

**In the aftermath of xenophobia: a critical discourse
analysis**

Christina Aletta Els

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Supervisor: Dr M. Kriel

Co-Supervisor: Prof A.J. Weideman

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“We are the scatterlings of Africa

Both you and I

We are on the road to Phelamanga

Beneath a copper sky

And we are scatterlings of Africa

...who made us, here and why?

(Lyrics from Johnny Cleggs’s album *Scatterlings of Africa*.)

The limits of my language are the limits of my world

(Die grenzen meiner sprache sind die grenzen meiner welt).

(Ludwig Wittgenstein, 1922).

DECLARATION

I, Christina Aletta Els, declare that the thesis that I herewith submit for the Doctorate D.Phil. Linguistics at the University of the Free State, is my own independent work and that I have not previously submitted it for a qualification at another institution of higher education. I furthermore cede copyright of the thesis in favour of the University of the Free State.

ABSTRACT

While evidence confirms that **print media in South Africa has contributed to the development of a xenophobic environment** (McDonald and Jacobs, 2005:306; Danso and McDonald, 2001:124), particularly in the manner in which the media has stigmatised non-nationals, **this does not necessarily imply that the print media was complicit in the xenophobic outbreaks** of April/May 2008 (Smith, 2011:111). However, an investigation into the representation of non-nationals in the print media is nevertheless a lacuna that needs to be addressed (Smith, 2010:188). The focus of this study is on the discursive representations of non-nationals in the tabloid, the *Daily Sun*, during April to May 2008 –it focuses not only on the way in which the *Daily Sun* represented the ‘Other’, but also identifies some of the underlying ideologies that underpin these representations.

The tabloid phenomenon, which presented itself in post-1994, has created a new trend of inclusivity in South African society in that previously marginalised groups have now, for the first time, been targeted as a viable market. The *Daily Sun* has been instrumental in providing people, who have been voiceless under apartheid, with a sense of identity by providing access to affordable newspapers. By the same token the *Daily Sun* has been accused of stoking the fires of xenophobia by means of uncritical and biased reporting. This led to a formal complaint against the newspaper in 2008, spearheaded by the Media Monitoring Project (nowadays MMA). These contradictions, as Wasserman (2007:791) points out, are characteristic of a society “in rapid and unequal transition and the tabloid media as commercial entities reliant on a public caught between history and progress...”. The researcher, working within the frame of Critical Discourse Analysis, draws a parallel, although not necessarily a causal link, between the xenophobic pogroms of May 2008 and the discursive representations of the tabloid, the *Daily Sun*, during April to May 2008.

OPSOMMING

Ten spyte van bewyse wat bevestig dat **gedrukte media in Suid-Afrika bygedra het tot die ontwikkeling van 'n xenofobiese omgewing** (McDonald en Jacobs, 2005:306; Danso en McDonald, 2001:124), verneem op die wyse waarop die media nie-burgers gestigmatiseer het, **beteken dit nie dat die gedrukte media aandadig was in die xenofobiese aanvalle** van April/Mei 2008 in Suid-Afrika nie (Smith, 2011:111). Daar bestaan wel 'n leemte in die literatuur rakende die uitbeelding van nie-burgers in gedrukte media, en hierdie leemte moet aangespreek word (Smith, 2010:188). Hierdie studie fokus op die diskursiewe uitbeelding van nie-burgers in die poniekoerant *Daily Sun* vanaf April tot Mei 2008. Die studie fokus nie net op die wyse waarop die *Daily Sun* die 'Ander' uitbeeld nie, maar identifiseer ook die onderliggende ideologieë wat die basis van hierdie uitbeeldings vorm.

Die poniekoerant fenomeen, wat ditself ná 1994 voorgedoen het, het 'n nuwe tendens van inklusiwiteit in die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing meegebring, soveel so dat voorheen gemarginaliseerde groepe nou, vir die eerste keer, 'n lewensvatbare teikenmark was. Die *Daily Sun* was gesaghebbend in hierdie proses deur, vir dié gene wat gedurende die Apartheid regime geen stem gehad het nie, 'n sin van identiteit te skep deur hul toegang te bied tot bekostigbare koerante. In dieselfde asem word die *Daily Sun* daarvan beskuldig dat dit die vure van xenophobia aangeblaas het deur middel van onkritiese en subjektiewe verslaggewing. Dit het gelei tot die lê van 'n formele klag teen die koerant in 2008, gedryf deur die Media Monitoringsprojek (deesdae die MMA). Hierdie teenstrydighede, noem Wasserman (2007:791), is kenmerkend van 'n samelewing vasgevang in "'n vinnige en onegalige oorgangstydperk en die poniepers as kommersiële entiteite, afhanklik van die publiek, vasgevang tussen die geskiedenis en vooruitgang". Die navorser, wat binne die raamwerk van Kritiese Diskoersanalise werk, ontbloot 'n parallel, maar nie noodwendig 'n kousale verband nie, tussen die xenofobiese slagtings gedurende Mei 2008 en die diskursiewe uitbeelding in die poniekoerant, *Daily Sun*, vanaf April tot Mei 2008.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The limits of my language are the limits of my world

(Die grenzen meiner sprache sind die grenzen meiner welt).

(Ludwig Wittgenstein, 1922).

What started off as attacks against 'illegal aliens' soon became attacks against immigrants legally here with their families, and then attacks on South Africans who 'looked foreign' because they were 'too dark' to be South African. This is the evil story of the beginnings of fascism ... and ethnic cleansing which has been practiced in other parts of the world (statement by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, cited in Valji, N. July 2003.

Unpublished Masters Thesis).

1.1. BACKGROUND

This study deals with the discursive constructions of non-South Africans in the tabloid, the *Daily Sun*, during the xenophobic pogroms of April to May 2008. The intensity and scope of the xenophobic violence which erupted in Johannesburg's Alexandra Township on 11 May 2008 sent shockwaves not only through the local South African community, but also made headlines globally. The myth of the Rainbow Nation was shattered as violence spread rapidly

throughout South Africa while “[a]ll people suspected of being foreigners” were targeted (Duncan 2012, 105) by the “black underclass” (Glaser, 2008:58). Duncan (2012, 105) notes:

Undocumented migrants, foreigners with legal residence status and South Africans who ‘looked foreign’ fell prey to these groups.

In the frenzy of killing, vicious attacks, rapes, and the looting and destruction of homes, a peculiar form of xenophobia emerged where mainly black African victims were assaulted (Crush, 2008a:25). The term Afrophobia, or ‘negrophobic xenophobia’ (after Gqola, 2008:210) appears to be more descriptive of the attacks as citizens from neighbouring southern African countries, such as Zimbabwe and Mozambique, as well as West African migrants from Somalia and Nigeria, were most severely affected. However, reports about looting of Pakistani-owned and Chinese-operated shops indicate that a more general form of ‘othering’ (Hadland, 2008:17) and exclusion may be central to an investigation of the causes of the mayhem. These causes turn out to be multifarious and complex, but the prevailing sense of threat underpinning local perceptions about non-nationals remains clear: ‘foreigners’ ‘stole’ their jobs, women, and houses and also aggravated crime (Human Rights Watch, 2010, in Duncan, 2012:105).

The notion of ‘othering’ is ubiquitous in reports on the violence and South African citizenship becomes the most prized commodity as ‘foreigners’ are defined in terms of citizenship and membership of the nation state. Whether ‘authentic South Africans’ also fall

victim to mistaken ‘foreign’ identities and are treated accordingly (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2001:646), is irrelevant.

Dr Antonie Katharina Nord (at the time Regional Director, Southern African Migration Project [SAMP]) and Paula Assubuji (Political & Human Rights Programme Manager) describe the impact the attacks of May 2008 have had in *Perspectives*, on [www](http://www.samp.org.za).:

Within the country, up to 35 000 people have fled from their homes and are camping out in temporary shelters, churches and police stations. Thousands more have returned to their countries of origin. According to the Mozambican authorities, for instance, 26 000 people have crossed into Mozambique since *The Start* of the unrest. During the second week of turmoil President Thabo Mbeki agreed to call in the army into the affected areas, to assist the South African Police force which could not fully contain the riot situation. While conditions have calmed down since, a new humanitarian crisis may now be unfolding as refugees in provisional reception camps struggle with inadequate shelter and supplies and brace themselves for the outbreaks of disease already reported in many areas (Nord & Assubji, 2008:1).

When the violence finally subsided, 62 people had been killed (one third of them South Africans) and thousands more were internally displaced and rendered homeless. The Human Rights Report Card, issued by The Centre for Constitutional Rights in March 2010 (Creamer Media reporter in Polity News on [www](http://www.creamermedia.com).) grades South Africa’s human rights elements on an annual basis, and has concluded that the country is “a little above average” – an ‘achievement’ which, by any relative standard, leaves much room for improvement. The claim is refuted by the 62 people killed and hundreds more who were assailed, raped, and left

destitute during the xenophobic pogroms of May 2008. For them, the concept of “human rights” was indeed an alien notion.

Since 2008, more sporadic outbreaks of xenophobic attacks (the first of which surfaced in South Africa during 1995 (Williams, 2008: 3)) occurred. These attacks are indicative of how a country’s history manages to re-enact itself in an immediate present and future. Richardson and Wodak (2009: 232; *cf.* Koselleck 1972, 1984) refer to this phenomenon as “the specific past [that] impinges on the present and on future visions in a huge range of societies”. South African society is thus not exempted from this phenomenon: the vestiges of Apartheid continue to serve as reminders of a tumultuous political past.

Xenophobic sentiments have also been reflected in the media landscape. This is evidenced by headlines such as “*SA print media racist, xenophobic?*” (da Silva, 2007 on [www.](#)) and “*Xenophobia in SA: ‘media should take the blame’*” (da Silva, 2008 on [www.](#)). William Bird, executive director of the SA Media Monitoring Project (MMP¹ - nowadays Media Monitoring Africa or MMA) which screens the content of media daily, notes that in spite of media outlets which have managed to report on xenophobic issues in a balanced and fair manner,

[t]here are certain sections of print media that must be found guilty of xenophobia due to anti-foreign stereotypes created in their daily reporting (Bird, quoted by Da Silva, 2008 on [www.](#)).

¹ According to their website, Media Monitoring Africa (formerly the Media Monitoring Project) has promoted democracy and human rights through the media since 1993. It fulfills a watchdog role to promote ethical and fair journalism that supports human rights (on [www.](#)).

Because they have learnt costly lessons, South Africans have a moral responsibility to recognise and react to any human rights violations, and, in the process, not only live up to the coveted democratic ideals of 1992, but also honour the Constitution – which is hailed as one of the most progressive in the world. For progress to be made, a good point of departure is to not shy away from analysing horrific events (like the xenophobic pogroms of May 2008, or the discourse surrounding it). Government also has a role to play; ample political input is needed to deal with contentious matters such as xenophobia, and not demonstrate, as reported by the South African Human Rights Commission's (SAHRC's) chairperson Lawrence Mushwana, "[a] poor response ... on tackling xenophobic violence" (SAPA in Polity News, 21 July 2010 on www.sahrc.org.za). A country with a tumultuous political history, such as South Africa, needs to prioritise the democratic ideals of human equality. Here the work of critical discourse analysts is intermeshed with the very fibre of their societies.

1.2. RESEARCH PROBLEMS AND AIMS

The 2008 spate of xenophobic attacks in South Africa has prompted me to investigate the way in which the tabloid media, and more specifically the *Daily Sun*, reported on this issue. In this regard, I have a specific interest in the discursual representations of non-nationals. A preliminary study of a number of media texts has made it clear that certain methods of reporting have intensified the volatility of the situation. Because the media – more specifically newspapers – constitute such a powerful medium of creating and transforming public opinion, the need for constantly evaluating the messages transferred by them into the public domain arises. As Pearce & Wodak (2010:3-4) note:

Whatever we may feel about the agenda of regional news programmes [or newspapers for that matter], most of us depend upon them to mediate our day-to-day experience of life.

Furthermore, newspapers, although claiming to function under the guise of transparency, frequently generate biased language/discoursal practises in publications. Social constructions (such as xenophobia) are thus often construed within the hidden layers of discourse and need to be unveiled in order to be recognised and addressed. Although responsible reporting does prevail, it is the task of the critical analyst to illuminate those instances of irresponsible reporting. In this regard, Fairclough (2001c:236; *cf.* Wetherell, Taylor & Yates (eds.) 2001) comments on the commercialisation of newspapers as follows:

Intense competition for readers means that some newspapers are prepared to do almost anything to keep or enlarge their share of the market. Damaging racist, sexist or chauvinistic representations of social life, which are judged to be appealing to sections of the newspaper – being public ... are closely linked in the economics of the newspaper industry and, correspondingly, are less likely to be changed in response to appeals for moral responsibility.

Thus, to hold a mirror to these organisations (which forms part of what critical discourse analysts do), is to harbour a binary approach of demanding accountability, while ultimately also capturing a fragment of our own social responsibility (*cf.* Derrida's concept of responsibility as discussed by Reynolds on www.). This taking up of social responsibility is also advocated in the language awareness and critical consciousness aspirations that underpin the interventionist and emancipatory mandate of critical discourse analysis. O'Regan

(2006:234) holds that responsibility is the catalyst for opening up and maintaining this openness of the discursive landscape:

Without responsibility, the hope which is carried in the possibility of the Other that, for example, things might be different one day, as well as the praxis which such hope implies, would be denied. By focusing on our responsibility to the Other [non-South Africans in the context of this thesis], and therefore on our responsibility to openness in opposition to closure, the point is to determine not whether different truths are good or bad, but whether putting a particular discourse or set of discourses into practice might lead to a silencing of 'open' alternatives, and therefore a turning away from the Other (O'Regan, 2006:234).

Working within the realm of Critical Discourse Analysis (or CDA), I aim to conduct an investigation into how the South African tabloid, the *Daily Sun*, portrayed non-nationals during the months of April and May 2008. The introductory chapter focuses on the genesis of CDA and its objectives.

Although some scholars, notably van Dijk, prefer the term Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) (Wodak & Meyer (eds.), 2009:2), the term Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is utilised in this study to serve as an umbrella term for five main approaches (Hart, 2006 on www.) to the analysis of texts within the social realm of the media. These approaches will be applied as deemed necessary during the course of this study. They are: a) critical linguistics; b) sociocultural analysis; c) discourse-historical analysis; d) socio-cognitive analysis; and e) critical metaphor analysis. The common denominator of these approaches is the application of linguistics at a micro level critical analysis. Fairclough (2005:919) describes 'texts' as

‘micro-level discourses’ that are positioned “in the context of (‘macro-level’) ‘discourses’”, or, phrased differently, in the macro context of society.

This research study addresses, among others, the following questions:

- What contextual factors contributed to the 2008 xenophobic outbreaks?
- What linguistic indicators are applied to refer to migrants (including asylum seekers, refugees, and illegal immigrants) in the *Daily Sun*?
- What are the hidden ideologies embedded in the discursive representations of migrants within the pages of the *Daily Sun*?
- What is the role of discourse in prompting social actions within the context of the xenophobic outbreaks of 2008?
- What is a deconstructive versus a constructive method of reporting?
- Can discourse be utilised as a vehicle for social change?

1.3. OBJECTIVES OF CDA

*We live in a world of language, discourse and ideology, none of which are transparent, all of which structure our sense of being and meaning (Lyle, 1996, 1997: 1, par. IV on
www).*

Our language and our world are mutually interactive. It is thus important to describe, interpret, and explain opaque language/discourse, not only to empower people, but also to

regulate certain societal structures that may misuse language for their own hidden agendas. In the words of van Dijk (2001a:352):

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.

CDA thus concentrates on how social connections, knowledge, identity, and power are created via spoken and written texts in classrooms, schools and communities (Luke, n.d., on www.). Fairclough (1995a:186) elucidates the strong social conscience that lies at the heart of CDA by referring to it as not merely another variety of academic analysis, but also a scientific endeavour which “has aspirations to take the part of those who suffer from linguistic–discursive forms of domination and exploitation”.

Although there may not be a unitary theoretical system in CDA – Wodak & Meyer (2009:23) point out that theoretical applications of various origins are employed eclectically in a CDA analysis – the concept of power remains a central aspect of any CDA analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2009:9). Social and linguist theorists active within the field of CDA concur that language enables power relations in society and that power presides within language. This is a notion which Fairclough aptly expresses by entitling his 1989 ground-breaking work “*Language and Power*”.

Within the paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis, discourse is regarded as a social construct: “social phenomena are socially constructed in discourse” (Fairclough, 2005:915-916) and discourse is “a form of social practice” (Fairclough, 1989:20; Fairclough, 1995a:131). It is important to note at this stage that “both spoken and written ‘discourse’ is regarded by CDA analysts as a form of social practice” (Wodak, De Cilla, Reisigl & Liebhart, 1999:8). Thus, it is a two-way street: “discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997:258), or, as phrased by Fairclough (1995a:131), discourse “is socially shaped, but it is also socially shaping, or constitutive”. The “context of language use” is therefore crucial to all CDA analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 6).

Kress (1990: 84) points out that CDA analysts regard “the most unremarkable and everyday of texts” as their units of analysis (*cf.* Wodak *et al.*, 1999:8 – “CDA focuses on authentic language”). New objects of analysis are constantly added to the existing field of CDA². It is also this “scope and the overtly political agenda” that distinguishes CDA from various other forms of discourse analysis, text linguistics, pragmatics and sociolinguistics (Kress, 1990:84).

1.4. ORIGINAL THEORETICAL TRADITION

Following Gee (2004:20), a distinction is made between critical discourse analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The former includes the work of researchers Hymes (1972) and Gumperz (1982). The latter – CDA – refers to analyses informed by researchers

² Domains such as the internet, television, radio, information technology and other communication modes are increasingly becoming sites for multimodal analysis.

such as Gee (1999, 2004, 2005), van Dijk (1988a, 1988b, 1993b, 2001a, 2008) Fairclough (1995a, 2001d, 2003), Wodak (1996, 1997, 2004a, 2006a, 2006b, 2009), and others.

Wodak (2001c:8) traces the earliest instance of applying a critical approach to language studies to the French scholar Pêcheux (1982 [1975]) who was heavily influenced by the Russian scholars Bakhtin (1981) and Volosinov (1973). The term ‘critical’ “was apparently coined by Jacob Mey (1974)” (Wodak, 2001c:8).

The Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School before the Second World War (Agger, 1992; Rasmussen, 1996; *cf.* van Dijk, 2001a:352) is accepted by many analysts as the origin of the CDA approach. The evolution of CDA (the inception of the term only culminated during the 1990s) was set in motion by its first seeds – the ‘critical linguistics’ (hence CL) movement that originated in East Anglia at the end of the 1970s.

Wodak (Wodak & Chilton (eds.), 2005:xi) comments in the preface to *A New Agenda in (Critical) Discourse Analysis* that

It was at this time that linguistics in its late twentieth-century form was taken up by socially and politically aware scholars at the University of East Anglia. Systematic ways of analysing the political and social import of text were proposed and developed.

There was thus an emergence of a type of discourse and text analysis that acknowledged language and its role in shaping power relations in society (Wodak, 2002:13), unlike the purely linguistic analysis that focused on formal properties of language only. This is often referred to as the ‘linguistic turn’ in social sciences (*cf.* Locke, 2004:11; Kamler, 1997:325-327, and de Beaugrande, 2006). During this time, sentences and elements of sentences were still viewed as the basic units in pragmatics, and sociolinguistic research dealt mostly with variation in language, changes in language, and the structures of communicative interaction, with less attention to power issues and issues of social hierarchy (Wodak, 2002:13; *cf.* Labov, 1972; Hymes, 1972). Fowler, Hodge, Kress & Trew (1979:189) describe the main difference between sociolinguistics and CL as the conceptualisation and treatment of the terms ‘language’ and ‘society’ – which for sociolinguistics are separate terms, so one would talk of “links between the two” (Fowler *et al.*, 1979:189), but for Critical Linguistics language is an inherent ingredient of the social process.

Critical linguists thus presented a new agenda in their treatment of “attention to texts, their production and interpretation and their relation to societal impulses and structures” (Wodak, 2002:13). Pioneers, who drove this new critical approach, were scholars such as Hodge & Kress (1979/1993), Fowler, Hodge, Kress & Trew (1979), Mey (1985) and Fowler (1996) (Wodak, 2005a:Preface). Other scholars who have also contributed extensively to the oeuvre on Critical Linguistic literature are van Dijk (1985), Fairclough (1989) and Wodak (1989).

For Dirks (2006:3) the two central distinctions between Critical Linguistics and CDA lie in the “practice turn” (*cf.* Schatzki, Knorr-Cetina & Savigny, 2001) CDA has gone through in contrast to Critical Linguistics. CDA has subsequently adapted its understanding of ‘power’

to correspond with Foucault's (1977, 1978) seminal studies, viewing power not as a domination which is perpetually prepared, but rather as a pragmatic and structural facet which has an integral influence on social realities (Iedema, 2004:417; *cf.* Fairclough, 1992b).

By the time the critical discourse evolution had matured, scholars such as Norman Fairclough, Teun van Dijk, and Ruth Wodak were dubbed the “founding fathers and mothers” of CDA (Schrøder, 2007:80; *cf.* Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000:454). Of these “founding fathers and mothers”, Fairclough (1989) is acknowledged as laying the most significant cornerstone of contemporary CDA in his seminal work "Language and Power". He describes the roots of Critical Language Study (CLS), which is the term he used for his earlier version of critical discourse analysis, as embedded in the fields of sociolinguistics, pragmatics, cognitive psychology, artificial intelligence, and lastly conversation analysis and discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1989:11). In a similar vein, van Dijk (1993a:16) notes the various counterparts of CDA, emphasising the similar origins of CL and CDA – its more modern version:

Notions from linguistics, sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, interpersonal and mass communication studies, cognitive and social psychology, macro- and micro-sociology, ethnography, political science, history, and other disciplines appear to be involved.

Wodak and Meyer (2009:1) add to this list the fields of Rhetoric, Text Linguistics, Anthropology, Philosophy, Socio-Psychology, Cognitive Science, Literary Studies, Applied Linguistics, and Pragmatics, while Dirks (2006: 3) adds yet another field to this repertoire,

namely Systemic-Functional Linguistics. Slembrouck (2001: 54) points to the salience of Australian systemic-functional linguistics for CDA in relation to the Western European tradition of systemic-functional linguistics. The Australian linguists applied the term ‘social semiotics’ to their version of systemic-functional linguistics (Slembrouck, 2001:54).

Regarding the contributions of social theorists to the formation of CDA, the work done during the 1970s and 1980s by the post-structuralists Michel Foucault (1972, 1977, 1978) and Jacques Derrida (1976, 1978, 1980) is significant to the theory formation of CDA. Wodak (2007b, FQS: paragraph 23) notes that Fairclough and Jäger derived most of their influences from Foucault. The difference between French (Foucault; Derrida) and Anglo-American poststructuralist theory in their emphasis on the importance of language and discourse is worth pointing out here: Foucault (1972, 1977, 1978) and Derrida (1976, 1978, 1980) believe that discourse and language are opaque and not neutral; therefore, the language and discourse that are used to describe social conditions and the natural world, are equally non-transparent (Luke, n.d., on [www.](#))³.

Dellinger (1995:1 on [www.](#)) states that CDA has turned language study into an effective “interdisciplinary tool” that may be utilised by scholars from diverse backgrounds which include media criticism. Wodak (2001c 6), Meyer (2001 15), and van Dijk (1993a:15) concur that interdisciplinarity is the basic premise of CDA. Van Dijk (1993a: 16) even advocates a “multidisciplinary approach to the study of language” that will result in analysing discourse within “social-cultural contexts”; in other words, the practising of ethnographic studies.

³ Salient social theories that pertain to CDA are further elucidated in chapter 2.

CDA orients towards being a modern-day approach, “not methodology – to the study of language and discourses in social institutions” (Luke, n.d., on [www.](http://www.english.cuhk.edu.hk/~cda/)). Wodak and Meyer (2009:5) posit an important reminder which is relevant because of the manifold definitions that exist for the terms ‘discourse’, ‘ideology’, and ‘power’: They maintain that an essential prerequisite for a CDA criticism is for the researcher to specify explicitly which strand of CDA he/she associates with (Wodak & Meyer, 2009:5).

The field of CDA is thus a vibrant field that regards new insights as having the potential of being integrated fruitfully with current practices. New insights may not only elaborate the field, but may also compel analysts to self-reflect on their research: “[T]he emergence of new information may always entail the reconsideration and re-evaluation of data” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). This scholarly openness to new knowledge sources has evoked numerous criticisms against CDA (Widdowson, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 2002; Toolan, 2002; Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Stubbs, 1996; Hammersley, 1997).

