized public sphericules based on our social groups, as those who wish to revive the sectional nationalisms of apartheid are in favour of. The project of repairing and building this system of public spheres is as crucial in the present moment as it ever has been, and it is my prayer that this study and the research and opportunities for social action that it opens up will contribute meaningfully to this project.

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Appendix A

Example article: “Zuma’s plan”

Zuma’s plan to make ANC members rich

By Sapa, February 24, 2015

1. The nine-point plan President Jacob Zuma presented during his state-of-the-nation-address is aimed at making ANC members rich, DA leader Helen Zille said today.
2. In her weekly newsletter posted on the Democratic Alliance’s website, she said the plan Zuma presented on Thursday disguised his real intentions, which would benefit his network of loyal cadres.
3. “It is an insider enrichment scheme disguised beneath the mantle of the so-called ‘developmental state’, a word which in ANC-speak, means precisely the opposite of what the English language intended it to,” Zille said.
4. Zuma’s nine-point plan included resolving the energy crisis, adding value to the country’s mineral wealth, and encouraging private sector investment.
5. “In theory that plan looks quite good. But all South Africans know by now that while the ANC’s plans are supposed to work in theory, in practice they don’t,” Zille said.
6. Focusing on Zuma’s call for the energy crisis to be resolved, Zille said this was what South Africa needed, but the African National Congress was not putting any plan into action.
7. “Firstly, they have just withdrawn the Independent System and Market Operator Bill from Parliament.” The bill would have seen electricity parastatal Eskom facing competition from another entity. “They canned the bill in order to protect Eskom from proper competition in the generation, transmission, and reticulation of electricity,” Zille said.

8. "If Zuma was serious about 'resolving the energy crisis' real competition for Eskom would be his first order of business."
9. She said one common denominator in the plan was the number of crucial functions assigned to state-owned companies.
10. "The reason is simple – there is no incentive for state-owned enterprises to succeed, and no accountability if they fail. There is a bottomless pit of public money to tap," Zille said.

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Appendix B

Data collection instructions

Open a personal NewsBank account

- Go to <http://0-infoweb.newsbank.com.wam.seals.ac.za/resources/?p=ASANB>. (If you are off-campus, you will need to log into the RU Library's off-campus access to visit this website.)
- Click "My Collection" at the top of the page.
- Click on the message that says "Please login to your collection to access additional features and save articles across sessions."
- Click on "Register a new account".
- Make a new account for yourself.
- Make sure you record your login details to use later!

Search for articles

- Go to <http://0-infoweb.newsbank.com.wam.seals.ac.za/resources/?p=ASANB>.
- Click on "My Collection" and log in.
- Click "New search" on the top left-hand corner of the page.
- Under "Browse by", go to "Publication".
- Choose "Daily Sun" from the long list of publications. You'll have to scroll down to get there.
- Click "2015" in the list of years under "Available issues".
- Look on the calendar that appears to see what editions of the newspaper are available.

- In the search box at the top of the screen, to the right of “All articles”, type in an asterisk (*).
- Type in the date of one of your assigned days in the box underneath, next to Date. Put it in the format “d/m/yyyy”, e.g. 2/2/2015.
- Click “Search”. You should come up with about 100 results.
- Under each result, click “Add to my collection”.
- When you reach the bottom of the page, click on to the next page. Add two pages’ worth of articles to your collection.

Download articles

- Click on “My Collection” and choose “Saved Articles” from the drop-down menu.
- Make sure there is a tick next to all the articles.
- Click “Print”.
- In the Print window, you will see the text of all 20 articles, one after the other. Highlight this text, including all the headlines and footers (the record number and copyright info).
- Copy the text and paste it into Notepad.
- Save the text file in Notepad. In the “Save As” dialogue box, choose “Unicode” as the type of encoding. You can save it in any folder on your computer, as long as you are able to upload it to Google Drive later (see below).
- Your filename should be the date of the newspaper (in dd-mm-yyyy format) followed by an underscore and the numbers of the articles in it, e.g. “02-02-2015_1-20.txt”
- Once you have pasted all the articles into Notepad, go to your collection and use the grey circles marked with an ‘x’ next to each article to delete all the articles. This is necessary to prevent articles from different editions from becoming mixed up with each other.
- Click the ‘Back’ button to go back to your search and add the next 20 articles to your collection. Repeat this until all the articles in the issue have been downloaded.

Save to Google Drive (do this frequently, at least once a day)

- Go to drive.google.com
- Log in with the following details: Username: dailysunproject@gmail.com. Password: [Omitted for security purposes].
- Go to the “NewsBank” folder, and then to the folder for your assigned month.
- Right-click on the middle of the page, and click “Upload files” on the context menu that comes up.
- Upload the text files to the folder for that month.

Appendix C

UAM CorpusTool coding schemes for SFL analysis

This appendix contains diagrams of the coding schemes used in UAM CorpusTool for sets of linguistic resources from SFL.