In line with this contemporary slant is the notion that each CDA approach brings forth a unique combination of methods suited to the researcher’s particular field of investigation (*cf.* Wodak, 2002:7; Phillips & Jørgenson, 2002:132). Moreover, CDA is not only a multi-methodological and interdisciplinary approach, but it is also a rapidly expanding field which welcomes new insights. Fairclough (2005:935) comments on the diversity and expansion of the field by pointing out the

[s]ubstantial differences on certain issues within the field (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) as well as shifts over time in the position of individual researchers [...] If we bring into the picture the rapidly expanding applications of CDA in a great many disciplines and fields in social science [...], then the positions and approaches which count as, or claim to be CDA expand considerably.

Wodak (2005:XII) also notes the constant developments in CDA “since 1991”⁴. She (Wodak, 2001c:2; cf. Wodak & Meyer, 2009:5) labels CDA as “a school” with affiliated scholars whose principles for research “are also subject to change”. Wodak and Meyer (2009:3-4) add the labels ‘paradigm’ or ‘research programme’ to that of ‘school’.

To clear any misinterpretations about the nature of CDA, Fairclough and Wodak (1997:271-280; see also Wodak, 1996a) offer eight foundational principles for CDA. These principles also serve as a background to this study. They are as follows:

- CDA addresses social problems;
- Power relations are discursive;
- Discourse constitutes society and culture, and is constituted by them;
- Discourse does ideological work: representing and constructing society by reproducing unequal relations of power;

⁴ The small symposium attended by Wodak, van Dijk, Fairclough, Kress, and Van Leeuwen in Amsterdam in 1991 marked the beginning of CDA as a formal and institutionalised discipline (Seale, 2004:197). However, the publishing of van Dijk’s journal, *Discourse and Society* (1990) and the simultaneous publishing of books by Fairclough (1989), Wodak (1989), and van Dijk (1984) indicated the beginning of the “CDA network” (Wodak & Meyer, 2009:3).

- Discourse is historical and is connected to previous, contemporary and subsequent discourses;
- Relations between text and society are mediated, and a socio-cognitive approach is needed to understand these links;
- Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory and implies a systematic methodology and an investigation of context; and
- Discourse is a form of social action.

These initial principles were later elaborated by Wodak (2001c:5-6; 2002:14) as further discussed in chapter 2.

1.5. RESEARCH DESIGN AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The critical discourse analysis conducted in this research is based on the principles of qualitative research. In phase one, a corpus of newspaper reports based on the theoretical sampling model as proposed by Stubbs (1983:231; *cf.* Wodak & Meyer, 2009:27) is collected.

In phase two, a critical discourse analysis based mainly on Fairclough's (1992a, b; 1995a) original three-dimensional model of discourse is conducted. For Fairclough (1995a: 2) these separate forms of analysis are mapped onto one another as

Analysis of (spoken or written) language texts, analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events are instances of sociocultural practice.

Metaphoric analysis (after Santa-Ana, 1999; also see Lakoff & Johnson's (1980) seminal study on metaphor) affords additional analytical tools for describing, explaining and evaluating relevant discourse fragments from the print media as metaphor "is the key element with which discourse constructs the social world" (Santa Ana, 2002:43).

Integral aspects of this study remain the contextual elements surrounding the tabloid industry in South Africa and the historical context of migration to South Africa. Furthermore, reference to the current debate on the Protection of State Information Bill (widely referred to as the "secrecy bill") – as a potential force affecting the process of text production (Fairclough 1995a:2) – is in order. These aspects form an essential background to the textual analysis of the tabloid extracts.

The linguistic aspect of the analysis is grounded in Halliday's (1994a) model of systemic-functional grammar. Fairclough (Wodak & Chilton (eds.), 2005:69) proposes in this regard, that "[i]n principle any framework for linguistic analysis may be drawn upon in doing CDA" and that the choice of a linguistic framework is based on the researchers' specific academic backgrounds. For the purpose of this study, aspects of the Hallidayan model will be utilised to describe the ideational, interpersonal and textual meta-functions that are continuously interconnected in text.

Wodak (2002: 16) explains her understanding of these meta-functions as follows: the ideational meta-function represents the “dialectical relationship between language and social structures”; the interpersonal meta-function shows the “relationships between participants” in discourse and the textual meta-function refers to “cohesion and coherence in texts”. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999:139) concur that systemic-functional linguistics has “most in common with CDA and most to offer CDA”.

The analytical levels of description and evaluation are not applied as separate and unrelated. Instead, these levels are in a ‘dialogic’ relation (after Bakhtin, 1981) similar to the intertextuality in all texts. A multi-lateral relationship thus exists “between explanatory theories and linguistic analytical tools almost at all levels” (Khosravini, 2009:56).

It should be noted that the relationship between social practices and discourse structures in the newspaper texts is not ignored (*cf.* Wodak, 2006b:181). The concept of ‘dialogicity’ is also illustrated in one of the core assumptions of CDA, which holds that discourse is socially constitutive as well as constituting the society (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

CDA analysts further contend that there may be more than one interpretation to discourse and that it is precisely this scholarly openness to accommodate more readings that will make a CDA analysis more transparent.

1.6. BRIEF OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

The literature review chapter serves to contextualise the research topic theoretically: the different notions of ‘language’, ‘discourse’ and ‘text’, and further conceptualisations of central notions such as inter-/multi-/transdisciplinarity; criticality; power, control, and ideology; context and systemic-functional linguistics (SFL) are highlighted. Two salient debates within Critical Discourse Analysis are discussed; namely, the debate on normativity and the debate on nominalisation. Other critiques of CDA are also highlighted and the various contributions by three key researchers: Fairclough (1989, 1992a, 1992b, 1995a, 1995b, 2003), van Dijk (1985, 1986, 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1993a, 1993b, 1997, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2001d, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2008), and Wodak (1989, 1996, 2001, 2002, 2006, 2007) in the field are considered. Then the accomplishments of Critical Discourse Analysis as a discipline are elucidated, and finally a short overview of the field of media studies is provided.

The methodology chapter in the next section outlines the research procedures and analytical frameworks to be followed. The chapter thereafter sketches the various related contexts (after Wodak’s discourse-historical approach -Wodak, 1990; Wodak & Reisigl, 1999; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak & Reisigl, 2002; Wodak, 2004; Wodak & Pelinka, 2002) as a point of departure for the textual analysis chapter applying conceptual metaphor analysis (after Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) and van Dijk’s (2006a; 2006b; 2009a; 2009b) socio-cognitive approach. This is followed by the final chapter which aims to focus on offering an overview of the perspectives gained in the study, and proposing insights and recommendations regarding CDA and the South African media landscape.

1.7. VALUE OF RESEARCH

By exposing prejudicial beliefs and stereotypes in public discourse and by offering alternatives, this study aims to make a contribution towards a non-sexist, non-homophobic and non-racist society. By acknowledging the existence of enforced and manifested metaphors in media discourse, a greater critical consciousness may be raised in society which may, in turn, serve as a possible signpost to stimulate a sensible on-going process of transformation in South Africa.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

... in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and its dangers, ... to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality (Foucault, 1981:52).

2.1. INTRODUCTION

As the demands on language have increased rapidly in the postmodern era, language has gained more power, and, subsequently, an elevated position in society. As a result, salient power issues generated by discourse – whether manifested politically, economically or institutionally – have increasingly become the main focus of CDA (*cf.* Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 9). Fairclough (N.D.: 3 on [www](http://www.fairclough.net).) refers to this phenomenon as “discourse driven” social change.

Thurlow (2010 4) elucidates discourse/language as “powerful and power filled resources”, and Wittgenstein (1922), the twentieth century philosopher who maintains that all philosophical problems are rooted in misunderstandings about the logic of language, notes that discourses create “forms of life”: in time, these discursive “forms of life” multiply and may either have beneficial or detrimental effects on society. Important to note, however, is

that language itself does not cause these effects; it is the manner in which it is utilised that eventually brings about these hybrid “forms of life”. Thus, discourse structures per se are not manipulative, but

they only have such functions or effects in specific communicative situations and the way in which these are interpreted by participants in their context models (van Dijk, 2006:372).

Van Dijk’s (2006b:372) claim is supported by Wodak (2002) who notes that

[p]ower does not derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and long term. Language provides a finely articulated means for differences in power in social hierarchical structures...CDA takes an interest in the ways in which linguistic forms are used in various expressions and manipulations of power.

As Blommaert (2005:1-2) points out, the effects of power are evident in all discourse. Critical discourse analysts, as self-appointed “custodians” of language and discourse, are particularly concerned about power in language and discourse. They strive towards regulating, unveiling, and identifying explicit and implicit abuse of this powerful/“power filled” resource. Their goal is, ultimately, to empower ordinary citizens with knowledge and to bring about positive change (i.e. an emancipatory motive). This positive agenda may eventually materialise in a raised level of public critical awareness or even the changing of previously noxious governmental policies.

Because language and discourse not only pervade our linguistic universe, but also our social universe, it follows that an analysis of discourse should include not only an analysis of the linguistic dimension, but also the social variables involved in a discursive event. As Hall (2006:165) observes, all social practices contain meaning and these meanings shape and affect our actions and behaviour; therefore, all practices contain a discursive aspect.

The point of departure for this chapter is the notion that language is a “social practice” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997:258). A reciprocal relation (an interplay) exists between the discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s), and social structure(s). This dialogic relation, therefore, not only frames these elements, but also shapes them:

The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997:258).

Laclau & Moufe (1990:100) also emphasise the social and semantic aspects of discourse by ascribing “every social configuration [which] is meaningful” to discourse. The social and linguistic world, however, also includes concepts such as ‘language’, ‘text’, and ‘discourse’. These notions are firmly embedded within Critical Discourse Analysis and, as such, validate a discussion. As these concepts are inherently social imbrications, there is invariably a certain measure of overlap in the discussion of these terms.

The next point of discussion is the salient link between text linguistics and discourse analysis; the merging of which is eventuated in the field of discourse analysis. Then other key concepts within the field of Critical Discourse Analysis are highlighted; more specifically the notions of inter-/ multi-/ trans-disciplinarity, criticality, power, control and ideology, context, and SFL. Two debates within Critical Discourse Analysis are discussed, namely; the debate on normativity and the debate on nominalisation. Other critiques on Critical Discourse Analysis are also briefly considered. Deliberations on the work of three central figures within the field, namely Fairclough (1989; 1992a; 1992b; 1995a; 1995b; 2001a,b,c; 2003), van Dijk (1985; 1986; 1987; 1988a, 1988b; 1991; 1993a; 1993b; 1997; 2001a,b; 2002; 2005a; 2006a,b; 2008), and Wodak (1989; 1996; 2000; 2001; 2002; 2006a,b,c,d,e; 2007a,b,c,d; 2009) follow; and finally, the accomplishments of CDA and its specific relevance to media studies are illuminated.

2.2. THE DIALOGUE CONTINUES: MEDIATION BETWEEN THE SOCIAL AND LINGUISTIC WORLD

Joseph & Roberts (2004:8) relate the significance of Bakhtin's (1981) philosophical work to CDA, and more specifically his comments on the ever-present dialogic relation between language and society. Bakhtin's (1981) belief that language is neither a static concept, nor a system, but rather a dialogue "between individuals, groups and the social world" (Joseph & Roberts, 2004:8) is also a post-structuralist premise that Fairclough (1995a) draws on extensively. This Bakhtinian notion is illustrated in the array of social and linguistic theories that are brought into dialogue by CDA (Blackledge, 2005:4).

Wodak (2006b:181) also focuses on the symbiosis between language and society and elucidates the importance of combining “linguistic and sociological approaches” in CDA. She maintains that the intricate interrelations between discourse and society cannot be analysed adequately if these approaches are not combined (Wodak, 2006b:181). For Fairclough (2001c:229) and Luke (2002:101), the contrasts between CDA and other discourse analyses reside in the tendency of CDA analysis to fluctuate between the textual and interactional levels on the one hand, and analysis of broader social features on the other.

All CDA researchers thus adopt various forms of linguistic and social theories in their respective analyses, albeit on different levels. The close attention that CDA analysts pay to the sociological dimension of discourse, in addition to the linguistic dimension, thus qualifies as a salient distinguishing CDA characteristic. It would thus follow that any accounts of language use should be explicit analyses of not only the linguistic dimension, but also the social variables involved in a discursive event.

A linguistic and text analytic metalanguage, no matter how comprehensive, cannot ‘do’ CDA in and of itself. It requires the overlay of social theoretic discourses for explaining and explicating the social contexts, concomitants, contingencies, and consequences of any given text or discourse. That is, what texts ‘do’ in the world cannot be explained solely through text analysis or text analytic language (Luke, 2002:102).

Slembrouck (2001:36; *cf.* Fairclough, 1989:107) describes the range of analyses that CDA endeavours to explain as directed towards all applicable levels of analysis which include

the (micro) ‘text-in-situation’ through the (meso) ‘institutional’ to the wider (macro) ‘socio-cultural’ – moving correspondingly from the analysis of text through the study of processes of text production, consumption and distribution to an explanatory assessment of discourse as sociocultural practice.

In light of criticisms (Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui & O’Garro Joseph, 2005:372; *cf.* Flowerdew, 1999; Price, 1999; Schegloff, 1999; Widdowson, 1998), levelled at CDA of an imbalance between social and linguistic theory, Fairclough, Graham, Lemke and Wodak (2004:4) question whether discourse analysis that excludes even “a minor form” of linguistic analysis, such as lexical, grammatical, and semantic analysis, indeed qualifies as discourse analysis. Other forms of linguistic analyses that may be included in discourse analysis include conversation and interaction analysis, pragmatic analysis, narrative and argumentation analysis, as well as the various approaches to thematic analysis (Fairclough *et al.*, 2004). Gee (2004:20) is adamant that approaches that exclude linguistic analysis cannot be qualified as critical discourse analysis, while Fairclough *et al.* (2004:4) suggest that the contention of linguistic versus sociological analysis has started to erode.

Weiss & Wodak (2003:7) also explain why this contention between close linguistic and sociological analysis is exacerbated, citing “[m]ajor difficulties of operationalization [*sic*] in the research process” associated with the mediation of language and social elements (*cf.* Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 2002:12) as main reasons. These difficulties, Weiss & Wodak (2003:7) contend, originate from the basic incompatibility of sociological and linguistic categories as they are inherently “not compatible [and] tend to have diverging ‘Horizontgebundenheit’ – the term Husserl used to describe the fact that they were dependent

on different horizons”. The necessity of a theoretical framework of mediation thus becomes evident (Weiss & Wodak, 2003:7). The function of such a mediatory framework is to unify deviating terms relating to similar concepts. A basic theoretical structure should therefore reconcile linguistic and sociological categories (Weiss & Wodak, 2003:7). An example of diverging ‘Horizontgebundenheit’ is the term ‘representation’, which denotes something different (or has a wider meaning) in sociological contexts than in specific linguistic analysis (Weiss & Wodak, 2003:7). Similarly, the term ‘institution’ has a different interpretation in discourse-analytical concepts and sociological theories respectively (Weiss & Wodak, 2003:7).

In light of the absence of a unitary framework of mediation between sociological and linguistic categories, Weiss & Wodak (2003:7) propose a “theoretical synthesis of conceptual tools”. Embedded within this theoretical synthesis are several notional tools, for example: “Foucault’s discursive formation⁵, Bourdieu’s habitus, or register and code as defined by Halliday & Bernstein (Lemke, 1995, p 19ff)” (Weiss & Wodak, 2003:7). Another metaphysical tool is Mouzelis’s (1995:5) “conceptual pragmatism” which focuses on “criteria of utility” rather than “truth” (Weiss & Wodak, 2003:7). Weiss & Wodak (2003:9) further state that the main function of conceptual tools is to integrate sociological and linguistic positions; the ostensible “‘wound’ of sociological thinking”. This indirect relation between social structures and language use is thus embedded within the term ‘mediation’.

⁵Foucault (2002:130) notes that this term “divides up the general plane of things said at the specific level of statement” and that “[w]henver one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, concepts, or thematic choices, one can identify a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functions, transformations), we will say [...], that we are dealing with discursive formation” (Foucault, 2002:41). A simpler explanation is that of Cousins & Hussian (on www.) which defines discursive formations as Foucault’s principle term to analyse knowledge; it refers to “groups of statements which may have any order, correlation, or function as determined by this disunity. A discursive formation is thus a system of dispersion”.

It is appropriate at this stage to elaborate further on the prominent social theories (as briefly mentioned in chapter 1) that have influenced theory formation in CDA.

2.3. SALIENT SOCIAL THEORIES

Critical theories, and thus also CDA, are afforded special standing as guides for human action (Weiss & Wodak, 2003:14). This implies that Critical theories act as a moral compass for society. They deal with social constructs such as power, justice, economy, class, race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, and education. These constructs impact on social systems. The extent thereof, along with causal factors and their consequences, is the field of investigation for Critical theories (Rogers *et al.*, 2005:368).

Post-structuralism, initiated by Foucault (Rogers *et al.*, 2005:370), was a counter reaction to structuralism and is closely related to Critical theory (Rogers *et al.*, 2005:368). Post-structuralism, according to de Beaugrande (2004: par. 168),

...signals a programmatic break with the past, but a more specific one turning against the ‘structuralism’⁶ adapted from descriptive linguistics to describe discourse, culture, or art with methods mostly inspired by phonology and morphology (de Beaugrande, 2004: par. 168; *cf.* Koteyko, 2006:2).

⁶ “The discourse of structuralism aspires to be scientific, convergent, and centripetal, invoking a static, deterministic conception of meaning” (de Beaugrande, 2004: par. 157). Structuralism also implied relationships “between structures in systems and that examining those relationships could help us to understand the entirety of a system” (Rogers *et al.*, 2005: 368).

As Locke (2004:11) notes:

...the linguistic turn has changed language from being thought of as a medium for expressing meanings that pre-exist linguistic formulation to a system that constitutes meaningfulness in its own terms. Parker has noted a shift – what he calls ‘a turn to discourse’ – in the last 30 years ‘from a notion of representation as a direct mediated reflection of reality to a conceptual and methodological account of representation as a form of signification (1999: 4-5) which actually shapes or constitutes the object denoted. Reality as preceding language and shaping it has become language preceding and shaping reality. Consequently, language has now come to occupy centre stage in scholarly investigation.

Whereas language has previously been regarded as a mere reflection of reality, language is now regarded as defining reality, since the ways in which we enquire and approach reality are managed in and through language (Clayman & Heritage, 2002:3).

This greater emphasis on language in post-structuralism has further enhanced theory formation of Critical Discourse Analysis (Rogers *et al.*, 2005:375; *cf.* Lyle, 2008 on www.cda.ac.uk). This occurred as a result of the linguistic turn, which elevated the status of sociological topics to researchable ‘worded entities’ (Sharrock & Watson, 1989:431) that imply simultaneously the role members of society play in maintaining and reproducing linguistic practices.

Effects of the post-structuralist view are further elaborated on by Lyle (2008): first, an increased focus on certain histories has been created (*cf.* Wodak’s (2001b) discourse-historical approach). As Rogers *et al.* (2005:368) assert, critical theorists believe that thought

is mediated “by historically constituted power relations”. Furthermore, Lyle (2008) holds that discursive actions are also embedded within the right context (*cf.* Rogers *et al.* 2005:368). Secondly, post-structuralism invokes a bodily emphasis, and the human is actually inserted “into texture of time and history” (Lyle, 2008). Thirdly, culture, and the impact thereof on discourse, is scrutinised more closely. Finally, the roles that textuality and language play in determining our concepts of identity and reality are more purposefully studied (Lyle, 2008). With regard to the role of textuality, de Beaugrande indicates theorists of the SFL tradition as making a valid contribution by situating “the text as a system at the centre of their work” and spurning formalism⁷ (2004: par. 108).

This coincides with Fairclough’s (1995a) textually oriented approach to discourse analysis (or TODA) which he claims distinguishes his version of CDA from Foucault’s theory of language (Rogers *et al.*, 2005:375-376). Fairclough (1995a) regards his own version of CDA as an approach more focused on textual analysis than post-structural analyses (Rogers *et al.*, 2005:375-376).

Luke (n.d.) situates CDA as drawing on both post-structuralist discourse theory and critical linguistics. He regards it as “a lesson from post-structuralism” that the “unsaid” and “unwritten” (after Derrida, 1980) may be just as profound as that which is said in a text (Luke, 2002:104). These notions may be especially ‘powerful’ in an ideology critique where silence and absence may be instantiated or represented by means of euphemism and overt

⁷ “The ideology of formalism holds that any complex phenomenon is best described in terms of its forms. Formalism is a key ideology of power, e.g., in encouraging bureaucracy, the law, and education to impose gratuitous formality upon action and discourse. Racism and sexism are formalist too in discriminating against humans by their facial and bodily shapes” (de Beaugrande, R., 2004: par. 91).

intertextuality (Luke, 2002:104). Wodak (2006c:604) mentions the importance of investigating, in addition to the ‘unsaid’, the repercussions of what has been said. However, Wodak (2006c:604) holds that it is not enough to merely notice these absences of voice, but that they also need to be identified. Furthermore, the various patterns of access to speech are also salient factors in a CDA analysis (Wodak, 2006c:604). In this regard, Lemke’s (1995: 24-25) words ring true:

We speak with the voices of our communities, and to the extent that we have individual voices, we fashion them out of the social voices already available to us, appropriating the words of others to speak a word of our own.

Foucault’s (1970, 1972, 1977, 1978) and Derrida’s (1976, 1978, 1980) post-structuralist view of language and discourse is summarised by Luke (n.d. on [www.](#)) as effectively constructing, regulating, and controlling knowledge, social relations and institutions and “such analytic and exegetic practices” [such] as scholarship and research. By this account, nothing is outside of or prior to its manifestation in discourse” Luke (n.d. on [www.](#)).

With regard to this hypothesis (“nothing is outside of discourse”), Fairclough, Graham, Lemke & Wodak (2004:3) note that, although it may be correct in a few instances, for most critical discourse analysis it is an incorrect assumption that “discourse analysis reduces the whole of social life to discourse, leaving no space for analysis of the material world or social structures”. Thus the above quote should not be understood as advocating that nothing

material exists outside of discourse, but rather that “nothing has any meaning outside of discourse”, as Hall (2003:44-45) argues (*cf.* Laclau & Mouffe, 1990:100):

[t]he concept of discourse is not about whether things exist but about where meaning comes from. This idea that physical things exist, but they take on meaning and become objects of knowledge within discourse, is at the heart of construction theory of meaning and representation. Foucault argues that since we can only have knowledge of things if they have a meaning, it is discourse – not the things-in-themselves – which produce knowledge.

2.4. THE PROBLEM OF DEFINITION: LANGUAGE, TEXT, DISCOURSE

Within the field of discourse analysis, confusion regarding the interpretation of the term ‘discourse’ is prevalent. Wodak (2006a:3) states that the term ‘discourse’ is used quite differently by different researchers and also in diverse academic cultures. For instance, Foucault (1981: 372) points to a broad understanding of discourse: “As history constantly teaches us, discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle”. Lemke (1995:6) notes that discourse may indicate “something as specific as spoken language, or something as general as the social process of communication”.

Within academic traditions, Pennycook (1994:127) describes the main difference between Anglo-American and European (mainly French) traditions of discourse analysis as culminating in their respective ways of treating discourse: the European tradition treats ‘discourse’ as fully integrated knowledge and thought systems, whereas the Anglo-American

tradition adds the social domain to that of the linguistic and then works with both domains in a dialectical manner. McHoul & Luke (1989:324) also note that the European (mainly French) tradition regards discourse as “socio-historically specific systems of knowledge and thought”.

Wodak (2006c:597, after Ehlich, 2000:162) concurs that the French notion of ‘discourse’ (*discours*), focuses more on the link between thought and language. This approach thus entails the shaping of meaning and the support and continuation of intricate systems of knowledge (Wodak, 2006c:597). On the other hand, the term ‘*discours*’ denotes ‘structured sets of speech acts’ in German pragmatics; the interpretation of ‘discourse’ is thus closely connected to the context of research and the specific theoretical approach adhered to (Wodak, 2006c:597).

The existence and presence of other terminology such as ‘language’ and ‘text’, which function within the same dimension as ‘discourse’, also serve to further complicate the contentious matter of definition.

2.4.1. LANGUAGE AND DISCOURSE

As a result of the linguistic turn, the emphasis fell on how language was used instead of language as a system (Clayman & Heritage, 2002:3). This emphasis on language functions resulted in specific questions being posed about what might be achieved through writing and

talking; the effect of which was a preference for the term ‘discourse’ instead of ‘language’ (Clayman & Heritage, 2002:3).

Pennycook (1994:115) discusses the choice between the use of ‘language’ or ‘discourse’ in his article “*Which is bigger, language or discourse?*” He concludes that both the applied linguistic use of the term ‘discourse’ and the critical approaches are limited and that a Foucauldian interpretation of discourse analysis may be promising.