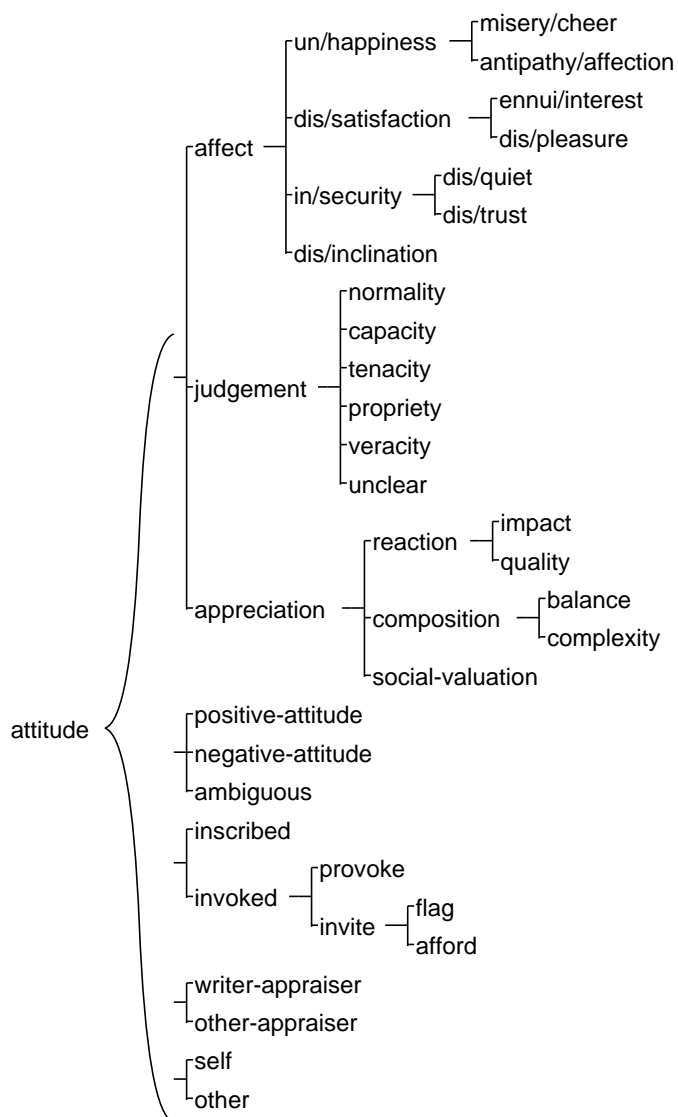


Figure C.1: *Attitude coding scheme*

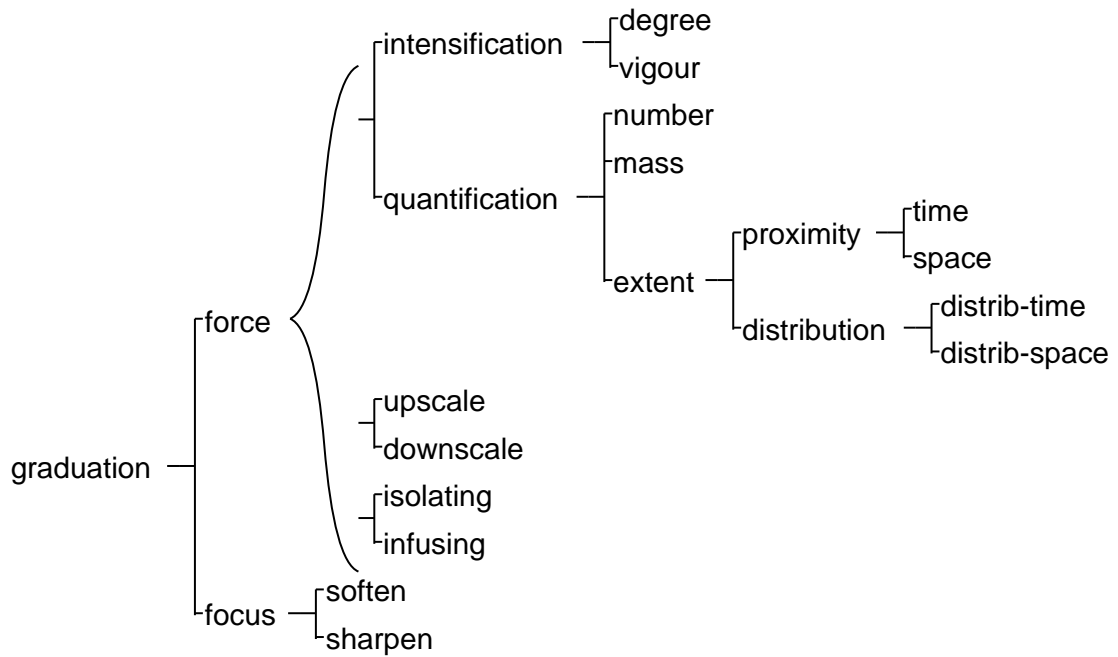


Figure C.2: Graduation coding scheme

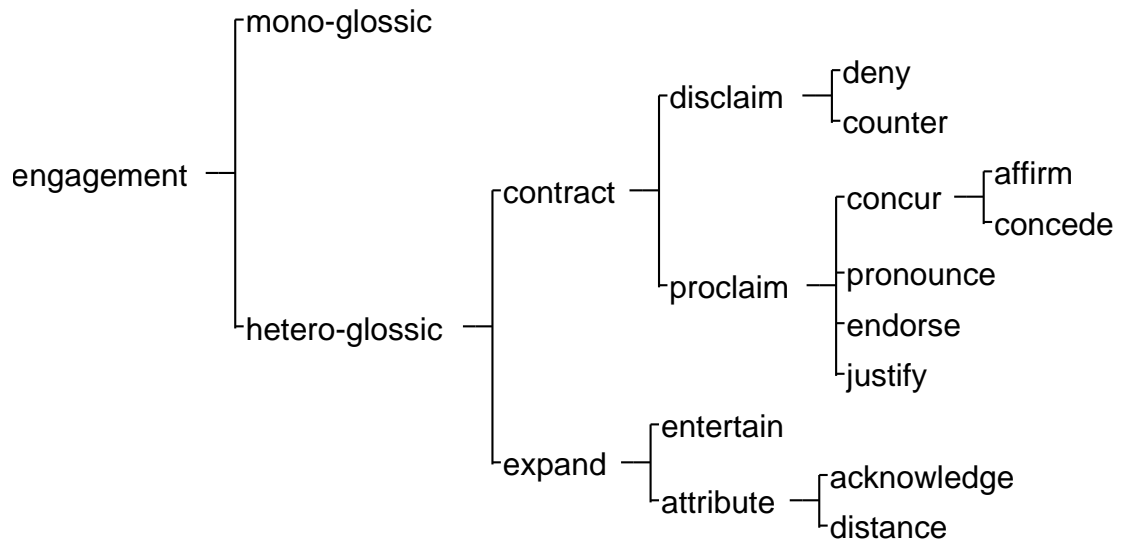


Figure C.3: Engagement coding scheme

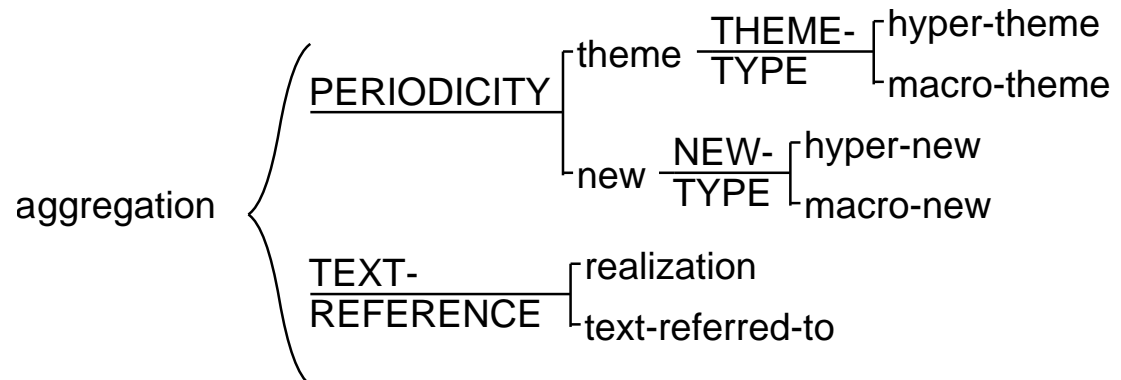


Figure C.4: Aggregation coding scheme

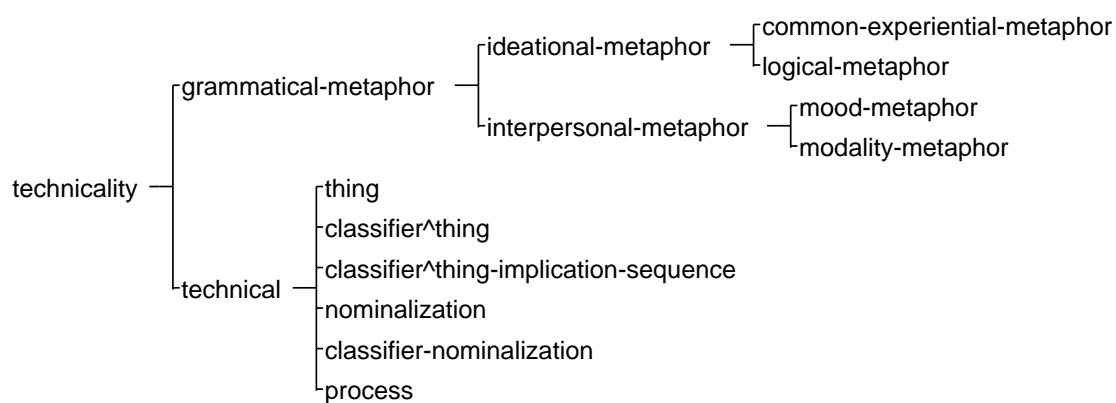


Figure C.5: *Technicality coding scheme*

Appendix D

Sample student assistant data session workshopping sheet

Ex-buddy trashes Juju (11 February 2015)

Name:

Read the article and picture captions before you do this exercise.

Rank the following words and phrases according to how much emotional, aesthetic, ethical, political or moral meaning they carry in the context of this article, from strongest to weakest. In each case, say whether the expression carries positive (+), negative (-) or neutral (n) meaning in the context of the article. Use your 'gut feel'.

	Strongest	+/-/n
• trashes	1	
• doubt if he will respond	2	
• thug	3	
• money-grabbing capitalist dressed like a revolutionary	4	
• ex-buddy	5	
• ex-con	6	
• ex-EFF member	7	
• talking to the ANC in a bid to return to the party	8	
• recently discussed this with ANC leaders	9	
• take your orders from a particular faction in the ANC	10	
• helped Malema financially when he was down and out	11	
• lives off party money	12	
• go around with two EFF credit cards	13	
• the one you use for personal purchases	14	
• not allowed to take one cent from your party	15	
• left	16	
• close to closing a deal	17	
• its threat to disrupt	18	
• mediating behind the scenes	19	
• we haven't been able yet to get it signed	20	
• something very close to a deal	21	
	Weakest	

Rank the following names of people, places and groups according to how much emotional, aesthetic, ethical, political or moral meaning they carry in the context of this article, from strongest to weakest. In each case, say whether the expression carries positive (+), negative (-) or neutral (n) meaning in the context of the article. Use your 'gut feel'.

	Strongest	+/-/n
EFF leader Julius Malema	1	
EFF	2	
Gayton McKenzie	3	
the ANC	4	
ANC leaders	5	
Maputo	6	
Malema's deputy, Floyd Shivambu	7	
Lee-Anne Mathys	8	
sushi king Kenny Kunene	9	
EFF spokesman Mbuyiseni Ndlozi	10	
Rhema Church's Reverend Ray McCauley	11	
President Jacob Zuma	12	
Parliament	13	
	Weakest	

Appendix E

ASD translation device outline

The following tables (E.1-E.5) show an outline of the ASD translation device.

ASD	Type	Example
↑ ↓ -	<i>ideas</i>	apartheid
	<i>leaders</i>	Jacob Zuma, ANC
	<i>associates</i>	ANC Women's League
	<i>acts</i>	declaration
	<i>names</i>	Pietermaritzburg
	<i>roles and contexts</i>	secretary, conference
	<i>specified things</i>	face
	<i>unspecified things</i>	head

Table E.1: *The wording tool: for classifying words according to the strength of axiological-semantic density*


Charging	Type	Example
	<i>multidirectional</i>	fed up with
	<i>resonant</i>	empty promises
	<i>vigorous</i>	excited
	<i>placid</i>	common
	<i>salient</i>	decided
	<i>frequent</i>	spokesman
	<i>relating</i>	brought

Table E.2: *The charging tool: for classifying short expressions that charge signifiers*

ASD	Type	Example
ASD↑↑↑↑	<i>complex-modifying</i>	a money-grabbing capitalist dressed like a revolutionary
ASD↑↑↑	<i>symbolic-modifying</i>	Malema and the ANC
ASD↑↑	<i>particular-modifying</i>	rush-hour traffic
ASD↑	<i>enriching</i>	down and out, will be taken
ASD↓	<i>downplaying</i>	a minor event, could face

Table E.3: *The modifying tool: for classifying the contribution to axiological-semantic density of words that modify a signifier*


AC	Type	Example
	<i>constellation-building</i>	More than 500 people left the NFP and ANC
	<i>constellation-embellishing</i>	Among those who left the ANC are former party leader at Jika Joe squatter camp, Sifiso Nene and former Mafakatini ANC leader, Mbongeni Zuma
	<i>describing</i>	He was excited to welcome the new members
	<i>associating</i>	I joined the IFP
	<i>value-acting</i>	The ANC members struggled.
	<i>value-saying</i>	DA members claim
	<i>neutral-acting</i>	There is more than can be seen on screen.
	<i>neutral-saying</i>	DA MPL Roy Jankielsohn said

Table E.4: *The clausing tool: for analysing clauses' contribution to axiological condensation*


AC	Type	Example
+  -	<i>transporting</i>	“In a nation led by a DA government, every child will have the opportunity to realise their potential,” he said. He could not spell out policies to achieve this
	<i>asserting</i>	Maimane huffed and puffed but failed to connect with a crowd of fewer than 1 000 largely black DA supporters
	<i>linking</i>	one of their member’s shirt was torn when they were pushed away by angry ANC councillors
	<i>revisiting</i>	They claimed they were also given a hot klap [hiding] and one of their member’s shirt was torn ... My shirt was torn and she was hit in the face.
	<i>adding</i>	ANC and DA clash! ... A clash between rival ANC and DA councillors has been videotaped.
	<i>attributing</i>	DA members say they are going to lay charges of assault today.
	<i>implicit</i>	Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members ... More than 500 people left the NFP and ANC to join the IFP.

Table E.5: *The sequencing tool: for analysing the contribution of passages of texts to axiological condensation*

Appendix F

Annotation scheme for translation device

Wording
IDEAS / LEADERS
associates / acts
NAMES / ROLES AND CONTEXTS
things

Note: Pronouns are marked with superscript ‘P’.

Table F.1: *Annotation for wording types*

Charging
<i>multidirectional</i> ⁷
<i>resonant</i> ⁶
<i>vigorous</i> ⁵
<i>placid</i> ⁴
salient ³
frequent ²
relating

Table F.2: *Annotation for charging types*

Modifying
[complex-modifying] ₄
[symbolic-modifying] ₃
[particular-modifying] ₂
[enriching] ₁
[downplaying] ₋₁

Table F.3: *Annotation for modifying types*

Clausing
<u>constellation-building / constellation-embellishing</u>
describing / associating
<u>value-acting / value-saying</u>
neutral-acting / neutral-saying

Table F.4: *Annotation for clausing types*

Sequencing
<<transporting / asserting>>
{{linking / revisiting}}
adding / attributing
implicit

Note: *Transporting*, *asserting*, *linking* and *revisiting* are also marked using indentation.

Table F.5: *Annotation for sequencing types*

Figure F.1: *Extract of article annotated using text formatting annotation scheme*

MAIMANE – [broken⁶ MAN ZUMA]₂ presides⁴ over [a broken⁶ SOCIETY]₁

1 {{[DA PARLIAMENTARY³ LEADER⁴ MMUSI MAIMANE]₄ yesterday accused⁵ ZUMA
{of} laughing⁶ {as} COPS dragged⁵ [EFF MPs]₃ out of PARLIAMENT.}}

2 MAIMANE said during [the debate³ of the PRESIDENT’S State of the NATION address]₄
that

{{[democratic⁶ INSTITUTIONS]₁ were being undermined³ {to} protect⁵ [one²
MAN]₁.}}

3 “This [honourable⁶ MAN]₁ is in our presence² here today²,” HE^P said.

4 MAIMANE told² ZUMA

<<HE^P used the term “honourable⁶” out of [respect⁴ for PARLIAMENT]₃,
<but> ZUMA was [not an honourable⁶ MAN]₁.>>

5 {{“YOU^P are [a broken⁶ MAN]₁ presiding⁴ over [a broken⁶ SOCIETY]₁.}}

6 {{“YOU^P laughed⁶ {while} trampling⁵ on [MADIBA’S LEGACY]₃ in [the week² we
celebrated⁵ the 25th anniversary of HIS^P release]₄.”}}

said MAIMANE.

7 [EFF LEADER JULIUS MALEMA]₄ repeated³ [his demands⁵ for PRESIDENT JACOB ZUMA
to pay back the money⁷ spent³ on his private³ home at Nkandla in KWAZULU-NATAL]₄.

8 MALEMA said [the true⁷ state of the NATION]₂ was that the PRESIDENT failed⁶ the
POOR and used violence⁶ to silence⁵ [his elected⁴ OPPONENTS]₁.

9 HE^P told ZUMA:

{{“YOU^P use HOOLIGANISM⁶ {to} silence⁵ the OPPOSITION⁵.”}}

10 [EFF MP Mbuyiseni Ndlozi]₄ tackled⁷ [NATIONAL ASSEMBLY Speaker Baleka Mbete]₄
over

<<[reports that Mbete referred to “COCKROACHES⁷” like MALEMA at a
weekend ANC congress]₄>>.

11 {{[EFF chief whip Floyd Shivambu]₄ asked [NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PROVINCES
chairwoman Thandi Modise]₄

<<{to} rule³ on <this>>>}}.