Interestingly, Foucault (1972) has shifted the emphasis away from language to discourse and “studied not language, but discourse as a system of representation” (Hall, 2003:44; *cf.* “transition from language to discourse” in de Beaugrande, 2006:8). Normally discourse “means passages of connected writing or speech”, but as Hall (2003:44) notes, Michel Foucault attached a different interpretation to the term which resulted in the fact that ‘discourse’ was no longer restricted to a linguistic concept. Foucault’s contribution was then to change the concept so that it entailed language and practice (Hall, 2003:44). The aspiration of discourse is thus to bridge the established dichotomy of speech (language) and practice (“what one does”) (Hall, 2003:44).

Foucault’s (1972) inconsistencies in applying the term ‘discourse’ – Reisigl (2004, in Wodak, 2006c:596) lists the use of 23 meanings of ‘discourse’ throughout Foucault’s famous lecture in the Collège de France on ‘Orders of discourse’ – has invariably effected an even greater terminological confusion. Foucault (1989 80) though, does not consider his manifold uses of the term as problematical:

Instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word ‘discourse’ I believe I have in fact added to its meanings: treating it as sometimes the general domain of all statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements.

Wodak (2006c:596-597) has a more practical approach of elimination when it comes to the confusion surrounding the definition:

Although Foucault refers to many definitions of “discourse” in the course of his famous lecture, it is equally important to note what “discourse” is NOT supposed to mean in Foucault’s work – specifically, that it is neither defined thematically nor by a strict system of concepts, and it is not an object but rather a set of relationships existing between discursive events. These stipulations open the door to a dedicated functional approach, enabling the cultural critic to identify both static and dynamic relationships between discursive events and to address the causes and consequences of historical change (*cf.* Wodak 2005a, 2005b).

Language and discourse are further defined by de Beaugrande (2004: par. 35) in the following manner:

Language is a theory of cognitive knowledge and social experience (what language users know and live) [while] discourse is its practice (how they talk about it) [and] both sides interfacing the linguistic, cognitive, and social domains (*cf.* Hall, 2003: 44).

Within the paradigm of functionalism⁸, which designates the approach describing an array of language functions, ‘language’ is a system of connected choices which decides the likelihood of one choice selected over another, or alternatively, the combination of one choice with another in discourse (de Beaugrande, 2004: par 90). This notion of choice is in line with Halliday’s (1994a; 1994b) interpretation of language as a system of choices and Brown’s view (1980:189; *cf.* Brown & Yule, 1983:1) of discourse analysis as “the analysis of the functions of language”.

An important point for consideration is that language and discourse remain inextricably linked, regardless of the lens that is used to explain these phenomena (*cf.* Hall, 2003:44). Thurlow (2010: 15) reiterates this connection by emphasising that “[l]anguage too is discursively constructed, its meanings constantly changing and being rethought”. It should be noted, however, that “discursive practices are accomplished not only through language, but through bodies, through ways of moving, dressing and talking, and through ingrained bodily dispositions or *habitus*” (Kamler, 1997:373; *cf.* Bourdieu’s (1991) notion of “bodily hexis”). Therefore, the category of ‘discourse’ may encompass more than the ‘purely’ linguistic content. Thus, discourse displays its multi-modal nature by using more than one semiotic system and performing several functions at the same time (Kamler, 1997:373). Discourse should not be relegated to solely a linguistic concept (Alba-Juez, 2009:9; *cf.* Brown & Yule, 1983). Fairclough, *et al.* (2004:4-5) concur:

⁸ “The British approach to functionalism, whose regional centre has since expanded to Australia, has often been called systemic functional linguistics, seeking to describe the organization of a language as a network of interrelated choices. These linguists too have rejected the stodgy dichotomies of the formalists, not just between ‘language and parole’, but between grammar (not ‘syntax’) and lexicon as constituents of the lexicogrammar” (de Beaugrande, 2004: par. 108)”. De Beaugrande (2004: par. 96) also notes that functionalism has been stymied by some contradictions in linguistics. Examples cited by de Beaugrande (2004: par. 96) are the language and discourse conundrum; the separation of the concepts of ‘language’, ‘cognition’ and ‘society’; the “sterile” pursuit of ‘abstractness’ and ‘universality’; the relegating of language into ‘levels’ or ‘components’ and the elevating of ‘sentence’ as the largest unity of study.

Discourse (in the most abstract sense) is an inherently relational term for one moment of the social which has no existence except through its relation to other terms (be they, according to the particular social theory, institution, habitus, materiality, and so forth); and that discourse analysis is therefore social analysis with a focus on the moment of discourse. Discourse is never solely linguistic.

Schiffrin, Tannen, Ehernberger & Hamilton (2001:1; *cf.* Alba-Juez, 2009:12) synthesise all these interpretations of discourse and discourse analysis as straddling three predominant ranks:

- 1) Anything beyond the sentence;
- 2) Language use; and
- 3) A broader range of social practice that includes non-linguistic and non-specific instances of language.

Koteyko (2006:2) implements a similar classification: first, within the field of Linguistics, discourse has two main meanings; namely 1) “language above the sentence level that is extended chunks of text” (*cf.* Brown, 1980:189), and 2) “language in use”. Second, within the field of Social Sciences, Koteyko (2006:2) defines discourse as a form of social practice (*cf.* Fairclough & Wodak, 1997:258). The spurning of structuralism does remain a relevant issue:

The new angle on the view of discourse challenged the structuralist concept of ‘language’ as an abstract system (Saussure’s *langue*) [*cf.* de Beaugrande, 2004: par. 168] and emphasised the process of making and using meanings within particular historical, social, and political conditions. At this level,

then, the term discourse is employed to explain the conditions of language use within the social relations that structure them (Koteyko, 2006:2).

Schiffrin (1994:41) views discourse as “utterances”, i.e. “units of linguistic production (whether spoken or written) which are inherently contextualized [*sic*]” (cf. Fairclough & Wodak, 1997:258). This means that, as Bakhtin (1986:69) argues, utterances (discourse) do not exist in isolation: “Any utterance is a link in a very complexly organized [*sic*] chain of other utterances”. Discourse thus figures within an interrelated social dimension and not as an isolated phenomenon:

[the definition of discourse as] language as social practice differs from [the definition of discourse as] language use to the extent that it relates language to other social practices, rather than leaving it in a separate domain (Pennycook, 1994:121).

Ball (1990:3) questions the reasons for selecting a specific linguistic choice – “specific utterances” - at specific times. He is thus asking questions that now also pertain to the ‘why’, and not only to the ‘what’ or the ‘how’. So instead of merely asking the ‘what’ or ‘how’ questions asked in traditional applied linguistics, the emphasis has changed in discourse analysis:

the focus is not so much on how meanings are constructed between sentences, but rather on how meanings come to be articulated at particular moments; [...], there is an emphasis not so much on how language works once it has been uttered, but rather on how utterances come to be made, and how those choices are both produced and constrained.

To put it another way, as Luke, McHoul, and Mey (1990:40) suggest:

Paradoxical as it may appear to the structural linguist, we can show that discourse is not something that language does. Discourse is not a mere function of language. Rather discourse is, to put it crudely, the condition by which language as a structure or a system exists (Pennycook, 1994:116; *cf.* Parker, 1999).

Wodak (2006c:596) explains the etymological origin of the term ‘discourse analysis’ as deriving from the Greek verb *ana-lyein* (deconstruct) and the Latin verb *discurrere*, meaning ‘running back and forth’. Bloor & Bloor (2007:6-7) also provide a succinct summary of the most relevant uses of discourse within CDA:

- 1) In its broadest sense, ‘discourse’ refers to all the phenomena of symbolic interaction and communication between people, usually through spoken or written language or visual representation. For example ‘human discourse’, ‘the study of discourse’, and so on.
- 2) The term has been used for simple spoken interaction. Nowadays, a more general sense is used to include written discourse. Researchers may make a distinction between spoken and written discourse.
- 3) ‘Discourse’ is sometimes used in contrast with ‘text’, where ‘text’ refers to actual written or spoken data, and ‘discourse’ refers to the whole act of communication involving production and comprehension, not necessarily verbal. Discourse study may then involve matters like context, background information or knowledge shared between a speaker and hearer.

- 4) ‘Discourse’ as an abstract concept is often used to refer to general communication in specific institutional contexts, for example, the discourse of science and legal discourse. Each discourse is realised differently according to situations involved. Thus, the discourse of science includes many types of interactions, including lectures, research reports and theoretical discussions. Similarly, legal discourse embraces actual written laws, statutes, contracts, wills, conventional courtroom exchanges, cross-examination, and so on.
- 5) Still current in some academic contexts is to use ‘discourse’ to denote a particular text (written or spoken) and generally a fairly long treatment of a subject, such as lecture, sermon or treatise, as in a ‘discourse on ethics’.
- 6) Multi-modal discourse refers to discourse which relies on more than one mode of communication. Because of the modern technological era, much discourse depends on multi-modal resources. For example, a magazine might make use of words, photographs, and drawings; a science textbook might incorporate written text with diagrams; a film uses both pictures, words, and music to transmit its messages.

2.4.2. FROM LANGUAGE AND DISCOURSE TO DISCOURSE AND TEXT

Language and text are connected by a bridge which is the ‘intertext’ (*cf.* “intertextuality” as coined by Kristeva, 1966, after Bakhtin’s notion of “heteroglossia”⁹). ‘Intertext’ thus denotes “a large set of texts which manifest shared strategies of selection and combination, but which were not intended as contributions to the same discourse” (de Beaugrande, 2004: par. 123).

⁹ “Bakhtin had argued (1986) that not only the word ‘discourse’ always carries with it the histories of where it has been before, but that genres and the intertextual fragments they embed are always in a dialogical relation, so that there is the potential for constant recontextualisation and resignification. Importantly, in this work, intertextuality was as much about how to make texts as how to analyse them” (Kristeva, 1979; in Threadgold, 2003).

2.4.2.1. DEFINING TEXT

Scholars and academics from various academic backgrounds not only grapple with the notions of ‘language’ and ‘discourse’, but also with applying the terms ‘discourse’ and ‘text’: a distinction, which relates to the tradition in linguistics and rhetoric (*cf.* Brünner & Graefen, 1994; Wodak, 1996 for summaries), is made between ‘text’ and ‘discourse’ in the German and Central European context (Wodak, 2006a:3). ‘Discourse’, in the English speaking world, generally refers to both written and oral texts (*cf.* Schiffrin, 1994), while other researchers distinguish between various planes of abstractness (Wodak, 2006a:3). For example, Lemke (1995) defines ‘text’ as “the concrete realisation of abstract forms of knowledge” (discourse), thus adhering to a more Foucauldian approach (see also Jäger *et al.*, 2001)” (Wodak, 2006a:3).

Halliday (1978:137) understands text to include everything that is meaningful in a particular situation (*cf.* Pennycook, 1994:116): “[b]y text, then, we understand a continuous process of semantic choice”. This notion of meaning-making (cognition) is reiterated in Fairclough’s definition of texts as “social spaces in which two fundamental social processes simultaneously occur: cognition and representation of the world, and social interaction”¹⁰ (Fairclough, 1995a:9). This definition also ties in with the dialogic character of media texts within the interactive model of communication (Wodak & Busch, 2004:106). The interpretation of these texts depends on both the readers and the contexts (Wodak & Busch, 2004:106). Fairclough (2003:10) emphasises that by treating texts as components of social

¹⁰ Fairclough (2005b: 915) further states that texts are also “analytically isolable parts of the social process”.

events, the analyst's concern is with inferring meaning via interactive processes, instead of with texts as such.

De Beaugrande (2004: par. 123) concurs with Halliday's (1978) and Fairclough's (2003; 2005b) notions of text and defines the term as "a communicative event intended and accepted as a contribution to a discourse, defined in turn as a set or series of relevant texts in any communicative medium".

De Beaugrande (2006:35) further notes that "a text can [...] deploy not just language, but also tone of voice, gesture, facial expression, imagery, photographs, cinema, or some combination of such resources" (*cf.* Bourdieu's (1991:86) notion of "bodily hexis"). He further distinguishes between a lower case text as a communicative event (often a conversation, that advances a discourse as a group of synergistic texts), and an upper case Text that denotes a communicative unit constituted by a discursive event and recorded in an acoustic or visual medium (de Beaugrande, 2004: par. 123).

Although the term 'text' is then utilised extensively within discursive studies, and more specifically in the work of Fairclough, he does contend that it is not because of personal preference, but rather, as a result of a lacunae within current terminology:

'text' is not really felicitous for the general sense of the discursal element of events, because it is so strongly associated with written language. However, I have not found a more satisfactory alternative (Fairclough, 2005b:936).

2.4.2.2. THE SEVEN PRINCIPLES OF TEXTUALITY

Because Fairclough's textual approach to Discourse Analysis is applicable to this thesis, it makes sense to include a discussion on text linguistics and the principles of textuality. De Beaugrande (2006:39), and Dressler's (de Beaugrande & Dressler, 1981) work serves as precursors for text linguistics as it utilises the seven principles of textuality as a framework for textual analysis (*cf.* de Beaugrande & Dressler, 1981; de Beaugrande, 1997a, 1997b, 2004). He regards these principles for determining text as "a human achievement in making connections wherever communicative events occur", de Beaugrande (2006:39) contends.

For de Beaugrande & Dressler (1981), 'text' signifies a communicative event that needs to adhere to the following criteria, namely cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, situationality, and intertextuality. De Beaugrande (2006:39) explicates the seven principles as follows:

The connections among linguistic forms like words or word-endings make up Cohesion, and those among the 'meanings' or 'concepts' make up Coherence; Intentionality covers what speakers intend, and Acceptability what hearers engage to do; Informativity concerns how new or unexpected the content is; Situationality concerns ongoing [*sic*] circumstances of the interaction; and Intertextuality covers relations with other texts, particularly ones from the same or a similar 'text type'.

In his conception, de Beaugrande (2006 46) notes that the seven standards "have been overlaid by three interactive factors: Lexicogrammar, Prosody, and Visuality".

Bloor and Bloor (2007:7) also refer to de Beaugrande and Dressler's (1981) seven principles of textuality as constituting a meaningful speech event. They entertain a broad definition of 'text' as a product of discourse which describes a linguistic record ('a text') within a communicative context (Bloor & Bloor, 2007:7). The linguistic record may either be in an electronic or written format and the inclusion of visual materials (or music) is optional (Bloor & Bloor, 2007:7).

Another salient characteristic of text is its multidimensional structure. Kaplan (1990:202) holds that a prerequisite for understanding text is a consciousness of the network of various textual dimensions, consisting of the syntax and lexicon – the grammar, morphology, phonology and semantics – of the language (at the base level). Other substrata include levels of rhetorical intent and a world view of the author and reader (Kaplan, 1990:202).

Thus, by looking at the nature of text, much can be deduced from the manner in which language has been organised to create text. The seven principles of textuality endeavour to separate text from non-text, as they inculcate the property of 'texture', which Halliday (1985, 1994a) regards as the core characteristic of text:

Some linguistic approaches differentiate between 'text' as written language and 'discourse' as spoken language, but in SFL text is a technical term for any unified piece of language that has the properties of texture (Eggins, 2004:24).

Text, according to Halliday and Hasan (1976:1) may be both spoken and written language (*cf.* Fairclough & Wodak, 1997:258), whereas

[t]he term discourse is used in systemics to refer either (untechnically) to ‘spoken text’ or (more technically, following Martin 2000a, 2000b, Martin & Rose, 2003) to the level of meaning above the lexico-grammar, the level concerned with relations of meaning across a text (Eggins, 2004:24).

A more detailed classification of text is espoused by Thibault (1994) in the following section.

2.4.2.3. CLASSES OF TEXTS

Thibault (1994:10-12) elucidates “text-as-object” as “a material artifact [which] is always an incomplete record of the social activities that produced it”. He further maintains that the (written) text does not merely store and send pre-existing meanings, but it also transforms these meanings (Thibault, 1994:10-12) as one system is continuously recontextualised to another¹¹. What conceals this fact, holds Thibault (1994:10-12), is “the physical and material ‘permanency’ of the written text”. Significantly though, written transcripts in [their] own right, have an immense potential to produce meaning and subsequently to transform cultural worlds (Thibault, 1994:10-12).

¹¹ Wodak (2001b: 70) regards recontextualisation as “the most important process in connecting [...] genres as well as topics and arguments (topoi)”. She further holds that “a ‘discourse’ about a specific topic can find its starting point within one field of action and proceed through another one. Discourses and topics ‘spread’ to different fields and discourses. They cross between fields, overlap, refer to each other or are in some other way socio-functionally linked with each other” (Wodak, 2003:137).

Text may also represent the social activity or action which reproduced it (Thibault, 1994:10-12). Lemke (1984:79-80; *cf.* Thibault, 1991: Chaps. 3-4) first made the distinction between ‘text-as-product’ and ‘text-as-record’. Thibault regards audio and visual recordings and verbal transcriptions as forms of text-as-record while text-as-product (for example a poem) always entails a recontextualisation of social activities referring to the cultural world of the readers and writers of the text (Thibault, 1994:10-12).

Texts are also continually produced in and through their appearance or performance in some system of social activity (Thibault, 1994:10-12). Furthermore, the type of relation between a text and a system/structure of social activity that gives rise to this very text is questionable, and language and other semiotic structures do not present a simple window on a given reality (Thibault, 1994:10-12).

2.4.3. THE CONNECTION BETWEEN TEXT LINGUISTICS AND DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

In order to fully explicate the terms ‘text’ and ‘discourse’, one needs to take a closer look at the interrelated disciplines of Text Linguistics and Discourse Analysis. Although Alba-Juez (2009:8-9) contends that a straightforward definition is impossible, she does highlight some basic definitions of the terms and distinctions between the fields of DA (Discourse Analysis) and TL (Text Linguistics).

In the words of Crystal (2003:142), Text Linguistics is “the formal account of the linguistic principles governing the structure of texts”. According to Alba-Juez (2009:2), Text Grammar

and later Text Linguistics have evolved and merged into Discourse Analysis. Therefore, she regards DA as a macro-discipline that encompasses various other approaches (Alba-Juez, 2009:6).

De Beaugrande (2004:119) agrees on the origin of discursive studies:

The immediate ambience for discursive studies has been partly mounted by text linguistics and discourse analysis which gradually converged as text linguistics recognized the text to be primarily a functional unit and only secondarily a formal unit [*sic*].

De Beaugrande (2004: par. 119) further notes that he is “inclined to see their concerns [that of Text Linguistics and Discourse Analysis] converging today [although] their histories have been mostly divergent”.

While Linguistics “shifted the conceptual centre from ‘grammaticality’ over to ‘textuality’, as evident in the ‘seven standards’ of textuality” [*cf.* 2.4.2.2] (de Beaugrande, 2004: par. 127), attention was again shifted from ‘text’ to ‘discourse’ by Foucault (1972; *cf.* Hall, 1997 44). Ironically, Koteyko (2006:4) notes Fairclough’s reluctance in using the term ‘discourse’, although the latter regards meaning as perpetually ideological and inseparable from discourse.

The first linguist to utilise the term ‘discourse analysis’, though, was Z. Harris (1951, 1952).

The divergence between the more formal approaches of Text Linguistics and the more functional approach of Discourse Analysis, is highlighted by Alba-Juez (2009:8-9):

The tendency in Text Linguistics has been to present a more formal and experimental approach, while Discourse Analysis tends more towards a functional approach. Formalists are apt to see language as a mental phenomenon, while functionalists see it as a predominantly social one. [...] authors like Schiffrin integrate both the formal and the functional approaches within DA, and consequently, DA is viewed as an all-embracing term which would include TL studies as one approach among others.

Regarding the relationship between text and discourse, Enkvist (1987:27) comments that

[t]ext and discourse linguists ... believe that we must learn to describe textual and discursal forces and principles if we are to understand how individual sentences work and why they look the way they do. In this sense, text and discourse linguistics are apt to surround, engulf, and absorb traditional sentence linguistics. And once this happens, terms such as “text linguistics” or “discourse linguistics” become redundant because all linguistics will always reckon with text and discourse. Such ultimate successes of text and discourse linguistics might, paradoxically, lead to their presiding over their own liquidation.

The fallacy of his argument is elucidated by Kaplan (1990:200) who enunciates that it would rather lead to a redefinition of linguistics, “a new paradigm where text/discourse will be central, in Kuhn’s sense” (this has indeed been the case in Critical Discourse Analysis). This novel paradigm has taken root in CDA. De Beaugrande (2004: par. 141) observes that, while CDA is a very young approach within DA, it is nevertheless a rigorous one.

For the purpose of this thesis, the researcher adopts the notions of discourse and text which are endorsed by the discourse-historical approach (DHA), as utilised by Wodak (2003, 2004b, 2006e), Wodak and Reisigl, (1999), and Reisigl and Wodak (2001:36). Within the realm of this approach, discourse

can be understood as a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts that manifest themselves within and across social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as ‘texts’, that belong to specific semiotic types, i.e. genres (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001:36).

Texts, by contrast, are regarded as

...materially durable products of linguistic actions as communicatively dissociated, ‘dilated’ linguistic actions that during their reception are disembodied from their situation of production (Wodak & Reisigl, 2001:36).

The broader notion of ‘text’ that Modern Linguistics proposes, according to Alba-Juez (2009:6), as inclusive of any type of utterance (for example, a magazine article, a television interview, a conversation or a cooking recipe), is thus not applicable within the context of this thesis.

2.5. AN EVOLUTION TO A CONTEMPORARY APPROACH

Fairclough *et al.* (2004:3) situate their slant on CDA within a wider scenario of critical social research, also referring to critical discourse studies. Fairclough *et al.* (2004:3) hold the increasing emergence of discourse analysis as a valuable tool in the social sciences.

Fairclough (2003); Titscher, Meyer, Wodak and Vetter (2000); Wodak and Meyer, (2001, 2009) support this notion.

Fairclough *et al.* (2004: 3) discern

[t]he emergence of a field of critical discourse studies which draws upon but goes beyond established enclaves of a specialized [*sic*] work on discourse, such as critical discourse analysis, attracting scholars from a considerable range of disciplines in the social sciences and the humanities who are beginning to develop new syntheses between discourse analysis and a variety of theoretical and methodological perspectives.

Phillips and Jörgenson (2002:132) identify two main interpretations of CDA, while simultaneously highlighting the notion of the ‘multifarious’ approaches (after Wodak, 2002:7) possible within the realm of CDA. The first interpretation refers to

[t]heory and framework developed by the British scholar Norman Fairclough. Second it refers to one of several theories and approaches advanced by scholars such as Ruth Wodak (discourse-historical approach), Teun van Dijk (critical-discourse analysis), and Ron Scollon (Mediated Discourse). While

they may vary from one another, these approaches still draw on similar theoretical grounds (Phillips & Jörgenson, 2002:132).

In order to theorise Critical Discourse Analysis adequately, a discussion on its core concepts is relevant. They are as follows:

- 1) Inter-/multi-/transdisciplinarity;
- 2) Power, ideology, and control;
- 3) Criticality; and
- 4) Context and systemic functional linguistics.

2.5.1. INTER- / MULTI- / TRANSDISCIPLINARITY

Wodak (2001a:6) regards ‘interdisciplinarity’ as one of the first principles of CDA. This coincides with Meyer (2001:15) and van Dijk (1993a:15) who agree that interdisciplinarity is the basic premise of CDA. De Beaugrande (2004: par. 125) also notes that discourse analysis is “resolutely ‘multi-disciplinary’, and its diversity grows with its popularity”. Johnstone (2002:xi.) concurs that a wide range of scholars from various academic (and non-academic) organisations utilise discourse analysis to provide answers to a multiplicity of questions.

Fairclough (2005:53-70) positions a transdisciplinary approach within the realm of interdisciplinary research. He refers to transdisciplinary research as “a particular view of

interdisciplinary research...”. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999:113) cite an ‘exotropic’¹² theory as a prerequisite for transdisciplinary research. They (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999:16ff) explain the essence of transdisciplinarity as follows:

The theoretical constructions of discourse which CDA tries to operationalise can come from various disciplines, and the concept of ‘operationalisation’ entails working in a transdisciplinary way where the logic of one discipline (for example sociology) can be ‘put to work’ in the development of another (for example, linguistics)” [*cf.* Fairclough, 2001c:230; Fairclough, 2005:53-70; Novotny, 1997].

Although Fairclough (2005a: 53) situates transdisciplinarity within interdisciplinary research, he does distinguish a transdisciplinary approach from an interdisciplinary approach

[w]hich assemble diverse disciplinary resources (theories, methods) for particular research projects without expecting or seeking any substantive change in these resources or in the relationship between them as a result, and on the other hand from aspirations towards “post-disciplinarity” which do not confront the thorny theoretical and methodological problems involved in transcending disciplinary boundaries. A transdisciplinary approach asks ‘how a dialogue between two disciplines or frameworks may lead to a development of both through a process of each internally appropriating the logic of the other as a resource for its own development’.