12 {{[MPs laughed⁶ {when} Modise said}}

<<she^P was aware² that there is <[an insect matter⁶> doing the rounds²]₂
<but> as far as she^P was aware² <it> did not happen in the HOUSE.>>

Appendix G

Articles for exploratory analyses

G.1 “Joy as Buthelezi welcomes new members”

By Bongani Gina, May 26, 2015

1. MORE than 500 people left the NFP and ANC to join the IFP.
2. They were welcomed by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Truro Hall in Northdale, Pietermaritzburg on Sunday.
3. Among those who left the ANC are former party leader at Jika Joe squatter camp, Sifiso Nene and former Mafakatini ANC leader, Mbongeni Zuma.
4. Mbongeni is the relative of President Jacob Zuma
5. “I left the ANC because there’s a lot of corruption in the party,” said Mbongeni.
6. “I have never heard of Public Protector Thuli Madonsela investigating any IFP official for corruption.
7. “But in the ANC, that is common.
8. “I joined the IFP because I believe that Buthelezi is a good leader.”
9. Sifiso said: “The people are fed up with the ANC and its empty promises.”
10. Buthelezi said he was excited to welcome the new members.
11. He said his honest governance and good policies had attracted the new recruits. “For instance, some parties will advocate democracy but will try to buy your vote, or manipulate electoral results.
12. “Some will talk about putting an end to poverty, but will prioritise giving jobs to friends and enriching tenderpreneurs,” he said.

Photo captions:

Mangosuthu Buthelezi (back, left) hugs an IFP member at Truro Hall in Pietermaritzburg on Sunday. Photo by Bongani Gina

1. IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi arrives at a fully packed Northdale Truro Hall. Photo by BONGANI GINA

2. Buthelezi awards local leaders who'd recruited hundreds of members to his party. Photo by BONGANI GINA

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G.2 “Ex-buddy trashes Juju! – I doubt if he will respond – spokesman”

By Simon Nare, February 11, 2015

1. EFF leader Julius Malema is a thug – a money-grabbing capitalist dressed like a revolutionary!
2. That’s according to ex-buddy, ex-con and ex-EFF member Gayton McKenzie.
3. In an open letter, headlined From a Thug to a Thug, McKenzie repeats his claim that Malema is talking to the ANC in a bid to return to the party. He says that Malema recently discussed this with ANC leaders in Maputo.
4. “We know how you still take your orders from a particular faction in the ANC.”
5. “McKenzie says he helped Malema financially when he was down and out, paying for flights and accommodation for Malema and his deputy, Floyd Shivambvu.
6. McKenzie alleges Malema lives off party money.
7. “On top of your salary at EFF you go around with two EFF credit cards, one in Lee-Anne Mathys’ name and the one you use for personal purchases.
8. “You get a salary from Parliament. You’re not allowed to take one cent from your party,” charges McKenzie.
9. He claims sushi king Kenny Kunene left the EFF when he realised what kind of person Malema was.
10. EFF spokesman Mbuyiseni Ndlozi told The People’s Paper yesterday: “I doubt if he (Malema) will respond to the letter.”
11. Rhema Church’s Reverend Ray McCauley said yesterday he was close to closing a deal with the EFF so it wouldn’t carry out its threat to disrupt President Jacob Zuma’s speech in Parliament on Friday.
12. McCauley told Talk Radio 702 he was mediating behind the scenes and had met Malema and the ANC. 13 “We haven’t been able yet to get it signed ... but it seems like we have something very close to a deal,” he said.

Photo captions:

Gayton McKenzie. Photo by Muntu Vilakazi

Julius Malema. Photo by Jabu Kumalo

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G.3 “March was a success – Mchunu”

By Willem Phungula and Thabisile Khomo, April 17, 2015

1. THOUSANDS of people took part in the peace march from Curries Fountain to the Durban City Hall yesterday.
2. Premier Senzo Mchunu spoke about solidarity between foreigners and locals. He said the march was a success.
3. “We were blessed by the presence of American freedom fighter, Reverend Jessie Jackson.
4. “We are in contact with King Zwelithini as we encourage him to continue calling for peace.” he said.
5. Police used stun grenades and rubber bullets to disperse a group of about 200 people in Dr Pixley kaSeme Street after they tried to attack two men, believed to be foreigners.
6. Some foreigners boycotted the official march, saying they wouldn’t be part of it as some of their brothers were still in jail.
7. About 500 foreigners gathered near Diakonia Council of Churches headquarters and attempted to start their own march.
8. Their leader, Kukoina Macardo (42), said they appreciated government’s efforts but wouldn’t join the peace march because their brothers were arrested for carrying pangas as they were defending themselves.
9. News24 reported that King Goodwill Zwelithini faces a human rights violation charge.
10. This is after the South African National Defence Union laid a complaint against him with the SA Human Rights Commission over his reported comments calling on immigrants to pack their bags and go.
11. Opposition parties condemned the spate of xenophobic attacks in the country in Parliament yesterday.
12. In a special questions session, parliamentary leaders for the parties including the DA, IFP, UDM, FF Plus, Cope and the ACDP all spoke out against the deaths and injuries of foreign nationals.
13. EFF leader and MP Julius Malema said that the state was responsible for the violence against foreigners.

14. “The state is responsible for all the violence against our foreign nationals,” he said.

Photo caption: Thousands of people took part in the peace march in Durban yesterday.

Photo by Khaya Ngwenya

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Appendix H

Articles for targeted analyses

H.1 “ANC and DA clash!”

By Kabelo Tlhabanelo, January 29, 2015

1. A CLASH between rival ANC and DA councillors has been videotaped.
2. The video shows DA councillors being sworn at and chased away by ANC councillors.
3. But DA members claim there is more than can be seen on screen.
4. They claimed they were also given a hot klap and one of their member’s shirt was torn when they were pushed away by angry ANC councillors.
5. The apparent political slap-fest happened in Bethlehem on Tuesday during an ANC by-election campaign.
6. The DA members were trying to make a video of the ANC convoy, claiming the ruling party was using municipal vehicles for their party’s benefit.
7. Daily Sun is in possession of two videos that show the convoy of hooting cars and about four traffic vehicles leading the convoy. In the one minute and 10 second-long video, a man wearing an ANC shirt is seen in a white Toyota bakkie asking a DA member to go away.
8. Another woman in blue jeans and an ANC shirt says: “Why are you doing this?”, while another one says, “Jou moerskont” (your mother’s c***).
9. Suddenly another woman appears and tries to grab the cellphone but the DA member gets inside a car and flees.
10. In another 30-second video, about four traffic vehicles can be seen leading the ANC’s convoy.