Van Leeuwen (2005:4-18) espouses the transdisciplinary principle as an “integrationist” research approach. He also notes the use of two other models of interdisciplinarity; namely the ‘centralist’ and ‘pluralist’ models, but finds the integrationist model most useful. Weiss

¹² An openness to enter into dialogue with other theories (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999: 113)

and Wodak (2003:20) refer to the concept of an integrationist model as the “integrative” model, while Fairclough (2005a:53-70) defines the same concept as “transdisciplinarity”. Van Leeuwen (2005:4-18) implies that the value of the ‘integrationist’ model lies in its ability to acquire and instantiate the expertise of a variety of disciplines more easily than the ‘centralist’ or ‘pluralist’ models. This is possible because common problems are solved through a common vocabulary within the context of an integrationist model. The integrationist model may further enrich the multifarious methodological approaches innate to CDA.

Luke (2002:98) reiterates the methodological variety and interdisciplinary nature of CDA and notes that these divergences in theoretical applications, as well as the multi-methodological approaches to CDA serve to endorse its claim of interdisciplinarity. Titscher *et al.* (2000:146) contend that the plural methodological and theoretical nature of CDA is a result of its emphasis on the social, instead of the purely linguistic aspects:

CDA is concerned with social problems. It is not concerned with language or language use per se, but with the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures. Accordingly, CDA is essentially interdisciplinary.

Weiss and Wodak (2003:18) synthesise the notions on interdisciplinarity and multidisciplinary as follows:

All authors agree in one respect: the difference between multi(trans)disciplinarity and interdisciplinarity is that interdisciplinary research ideally integrates theoretical approaches and thereby creates new holistic approaches, while multidisciplinary research does not modify the approaches of individual academic branches and applies them separately. Integration may however reach several levels, both in the theory and the practice of the research.

Weingart and Stehr (2000:i) espouse that the increasing interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary shift within traditional academic disciplines is an indication that “the existing matrix of traditional academic disciplines is dissolving, leading to fundamental changes in the traditional order of knowledge” (*cf.* Fairclough *et al.*, 2004:3). The multidisciplinary character and origin of discourse analysis has further given rise to various interpretations of the terms ‘discourse’ and ‘discourse analysis’ (Alba-Juez, 2009:12), while intense interdisciplinary teamwork is, according to Hollingsworth & Hollingsworth (2000), essential for creativity. Apart from interdisciplinarity, the concepts of power, ideology, and control are also central to the CDA approach and are discussed in the following section.

2.5.2. POWER, IDEOLOGY AND CONTROL

Grammatical forms, Wodak and Meyer (2001:10) posit, is merely one way of illustrating power within a text. An agent’s accessibility to a public domain, or the control of a social event through the text genre, also signals power, because power is often exercised or challenged within the genres of social events (Wodak & Meyer, 2001:10). Thurlow (2010:3) enumerates the long tradition of scholars treating language as a forceful “social agent (or institution)”. They are Edward Sapir (1949), Benjamin Whorf (1956), Bronislaw Malinowski

(1946), J.L. Austin (1962), Erving Goffman (1967), Mikhail Bakhtin (1986), Michel Foucault (1981), Pierre Bourdieu (1991), and Judith Butler (1990).

For Wodak and Busch (2004:109) the concept of power is revealed via the relations and effects of differences in social structures. The unity between language and social power is firmly cemented as

Language indexes power, expresses power, and is involved where there is contention over and a challenge to power. Power does not derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and the long term (Wodak & Busch, 2004:109).

Wodak and Meyer (2009:9) elucidate three different approaches to power, namely; individual actors' specific resources that result in power; power as a specific attribute of social exchange in each interaction, and power as a systemic and constitutive element/characteristic of society (e.g. from very different angles, Foucault, 1975 and Giddens, 1984). Often linked to the notion of power, is the concept of ideology dealt with in the section that follows.

2.5.2.1. *IDEOLOGIES – OUR SOCIAL VOICES*

Ideology – our “social voices” (Cameron, 2001:15) - encompasses our inheritance of words and worlds of meaning. Thompson (1990:vii) holds that ideologies constitute social forms and processes “within which, and by means of which, symbolic forms circulate in the social world”. Pennycook (1994:119) elucidates the important influence of ideology on language by

stating that language is “called into being – interpellated’ in Althusser’s (1972) terms – by discourse or ideology”.

Habermas (1967:259) also remarks on the ideological nature of language:

Language is also a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power. Insofar as the legitimizations of power relations, ..., are not articulated, ..., language is also ideological [*sic*].

Fairclough (2003), van Dijk (1998), and Wodak (2007a) share a specific interest in power, ideology, control, and their effects on discourse. As Fairclough (2003:9) maintains:

[o]ne of the causal effects of texts which has been of major concern for critical `discourse analysis is ideological effects ... ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation.

These power struggles find their battleground in the body of texts as texts reinforce or alter ideological perceptions (*cf.* Eagleton, 1991; Larrain, 1979; Thompson, 1984; van Dijk, 1998). Ideologies may also be resilient and their lifetimes may even surpass a single text or compilation of texts (Fairclough, 2003:9). Van Dijk (2006a:116) regards ideologies as mainly “some kind of ‘ideas’, that is belief systems”, or “foundational social beliefs of a rather general and abstract nature”. The meaningful contribution CDA needs to make here, holds van Dijk (1993b:279), is to identify how dominance and inequality are established and

sustained by ideologies and further enacted through language, discourse or communicative events. Such an account, should include both linguistic and social analysis (as mentioned earlier in this chapter; *cf.* 2.2).

Wodak (2007c:2) notes the enumeration of Eagleton's (2000) sixteen diverse definitions of 'ideology'. She also posits a caveat regarding a totalitarian understanding of ideology, but endorses Eagleton's (2000) approach, which situates ideologies within discourses

[as] certain argumentative patterns, certain topoi, and the impact of these on listeners/viewers and readers. This implies the importance of context dependency of such meanings, because certain arguments, discourse fragments, and topoi are understood very differently in different historical periods and socio-political contexts. Ideologies are therefore not to be equated with one or more quasi static discourses, but with intended or non-intended meanings, with illocutionary and perlocutionary forces (Wodak, 2007c:2).

Ideologies are not only enacted by discourse but are also expressed by other social practices (van Dijk, 2006a:138). Ideologies can also have a positive or negative connotation, an example of which would be an antiracist versus a racist ideology (van Dijk, 2006a:117). Negative ideologies; however, may incur inequalities. Van Dijk (1998:24) focuses on the central function of ideology as being the advancement and coordination of group interests, while simultaneously creating grounds for resistance. Furthermore, the development of many ideologies may be ascribed to the legitimising or management of group conflicts, power relationships and dominance (van Dijk, 1998:24).

Wodak (2007a:209) agrees that unequal power relations are established and sustained by ideologies and notes that the manner in which ideology is mediated by language in various institutions specifically interests CDA analysts. She employs an analogy of war to describe the various ideologies and power issues that may influence the production of a text, noting that texts:

[s]how traces of differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance.

Different voices are thus contending within a text as discursive differences are negotiated; they are governed by differences in power which are part encoded in and determined by discourse and by genre (Woda, 2007a:210).

Ideologies such as ‘dominance and inequality’ are thus realised within the social dimension (“discourse is socially constitutive”; *cf.* Fairclough & Wodak, 1997:258) by means of discursive processes:

Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important social issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects – that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997:13).

Within the discourse-historical approach, Wodak & Busch (2004:10) note that they draw on Karl Mannheim (1929) and Habermas's notions of ideology. Mannheim (1929) regards ideologies as various ways of thinking, while Habermas compares collective ideologies with rationalising processes on the individual level (1968).

The importance of social and linguistic analysis for determining power and ideological issues remains central within a CDA analysis. These forms of analyses are even more essential as most linguistic forms have at certain stages been forced "into the service of the expression of power by a process of syntactic or textual metaphor" (Wodak, 2007a:210). It is clear that CDA has a salient role to play in the unveiling of the misuse of linguistic forms for the manipulation and expression of power (Wodak, 2007a:210). These language ideologies, Woolard and Schieffelin (1994:55-56) contend, are also important for social analysis as they connect language to personal and group identity, to knowledge, morality and aesthetics.

2.5.3. THE NOTION OF CRITICALITY

Its insistence on being a 'critical' approach is a central discriminating characteristic of CDA. The etymological origin of the word 'critical' or 'critic' derives from the Greek word *kritēs* which means "a judge" and *kritērion* which means "judging" (Oxford Dictionary and Thesaurus, 2007).

There are slight interpretational differences regarding this key concept. Kress (1990:84) notes that other types of discourse analyses are interested in the socio-cultural aspects of texts,

while CDA derives its criticality (and theoretical descriptive explanations) from its aim “to provide accounts of the production, internal structure, and overall organization [*sic*] of texts”. The true character of a society, Maingueneau (2006:229) maintains, is evident from the manner in which it observes its own productions. Furthermore, critical research is carried out, sometimes “even unintentionally”, by discourse analysts when social interests and text structures are linked (Maingueneau, 2006:229).

For Fairclough (2001c:230), the critical aspect of CDA is embodied in its objective to uncover biased language: “...it seeks to discern connections between language and other elements in social life which are often opaque”. Billig (2003:38) agrees with this notion:

Critical Discourse Analysis does not claim to be 'critical' because of a technical or methodological difference from other approaches to the study of language. It is claimed that Critical Discourse Analysis [...] is critical because it is rooted in a radical critique of social relations.

Here the notion of criticality does not imply the common understanding of negativity as implied in the work of Martin (1999 [2002]:196–7) who proposes a “Positive Discourse Analysis”¹³ (Wodak & Meyer, 2009:2), but rather that of healthy scepticism, proffering choices (Wodak, 2007b, FQS: par. 17). CDA analysts may therefore not only describe, interpret, explain, and evaluate institutional or organisational problems (as evident in discursive constructions in society), but they may also propose valuable alternatives to the status quo:

¹³ “Martin (in press) coins the term ‘Positive Discourse Analysis’ (PDA) to characterize [*sic*] ideologically oriented research and intervention that examines positive developments which make the world a ‘better’ place, and draws on these to intervene in related sites – as a mode on inquiry complementing CDA’s focus on language in the service of abusive power” (Blackledge, 2005:4).

[T]he politics of language is expressed at every level and in every domain of its use: for example, from the interactional accomplishment of apartheid (Chick, 1985); to the gender politics of politeness (e.g. Holmes, 1995); to the pragmatic double-bind of women saying “no” to rape (Ehrlich, 1998); to inter-ethnic discrimination in the workplace (Gumperz, 1997) and the classroom (Edwards, 1997). It is for this reason that most discourse analysis can be viewed as critical insofar as it questions ‘objectivity’ and challenges people’s claims to ‘normality’ and ‘faculty’ (Jaworski & Coupland, 2006:27).

Fairclough *et al.* (2004:5-6) posit that various forms of critique can be distinguished in the analysis of discourse: ideological critique, rhetorical critique (often discussed as manipulation) and strategic critique:

Whereas ideological critique focuses on the effects of discourse on social structures of power, and rhetorical critique on persuasion in individual texts or talk, strategic critique focuses on how discourse figures within the strategies pursued by groups of social agents to change society in particular directions.

Fairclough *et al.* (2004:1) thus advocates as a critical objective adjoining the identification and analysis of the origins of social problems, the detecting of realistic solutions. If this is improbable the objective should be, at the very least, the assuaging of these social problems (Fairclough *et al.*, 2004:1).

The inherently critical character of CDA (CDS) is thus realised within its emancipatory and interventionary dimension and each analyst provides his/her own contribution towards this interventionary goal by selecting a specific research angle and methodology within the CDA

paradigm. Maingueneau (2006:229) also agrees that the distinction between ‘critical’ and ‘non-critical’ is futile unless knowledge contributes to emancipation.

Apart from this emancipatory objective, Blommaert (2001:14) notes that for critical theorists, the quality of criticality resides in the mediation between social and linguistic issues:

[C]ritical trends in discourse analysis emphasise the connection between discourse – talk, text, speech – and social structure. They [critical theorists] locate the critical dimension of analysis in the interplay between discourse and society, and suggest ways in which features of social structure need to be treated in discourse analysis in the form of context.

Maingueneau (2006:229) further distinguishes three levels of critical orientation to discourse. First, there is the choice of the topic for analysis which portrays a critical orientation as it aspires to analyse unethical or politically incorrect social issues such as sexism, racism, fascism, and anti-Semitism (Maingueneau, 2006:229). Second, the critical orientation may also emerge in discourse analysis that is not restricted to detrimental topics, but aspires to change society “as a global project” (Maingueneau, 2006:229; *cf.* Fairclough, 1995a:19). Third, Maingueneau (2006:229) contends that the notion ‘critical’ is not exclusive to CDA, but that research in discourse analysis does contain a fundamental critical direction, although scholars may not have the transformation of society as their main objective.

The ‘weak’ and ‘strong’ method of analysing discourse is another interesting distinction. Maingueneau (2006:229) posits that the weak way refers to a mere representation of textual

and conversational structures, while the ‘strong’ approach is “powerfully critical” in that it completely assumes the goal of discourse analysis, “trying to systematically connect text or conversation structures with social practices and places” (Maingueneau, 2006:229).

The concept of self-reflection is central within this discussion on criticality. Blommaert (2005:238) believes the inherent intellectual challenge for discourse analysis is the reconfiguring of the discipline in a continuous cycle of self-critique. This process should depend on our perceptions of the changing patterns of the object of our study (Blommaert, 2005:238). In addition to self-critique, Wodak (2006c:606) maintains that a dialectical relation between and within disciplines is indispensable.

Chilton (2005:44-45) focuses on another angle which pertains to the innate critical ability of readers/audiences/participants. He poses the question why discourse is allowed by participants to exert the control that it does if participants have an innate ability to be critical (a point that critics of CDA utilises to argue that CDA analysis is redundant):

If people have a natural ability to treat verbal input critically, in what sense can CDA either reveal in discourse what people can [...] already detect for themselves. [Is] CDA stating the obvious and that no technical apparatus is needed anyway to point out what is not perhaps obvious?

The counter-question, holds Chilton (2005:45) is even more relevant; namely, “[w]hat prevents people [from] using their innate cheater-ability detecting logico-rhetorical modules to protect their own interest?” The problem, he believes, is not that of cognition, but rather

“under certain social, economic and political conditions people may not be able, or may not be willing, to respond critically” (Chilton, 2005:45). In other words, a lack of access to information, or restrictions on freedom of expression (thus institutional or economical restricting factors) may prohibit people from acting/responding in a critical manner. What is needed then, Chilton (2005:46) concludes, is historical, social, economic, and political analysis – not the analysis of language itself – although he contends that the work of CDA analysts has already impacted on society. Wodak’s studies (1990; 1997, 2006d) on doctor-patient communication which have changed certain institutional forms of discourse behaviour (Chilton, 2005:47) is a first-class example.

Analysts should still be cautious, Chilton (2005: 47) notes, not to draw “CDA’s own charge of the ‘technologisation of discourse’” (*cf.* Fairclough, 2001c:231). This is also what Billig (2003:36) warns against by asking whether CDA has become ‘uncritical’ – or if the use of acronyms such as CDA [implying that CDA has become an established ‘marketable’ discipline in its own right] may have resulted in an exclusionary and mystifying function of its research intentions (Billig, 2003:41).

2.5.4. CONTEXT AND SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS (SFL)

Titscher *et al.* (2000:29) maintain that in the ‘purely’ textlinguistic approaches, such as the cognitive theories of text, texts are viewed as “more or less explicit epi-phenomena of cognitive processes” and the context plays a subordinate role. However, within discourse analysis – and specifically Critical Discourse Analysis – this is not the case. Here the role of

context in analysis is crucial in allowing understanding and explanation of the impact of texts (Wodak, 2006e:5).

But before ‘context’ can be further elucidated, the notion of ‘text’ should be theorised once more: texts evoke/make meaning within cultural and situational contexts (Eggins, 2004, *cf.* Chapters 3, 4). Context is thus divided by systemicists “into a number of levels, with the most frequently discussed being those of register and genre” (Eggins, 1994:9). Martin (2000a:279) also notes that “social context is modelled [*sic*] as systems of register (field, mode and tenor) and of genre”. Eggins (1994:9) refers to field, mode, and tenor as “three key dimensions of the situations”, or the “register variables”. The situational context (or immediate context) is thus described by register theory and the register variables or dimensions are referred to as ‘mode’ (indicating the amount of feedback and the role of language); ‘tenor’ refers to the role associations solidarity and power entail and ‘field’ is the focus or the topic of an activity (Eggins, 1994:9).

Hodges (2006:3) simplifies these concepts even further. He describes mode as basically the interactive role of text. Tenor consists of participants’ roles, including power differentiation, regularity of contact, and degree of emotional involvement as illustrated in the variations of informal and formal conversations (Hodges, 2006:3). Field, Hodges (2006:3) holds, reflects on the external context of textual usage. An example of field may be “a conversation during a basketball game versus a discussion during a geology course” (Hodges, 2006:3).

The function of these register variables, Eggins (1994:9) explicates, is

[t]o explain our intuitive understanding that we will not use language in the same way to write as to speak (mode variation), to talk to our boss as to talk to our lover (tenor variation) and to talk about linguistics as to talk about jogging (field variation).

Whereas the situational context is described by register theory, the concept of genre refers to the effect that culture as context has on language (Eggins, 1994:9). The cultural context, Jinadu (2006:129) espouses, includes the speaker and hearer's worldviews. Another interpretation of worldview may also include cultural convictions and conventions of people. The role of culture (genre) within texts, Hodges (2006:3) notes, is to remind us that meaning is not static; we are in fact constantly recreating and redefining meaning through culture. For a text to belong to a culture, it has to share what Eggins (2004) describes as a genre's cultural purpose. In other words, every text occurs within a context that itself determines to some degree its meaning and reason for existence.

Within this contextual scenario, ideology is steadily gaining ground as an object of inquiry. Eggins (1994:10) purports it to be at "[a] higher level of context to which increasing attention is being given within systemic linguistics". Despite the genre or register of the situation, the way in which we use language will be affected by our ideologies (Eggins, 1994:10).

The salient roles of ideology and the discourse-semantic stratum are illustrated in Diagram 1 below.

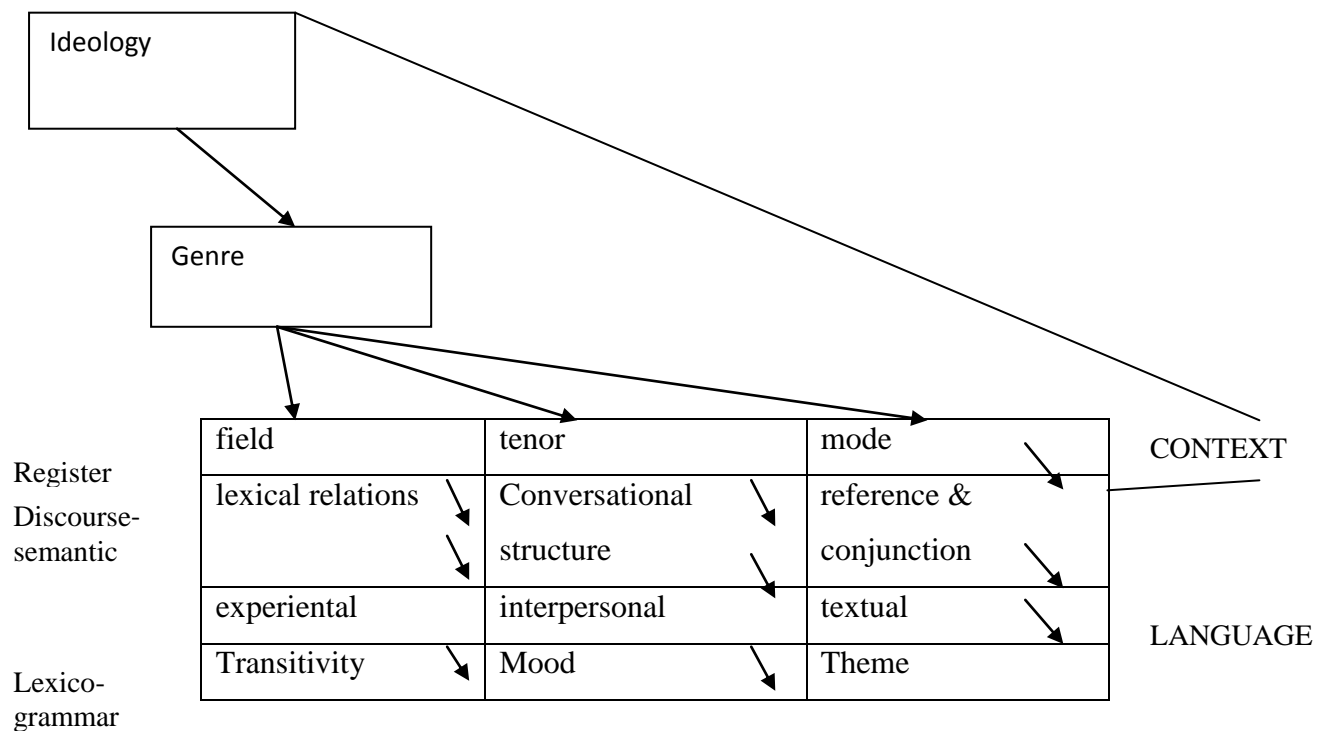
Key to diagram as interpreted by Eggins (1994:112):

The sideways links describe main types of cohesive resources.

The “reference patterns encode textual meanings, lexical relations encode experiential meanings, conversational structure encodes interpersonal meanings, and conjunction encodes a blend of experiential and textual meanings”.

The discourse-semantic stratum points both up to context and down to the lexicogrammar. It is, on the one hand, the place at which the contextual dimensions of register and genre must be ‘textured’ into a unified linguistic event; and, on the other hand, it is the point at which meaning selections must be related to linguistic structure.

Diagram 1 (Lexicogrammar, discourse-semantics and context)



(Source: Eggins, 1994: 113)

The concept of meaning is vital to SFL (Jinadu, 2006:129). Meanings are instantiated by the choices of the language user. These choices may be on the paradigmatic level (indicating choice that relates to conveying a particular meaning) and syntagmatic level (the linear and structured organisation of words in a clause) (Jinadu, 2006:129). Halliday (1981:238-239; cf. Jinadu, 2006:130) also distinguishes three metafunctions which are simultaneously enacted within language. The first meaning, the ideational (representational) metafunction, refers to the way content (the experiential and the logical) is expressed. The second function, the interpersonal metafunction, “is the vehicle through which the speaker establishes and maintains all human relationships” (Halliday, 1981:328; cf. Jinadu, 2006:130). The third metafunction, the textual function, “is concerned with the creation of text” (Halliday, 1981:329; cf. Jinadu, 2006:130). These functions are realised (as already indicated previously) in the grammar of the contextual categories of field, mode and tenor (Kilpert, 2003: 189). In other words, the metafunctions are further described by means of alternatives within the categories at the lexicogrammatical level:

For example, theme, coherence, cohesion, ellipses, reference, substitution, and conjunction all provide textual meaning. Clause structure, including hypotactic and paratactic clauses¹⁴, relate to ideational meaning. Mood, modality and verbal processes relate to interpersonal meaning (Hodges, 2006:4).

¹⁴ “..hypotactic, marked by the use of connecting words between clauses or sentences, explicitly showing the logical or other relationships between them: ‘I am tired *because* it is hot.’ Such use of syntactic subordination of one clause to another is known as *hypotaxis*. The opposite kind of construction, referred to as [paratactic](#), simply juxtaposes clauses or sentences: ‘I am tired; it is hot’” (The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms© 2001, 2004).

Diagram 2: (Metafunctions, Grammatical categories and Context of SFL)

METAFUNCTION	GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES	CONTEXT OF SITUATION
Ideational	→ Transitivity	→ Field
Interpersonal	→ Mood	→ Tenor
Textual	→ Theme	→ Mode

(Source: Jinadu, 2006:132)

Kilpert (2003: 189) summarises the goal of Halliday's grammatics as aspiring to

[l]ook very closely at the grammar while at the same time keeping the social context in view, and not, as usually happens, lose sight of the one while looking at the other¹⁵. As Hasan points out, 'Much of the complexity of describing language lies in maintaining both the social and the semiotic perspectives simultaneously, something that the systemic functional linguists ideally attempt to do' (Hasan, 1999:52–53). The way this is done is by conceptualizing [*sic*] the duality of system and use as a metafunction. This is the theoretical representation of a simple but profound idea: that language and society meet in the grammar.

A distinctive feature of Halliday's grammar is thus "[t]o show that the uses of language [language functions] appear [are visible] in the grammar (to put this subtle point very

¹⁵ This element of Halliday's theory coincides with the central notion of CDA as combining linguistic and sociological description, analysis and evaluation of a text.

crudely)” Kilpert (2003:188). These uses of language, Halliday (1990:103-104) points out, should be described according to a unitary system.

What is important is that we should be able to use the same theory and method of linguistic analysis - the same ‘grammatics’ - whatever kind of text (or subtext) we are trying to interpret, whether Tennyson or Darwin, Mother Goose or the Scientific American. Otherwise if we simply approach each text with an ad hoc do-it-yourself kit of private commentary, we have no way of explaining their similarities and differences - the aesthetic and functional values that differentiate one text from another, or one voice from another within the frontiers of the same text.

The relationship between ‘context’ and the grammar of SFL is one which is mutually beneficial.

Although SFL may not be utilised in all CDA analyses, the notion of context remains integral to all CDA analyses. Kress (1990:84) further illuminates the central role of context in his definition of text which, he holds, is regarded by all forms of discourse analysis as

[t]he proper domain of linguistic theory and description (rather than a focus on constituents of texts); all share an interest in the understanding of extended text socially or at least contextually situated, and in producing accounts of texts that draw on features of the context (social, cultural, co-textual) to provide explanatory categories for the description of textual characteristics.

2.5.4.1. *CONTEXTUAL CRITICISM?*

Blommaert (2001:15; 2005:51-52) criticises the CDA treatment of context, stating that CDA analysts should pay more attention to context. A salient methodological problem in discourse analysis, Blommaert (2001:15) maintains, is

[t]he framing of discourse in particular selections of contexts, the relevance of which is established by the researcher but is not made into an object of investigation. A lot of a priori contextualization [*sic*] goes on in work qualified as CDA which I find objectionable. Thus, in much CDA work, a priori statements on power relations are used as perspectives on discourse (e.g. ‘power is bad’, ‘politicians are manipulators’, ‘media are ideology-reproducing machines’), and social-theoretical concepts and categories are being used in off-hand and seemingly self-evident ways (e.g. ‘power’, ‘institutions’, also ‘the leading groups in society’, ‘business’ and so on. This leads to highly simplified models of social structures and patterns of actions – politicians always and intentionally manipulate their constituencies, doctors are by definition and always the powerful party in doctor-patient relations, etc. – which are then projected on to discourse samples. Power relations are often predefined and then confirmed by features of discourse.

Blommaert’s (2001:15) main grievance is thus what he refers to as “[the] overt bias contained in what is given as ‘context’ and the projection of ‘relevant’ context onto discourse”.

Widdowson (1995b, 1998, 2000) also holds the criticism that CDA analysts decide their particular ideological positions a priori, and thereafter choose only texts for analysis that support their positions.

Blackledge's (2005:17) reaction to this criticism of a "pre-ordained ideological position" is indeed ironical. He consolidates the voices of Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999) and Meyer (2001:7) who note that it is not possible to "conduct any research which is free from a priori ideological value judgement". Gouveia (2003:57) reiterates this notion: "Widdowson is strangely enough, missing the fact that there is no value-free CDA, that, ultimately, there is no value-free science". With regard to Widdowson's criticism of CDA analysts selecting only certain texts which support their positions, van Dijk (2001b, paraphrased by Blackledge, 2005:17-18) notes that

[s]election is necessary because a 'complete' analysis of a text (let alone a large corpus) would be quite unmanageable, as it would have to take account of paraverbal, visual, phonological, syntactic, semantic, stylistic, rhetorical, pragmatic, and interactional levels and structures. Instead, CDA must select which structures are most appropriate if analysis is to answer specific questions about social issues. For example, analysis of discriminatory political discourse may take as the focus for analysis 'topoi', or argumentation strategies typical of the common-sense reasoning about specific issues (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; van Dijk, 2000; Wodak, de Cilla, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 1999). The structures to be analysed are determined very largely by their appropriateness in answering specific questions at hand.

Haig (n.d.:15 on www.) adds his voice of criticism by stating that "CDA's most unjustifiably abiding weakness" would be its lack of research on audience interpretation (text production); thus also pertaining to the notion of context. Fairclough's (1989:11, 24, 167) notion of "Members' Resources" (MR), does fill a possible methodological lacuna. These MR, Fairclough (1989:11) maintains, are "socially determined and ideologically shaped" and are employed to assist the analyst in analysing discourse processes:

How is the analyst to gain access to the discourse processes of production and interpretation. These processes take place in people's heads, and it is therefore not possible to observe them ... The only access that the analyst has to them is in fact through her capacity to herself engage in the discourse processes she is investigating. In other words, the analyst must draw upon her own MR (interpretative procedures) in order to explain how participants draw upon theirs.

When discourse processes are analysed, the onus automatically falls on an 'insider' or a 'member'; therefore, Fairclough (1989:167) coined the title 'members' resources' (MR) to include both the participant and analyst members. Analysts should also recognise the resources that they draw on themselves (their own MR) in order to explain how the members' resources (MR) of participants function, and here it is mainly 'self-consciousness' that serves to distinguish participant from analyst (Fairclough, 1989:167). Both are interpreting, but the analyst goes further to explain her actions and as Fairclough (1989:167) mentions, the critical analyst strives to erase even that distinction and to "develop selfconsciousness about the rootedness of discourse in common-sense assumptions of MR".

Wodak (2006c:604) refutes Blommaert's (2001; 2005) argument on the neglect of context by referring to the extensive publications on matters of contextual knowledge which van Dijk (2003) produced. She further mentions her own extensive ethnographic fieldwork in studies on doctor-patient communication (Wodak, 1990; 1997, 2006d) as work contributing to the studies on context. Dirks (2006:7, par. 21) reinforces her argument by pointing out that:

From a social studies perspective, [...], the claim of a missing theory of context can easily be countered with reference to the seminal study by Williams I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki (1927: 67f) about the

Polish peasant in Europe and America or by works of Alexis de Tocqueville, Max Weber, Robert K. Merton, Alfred Schütz, Erving Goffman [1974] and so forth. Arguably, the most differentiated description and application has been provided by the sociologist Hartmut Esser (2001: 204, 259ff; *cf.* 2003) who also tries to systematically include psychological and cognitive approaches that enable him to describe and understand the matching process between the actors' inner conditions and the situation-bound outer conditions, i.e., the context.

Nevertheless, Blommaert (2001:17) proposes a model which he regards as dealing more critically with, "not only the discursual moment [...], but also the historical, political, social and cultural requirements for text production". As part of the solution (a quasi-problem?), Blommaert (2001:20) posits three "forgotten contexts" (mentioned above) that are features of "larger economies of communications and textualisation [*sic*]".

The first "forgotten context" is "[r]esources as contexts" (Blommaert, 2001:21). The researcher should ask the question whether speakers have the resources (language proficiency) to participate in communicate activities such as speaking a language, reading and writing. The second forgotten context entails 'invisible' contexts as "[r]esources and the way in which they feature", because aspects of social structure often materialize [*sic*] as 'invisible' contexts in discourse analysis (Blommaert, 2001:21). These 'invisible contexts' can further be illustrated by the absences of illiterates' perceptions of politics and news in news analyses (Blommaert, 2001:21).

The last forgotten context, Blommaert (2001:23) argues, entails the language errors of people who do not have access to "highly standardized [*sic*] varieties of language". These language

errors, Blommaert (2001:23) observes, are then edited and corrected, and subsequently disappear as indications of societal structures and inequality.

Thorborrow's (2007:482) contribution to the debate is that a fully multi-layered approach to context may, however, in practice be an "idealised concept" as

[a]nalysts of discourse can never have total access to every contextual ingredient, intertextual relationship nor entextualised instance of semiotic meaning in relation to a given instance of language use. What we do have access to, and particularly through the working methods of CA [conversation analysis], is what language users (speakers, participants, people, call them what you will) are doing and how they are orienting to the immediate relevant discursive contexts.

Wodak (2006e:6) also counters Haig's (on [www.](#)) allegations of a lack of study on text production (and therefore also context), by citing Lutz & Wodak's study (1987) documented in German on the comprehensibility and comprehension of news. Wodak (2006e: \6) cites their empirical validation

For the fact that when updating information from news broadcasts, mental representations must guide our understandings and mental models most probably support linking new information with stored information.

Different belief and knowledge systems thus result in different experiences as "news is experienced and stored depending on available cognitive frames; and thus understood in

different ways” (Wodak, 2006e:6; *cf.* Lutz & Wodak, 1987)¹⁶. This conclusion became clear after interviews with people who had listened to specific news items and then had to summarise the gist thereof (Wodak, 1987). The summaries reflected their personal experiences and their comments were based on their personal perspectives (Wodak, 2006e:7). This information served as evidence for explaining the significantly various interpretations that various people would attach to the same message (Wodak, 2006e:7). Their summaries were contingent on their schemata, opinions and prejudices and information was adjusted to prevailing and accumulated event models (Wodak, 2006e:7).

In this study, we suggested a model of text planning and text comprehension which related several dimensions: the dimension of knowledge and experience (i.e. cognition; frames, schemata, and scripts; see Schank & Abelson, 1977) with different production and deconstruction of discourses, genres as well as specific texts linked to sociological variables of the speakers/listeners, such as age, gender, social class, and so forth. Moreover, we suggested viewing text production and text comprehension as recursive processes where constant feedback to mental models in episodic and long-time memories takes place as well as the updating of such models (Wodak, 2006e:7).

Van Dijk (2005: 76), like Blommaert (2001:17), proposes another model for context. This model is contingent on a

¹⁶ Also see van Dijk’s socio-cognitive model, 2001a.

K-device [which] calculate[s] what the recipient knows at each moment of a communication or interaction. This model thus determines how comprehension and knowledge in the production of discourse is dealt with as a specific purpose of context (van Dijk, 2005:72).

Van Dijk (2005:88) further indicates three intimations for CDA; the first of which is that “symbolic elites”, for example journalists, may assume that “ideologically based beliefs [refer to] certified knowledge of the community” (van Dijk, 2005:88). The second implication is that these “symbolic elites” may be “too explicit” and consequently treat others as ignorant. This also results in a form of domination, van Dijk, (2005:88) believes. The last implication is the belief of “symbolic elites” that “knowledge is only conveyed by elite discourse” (van Dijk, 2005:89). The notion of “elites” is further elucidated in 2.7.2.

In the following section, two debates within the CDA realm are illuminated; namely the debate on normativity (which is connected to the criticisms on context as discussed above) and the debate on nominalisation.

2.6. NORMATIVITY AND NOMINALISATION

2.6.1. NORMATIVITY

Truth is a slippery business, but abandoning it altogether is surely perverse

(Fairclough, 2003: 47).

Titscher *et al.* (2000) summarises the main criticism levelled against CDA as being “elitist” and “prescriptive”. As Wodak (2006e:6) explains this criticism: analysts claim “to know the ONE reading of a specific text”; in other words, analysts claim to know the ‘truth’, or the correct interpretation, or as Fairclough (1995a:15) has coined it, analysis of the “Right” (*cf.* 2.5.3). Wodak & Ludwig (1999:13) hold that a hermeneutic approach is necessary when analysing discourse as adopting a totalitarian approach on interpretation as the only “Right” interpretation is unrealistic; it does not exist. The main reason for this is that the background information of readers and listeners determine their various (different) interpretations of the same communicative event (Wodak & Ludwig, 199: 13).

The debate on normativity and its perception of truth is invariantly connected to that of context, audience reception (text production) and emancipation. The objective of emancipation, Fairclough (1995a:19) states, “is to maximise the conditions for judgements of truth to be compared and evaluated on their merits”, thus creating the opportunity of choosing either one or the other. O’Regan (2006:232) posits a caveat in terms of perceiving truth: He warns that how we see truth should not become the autonomous truth or standard by which all other truths are measured. It is in light of this “normative” danger of truth, O’Regan (2006:232) argues, that Fairclough (1995a) comments on the variety or prerequisites for the measuring of truth in discourse.

O’Regan (2006:232) also finds it difficult to

[r]econile Chouliaraki and Fairclough's (1999:32) claim that they are 'working within a poststructuralist perspective, but without adopting either post-structuralist reductions of the whole of social life to discourse, or post-structuralist judgemental relativism'"¹⁷.

O'Regan (2006:232) posits that there is an acceptance of non-normativity in their position, but only up to a point, and apparently only epistemically – “epistemic relativism must be accepted”. He (O' Regan, 2006:232) further questions “how this acceptance is not also judgementally relative” and mentions that the debate on normativity has also been enunciated by other authors such as Luke (2004, 2005; cf. Rymes, Souto-Manning & Brown, 2005, McKenna, 2004 and Rajagopalan, 2004).

O'Regan (2006:233) grapples with the question of “how we are supposed to know on theoretical grounds that our perspective is the ‘correct’ one”. In other words, he asks “how critical discourse studies can ground its critical practice” (O'Regan, 2006:233) as he finds Luke's (2005:200) proposal of merely stating “one's reading position – out front and subject to scrutiny of all kinds”, inadequate:

Self-reflexivity works only if it includes the admission at *The Start* that one's situated perspective precludes the possibility of making judgements of truth, but I suspect that for some, [...] this may be to concede too much (O'Regan, 2006:233).

¹⁷ Cf. the discussion on the hypothesis of “nothing exists outside of discourse” earlier in this chapter

Luke (2005:200), on the other hand, chooses “an overtly normative” stance, claiming to be a “historical materialist ... [who is] committed to an agenda of redistributive social and economic justice” while McKenna (2004:27) pleads for a more practical application of CDA by critical discourse studies:

To remain true to its aims of dealing with real world issues of injustice, suffering, and inequality, it must not do so from the safe eyrie of increasingly abstract theory.

O'Regan's (2006:234) conclusion on the truth contention (as already mentioned in Chapter 1) is to concentrate on

[o]ur responsibility to the Other, and therefore on our responsibility to openness in opposition to closure, the point is to determine not whether truths are good or bad, but whether putting a particular discourse or set of discourses into practice might lead to a silencing of 'open' alternatives, and therefore also a turning away from the Other. That these alternatives should be open makes it possible for critical discourse studies theoretically to locate itself in opposition to discourses which are associated with the closure of knowledge, such as fascism, neo-liberalism, and religious fundamentalism, and to exercise reflexive support for the alternative discourses which they would seek to efface, such as democratic pluralism, social egalitarianism, and theistic secularism, not because we know it is right to do so, but because we know that not to do so would be an act of irresponsibility.

Gee's (2005:5) view that “[t]ruth [...] is a matter of taking, negotiating, and contesting perspectives created in and through language” concurs with that of Wodak's (*cf.* 2006c:600). DA theory can thus be neither right nor wrong, it may be just “more or less adequate” (*cf.*

Wodak, 2006c:600). Wodak (2003:135) explicitly states her belief that CDA cannot tolerate a totalitarian approach:

CDA is not concerned with evaluating what is ‘right’ or ‘wrong’; CDA – in my view – helps to make choices at each point in the research itself, transparent. It should also justify theoretically why certain interpretations of discursive events seem more valid than others.

The interrelatedness of people who are shaped by various debates and discourses, and therefore “consciously or subconsciously [we] draw on one another’s work” (Wodak, 2006c:600; cf. Gouveia, 2003:57; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Meyer, 2001:7 in 2.5.4) also plays a role in text interpretation. As Ingulsrud & Allen (2009:83) point out, citing Roland Barthes’ (1977) essay titled “*The Death of the Author*”: “for the reader, the author’s intent is not central”. Therefore, “[s]ince there are so many layers of meanings and intertextualities, naturally there exist multiple ways to interpret a text” (Ingulsrud & Allen, 2009:82).

Van Dijk (1993b:253) posits that “CDA is unabashedly normative; any critique by definition presupposes an applied ethics”.

One approach Wodak (2003:135) proposes as a response to the contention on truth, is the concept of triangulation “to minimize [*sic*] the risk of being biased”. In addition, she (Wodak, 2003:135) notes that multifarious approaches and research performed in a multimethodological manner based on an array of empirical data and background

information, are distinguishing features of the discourse-historical approach (for example Wodak *et al.*, 1998 and Wodak *et al.*, 1999).

Weiss & Wodak, (2003:22) map their triangulatory approach as a four dimensional analysis:

- 1) The immediate language or text internal co-text;
- 2) The intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterance, texts, genres and discourses;
- 3) The extralinguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific ‘context of situation’; and
- 4) The broader socio-political and historical contexts, which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to.

2.6.2. THE MERITS OF NOMINALISATION

Billig (2008:783) accuses CDA analysts of not practising what they preach when they criticise nominalisation and passivisation in other texts, but then employ the same device in their actual written critiques. He posits that “[t]he concept of ‘nominalization’ is itself a nominalization” [and that] “[w]e need to use simpler, less technical prose that clearly ascribes actions to human agents [*sic*]”.

Van Dijk (2008), Fairclough (2008), and Martin (2008) retaliate and offer counter-arguments.

Firstly, van Dijk (2008) implies that Billig's criticism may be a "quasi-problem" as

[t]he issue is not the primary use or abuse of nominalisation or any other feature of discourse in CDA, but the study of the systematic abuse of discursive power by hiding the negative role of elite actors and the consequences of such discourse properties on the mental models of the recipients (van Dijk, 2008:821).

He also points out that nominalisation has other functions apart from "obfuscation" and that the use of nominalisation may be a legitimate linguistic device in certain contexts (van Dijk, 2008:821). The only instance nominalisation becomes problematic, is when it is employed as a device to defend the elites (van Dijk, 2008:823) and is thus utilised to mislead the reader. Van Dijk (2008:827) further posits the importance of ensuring that there is no other alternative for the use of nominalisation in a certain text as it does function to obscure or downplay the responsible agent of an action.

In order to understand how nominalisation is produced apart from the technical linguistic issues that apply, van Dijk (2008:824) offers a "sociocognitive theory of discourse (and nominalization)". He posits that discourse productions are governed by

[t]wo types of mental models, a semantic one for the content of what will be said, and a pragmatic one that controls how what is said is situationally appropriate. Both mental model are based on (activate and apply) general social knowledge, as well as the ideologies of the journalist depending on her various social identities (van Dijk, 2008:825).

It is the context model, van Dijk (2008:826) argues, which “tells the journalist what she can leave implicit or presupposed in the news report”.

Martin’s (2008:801-810) contribution is to situate the interpretation of nominalisation and grammatical metaphor within the paradigm of systemic functional linguistic theory and to elucidate its salient role in creating knowledge, enabling evaluation and aiding the flow of information flow.

Fairclough (2008:811) concurs with Billig (2008) that “critical discourse analysts should be careful about how we write ourselves, and make the question of how we write more of an issue than we have done”. Fairclough (2008:811) does point out, however, that the readership of authors also determines the way in which they write and writing for a broad readership is actually a dangerous enterprise (Fairclough, 2008:812). Fairclough’s (2008:812) response to Billig’s (2008) claim of avoiding “linguistic forms such as nominaliation(s) and passives (and presumably metaphors)” is to “avoid using such language in problematic ways, not avoid using it completely”. Fairclough (2008:812) aptly quotes Aristotle on rhetoric:

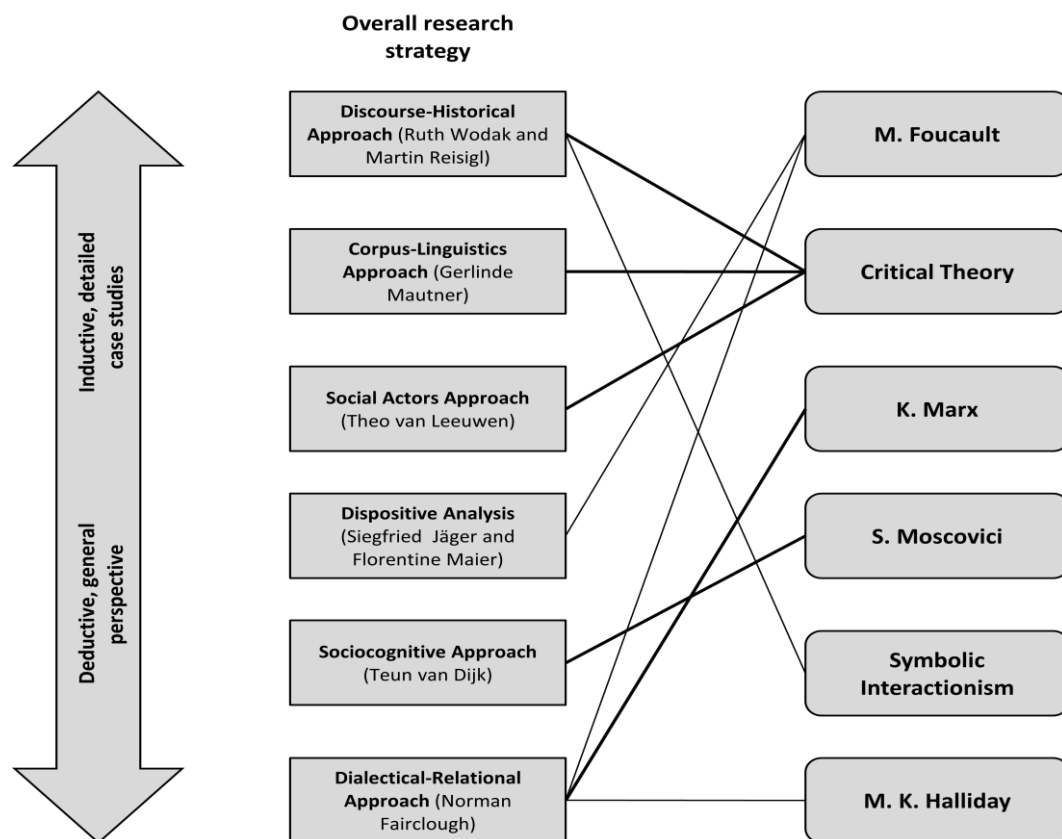
[i]f someone who misuses this sort of verbal capacity might do the greatest possible damage, this is a problem common to all good things ... if one used these well one might do the greatest possible good and if badly the greatest possible harm (The Art of Rhetoric, 1.1.1355b).

2.7. VARIOUS APPROACHES TO CDA: FAIRCLOUGH, VAN DIJK AND WODAK

To illustrate the multifarious approaches of CDA, Wodak (2007b, FQS 8 (2), Art. 29, par. 19) and Wodak & Meyer (2009:20) provide summaries of various strands of the most prominent approaches, along with their main theoretical attractors. Of particular significance within the context of this thesis, are the discourse-historical approach or DHA (Wodak, 1990; Wodak & Reisigl, 1999; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak & Reisigl, 2002; Wodak, 2004; Wodak & Pelinka, 2002); the socio-cognitive approach (van Dijk, 2001a, 2001b) and the dialectical approach, along with the functional systemic grammar of Fairclough (1989, 1992a, b, 1993, 1995a, b, 2001b, 2003).

The following diagram (diagram 3, adapted from Wodak & Meyer, 2009:20) illustrates the main research approaches within CDA. The main theoretical indicators are indicated on the right. Wodak & Meyer's (2009:20) diagram is extensive in the sense of not only illustrating the overall research strategies and theoretical background to each approach, but also classifying each strategy as an inductive or deductive perspective. It further demonstrates the interrelationships and overlaps among the various approaches. This interrelation among various strands of CDA is a distinctive characteristic of the field. For instance, Wodak & Reisigl (1999:186) note that their discourse-historical approach "is a continuation of van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach" although these two approaches are not connected as such in diagram 3.

Diagram 3



Source: Wodak & Meyer, 2009:20

It is thus clear that an array of macro- and micro linguistic, pragmatic and argumentative devices, as employed within a wide variety of research strategies (and the blending of aspects of these strategies) are feasible within Critical Discourse Analysis. The variety of strands within CDA, as well as the interconnectedness between these strands, is a clear indication of the inter/multi-disciplinarity of the field.

Although CDA work may differ in approach and emphasis, Wodak (2002:16) notes that a common denominator among these strands is often the use of Systemic Functional Grammar which has also been incorporated successfully with argumentation theory and rhetoric:

Whether analysts with a critical approach prefer to focus on micro-linguistic features, macro-linguistic features, textual, discursive or contextual features, and whether their perspective is primarily philosophical, sociological or historical, in most studies there is some reference to Hallidayan Systemic Functional Grammar. This indicates that an understanding of the basic claims of Halliday's grammar and his approach to linguistic analysis is essential for a proper understanding of CDA.