11. DA members say they are going to lay charges of assault today.
12. DA MPL Roy Jankielsohn said: “Councillor Dulandi Leach and I were assaulted by councillors of the ANC caucus in the Dhlabeng Local Municipality.
13. “My shirt was torn and she was hit in the face.
14. “Our intentions were to investigate the ANC’s abuse of municipal vehicles for party political purposes.
15. “At the time, all traffic lights in Bethlehem were out of order due to load shedding. It would have been the right thing to deploy traffic officials to direct rush-hour traffic instead of leading an ANC convoy,” said Jankielsohn.
16. ANC councillor and regional election co-ordinator Job Tshabalala dismissed the allegations and said all they did was peacefully ask the DA members to leave their event.
17. See the video on www.dailysun.co.za/multimedia

Photo caption: Thousands of people took part in the peace march in Durban yesterday.

Photo by Khaya Ngwenya

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H.2 “Eye on the big prize! – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029”

By Simon Nare, June 15, 2015

1. DEMOCRATIC Alliance leader Mmusi Maimane launched his party’s Vision 2029 at a low-key event in the ANC stronghold of Soweto at the weekend.
2. But what was hyped as a milestone moment for the opposition at Jabulani Technical High School turned into a minor event as Maimane huffed and puffed but failed to connect with a crowd of fewer than 1 000 largely black DA supporters.
3. Also at the school hall were a few white supporters and provincial leaders.
4. The launch was to outline the party’s way forward and show what Mzansi would be like under DA leadership.
5. The theme, “A future built on freedom, fairness and opportunity”, has been Maimane’s rallying cry since he took over from Helen Zille as DA leader.
6. “Democrats, I don’t know about you, but I feel energised by a new mood I sense sweeping across this nation. People are beginning to reject the political straitjacket of the past. They are starting to see a new future with new possibilities.
7. “They want a country where people work hard, play by the rules and respect each other.”
8. He said he wasn’t born into a privileged or rich family. His mother was a cashier and his father worked for a locksmith.
9. Maimane said apartheid denied black South Africans opportunities. He envisions a country where a child born in Alexandra will have the same opportunities as a child born in Sandton.
10. “In a nation led by a DA government, every child will have the opportunity to realise their potential,” he said. He could not spell out policies to achieve this but said they would be realised in due course.

Photo captions:

DA leader Mmusi Maimane addresses people in Soweto. Photo by Trevor Kunene

DA leader Mmusi Maimane launches his party’s vision. Photo by Teevor Kunene

DA leader Mmusi Maimane launches his party’s vision. Photo by Trevor Kunene

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H.3 “Maimane – broken man Zuma presides over a broken society”

By Sapa, February 18, 2015

1. DA PARLIAMENTARY leader Mmusi Maimane yesterday accused Zuma of laughing as cops dragged EFF MPs out of Parliament.
2. Maimane said during the debate of the president’s State of the Nation address that democratic institutions were being undermined to protect one man.
3. “This honourable man is in our presence here today,” he said.
4. Maimane told Zuma he used the term “honourable” out of respect for Parliament, but Zuma was not an honourable man.
5. “You are a broken man presiding over a broken society.
6. “You laughed while trampling on Madiba’s legacy in the week we celebrated the 25th anniversary of his release,” said Maimane.
7. EFF leader Julius Malema repeated his demands for President Jacob Zuma to pay back the money spent on his private home at Nkandla in KwaZulu-Natal.
8. Malema said the true state of the nation was that the president failed the poor and used violence to silence his elected opponents.
9. He told Zuma: “You use hooliganism to silence the opposition.”
10. EFF MP Mbuyiseni Ndlozi tackled National Assembly Speaker Baleka Mbete over reports that Mbete referred to “cockroaches” like Malema at a weekend ANC congress.
11. EFF chief whip Floyd Shivambu asked National Council of Provinces chairwoman Thandi Modise to rule on this.
12. MPs laughed when Modise said she was aware that there is an insect matter doing the rounds but as far as she was aware, it did not happen in the House.
13. “So that matter, honourable Floyd Shivambu does not belong to the joint sitting of this Parliament.”
14. DA chief whip John Steenhuisen said that Mbete, when ordering MPs to be removed, relied on comments made outside the House.
15. Modise said he was right. “But I do not want to make a precedent of one presiding officer presiding over another presiding officer. I cannot apologise on behalf of the Speaker.” – Sapa

Photo caption: Mmusi Maimane in heated debate in Parliament yesterday. Photo by Liza van Deventer

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Appendix I

Tables of couplings

I.1 Table of couplings in “ANC and DA clash!”

Par.	Instantiation	Target	Attitude	Graduation	Engagement	Technicality	Aggregation
H/L	clash	ANC DA	-Security -Propriety	↑Vigour			macroTheme
1	clash	rival ANC and DA councillors	-Security -Propriety	↑Vigour		Exp. GM	macroTheme
1	rival	ANC and DA councillors	-Security	↑Vigour		Exp. GM	macroTheme
2	sworn at	DA councillors	-Security		Endorse		hyperTheme
2	chased away	ANC councillors DA councillors ANC councillors	-Propriety -Security -Propriety		Endorse		hyperTheme
3	there is more than can be seen on screen	ANC councillors	-Propriety		Counter		
4	hot klap	DA councillors	-Security	↑Vigour	Distance	Exp. GM	hyperNew
4	shirt was torn	ANC councillors	-Propriety		Distance		hyperNew
4	pushed away	one of their (DA) members' ANC councillors	-Security -Propriety	↓Number	Distance		hyperNew
4	angry	DA councillors ANC councillors	-Security -Propriety		Distance		hyperNew
5	slap-fest	ANC councillors	-Satisfaction		Distance		hyperNew
6	trying	the clash	-Valuation	Soften	Entertain	Exp. GM	hyperTheme
6	ruling	the ANC and DA DA members ANC	-Propriety -Capacity +Valuation	↑Vigour Soften		Logical	hyperTheme
6	using municipal vehicles for their party's benefit	the ruling party (ANC)	-Propriety		Distance		hyperNew
6	benefit	the ruling party (ANC)	+Happiness		Distance		hyperNew
7	hooting	ANC convoy	-Propriety	↑Extent	Endorse	Exp. GM	hyperTheme
7	about four traffic vehicles leading	ANC convoy	-Propriety	Soften	Endorse	Exp. GM	hyperTheme
				↑Number			