Martin (2000:123) also endorses the use of systemic functional linguistics and refers to it as the "lingua franca for discourse-oriented applied linguistics". He regards functional linguistics as "concerned with relating language to the social in a motivated way" (Martin, 2000b:120). So strong is his belief in Halliday's functional grammar (1994), which he regards as "the best resourced part of this framework" of functional linguistics, that he "would therefore recommend [it] as part of the training and development of future applied linguists" (Martin, 2000b:123). Kilpert (2003:163) further illuminates the prominence of Halliday's work by echoing Butler's (1989:2) sentiments that despite diverse views within systemic linguistics, "there can be no doubt that the work of Michael Halliday forms the central core". Kilpert (2003:160) notes that

Michael Halliday's linguistics is notable for its extravagance. It has enlarged our current picture of language by foregrounding motifs of opening up, expanding, and seeing things from multiple perspectives and, by thus bringing in elements that a parsimonious orthodoxy sidelines, it has broadened the scope of linguistic inquiry and enabled the discipline to extend its sphere of influence and to speak to the needs of the consumer.

The CDA analyst's approach varies according to the rationale of his/her research and a researcher should always clearly situate his/her research within a specific paradigm.

As I mainly focus on the dialectical approach of Fairclough, van Dijk's sociocognitive approach, and the discourse-historical approach of Wodak, further discussions in this chapter are delimited to their specific contributions to CDA.

2.7.1. NORMAN FAIRCLOUGH

Fairclough (2003:26) sees discourse

[a]bstractly, as an abstract noun, meaning language and other types of semiosis as elements of social life, more concretely, as a count noun, meaning particular ways of representing part of the world. An example of a discourse in the latter sense would be the political discourse of the New Labour [...] or the political discourse of 'Thatcherism'.

Henderson (2005:10) notes that

[i]n recognising discourse simultaneously as text, discursive practice and social practice, Fairclough (2001b: 21) argued that CDA is more than 'just analysing text' or just 'analysing processes of production and interpretation.' It incorporates analysis of the relationship between texts, processes and their social conditions; it takes the 'social' into consideration; and it offers a way of focusing on the

interconnections between the dimensions of discourse and the ‘interesting patterns and disjunctions that need to be described, interpreted and explained (after Janks, 1997:329).

Discourse analysis, Fairclough (1995a:viii-ix) observes at the time of his earlier work, is not relegated to one level of analysis such as lexico-grammar, or phonology for instance, but instead it explores how ‘texts’ interact with sociocultural practice at all levels (Fairclough, 1995a viii-ix). His earlier work (1983-1987) concentrates on the “development of an analytical framework – a theory and method – for studying language in its relation to power and ideology” (Fairclough, 1995a:1). This framework also informs Fairclough’s other publications (1989, 1992a, 1992b), while his work (between 1989 and 1992) focuses on the integration of discourse analysis “with social analysis of sociocultural change, developing the thematization of change [*sic*]” (Fairclough, 1995a:2). Threadgold (2003:12) points out that Fairclough’s (1995a)

[w]ork on discourse and intertextuality was the first in the UK to actually attempt a linguistic description of the poststructuralist categories of intertextuality and discourse. He chose the functionalist linguistics of Halliday (1985) for the analysis of ‘texture’, the structure and organization of texts, but saw intertextual analysis rather than Halliday’s original theory of the social semiotic (1978) as a crucial way of linking texts and contexts. He includes in the analysis of texture structures beyond the sentence (Halliday and Hasan’s cohesion) and conversational analysis [.]. He is concerned to argue that intertextual analysis is one of the ways in which social scientists might be persuaded to see the relevance of CDA to the kinds of work they want to do on larger social structures [*sic*].

Pennycook (1994:121) supports this notion of Fairclough’s work:

Fairclough (1989: 1) describes his two principal goals as: first, helping to 'correct a widespread underestimation of the significance of language in the production, maintenance, and change of social relationships of power'; and, second, helping to 'increase consciousness of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others, because consciousness is the first step towards emancipation' (Fairclough, 1989: 1). Fairclough is not looking for a relationship between language and society in the dichotomizing fashion of post-Saussurean linguistics, but rather is showing that language use is always a social act in itself. Such acts, furthermore, are not the individualistic acts of language users in cognitive isolation, but rather are determined by the larger social and ideological conditions of society [sic] (Pennycook, 1994:121).

‘Text’, and a multifunctional view thereof, is also the point of departure for Fairclough’s (2005b:919) later definition of discourse analysis:

Texts can be considered to be a manifestation of discourse and the distinctive unit .. on which the researcher focuses. Accordingly, “discourse analysis” is the systematic study of texts. If this is the case, it would appear that ‘texts’ are (micro-level?) discourses and are located ‘in the context of’ (‘macro-level’) ‘discourses’” and that “the relations are opaque in a way which undermines theoretical coherence, and that this opacity is at least in part due to a failure to explicitly and clearly differentiate levels (processes/events, practices, and structures).

Discourse analysis then, for Fairclough (2005b:916), is in its widest sense “the analysis of ‘texts in a broad sense – written texts, spoken interaction, the multimedia texts of television and the Internet, etc.’”. The main grammatical tool that Fairclough associates with is Halliday’s Systemic Functional Linguistics, but he also incorporates notions of Conversational Analysis (Wodak, 2002:17).

The three overarching components within Fairclough's (1995a) analytical framework are description, interpretation and explanation of discourse. The three dimensions which are analysed are the analysis of language text itself, analysis of discourse practices, which include the productive and receptive practices surrounding the text, and analysis of "discursive events as instances of socio-cultural practice" (Fairclough, 1995a:2):

Critical discourse analysis of a communicative event is regarded as the analysis of relationships between three dimensions or facets of that event, which Fairclough (1995a:57) calls text, discourse practice and sociocultural practice. Haig (p. 2 on [www.](#)) notes that Fairclough's work is most often associated work with the model of CDA as set out in *Language and Power* (1989:25) and modified in *Discourse and Social Change* (1992:73), instead of the later 'rethinking' and relocating of CDA within the framework of Roy Bhaskar's 'emancipatory critique' outlined in *Discourse in Late Modernity* (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999:60), or the simplified 'Genres-Discourses-Styles' approach of "*New Labour, New Language*" (2000:14).

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999:6) not only illustrate the development of an analytical framework which analyses language in relation to power and ideology, but also the functionality of CDA in revealing the discursive character of current changes in societies and cultures. Bhaskar's (1986) "explanatory critique" creates the springboard for this analytical framework of Fairclough's (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999:33). Haig (p. 9-10 on [www.](#)) summarises this analytical framework as follows:

Firstly, description of the formal properties of texts based, in Fairclough's case, on the systemic functional grammar of Michael Halliday and his associates (Halliday 1994). Secondly, interpretation of the findings from the description stage in terms of their relationship to the interaction of which the text forms a part. Finally, explanation of the relationship between the interaction and the social context, in which a dialectical relationship between social structure and discursual practice is assumed. [...] this model is now generally subsumed under the Bhaskarian 'explanatory critique' model [...].

O'Regan (2006:231) elucidates the main difference between Fairclough's and Foucault's (a main theoretical attractor of Fairclough's) work as situated in the objectives of their studies:

Where Foucault's main objective was 'to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects' (Foucault, 1982: 208), Fairclough's interest, and the long-term concern of a great deal of work in critical discourse studies, has been how subjects might be emancipated from those same modalities [*cf.* McKenna, 2004].

The emancipatory goal of language awareness, especially within the educational cadre, remains a priority for Fairclough (1999:1):

As the shape of the new global social order becomes clearer, so too does the need for a critical awareness of language as part of language education.

And also:

[t]here is a strong case to be made for a mode of language education which emphasize [*sic*] critical awareness of ideological processes in discourse, so that people can become more aware of their own practice, and be more critical of the ideologically invested discourses to which they are subjected (Fairclough, 1992b:90).

Wodak (2006a:12) affirms Fairclough's extensive work and collaboration with other researchers, specifically with regard to the 'Language of the New Labour' (2000):

His work has centered around the theme of 'Language in New Capitalism' – focusing on language/discourse aspects of the contemporary restructuring and 're-scaling' (shift in relations between global, regional, national and local) of capitalism. He has also worked with sociological theorist Bob Jessop and Andrew Sayer in theorizing [*sic*] language ('semiosis') within a critical realist philosophy of (social) science (*cf.* Fairclough, Jessop & Sayer, 2002).

The concepts of 'discourse', 'discursive event', 'discourse practices', 'orders of discourse', 'intertextuality', and 'genre' are central within the Faircloughian framework.

2.7.2. THEUN VAN DIJK

Van Dijk (1993a:48) regards discourse as

[a] form of social action and a cultural product, on the one hand, and a rather explicit manifestation of source of social knowledge and beliefs, on the other hand. In other words, discourse reflects much of

the contents and structures of the social cognitions, including prejudices and racist ideologies, which are otherwise difficult to access.

Media texts are preferred units of analysis for van Dijk, and he proposes the analysis of media texts in a threefold manner: “the description of argumentative structures; the explication of presupposed (tacit) assumptions, norms and values; and an analysis of style and rhetorical features” (van Dijk, 1988a:126).

As Luke (2002:101) points out, van Dijk’s (1997) and Gee’s (1999) approaches to CDA are

[l]ess oriented toward lexicosyntactic features of texts and more focused on the variable of cultural and social resources and contexts required of text construction and comprehension. In this regard, both are able to move beyond a reliance on theories of ideology to engage with cognitive and connectionist theories of meaning and cognition, and social psychological work on identity.

Pressing social issues such as racism, discrimination, and ethnic prejudice are thus predominant themes within van Dijk’s work (1998, 2001a). He is also regarded as the central figure within the socio-cognitive approach (Wodak, 2006a:13). In his own words, van Dijk (1998; 2001) triangulates a social, cognitive, and discursive approach (cited in van Dijk, 2006b:361) and the gist of his socio-cognitive approach is that “no direct relation can or should be constructed between discourse structures and social structures, but that they are always mediated by the interface of personal and social cognition” (Wodak, 2006a:14). The

sociocognitive approach thus addresses the schemata (or mental models) that are activated when certain social concepts (such as minorities) are regarded¹⁸.

Van Dijk (1991) also focuses on headlines in the press and the way in which they portray prejudices against “the others”. This is done by analysing “thousands of news reports in the British papers and Dutch press” to identify the most prevalent ethnic prejudices (cited in Wodak, 2006a:13). These ethnic prejudices, van Dijk (1991) observes, are portrayed by lexical choices which include words such as “invasion”, instead of immigration; “immigrants” and “refugees” as “spongers”, “crime, violence and problematic cultural differences” (as cited by Wodak, 2006a:13). “[T]he style, rhetoric, and the local semantic moves of news reports” were also indicators of these prejudices (Wodak, 2006a:13).

Van Dijk’s theories on racism, ethnic prejudice, and discrimination are thus specifically relevant for this thesis. In fact, van Dijk (2006b:369) makes an observation that is almost reminiscent of the collective “effort” involved in the xenophobic attacks in South Africa during May 2008:

It comes as no surprise that, given the vital importance of social representations for interaction and discourse, manipulation will generally focus on social cognition, and hence on groups of people, rather than on individuals and their unique personal models.

When members of a group share similar structures, van Dijk (2001a:354) postulates that ‘social cognition’ follows. Cognitive structures spread by co-habiting within orders of

¹⁸ Van Dijk believes that all discourse “is produced and interpreted on the basis of mental models” (1998: 108; 2006a: 121).

discourse (“sets of conventions associated with social institutions” [cf. Fairclough, 1989:16]), and as Fairclough (1989:29) points out; these social cognitions are then instantiated in the actual talk or writing of certain groups or institutions. This discourse then influences other people via social interaction or the media (van Dijk, 1998:108).

Strategies derived from van Dijk’s (2006b:370) framework on racism and modelled in the analysis of news reporting styles on the xenophobia debate, are his notions of “generalisation”, the ‘Us’ versus ‘Them’ dichotomy and the “denial of racism beliefs”. He (van Dijk, 2006b:369) defines ‘generalisation’ as information which impacts on people’s mental models and is then generalised “to more general knowledge or attitudes, or even fundamental ideologies”. Another strategy found in all ideological language is the ‘Us’ versus ‘Them’ dichotomy. This dichotomy is central to van Dijk’s ideological square of discursive group polarisation and includes the de/emphasising of “good/bad things of Us/Them” (van Dijk, 2006b:374). Van Dijk (2006b:373) posits the following framework to be implemented within the ideological square of discursive group polarisation for positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation: the chief strategy applicable to this study is found in all ideological language - the ‘Us’ versus ‘Them’ dichotomy (van Dijk, 2006b:373-374). This dichotomy is central to van Dijk’s ideological square of discursive group polarisation and entails the de/emphasising of ‘good/bad things of Us/Them’ (van Dijk, 2006b:374). Within the ideological square of discursive group polarisation (van Dijk, 2006b:373-374), the following discursive strategies are applicable:

- 1) The positive self-presentation of the in-group versus the negative presentation of the out-group remains central. This includes the (de-)emphasising of negative/positive topics

about Us/Them by applying tactics such as local speech acts implementing and sustaining the global ones, for example statements that prove accusations;

- 2) Next the local (lexical or word) meaning attached to Our/Their positive/negative actions and the levels of generality/specificity, vagueness/precision, explicitness/implicitness employed in discourse are salient; and
- 3) Furthermore, the use of semantic macrostructures (such as power, dominance and inequality) includes a study of global meanings (overall schemata), topics or themes as realised characteristically in titles, abstracts, summaries and announcements (van Dijk, 2009b:68).

When local syntax is examined, Our/Their positive/negative agency indicates a certain degree of responsibility, while active versus passive sentences convey emphasis or (de-)emphasis.

The use of rhetorical figures such as metaphors, metonymies, similes, hyperboles or euphemisms and personification is another strategy for emphasising or de-emphasising Our/Their positive/negative properties (van Dijk, 2006b:373-374). These manipulative discursive strategies, van Dijk (2006b:374) points out, are evident in all ideological language.

Another prominent concept espoused by van Dijk (1993a:14) is the notion of the “Elites”. The main discursive strategy utilised by elite racism, van Dijk (1993a:14) argues, is “denial of racism beliefs”. This attributes to inequality through ideologies and the abuse of power – recurring themes in van Dijk’s work. Van Dijk (2006b: 372) contends that “racist or xenophobic ideologies [are] manipulated [through manipulation of social cognition] by the elites”. This

will serve as a permanent basis for the discrimination (such as blaming the victim) of immigrants: a very effective strategy for steering critical attention away from the policies of the government or other elites (van Dijk, 1993a:14).

Van Dijk's (1993a:14) analyses of parliamentary debates, corporate discourse, textbooks, and media also indicate the tendency of elites to "preformulate and thus instigate racism".

Another framework, the "contextual criterion", is formulated by van Dijk (2006b:375) to counter "manipulative prototypes" utilised in discourse. These 'prototypes' include certain types of fallacies and the contextual criterion is a means of "identifying recipients of manipulation as victims" – according to van Dijk (2006b:375), they are "crucial references to resist, detect or avoid manipulation". The contextual criterion elucidates

- 1) Incomplete or lack of relevant knowledge – so that no counter-arguments can be formulated against false, incomplete or biased assertions;
- 2) Fundamental norms, values and ideologies that cannot be denied or ignored;
- 3) Strong emotions, traumas, etc. that make people vulnerable; and
- 4) Social positions, professions, status, etc. that induce people into tending to accept the discourses, arguments, etc. of elite persons, groups or organisations.

The topic of knowledge in discourse and a novel approach (*cf.* 2.5.4) to context are recent research interests of van Dijk. Van Dijk's context models (2001, 2003, 2005) are explained by means of the episodic memory.

2.7.3. WODAK

Wodak regards discourse as

...a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as ‘texts’, that belong to specific semiotic types, i.e. genres (Wodak & Reisigl, 2001:383).

The essence of a CDA approach, for Wodak (2007b, FQS 8 (2), Art. 29) is to function as “inherently interdisciplinary because it aims at investigating complex social phenomena which are inherently inter- or transdisciplinary and certainly not to be studied by linguistics alone”. For Wodak (2007a:209) the four concepts “of critique, power, history, and ideology are present” in all CDA. She regards her specific contribution to CDA as being her attempts at integrating different approaches and the implementation of interdisciplinarity, which “one of the most important characteristics of the ‘Discourse-Historical Approach’ [DHA] in CDA” (Wodak, 2007b, FQS 8 (2), Art. 29. par. 14). This approach, Wodak and Reisigl (1999:186) point out, was initially developed to study the

constitution of anti-Semitic stereotype image, or ‘Feinbild,’ as it emerged in public discourse in the 1986 Austrian presidential campaign of Kurt Waldheim (Wodak, Novak, Pelikan, Gruber, de Cilla; *et al.*, 1990; Mitten 1992; Gruber 1991) [*cf.* Wodak, 2006a:15].

The DHA has been expanded by Austrian studies (Kovács & Wodak, 2003; Wodak *et al.*, 1999) and studies in the European Union (Muntigl, Weiss & Wodak, 2000). Wodak & Reisigl (1999:186; *cf.* Fairclough & Wodak, 1997:266) assert that

[t]he distinctive feature of this theoretical and methodological approach is the attempt to integrate systematically all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the many layers of text.

The integration of approaches coincides with her theory of context (Wodak, 2000; Wodak, 2003:137) which takes into account four levels; “the first one is descriptive, while the other three are part of our theories on context” (as already mentioned earlier; the triangulatory approach to context):

- 1) The immediate, language or text internal co-text of each utterance or clause;
- 2) The intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses;
- 3) The extralinguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific ‘context of situation’ (Middle-Range Theories);
- 4) The broader sociopolitical and historical contexts, which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to (Grand Theories); and
- 5) The intertextual and interdiscursive relationships of the respective speech event to other relevant events (Wodak, 2003:137).

The description and modelling of the three central dimensions, namely fields of action, genres, discourses, and texts and the link between these concepts, figure centrally within the discourse-historical approach. This approach can be described as hermeneutic¹⁹, interpretative and integrating insights from cognitive science²⁰. A further aim is the integration of historical-political and affective levels.

As already indicated, Wodak's DHA was conceived in an interdisciplinary study of post-war anti-semitism in Austria (Wodak, 2006a:15; Wodak & Reisigl, 1999:186). As Wodak (2006a:15) points out:

The discourse-historical approach is designed to enable the analysis of indirect prejudiced utterances, as well as to identify and expose the codes and allusions contained in prejudiced discourse.

Within the discourse-historical approach, the categories of the analytical framework are determined by the research questions. The approach thus aspires to be pragmatic. The setting and context, which is perceived as being historical, should be recorded as accurately as possible. Although the role of context is crucial in the interpretation phase – Wodak (1996:19) emphasises the historical property of discourse and maintains that “[d]iscourse is not produced and cannot be understood without taking the context into consideration” – a

¹⁹ As Wodak and Meyer (2009:22) note, hermeneutics “can be understood as the method of grasping and producing meaning relations”.

²⁰ The DHA attempts to “complement [van Dijk's] cognitive model with the analysis of the social and historical context” (Wodak & Reisigl, 1999:186).

rigid procedure is not followed. After the contextual deliberation, the content is related to historical events and facts. The text should be analysed and described at all linguistic levels.

By her own admittance, Wodak's main interest lies in text analysis, argumentation theory and rhetoric, rather than in SFL and other grammar theories. She does point out, however, that she has published with "Theo van Leeuwen and other scholars in FSL" (Wodak, 2007a:211). She has also conducted studies on institutional communication and speech barriers in court, in schools and in hospital clinics (Wodak, 2006a:14). Furthermore, her studies on contemporary anti-Semitism and racism, national and trans-national identity politics make an important contribution to the studies of racism within the field of CDA. Wodak (2006a:14-15) also regards

the practical application of critical research, [for instance] guidelines for non-discriminatory language use towards women, [...] guidelines for doctors on how to communicate more effectively with their patients, and in providing expert opinions for courts on anti-Semitic and racist language use by journalists in newspapers [as integral to her work].

Wodak's recent research interests include the utility of genres and social fields in a range of social fields, with the application of Luhmann and Bourdieu "as macro approaches to much interdisciplinary research (primarily to the political field; Muntigl, Weiss & Wodak, 2000; Reisigl & Wodak, 2004)" (In Wodak, 2007b, (FQS 8 (2), Art. 29. par. 14).

Wodak (2007b, FQS 8 (2), Art. 29, par. 19) holds that the new focus on the politics of identity (including social change and transition), language policies, and the integration of linguistic analysis and macro social theories, is also regarded as crucial elements within the sphere of CDA.

2.8. ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF CDA AS A FIELD

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999:60) note that “CDA begins with some perception of a discourse-related problem in some part of social life”. CDA thus strives to serve society by addressing pressing issues, which may often be of a political nature.

Ingulsrud and Allen (2009:83) maintain that “[n]ot all critical approaches, however, try to serve society”. They cite literary criticism as one example, noting that the deconstruction in this field does “not have the same concern for the social good that CDA and media control discourse” have (Ingulsrud & Allen, 2009:83).

The monumental influence of CDA is further elaborated on by Slembrouck (2001:37):

CDA has, in a number of respects, radically transformed the Western-European academic landscapes of language study. [...] It successfully claimed recognition beyond its own boundaries for the need for a constant engagement with social-theoretical debate, even when researchers’ central preoccupation is with the study of language use, while forcing the much-needed thematization of the multiple relationships between language use, power and ideology. As a result, CDA played an important role in

closing some of the notional gaps that separated departments of language study, communication studies and centres for cultural studies. It has also been instrumental in politicizing the field of ‘applied linguistics’ –certainly in the British-Australian context [*sic*].

Another substantial paradigmatic shift which CDA has effected, is that language is not regarded as a consequence of situational contextual variables any longer, but its dynamic role in shaping context is now recognised (Slembrouck, 2001:37). Because CDA has naturalised the view that social orders are inherently also symbolic orders, discourse analysis has thus earned its position of centrality in the enquiry of social-scientific phenomena (Slembrouck, 2001:37).

Also contributing to these accolades is Chilton (2005:47), who stresses the work of Wodak’s (1990; 1997, 2006d) as a salient factor in the change of doctor-patient interaction:

In certain highly structured social spheres, e.g. doctor-patient communication, educational institutions discourse behavior has been changed as a result of CDA-type activity [*sic*].

Another final point Slembrouck (2001:37) enunciates is that

CDA has encouraged research into the heteroglossic properties of discourse practice (e.g. relying on a particular interpretation of ‘intertextuality’ as a pivotal principle in the dynamics of discourse production). In this way, CDA has contributed to the present ‘wave’ of Bakhtinian thinking in

linguistic enquiry (again with parallel developments elsewhere – e.g. Hanks, 1987, for linguistic anthropology).

CDA has also managed to theorise and problematise social models which regard concepts such as power as exclusively associated with oppression (Slembrouck, 2001:37). Instead, Slembrouck (2001:37) posits, Foucault's interpretation of power may attribute to a more enabling, productive model which promulgates positive effects of power. Another effect of such a model may be a different view on ideology – as reproducing values (rather than views of language practices laden with ideological ambivalence where language is regarded as a vehicle for reproducing ideology), and as open to contrasting ideological interpretations (Slembrouck, 2001:37).

Finally, CDA aspires to revive a historical linguistic perspective which entails a project to revitalise a diachronic linguistic perspective by reclassifying the scale of research into language change (Slembrouck, 2001:37). Here a modifying of sociocultural values determined by discourse change may serve as the focus for enquiry (Slembrouck, 2001:37).

CDA has thus come full circle, moving from the initial social problems which prompt CDA research (“its first flush of youth”, after Fairclough, 1995a:20) to the aspirations of change and a “shift in sociocultural values”, – always striving towards a better society and ultimately, a better world. Strictly speaking, it is not possible to measure emancipation, but its offspring (critical language awareness, global awareness of human rights, the cultivation of reflective attitudes in policy making, teaching and the media domains) provides more than enough

evidence of its impact on society. The work of CDA has not been completed; it never will be
- human nature and its insatiable lust for power prohibits it.

2.9. CDA AND ITS SPECIFIC RELEVANCE TO MEDIA STUDIES

There is a symbiotic relationship between a nation's media system and other institutions that operate within the country (Oboh, 2007:270).

2.9.1. A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF MEDIA STUDIES

The media has a descriptive and categorising function, as it provides the framework through which we appreciate our world (Couldry, 2003b:29). Carvallo (2008: 162) states that CDA is the “single most authoritative line of research” in media discourse studies. Within this paradigm van Dijk (e.g. 1988a, 1988b, 1991, 2005) and Fairclough (e.g. 1995b, 1998, 2003) have analysed media discourse most extensively (Carvallo, 2008:162). Their work is distinct as it entails the most systematic analyses of journalistic discourse (Carvalho, 2008:161), presenting social relations and social realities effectively.

The study of ideologies and how they are imparted and replicated has been a priority for most media studies (Greiffenhagen, 2009:5; *cf.* Fairclough, 2003 47-48; Masterman, 1985). The ideological functioning of media texts in social reproduction and social control remains a point of interest.

Apart from acting as commodities which transfer ideology, media texts also function as

[c]ultural commodities in a competitive market [...], are part of the business of entertaining people, are designed to keep people politically and socially informed, are cultural artefacts in their own right informed by particular aesthetics; and they are at the same time caught up in it –reflecting and contributing to – shifting cultural values and identities (Fairclough 2003:47-48).

Critical theory has been playing an integral role in unveiling hidden ideologies in the media (Greiffenhagen, 2008:5). For example, in Britain, the Glasgow University Media Group (1976, 1980, 1985), who applied a multimethod approach which combined various planes of analysis and various tools (Wodak & Busch, 2004:107), questioned the assumption that representations of news are necessarily neutral and impartial (Greiffenhagen, 2008:5-6). Journalists were not necessarily biased, but could not deter themselves from inculcating society's dominant political assumptions in their reports and, therefore, inadvertently assisted in the reproduction and stabilising of these prevailing political systems (Hall, 1982:87). Furthermore, the problem arose because journalists depict their partial accounts of news as neutral and impartial versions (Glasgow University Media Group, 1976:267-268).

Also within the Critical Linguistics framework, Fowler (1991:8) notes that early studies of news construction did not focus sufficiently on linguistic factors, but they received “relatively meager treatment [*sic*]”. Attempts were thus made (within the tradition of critical linguistics) to rectify this deficit and Fowler (1991) utilised linguistic tools such as transitivity in syntax, speech acts, modality and lexical structure to analyse news language (Carvalho, 2008:161).

Fairclough (1995b:2) states that studies analysing the manner in which the media “influence knowledge, beliefs, values, social relations, social identities” via linguistic representations, were undertaken.

In contrast with the Critical Linguistic paradigm and Critical theory, ‘explicative’ studies of media discourse endeavour to exhibit that which people are already conscious of (Hutchby, 2006:33), rather than critical approaches which aim “to exhibit what people are not aware of” (Greiffenhagen, 2008:7). Bell’s participant observation study (1991) of journalists working on newspaper reports and Clayman & Heritage’s (2002) book “Analysing Media Discourse”, are two of the examples of explicative studies cited by Greiffenhagen (2008:7).

Bednarek’s (2006:11-12) taxonomy for the main branches of media analysis and their progenitors, is as follows:

- 1) The critical approach (Hodge, 1979; Trew, 1979, Fairclough, 1988; 1995a, 1995b, Fowler 1991, Talbot 1995, van Dijk, 1988a; 1988b; White, 1998; Weiss & Wodak, 2003; Caldas-Coulthard, 2003);
- 2) The narrative/pragmatic/stylistic approach (Crystal & Davy, 1969; Verschueren, 1985; Carter, 1988; Bell, 1991; Almeida, 1992; Ljung, 1997, White, 1997, 1998, Ungerer, 2004);
- 3) The corpus-linguistic approach (Short *et al.*, 1999, Schneider, K. 1999, Schneider, D. 1999, Schneider, 2000, Minugh, 2000. Ljung, 2002, Ni, 2003, Biber, 2003);
- 4) The practice-focused approach: work on aspects of newsmaking practices (e.g. Bell, 1991);
- 5) The diachronic approach (Cotter, 1996; Schneider, 1999;, Schneider, 2000, Herwig, 1999);

- 6) The socio-linguistic approach (Bell, 1991; Jucker, 1992);
- 7) The cognitive approach (van Dijk, 1988a, 1988b);
- 8) The conversationalist approach (Clayman, 1990; Greatbatch, 1998);

CDA's perspective of looking beyond texts and accounting for institutional and sociocultural contexts is especially daunting (Carvalho, 2008:161-162) as

journalism intersects with all fields of society. Developing a research programme that encompasses all the moments in the 'life' of a particular news text as well as the wider picture of the media discourse produced on a given topic is therefore a key but unaccomplished goal of the CDA research community (*cf.* Richardson, 2007) (Carvalho, 2008:162).

Wodak and Busch (2004:107) agree that studies which connect media text and reception are scarce, but do cite Lutz and Wodak; Meinhof, 1994; Morley, 1980; Richardson, 1998 as examples of such studies²¹.

Couldry (2003a:665) notes that a media theory which scrutinises the character and functions of media in society needs to do more than merely portray methods of media interventions and media influence on various fields. Rather, such a theory needs to take account of the effect of media "on all fields simultaneously by legitimating certain categories with not just cognitive, but also social significance" (Couldry, 2003:665). Here CDA fills the lacunae; especially van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach (1988a, 1988b, 2001a).

²¹ Bell and Garret (1998) and Marris and Thornham (2000) "provide excellent overviews on recent media studies and their relationships to CDA" (Wodak & Busch, 2004:108).

Couldry (2003a:663) also relates Bourdieu's (1991:72) concept of symbolic capital to the media as 'metacapital'²², as the media possess the power to create universal categories between and across all fields²³ people apply when interpreting their world. Champagne (Faire l'opinion, pp. 237; 243) first introduced the term 'media capital' (Benson & Neveu, 2005:21).

2.9.2. THE MEDIA AND MEDIATISATION

Jansson (2002:14f; cf. Thompson, 1990, 1995) states that "...the media today occupy a dominant position as providers of cultural products and beliefs". That is, the media's development is closely integrated with the development of modern society to such an extent that it may not be separated from cultural and other social institutions any longer (Hjarvard, 2008:108).

To fully grasp the omnipresence of the media, the term 'mediatisation' is explanatory:

From a very general point of view, "mediatization of society" is a concept that indicates the extension of the influence of the media (considered both as a cultural technology and as an organization) into all spheres of society and social life [*sic*] (International Encyclopedia of communication on www.ica.org).

²² 'Metacapital' is a term that describes the ability of a state to project its power across different fields.

²³ Field (1): "The habitus of an individual exists in relation to the field in which that individual acts. A 'field', in Bourdieu's sense, is a social arena in which negotiations take place over resources or stakes and access to them. Each field (e.g. housing, education, welfare, employment) has a different structure and set of rules, which is both the product and producer of the habitus which is appropriate to that field" (Blackledge, 2005:32-33; cf. Bourdieu, 1990).

Field (2): "A field may be understood as a structured network of social practices and positions related to a trade or an area of production" (Scheuer, 2003:145).

The mediatisation of the media is a continuous, long-term process in which the media alters culture and society by changing human behaviour and human affairs (Krotz, 2009:24).

Within this meta-process of mediatisation, “more and more media emerge and are institutionalized [*sic*]” (Krotz, 2009:24). An example of the effect of the mediatisation process is cited by Hjarvard (2008:130) who relates the nationalistic culture in many countries that has been revived as a result of reactions to immigration and globalisation. It is disturbing that the media’s role in this process is regarded as “more or less explicit” (Harvard, 2008:130). Hall (2000) has also demonstrated British media bias in reports on minorities and migrants.

2.10. ON COMMERCIALISATION

For the press (and broadcasting corporations) profit remains the driving force (Fairclough, 2003:42). They sell “audiences to advertisers [...] by achieving the highest possible readerships or listener/viewer ratings for the lowest possible financial outlay” (Fairclough, 2003:42). In this regard, Habermas (1962/1989:231) refers to a ‘refeudalization [*sic*]’ of the mediatised public sphere, in which audiences turn into spectators instead of participants, and are dealt with as consumers (of entertainment) instead of citizens.

Krotz (2007:39; *cf.* Schulz, 2004) applies the mediatisation concept to specify the role of the media in social change in a broader sense; namely that of a metaprocess analogous to individualisation and globalisation. “Mediatization [*sic*]”, Krotz (2007: 39) holds, is “by its very definition, [...] always bound in time and to cultural context”. These ‘commercialising’

and ‘mediatising’ effects within the media, justify the continued scientific engagement of CDA with not only the print media, but all media forms or “traversals” (after Lemke, 2005).

2.11. CONCLUSION

This chapter started by explaining the origin and evolution of CDA. The central concepts within CDA and the key researchers’ work within the field, namely Wodak, Fairclough, and van Dijk, were also discussed. A very brief overview of media studies was also provided.

In the following chapter, the methodological principles applied in this thesis are explained and the specific context of the South African media landscape, and more specifically that of the tabloid the *Daily Sun*, is espoused (Chapter 4) as a prelude to the linguistic analysis of newspaper extracts in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (van Dijk, 2001a:352).

3.1. INTRODUCTION: RESEARCH SETTING

In addition to its poor human rights record (*cf.* Chapter 1), South Africans are regarded as a very xenophobic nation: the 2006 SAMP Xenophobia Survey indicates that “South Africa exhibits levels of intolerance and hostility to outsiders unlike virtually anything seen in other parts of the world” (Migration Policy Series No. 50 on [www.](#)) According to the Race Revealing Report of the Media Monitoring Project (Lerner, Roberts & Matlala, 2009:15), Human Rights Watch ascertained already in 1998 that South African culture was turning “increasingly xenophobic”. More recently (27 May 2010), Everatt, then Executive Director of the Gauteng City Region Observatory (GCRO) is quoted by IOL²⁴ (on [www.](#)) as stating that South Africans share one commonality: the despising of ‘foreigners’. His revelation came after a survey conducted by GCRO²⁵ amongst 6,636 Gauteng residents. The GCRO survey indicated that 69 per cent of respondents (which included a sample of educated and

²⁴ IOL is owned by “Independent News & Media along with 14 national and regional newspapers”. IOL regards itself as “the biggest news, classifieds and info site on the Web in S.A.” (IOL Website).

²⁵ “The GCRO is a think tank that was created by the Gauteng provincial government in partnership with the universities of Johannesburg and the Witwatersrand” – Sapa.

uneducated persons) “agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that ‘foreigners are taking benefits meant for South Africans’”²⁶. Similarly, the APRM (African Peer Review) panel of experts identified xenophobia as one of South Africa’s 14 greatest challenges and urged the government to curb it as soon as possible (Fabricus, 2008:16). During 2008 this challenge became even more pertinent when xenophobic attacks flared up countrywide.

Working within the realm of Critical Discourse Analysis (or CDA), this study aims to conduct an investigation into how the South African tabloid, the *Daily Sun*, represented non-nationals during the months of April to May 2008. Although the xenophobic outbreaks erupted on the 11th of May 2008, as Eggins (2004:128) points out, a text “always builds on what has been said before about anything”; it is therefore apposite to include extracts from the *Daily Sun*, published during the preceding month of April 2008. These inclusions allow greater insights in answering the research questions, which are as follows:

- 1) What is the correlation between the breaking of conventions (solid discursive practices) and novel permutations of existing conventions, especially with regard to the tabloid genre?
- 2) What is the role of discourse in prompting social actions? More specifically, can a causal link between discourse and action be established?
- 3) What are the hidden ideologies behind discourse and more specifically xenophobic discourse?
- 4) What is a deconstructive versus a constructive method of reporting?
- 5) How can discourse be utilised as a vehicle for social change?

²⁶ According to Everatt “75 percent of people with no education and 73 percent of people with tertiary education agreed with the statement” (IOL on www.iol.co.za).

3.2. INSTRUMENTATION

This study is performed within the parameters of qualitative research, and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is utilised as an umbrella term for concepts embodied by five main approaches (Hart, 2006 on [www.](http://www.cda.ac.uk)); namely: a) critical linguistics (which is subsumed by CDA); b) sociocultural analysis; c) discourse-historical analysis; d) socio-cognitive analysis; and e) critical metaphor analysis. These approaches will be applied as deemed necessary during the course of the analyses.

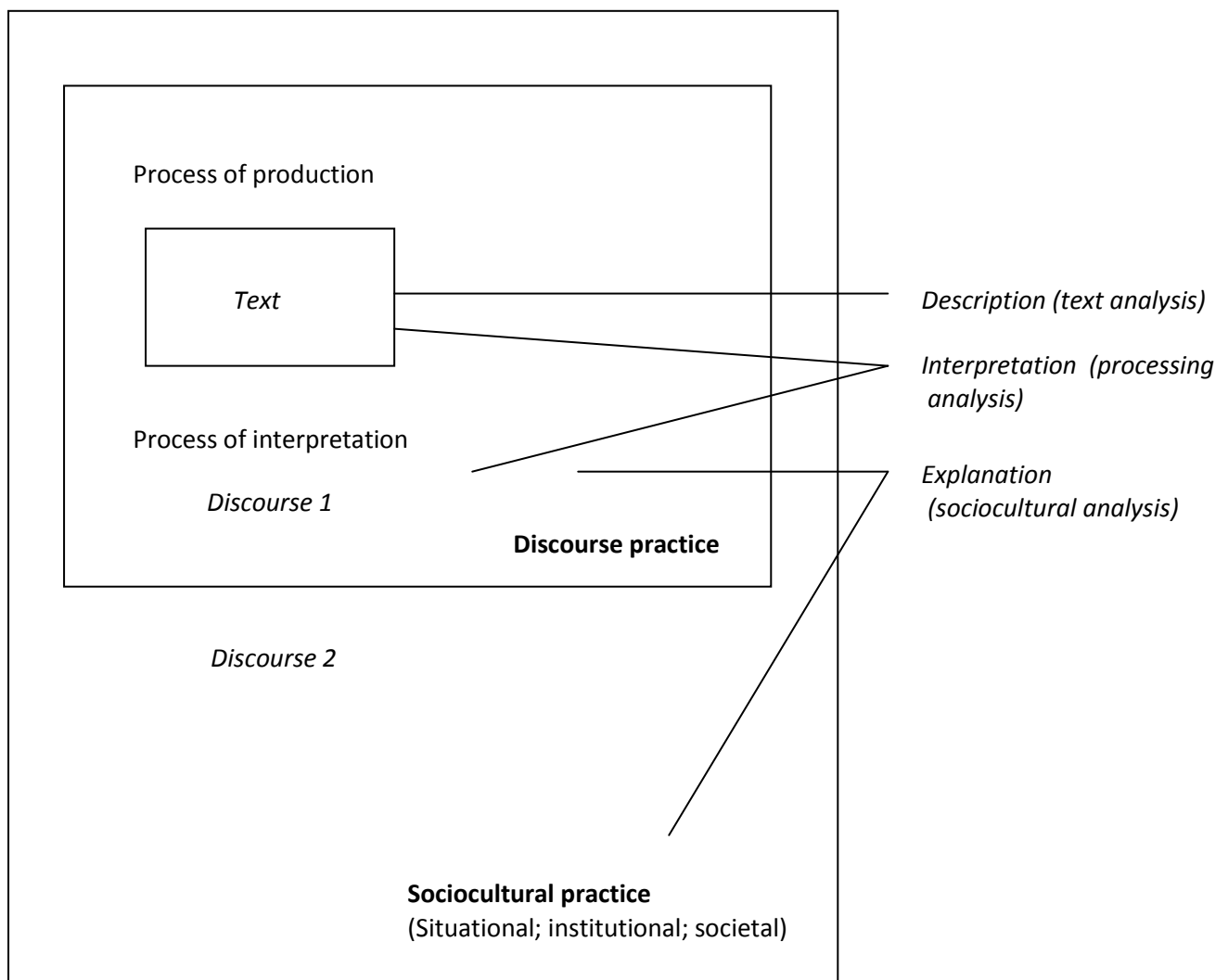
Fairclough's (1992a, b; 1995a) original three-dimensional model of discourse, for instance, is adopted as the overarching analytical framework. These dimensions are not necessarily applied in a 'Faircloughdian' sense in this study, but are interlinked with components from Wodak's (1996; Wodak & Reisigl, 1999, Wodak *et al.*, 1999; Wodak, 2001b; 2003) discourse-historical approach and van Dijk's (2006a; 2006b; 2008; 2009a; 2009b) socio-cognitive approach.

Fairclough's (1995a:2) model includes the mapping of separate dimensions of analysis onto one another as

[a]nalysis of (spoken or written) language texts, analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice.

Below (diagram 4): An adopted model of dimensions of analysis (after Fairclough, 1995a:2)

Diagram 4



(Cited in O'Halloran (2003: 10) who has made "some very minor additions".)

Within the discourse-historical approach the elements of contents, discursive strategies, linguistic means, and forms of realisation (Wodak *et al.*, 1999:193) function cyclically while connected to the social, political, and historical contexts. This cyclical form of analysis is a

main feature of the analyses in Chapter 5. According to Wodak & Meyer (2009:26; *cf.* Girth, 1996) this approach “explicitly tries to establish a theory of discourse by establishing the connection between fields of action²⁷ genres, discourse and texts”. The tabloid genre remains a central focal point throughout the analyses. Important to note; discourse is instantiated within genres and fields, while ‘fields’ (after Bourdieu, 2002:77-102) shape the frames of discourse (Wodak, 2003:136). Genres thus refer to the language use within a particular activity (Wodak, 2003:126). The ‘fields of action’ or ‘fields of control’ within the discourse-historical approach are analogous to Fairclough’s ‘orders of discourse’²⁸, (Fairclough, 1989, 1992a, b; 1995 a, b).

Furthermore, the discourse-historical approach extends van Dijk’s (2006a; 2006b; 2008; 2009a; 2009b) socio-cognitive approach by complementing the cognitive model with the analysis of the social and historical context (Wodak & Reisigl, 1999:186). This integration of “all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the many layers of a text” (Wodak & Reisigl, 1999:186) is a distinguishing characteristic of the discourse-historical approach.

Concrete analysis should take account of historical developments of discursive practices (change), intertextuality and interdiscursivity. This might explain why it is so difficult to provide ‘short, telling’ examples in a single paper: an example needs the deconstruction of

²⁷ **Fields of action** are “segments of the respective societal ‘reality’, which contribute to constituting and shaping the ‘frame’ of discourse” (Girth, 1996 in Wodak, 2003:136).

²⁸ “An order of discourse is the articulated set of discursive practices associated with a particular social space” (Fairclough & Mauranen, 1997:90) or domain. For instance, certain orders of discourse (or sets of discursive practices) are used within institutions such as schools.

the entire social-political and historical context in which the discursive practices are embedded (Martin & Wodak, 2003:6).

In this sense, contextual analyses, which include historical aspects, are the point of departure for the next chapter. The general South African tabloid media is contextualised in the first instance, and then the focus is narrowed to the context of the *Daily Sun*. The contextualisation is enhanced by references to text production, distribution and consumption practices. Next, the South African immigration history is scrutinised and finally, the xenophobic pogroms of 2008 are sketched contextually.

In Chapter 5, the text analyses of newspaper extracts are explicated. As stated in Chapter 2, the importance of social and linguistic analysis to determine “various expressions and manipulations of power” (Wodak, 2007a:210) is key because “[v]ery few linguistic forms have not at some stage been pressed into the service of the expression of power by a process of syntactic or textual metaphor”.

Linguistic structures are analysed on the semantic and lexicogrammatical levels (after Halliday’s 1994a systemic-functional linguistics). The principle rhetorical device for the textual analyses is metaphor, which features as one aspect of van Dijk’s (2006b:373-374) framework on racism. Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) conceptual metaphor theory is applied and explicated as stylistically and ideologically pertinent to the analysis of the tabloid extracts. Conceptual metaphor – as defined within the field of cognitive linguistics, relates to

“understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain²⁹” (Kövecses, 2002:4). Within the ideational and interpersonal functions of SFL, metaphor serves four functions, according to Goatly (200:131): “explanation, ideological restructuring, cultivation of intimacy and the expression/hiding of emotion”. The explanatory function and the ideological restructuring pertain to the ideational metafunction of meaning (*cf.* Chapter 2, 2.5.4.), while the cultivation of intimacy and the expression or hiding of emotion pertains to the interpersonal function.

The social critique models of Fairclough *et al.* (2004:5-6), Wodak (2003), Reisigl & Wodak (2001) and van Dijk (2006b) are appropriated within the analyses of the tabloid extracts. The specific questions asked for each discourse strategy³⁰ are listed by Reisigl & Wodak (2001:44; Wodak, 2001:72; Reisigl & Wodak, 2009:13; *cf.* Renkema, 2004:290) as follows:

- 1) Referential strategies (naming): How are persons named and referred to?
- 2) Predicational strategies (attribution): Which characteristics and features are attributed to “them”?
- 3) Argumentation strategies (Topoi): What kind of argumentation schemes are used to discriminate between “us” and “them”?
- 4) Perspectivisation strategies (perspectivisation): From which point of view are the nominations (1), attributions (2), and arguments (3) used?
- 5) Mitigation and Intensifying strategies: How are the discriminating utterances formulated; overtly, intensified or mitigated?

²⁹ “The two domains that participate in conceptual metaphor have special names. The conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain is called **source domain**, while the conceptual domain that is understood this way is the **target domain**” (Kövecses, 2002:4).

³⁰ The five types of discourse strategies that are elucidated are situated at various ranks of linguistic organisation and intricacy.

Diagrammatically, these discursive strategies are presented as follows:

Diagram 5

Discursive strategies for positive self- and negative other representation (Wodak, 2003:139)

[sic]:

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
Referential/ Nomination	Construction of in-groups and out-groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Membership, categorization • Biological, naturalizing and depersonalizing metaphors and metonymies • Synecdoches (pars pro toto, totum pro pars)
Predication	Labelling social actors more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits • Implicit and explicit predicates
Argumentation	Justification of positive or negative attributions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Topoi used to justify political inclusion or exclusion, discrimination or preferential treatment
Perspectivisation framing or discourse representation	Expressing involvement Positioning speaker's point of view	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reporting, description, narration or quotation of (discriminatory) events and utterances
Intensification, mitigation	Modifying the epistemic status of a proposition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force or (discriminatory utterances)

At this juncture, Fairclough's (1995a) dimensions of interpretation and evaluation are simultaneously employed as the linguistic and macro-sociological analyses are processed and explained. These dimensions are not rigidly applied, but flow as a synthesis of various methodologies and approaches within the paradigm of CDA, adapted to better illuminate the relevant research questions. This confirms the interdisciplinary nature of CDA.

3.4. POPULATION AND SAMPLING PROCEDURE

The prevailing nationalist discourse about political issues such as migration is often revealed through the pages of a nation's newspapers. The significance of my focus on the *Daily Sun* becomes more apparent when noted that "through just three daily newspapers, political parties and interest groups could have access to about one-fifth to one-quarter of the total reading public" (Schreiner & Mattes, 2011:3). Of these three newspapers the English tabloid *Daily Sun* is the leading English tabloid in South Africa and in sub-Saharan Africa (The Media Online on www.). It has grown its audience of 4.755-million in AMPS® 2007B, "shooting over 5-million to 5,140-million. The paper now reaches 16.4% of the South African adult population, up from 15,3% in AMPS® 2007B" (SAARF AMPS 2008A, p. 2 of 6)³¹. The other two major South African newspapers vary in both languages and journalistic style³².

³¹ The SAARF AMPS® 2008A (Rolling Average) database combines SAARF AMPS® 2007B (fieldwork July – December) and SAARF AMPS®2008A (fieldwork January – June 2008). SAARF moved to a rolling 12-month data release as from SAARF AMPS ®2001A. Surveys have been conducted on a bi-monthly basis, with two surveys being combined every 6 months to provide a 12-month database.

³² The English newspaper *Sowetan* has 1.5 million readers (or a 5% market share), and the Nguni language newspaper *Isolezwe* (with 771,000 readers or a market share of 2%) (SAARF, 2008a). The Nguni language group includes speakers of isiZulu, isiSwazi (seSwati), and isiXhosa.

The excerpts selected for discussion in this chapter form part of a corpus of 20 (including reports, articles, editorials, and newspaper clippings) published during April- May 2008. These articles contain offensive terminology which prompted the MMA (2008a) complaint. The final selection for the purpose of this chapter was made on notions proposed by van Dijk (2001a), Altheide (1996:33-34) and Stubbs (1983:231). Van Dijk (2001a, 2001b) holds that articles which best answer the research questions posed should be selected, while Altheide (1996:33-34) regards theoretical sampling as a “progressive” or gradual process in which “emerging understanding of the topic under discussion” determines the selection of materials. Stubbs (1983: 231) proposes that theoretical sampling involves

[s]eeking out people and situations which are likely to be particularly revealing or fruitful with respect to the phenomena in which one is interested. It is a way of gathering suggestive and rich data, in as pure a form as possible, and with as little time wasted as possible. The researcher chooses groups of situations that will help to generate to the fullest extent the properties of these theoretical categories.

3.5. LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

Although the two month time frame selected for the sampling of newspaper texts allows for a more focused study than a more extended period, it could be argued that more conclusive results would have been acquired from a) a corpus taken from an extended time frame, and b) a more extensive variety of newspaper titles. I, however, follow van Dijk (2001b, paraphrased by Blackledge, 2005:17-18; *cf.* Chapter 2, section 2.5.4.1) in this regard by espousing that, in order to research specific phenomena,

[CDA] must select which structures are most appropriate if analysis is to answer specific questions about social issues, [otherwise] a 'complete' analysis of a text (let alone a large corpus, would be quite unmanageable. [Furthermore], the structures to be analysed are determined very largely by their appropriateness in answering specific questions at hand.