Par.	Instantiation	Target	Attitude	Graduation	Engagement	Technicality	Aggregation
7	leading	traffic vehicles	+Capacity		Endorse	Exp. GM	hyperTheme
7	asking a DA member to go away	man wearing an ANC shirt	-Satisfaction		Endorse		hyperTheme
8	Why are you doing this?	woman in blue jeans and an ANC shirt	-Satisfaction		Acknow/ledge		
8	says "Jou moersk**t" (your mother's c**t)	another (ANC) woman	-Propriety	↑Vigour	Endorse		
8	"Jou moersk**t" (your mother's c**t)	another (ANC) woman	-Satisfaction	↑Vigour	Acknow/ledge		
9	tries	another (ANC) woman	-Capacity		Endorse		
9	grab	DA member	-Security	↑Vigour	Endorse		
9	flees	another (ANC) woman	-Propriety		Endorse		
9		DA member	-Security	↑Vigour	Endorse		hyperNew
9			-Tenacity		Counter		
10	about four traffic vehicles can be seen leading	ANC's convoy	-Propriety	Soften	Endorse		hyperTheme
10	leading	about four traffic vehicles	+Capacity	↑Number			
11	assault	ANC members	-Propriety	↑Vigour	Endorse		hyperTheme
11		DA members	-Security	↑Proximity	Attribute	Exp. GM	hyperTheme
12	assaulted	councillors of the ANC caucus in the Dihlabeng Local Municipality	-Propriety	↑Vigour	Acknowledge	Process	
12		Councillor Dulanedi Leach and I (Roy Jankielsohn)	-Security				
13	shirt was torn	Roy Jankielsohn	-Security		Acknowledge		
13		councillors of the ANC caucus	-Propriety				

Par.	Instantiation	Target	Attitude	Graduation	Engagement	Technicality	Aggregation
13	hit	Councillor Dulanji Leach councillors of the ANC caucus	-Security -Propriety	↑Proximity	Acknow/ledge		
14	investigate	DA members	+Propriety		Acknow/ledge		
14	abuse	ANC	-Propriety	↑Vigour	Acknow/ledge	Exp. GM	
15	out of order	Roy Jankielsohn all traffic lights in Bethlehem	-Satisfaction -Reaction	↑Degree	Acknow/ledge		
15	load shedding	Roy Jankielsohn all traffic lights in Bethlehem	-Satisfaction -Valuation		Acknowledge	Class^Thing	
15	it would have been the right thing	to deploy traffic officials to direct rush-hour traffic	+Propriety		Acknowledge	Process	hyperNew
15	it would have been the right thing to deploy traffic officials to direct rush-hour traffic instead of	leading an ANC convoy	-Propriety		Acknowledge	Process	hyperNew
15	rush-hour	traffic	-Reaction		Acknowledge	Process	hyperNew
15	leading	traffic officials	+Capacity		Acknowledge		hyperNew
16	dismissed	DA members the allegations	-Veracity -Reaction		Deny		hyperTheme
16	allegations	ANC members	-Propriety		Deny	Nominalization	hyperTheme
16	peacefully	ANC members	+Security +Propriety	↓Extent	Acknowledge		hyperNew
16	leave	ANC members	-Satisfaction	↓Extent	Acknowledge		hyperNew

I.2 Table of couplings in “Eye on the big prize – DA wants to lead Mzansi by 2029”

Par.	Instantiation	Target	Attitude	Graduation	Engagement	Technicality	Aggregation
H/L	Eye on the big prize!	DA	+Capacity	↑Mass			MacroTheme
H/L	lead	DA	+Capacity				MacroTheme
1	leader	Mmusi Maimane	+Capacity				MacroTheme
1	low-key	event	-Reaction	↓Vigour			MacroTheme
		DA	-Capacity				
1	stronghold	ANC	+Capacity	↑Proximity			MacroTheme
		DA	-Security				
2	hyped	DA	+Inclination	↑Vigour	Entertain		HyperTheme
					Counter		
2	milestone	moment (Vision 2029 launch)	+Valuation	↑Degree	Entertain		HyperTheme
					Counter		
2	minor	event (Vision 2029 launch)	-Valuation	↓Degree	Counter		HyperTheme
		DA	-Capacity				
2	huffed and puffed	Maimane	-Capacity	↑Vigour	Counter		
2	failed	Maimane	-Capacity		Counter		
2	fewer than 1 000	DA	-Capacity	↓Number	Counter		
				Soften			
3	a few	DA	-Capacity	↓Number			
3	leaders	provincial leaders	+Capacity	↑Degree			
4	leadership	DA	+Capacity				
5	freedom	Maimane	+Satisfaction		Entertain	Exp. GM	HyperNew
			+Propriety			Exp. GM	
5	fairness	Maimane	+Propriety		Entertain	Exp. GM	
5	opportunity	Maimane	+Happiness		Entertain		
5	rallying cry	Maimane	+Inclination	↑Vigour		Exp. GM	
5	leader	Maimane	+Capacity				

Par.	Instantiation	Target	Attitude	Graduation	Engagement	Technicality	Aggregation
6	democrats	DA members	+Propriety		Acknow/ledge		HyperTheme
6	energised	Maimane	+Inclination		Acknow/ledge Counter		
6	a new mood	this nation	+Inclination	↑Proximity	Acknow/ledge Counter		
6	new	mood	+Reaction	↑Proximity	Acknow/ledge Counter		
6	reject	people (of South Africa)	-Inclination	↑Proximity	Acknow/ledge		
6	straitjacket	people (of South Africa)	-Satisfaction	↑Degree	Acknow/ledge		
6	a new future	people (of South Africa)	+Inclination	↑Proximity	Acknow/ledge		
6	new	future	+Reaction	↑Proximity	Acknow/ledge		
6	new possibilities	people (of South Africa)	+Inclination	↑Proximity	Acknow/ledge	Exp. GM	
6	new	possibilities	+Reaction	↑Proximity	Acknow/ledge		
7	work hard	people (of South Africa)	+Tenacity	↑Vigour	Acknow/ledge		HyperNew
7	play by the rules	people (of South Africa)	+Propriety		Acknow/ledge		HyperNew
7	respect	people (of South Africa)	+Propriety		Acknow/ledge		HyperNew
8	wasn't born into a privileged or rich family	Maimane	+Normality		Acknow/ledge Deny		HyperTheme
8	a cashier	Maimane's mother	+Normality				
8	worked for a locksmith	Maimane's father	+Normality				
9	apartheid	Maimane	-Satisfaction -Security		Acknow/ledge	Nominalization	HyperTheme
9	denied black South Africans opportunities	Apartheid government apartheid black South Africans	-Propriety -Propriety -Satisfaction		Acknow/ledge	Nominalization	HyperTheme

Par.	Instantiation	Target	Attitude	Graduation	Engagement	Technicality	Aggregation
9	envisions a country where a child born in Alexandra will have the same opportunities as a child born in Sandton	Maimane	+Propriety		Acknow/ledge		
9	will have the same opportunities as a child born in Sandton	a child born in Alexandra	+Satisfaction		Acknow/ledge		
10	led	a DA government	+Capacity		Acknow/ledge	Nominalization	
10	every child will have the opportunity to realise their potential	every child DA	+Satisfaction +Propriety	↑Number	Acknow/ledge		
10	could not spell out policies to achieve this	Maimane	-Capacity			Thing	Text reference

I.3 Table of couplings in “Maimane – Broken man Zuma presides over a broken society”

Par.	Instantiation	Target	Attitude	Graduation	Engagement	Technicality	Aggregation
H/L	broken	Zuma	-Composition -Happiness	↑Degree	Acknowledge		macroTheme
H/L	broken	SA society	-Composition -Happiness	↑Degree	Acknowledge		macroTheme
1	accused	Zuma	-Propriety	↑Vigour	Acknowledge		macroTheme
1	laughing	Zuma	+Happiness -Propriety		Acknowledge		macroTheme
1	dragged	cops	-Propriety	↑Vigour	Acknowledge		macroTheme
2	democratic	institutions	+Valuation +Propriety		Acknowledge	Class^Thing	hyperTheme
2	undermined	(Zuma)	-Propriety	↑Degree	Acknowledge		hyperTheme
2	protect	(Zuma)	-Propriety	↑Number	Acknowledge		hyperTheme
3	honourable	Zuma	+Normality	↑Proximity	Acknowledge	Epithet	
4	honourable	Zuma			Acknowledge	Epithet	
4	respect	Maimane	+Propriety		Acknowledge	Exp. GM	
4	not an honourable man	Zuma	-Normality		Deny		
5	broken	Zuma	-Composition -Happiness	↑Degree	Acknowledge		
5	broken	SA society	-Composition -Happiness	↑Degree	Acknowledge		
6	laughed	Zuma	+Happiness -Propriety		Acknowledge		hyperNew
6	trampling on Madiba's legacy	Zuma	-Propriety	↑Vigour ↑Proximity	Acknowledge		hyperNew
6	Madiba's	legacy	+Valuation	↑Degree	Acknowledge		hyperNew
6	celebrated	South Africans	+Happiness		Acknowledge		hyperNew
6	release	Mandela	+Satisfaction		Acknowledge		hyperNew
7	demands	Malema	-Satisfaction	↑Vigour	Acknowledge	Exp. GM	hyperTheme

Par.	Instantiation	Target	Attitude	Graduation	Engagement	Technicality	Aggregation
7	pay back the money	Malema Zuma	-Satisfaction -Propriety	↑Vigour	Acknowledge	Exp. GM	hyperTheme
8	true	Malema Zuma	+Veracity -Veracity	Sharpen	Proclaim		
8	failed	Zuma	-Capacity	↑Degree	Proclaim		
8	used violence	Zuma	-Propriety	↑Vigour	Proclaim	Exp. GM	
8	silence	Zuma	-Propriety	↑Degree	Proclaim		
8	elected	opposition	+Normality	Sharpen	Proclaim		
9	hoolliganism	Zuma	-Propriety	↑Vigour	Acknowledge		hyperNew
9	silence	Zuma	-Propriety	↑Degree	Acknowledge		hyperNew
10	tackled	Ndlozi	+Tenacity	↑Vigour			hyperTheme
10	cockroaches	Malema	-Judgment	↑Degree	Entertain	Exp. GM	hyperTheme
10	referred to "cockroaches" like Malema	Mbete	-Propriety	↑Proximity	Entertain	Exp. GM	hyperTheme
12	an insect	Modise	-Satisfaction		Acknowledge		
12	did not happen in the house	Modise	+Satisfaction	↓Proximity	Deny		
13	honourable	Shivambu	+Normality		Acknowledge	Epithet	hyperNew
13	does not belong to	the matter	-Composition		Deny		hyperNew
14	ordering MPs to be removed	Mbete	-Satisfaction	↑Vigour	Acknowledge		hyperTheme
14	relied on comments made outside the House	Mbete	-Propriety	↓Proximity	Acknowledge	Exp. GM	hyperTheme
15	right	Steenhuisen	+Veracity		Acknowledge		
15	do not want to	Modise	-Inclination		Deny		
15	apologise	Modise	-Satisfaction		Deny		hyperNew