These 'structures', in the context of this study, are extracts from the tabloid, the *Daily Sun*, published during April to May 2008.

The "array of theoretical and methodological concepts" (KhosraviNik, 2010:57) may seem confusing, but the "theoretical synthesis of conceptual tools developed in different theoretical schools" (KhosraviNik, 2010:57, after Weiss & Wodak, 2003) is a trademark of the interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary nature of CDA, leading to a richer epistemological field. Two guiding principles are important to distinguish CDA as a field, namely its claim to criticality as a theoretical destination, and the focus on 'discourse' as the source of data (KhosraviNik, 2010:57).

3.6. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the relationship between social practices and discourse structures in the analyses of newspaper texts remain a priority throughout the course of this study (*cf.* Wodak, 2006b:181). In the ensuing chapter, the first phase of the analysis, namely the establishing of situational contexts, and the description and evaluation thereof, are explicated.

CHAPTER 4

CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

4.1. INTRODUCTION

In line with Wodak's (1996; Wodak & Reisigl, 1999; Wodak *et al.*, 1999) discourse-historical approach (*cf.* Chapter 2), the elements of contents, discursive strategies, linguistic means, and forms of realisation (Wodak *et al.*, 1999:193) function cyclically in an analysis while connected to the social, political, and historical contexts (*cf.* Chapter 3). A discussion of the historical and social-political context in which the discursive practices of the *Daily Sun* are embedded subsequently forms an essential segment of the analysis in this chapter and is dealt with first. This does not exclude contextual elaborations within the linguistic analysis though, but serves as a cursory background.

Widdowson (2007:128) defines 'context' as "[a]spects of extra-linguistic reality that are taken to be relevant to communication", while Brown and Yule (1983:25) regard 'context' as the circumstances or environment in which language is used. Yule (2006:114) further extends this definition by stating that the "relevant context" refers to

our mental representation of those aspects of what is physically out there that we use in arriving at an interpretation. Our understanding of much of what we read and hear is tied to this processing of aspects of the physical context, particularly the time and place, in which we encounter linguistic expressions.

Since this study focuses on the discursive representations of non-nationals in the *Daily Sun*, in addition to the cultural and situational contexts³³ of this tabloid, it is apposite to highlight two additional contexts that are highly relevant to the analysis, namely the South African immigration scenario (referring to the cultural context) and the xenophobic outbreaks of 2008 (pointing to the situational context). These contexts are “closely intertwined” (Bloor & Bloor, 2007:27) and relate to text production and the interpersonal and the ideational functions of language.

4.1.1. CULTURAL AND SITUATIONAL CONTEXT OF THE *DAILY SUN*

Since 1994, the South African media landscape has undergone, in the words of Hadland *et al.*, (2008: 1) “massive changes“, owing, amongst other things, to the advent of tabloids and “a surge of newspaper reading” (Dunn, cited in Harrison 2005:2). The prevailing nationalist discourse about political issues such as migration is often revealed through the pages of a nation’s newspapers. In this sense tabloids are recognised as highly politically “influential” (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2008:150; *cf.* Harber, 2004:158; Bloom, 2005) and “as part of popular culture in post-Apartheid South Africa, force us to redefine our understanding of the public sphere and indeed of politics itself” (Wasserman, 2008:19). The *Daily Sun*, for instance, emulates a similar function as the 19th century Penny Press of America, taking newspapers beyond the small power elite and into a truly mass audience for the first time (Harber, 2004:157).

³³ The cultural context refers to the traditions, the discourse communities, the institutions, the historical context and the knowledge base of the participants – which may vary between multi-cultures, cross-cultures or mono-cultures (Bloor & Bloor, 2007:27).

By this process newspaper reading itself became one of the ‘mass simultaneous ceremonies’ (Anderson, 1991:35) constitutive of nationhood (In Aldridge, 2003:491).

To fully explicate the historical context of the *Daily Sun* in particular, the point of departure for this section is a discussion of tabloids in general.

All across Southern Africa, the tabloid phenomenon is growing rapidly. Other African countries affected by a rapid growth in tabloids, are Nigeria, Uganda, and Zimbabwe (Mabweazara, 2006; Beckett & Kyrke-Smith, 2007:24). As Lowe Morna & Ndlovu (2008:3) notes, “[O]ut of 178 newspapers in ten countries, 37 (or 20%) are regarded by media analysts in those countries as tabloid both in form and content”.

The term ‘tabloid’ has been solely derived from the realm of newspapers, and its meaning has shifted to denote any popular form of journalism (Harrington, 2008:268) or “a portmanteau description for what is regarded as the trivialization of media content in general” (Turner, 2004:76). There is some speculation about the origin of the term ‘tabloid’ - one dominant theory attributes the term to a 19th century medicine name (a neologism combining tablet and alkaloid), because tabloid newspapers (A3 size), at half the size of broadsheets (A2), were thought of as “a small, concentrated, effective pill, containing all news needs within one handy package” (Örnebring & Jonsson, 2004:287).

It was this handiness, which made readability much easier than the more bulky A2-sized broadsheets (Harrington, 2008:268-269; *cf.* Wasserman, 2010:14), that became the key selling point of tabloids. In terms of terminology, ‘tabloid’ is less often used to describe the physical size than the genre of a particular kind of newspaper (Wasserman, 2010:14). A simplified approach to newspapers would centre on terminology such as ‘tabloids’ and ‘broadsheets’ or ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ news, but these terms fail to recognise the “increasingly blurred boundaries of journalism” (Harrington, 2008:266) where the differences between tabloid and mainstream media are often obscured as characteristics of tabloids appear progressively in the mainstream media. The visible tabloidisation in terms of form in mainstream South African media (Wasserman & Rao, 2008:170; *cf.* Jones *et al.*, 2008:172) is also evidence of the pervasive influence of tabloids as more established dailies, such as *The Star* and *Sowetan*, adopt features of the *Daily Sun* (Jones *et. al.*, 2008: 172).

Stylistically, Bird (1992:8) regards tabloids as “the paper whose stock in trade is human interest, graphically told story, heavy on pictures, and short, pithy, highly stereotyped prose”. Sensation, melodrama, and a ‘breathless’ tone of storytelling also feature as tabloid characteristics and “[s]tories about superstitious incidents are often reported as fact, with little or no verification” (Lowe Morna & Ndlovu, 2008: 7). On the other hand, Glenn (2008:1) praises the “eyeball-grabbing headlines” of the *Daily Sun* and the “vernacular slang and lower LSM³⁴ street smarts” skilfully used by journalists of the tabloid.

³⁴ The South African population is divided into 10 different Living Standard Measures (LSMs) by the South African Advertising Research Foundation (SAARF). LSM group 10 is the most highly educated, with most of this group in white-collar jobs. In contrast, two-thirds of LSM 1 group only have ‘some’ primary school education. The literacy levels of this group are below average; one in every three people is illiterate and almost 41% unemployed. The LSM categories were designed by the advertising industry as an alternative to racial classification. The legacy of apartheid is evident here as whites (and some blacks) are more likely to occupy the higher LSM categories and blacks the lower categories. *Daily Sun* readers tend to cluster around the LSM categories 4–6. These groups have grown more than the other groupings since 1994, ranging from squatters to

British tabloids exert a noteworthy influence on South African tabloids, especially in terms of the formatting and approach to stories (Wasserman, 2010:21). This is evident in the integration of western values with an African mix, which attests to a form of “glocalization” (Wasserman, 2010:21). The *Daily Sun* reveals more than Western ethical criteria ascribes to – especially in terms of stories and photographs regarded as shocking to the mainstream coverage (Jones *et al.*, 2008:168).

Generally, tabloids are designated a lower status than broadsheets or traditional journalism carrying “hard” news (Thomas & Holderman, 2007:218; *cf.* McCartha & Stauman, 2009:71). Furthermore, they are also castigated for reducing “the standards of public discourse” (Örnebring & Johnsson, 2004:283) and effecting a “dumbing down” syndrome among citizens (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2008:151). Conversely, tabloids are considered more successful than the so-called quality news in terms of circulation, readership, and income (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2008:148).

The societal role that tabloids play is summarised by Wasserman (2010: 86; *cf.* Froneman, 2006:26-27) as follows:

- 1) Tabloids can play a political role by providing an alternative public sphere;
- 2) Tabloids can resist the exclusion of certain groups from mediated public discourse and contribute to ‘media citizenship’;
- 3) Tabloids can assist their readers in coping with life in a democratic society;

the lower middle classes. They mainly live in black townships with approximately one-third of this combined group possessing a grade 12 school pass (SAARF, 2002; 2008).

- 4) Tabloids can foster democracy by keeping the powerful accountable and by challenging authority on behalf of the vulnerable (Wasserman, 2010:100);
- 5) Tabloids can provide their readers with guidance in terms of participating in formal political processes; and
- 6) Tabloids can also play a negative role by engaging in reactionary politics. This includes xenophobic and other stereotypical attitudes, as well as the individualisation and sensationalising of popular disillusionment to the point of defining tension and resistance.

At this juncture, my focus turns exclusively to the *Daily Sun*, which Harber (2004:157) notes to be the first South African paper aspiring towards black working class readers. It has caught the imagination of the fastest growing sector of South African society, namely the “ballooning lower middle classes, known to advertisers and the LSM 4 and 5s³⁵. The “unprecedented rise” (Wasserman, 2010:21) of the *Daily Sun*, launched in 2002 by Media24, occurred when the target market of LSMs 4 and 5 had quadrupled its income after apartheid ended (Jones, Vanderhaeghan & Viney, 2008:169), is evidenced by a 229% in circulation within a year of its launch (Wasserman & Du Bois, 2006:178). Its audience grew from 4.755-million in AMPS® 2007B36, “shooting [to] over 5-million to 5,140-million. The paper reached 16.4% of the South African adult population, up from 15,3% in AMPS® 2007B” (SAARF AMPS 2008A: 2).

³⁶ The SAARF AMPS® 2008A (Rolling Average) database combines SAARF AMPS® 2007B (fieldwork July-December) and SAARF AMPS®2008A (fieldwork January-June 2008). SAARF moved to a rolling 12 month data release as from SAARF AMPS ®2001A. Surveys have been conducted on a bi-monthly basis, with two surveys being combined every 6 months to provide a 12 month database.

As Deon du Plessis (founder and late editor of the *Daily Sun*) notes, the target market was

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 own 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, 2006:50; *cf.* Steenveld & Strelitz, 2010:534).

Even more fascinating is the fact that most *Daily Sun* readers are first time newspaper readers – 75% of the population who could not previously afford newspapers (Harber, 2004:157).

Harber (2005:1; *cf.* Harrison, 2005) notes that newspaper literacy in South Africa has increased after the emergence of the *Daily Sun* and other tabloids. For the first time, previously marginalised groups have received access to mainstream culture and politics (Harrison, 2005:2; *cf.* Strelitz & Steenveld, 2005:3).

An increased social access, fuelled by an affordable cover price per copy, resulted in an accumulation of social capital amongst the poor as the *Daily Sun* provided opportunities to hear “working-class voices speak” (McKee, 2005:97), enabling these voices to find “a way into political engagement” (Wahl-Jorgenson, 2008:158; *cf.* Tulloch, 2007). This validated readers’ common humanity as their opinions and daily struggles are highlighted – the so-called ‘politics of everyday life’ – in contrast to the mandate of broadsheets where party-politics dominates (Wasserman, 2010:115; *cf.* Glenn, 2008:18).

A feeling of solidarity is created amongst previously marginalised readers based on common interests and grievances reported on by the *Daily Sun*. These grievances include – amongst others – failed economic policies, grievances about the police and criminal justice system, and on the whole, the loss of hope for improved living conditions after South Africa’s first democratic election in 1994. Thus, in providing access to an affordable newspaper, nowadays costing R2.90 per copy, and by receiving information which contributes to social skills, readers have similarly received the tools for “identity making” (Jones, Vanderhaeghen & Viney, 2008:168).

The new identity that Viney (2008:109) suggests township readers of the *Daily Sun* create for themselves, is a hybrid of confirming the traditional while accepting a new sense of the modern – “an identity-in-process” (*cf.* Dahlgren, 1995:122). This confluence of modernity and traditionalism is commented on by Du Plessis in an interview in 2008 when he describes the *Daily Sun* reader as

a skilled black South African worker who is saving for a Toyota and owns a home in his township [...] wants very much to know when police catch criminals, when evil spirits might be lurking and when mattresses are on sale (Du Plessis, quoted in Bruilliard, 2008).

Its prolific sales and the role it played in cultivating millions of new newspaper readers not only earned the *Daily Sun* some respect after initially being lambasted by the established press (*cf.* Rabe on www.berger2005.com; Berger 2005 for critiques), but also made the potential political power of this market clear. Another salient factor is the commercial agenda of tabloids. As

Wasserman (2010:103) notes, this agenda forms part of a transnational media conglomerates and it strives to simultaneously construct the “marginalized section of society to whom they claim to give a voice [*sic*]” and to construct themselves as “a lucrative market to be utilized for profit [*sic*]”. All the while, the Guy in the Blue Overall is comforted by the knowledge that the nation’s biggest daily is right there, batting for him every day (Du Plessis, 2008). The irony attached to Du Plessis’s claim emerges in light of the fact that the commercial agendas and hunt for profits gained from those same people are the driving forces behind tabloids (Strelitz & Steenveld, 2005:268). The contradiction between the commercial imperative and the claim to give a voice to the voiceless is clear.

Although sales figures have declined steadily after 2008, in what is being described as a “stabilising phase” for the newspaper, in terms of readership, the *Daily Sun* still remains the leading English tabloid in South Africa. The success of the *Daily Sun* (and other tabloids that followed suit) has thus not only invigorated the local newspaper industry (Bloom, 2005:2), but also formed part of the social phenomena characterising post-apartheid society (Wasserman, 2010:113). It reveals something about society and the role of the media in that particular society (Wasserman 2010:xii). In the case of the *Daily Sun* a contradiction is displayed in its aspiration of being a ‘champion for the people’, while simultaneously harbouring a problematic stance on xenophobia – “in a country where such sentiments run high” (Wasserman, 2010:115). The tabloid is

tapping into the widespread xenophobic attitudes in the country and amplifying them for sensational value. ‘Clamp-down operations’ on ‘illegal aliens’ get prominent and gleeful coverage, and foreign nationals are often glibly associated with crime (Wasserman, 2010:111).

These xenophobic tropes, Wasserman (2010:113) advises, should not be seen in isolation as the vile and unethical journalistic Other, but as part of the social phenomena characterising post-apartheid society. Although Wasserman's (2010:113) view is relevant, the civic responsibility of tabloids cannot be negated. Especially in light of the fact that, unlike overseas readers, South African tabloid readers have a tendency to trust tabloids to a greater extent than they do mainstream news (Wasserman, 2010:131).

Focus group respondents in the rural town of Makhado (*cf.* Wasserman, 2010:130) preferred tabloids overall, as they were not clandestine ("not hiding anything"), or because they paid attention to matters relevant to readers' lived experience that had been neglected by mainstream newspapers. Bird (2008:19) also documented children of a target audience who read the *Daily Sun* as having told Media Monitoring Africa that they like the *Daily Sun* because "it spices things up" (Child participants at an Empowering Children and the Media Workshop, May 2008).

Because readers are inclined to read newspapers that align with their own perceptions and approaches (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008:9), the pragmatic aspect of cultivating attitudes and amplifying world views via the constructing of a community through language (Wasserman, 2008:1 on [www.](#)) and readers' lived realities, deserves more attention at this stage as it ties in with readers' media consumption, which, according to Fairclough (1989), is another salient aspect of any CDA media analysis.

Noteworthy is the creating of a sense of community, and another means of fostering solidarity, via storytelling when readers share, remember, and laugh about tabloid stories (Wasserman 2010:136). Viney (2008:128) concludes that readers “are not merely skimming the surface and looking at the pictures, they are consciously examining the content, and thinking and talking about the issues raised”. Contrary to Viney’s (2008:128) focus-group findings, Wasserman (2010:135) notes that “some South Africans buy tabloids for the social capital they provide, even if they are unable to read them”. He adds that reading the *Daily Sun* has become such a status symbol amongst shack dwellers, that even illiterate people would pretend to read the tabloid and watch the pictures in order to be seen as “educated” (Wasserman, 2010:135).

Although a great degree of polarisation in society is still present, significantly, interactivity and cohesion are created among members of the tabloid reading community living in different neighbourhoods (Wasserman, 2010:136). Ironically, the positive impact of creating social cohesion, providing voiceless people with an alternative public sphere and a social identity, and therefore a national identity based on citizenship, is one of the explanations offered for the growth of xenophobia after 1994. Harris’s (2002:181) notion that “exclusion, alienation and hostility operate in a complex, ongoing spiral across the line of nationality”, becomes all the more applicable to the context of the *Daily Sun*. Inherently, as a commercial entity “reliant on a public caught between history and progress” (Wasserman, 2010:36), the contradictory roles of this tabloid reflect a quick-changing society undergoing “unequal transition” (Wasserman, 2010:36).

Although a 2005 Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA) report concludes that the meteoric rise of the tabloid press in South Africa is problematic in the sense that it latches on to reactionary and sensational issues and attitudes. Sampson (2009) maintains that the tabloid press rather reflect the changing needs of a rapidly growing working class in search of relevant and easily accessible information.

Also controversial is the fact that the extensive urban market of the *Daily Sun* aligns its demographic closely with that of xenophobic/Afrophobic-related hotspots (MMA(a), 2008:13). This does not mean, however, that the researcher endeavours to establish a direct, causal link between the content of tabloids (or broadsheets) and real-life xenophobic/Afrophobic violence – which is in any case difficult to prove beyond a shadow of a doubt – but the researcher’s aim is rather to identify questionable representational strategies which may be aimed at inculcating certain ideologies about non-nationals.

Viney’s (2008) findings (of a repetitive surfacing of the topic of “foreigners” amongst her focus group of *Daily Sun* readers) concur with that of Crush & Ramachandran’s (2010:216). An overwhelming consensus also linked “foreigners” with crime (Viney, 2008:122) and depriving locals of jobs that should rightfully be theirs (Viney, 2008:149). Furthermore, respondents were dissatisfied with the manner in which government dealt with crime and “refugees” as they perceived “foreigners” to be protected by “the laws of this country” (Viney, 2008:149).

The 2006 SAMP Xenophobia Survey indicates that South Africans in general exhibit levels of intolerance and hostility to outsiders unlike virtually anything seen in other parts of the world (Migration Policy Series No. 50 on [www.](http://www.migrationpolicy.org)). The public remains extremely hostile to immigration as a principle and to migrants in general (Crush, 2008a:8).

In a survey in 2008, 76% of South Africans supported electrification (up from 66% in 1999) of South African borders. Furthermore, 33% of respondents believed that migrants come to South Africa either for employment or to commit crime (21% of respondents). South Africans (one-third of respondents) also believed that migrants and refugees are not entitled to the same rights as citizens (SAMP, 2008:25). Illegal immigrants should also never receive any rights (two-thirds of respondents) (Crush & Ramachandran, 2010:216-217). Human Rights Watch ascertained already in 1998 that South African culture had been turning “increasingly xenophobic” (Lerner, Roberts & Matlala, 2009:15) and the APRM (African Peer Review Mechanism) panel of experts identified xenophobia as one of South Africa’s 14 greatest challenges and urged the government to curb it as soon as possible (Fabricus, 2008:16).

Against this backdrop of severe antagonism towards non-nationals, the next contextual discussion briefly explicates South African immigration history.

4.1.2. CULTURAL CONTEXT: MIGRATION

How a nation treats the immigrant speaks volumes about the nation (Chang & Aoki, 1998: 310).

According to Peberdy (2009:11) black migration into South Africa predated the arrival of the first white settlers in 1642. Internal tribal warfare “created links between groups spread widely across southern Africa”. Evidence confirms that already in the eighteenth century a primitive system of ‘immigration practices’ existed whereby social, political, and ritual processes were enforced to incorporate smaller, defeated, refugee, or dependant San (colonial: ‘Bushmen’), Khoe-khoe (colonial: ‘Hottentot’), and Bantu bands, into emerging greater chieftaincies of the region (Coplan, 2009:66-67).

One subject’s nation builder was often another’s genocidal maniac. Military aristocrats such as Mzilikazi of the predatory ‘Zulu’ Khumalo (Matebele), for example, forcibly absorbed the Setswana speaking chieftaincies he decimated (Coplan, 2009:66-67).

Furthermore, the British Empire imported Malaysian, then Indian and Chinese labour in the 1800s (Everatt 2011:12). More recently (during the apartheid era before 1994), Africans from Lesotho, Mozambique, and Malawi were tolerated as part of a migrant labour system, but not considered for immigration (Crush, 2008b:1). After 1994 the government struggled to reform its migration policy and in 2002, after eight years of negotiation, a new Immigration Act was signed into law (Crush, 2008b:2). The main goal of the new policy was to attract skilled

labourers to South Africa and, although it also committed the government to rooting out xenophobia in society, no measures were specified for this undertaking. Instead, other draconian measures, such as “community policing” (where the onus rested on South Africans to spy on people and report them to the authorities) were still in place (Crush, 2008b:2). The new Immigration Act only came into full effect in 2005.

South Africa is a signatory to the United Nations Human Rights Charter and the 1951 Geneva Convention on Refugee and Asylum seekers, but it has failed to establish appropriate mechanisms for receiving, processing, and giving protection to refugees and asylum seekers (Ramphela, 2008: 17).

South African legislation recognises three migrant categories: (1) immigrants entering South Africa to permanently settle in the country; (2) migrants who have no intention of settling here permanently, be they authorised or unauthorised; and (3), refugees³⁷ (Joseph, 2001:143), who were not recognised until 1993, following the transition to democracy when South Africa became a signatory to the UN and Organisation of African Unity conventions on refugees (Crush, 2008b). In much of South Africa, the term ‘foreigner’ is regularly used to portray a coherent and uniform group of people without South African citizenship. This definition, however, belies the internal diversity among foreign citizens in South Africa and

³⁷ Refugees are regarded as persons fleeing from “individual persecution, generalized human rights violations or armed conflict in their country of origin [*sic*]” (UNHCR 1998:2). A refugee has the right not to be deported, the right to earn wages and receive education, health care, and an identity card for travel purposes (UNHCR, 1998). Asylum seekers are people whose claims for refugee status have not been decided. They have the same basic human rights as refugees (Harris, 2002:15). Unfortunately, there is often a discrepancy between policy and practice where non-nationals are concerned although South Africa, in principle, has committed itself to protecting the rights of refugees by signing all major international policy instruments. However, this commitment is not reflected in official practice. A significant body of research has documented the institutional prejudices and abuses by the South African authorities (Nyar, n.d.:5).

risks ignoring the significant difference between documented and undocumented migrants (Crush & Williams, 2003).

Since 1994 South Africa has experienced a sharp increase in immigration from African countries (De Villiers & Reitzes, 1995; Minnaar, Hough & De Kock, 1996). In addition, the economic implosion of Zimbabwe further impacted on the inadequate South African migration and asylum system as most unskilled and semiskilled Zimbabwean migrants (and considerable numbers of skilled migrants, too) migrated to Botswana and South Africa (Crush, 2008b). The estimated number of Zimbabweans fleeing their country since 2000 is 3 million (Juma, 2009: 18) and although the Human Science Research Council officially withdrew the 4 to 8 million number cited, the press insisted on using it (Crush, 2002: 7). The number of non-nationals in the country are often exaggerated: a sterling example taken from a press release in *The Star*, is when Colonel Van Niekerk from the South African Police Services noted that “illegal aliens are thought to make up 8.5 million of South Africa’s approximate 40 million people” and that they are considered to be a threat to the socio-economic structure and safety and security of the country on the whole (Fine & Bird, 2002:12). Again all migrants are erroneously labelled as “illegal aliens”, and the fact that various categories of non-nationalism exist, is not mentioned at all.

Non-nationals encounter extreme hostility as stereotypical, discriminatory language and actions permeate all levels of South African society and become the norm. The extent of this extreme hostility is illustrated in the last contextual discussion on the 2008 xenophobic pogroms.

4.2.3. SITUATIONAL CONTEXT: XENOPHOBIA

“Xenophobia is not just an attitude of dislike”, but it “is often accompanied by violence and is racist and ethnic in its application” (Nyamnjoh, 2010:67). This fact is illustrated by the unparalleled violence and cruelty that erupted against foreign nationals living in Alexandra township in Johannesburg on 11 May 2008. These attacks were reminiscent of ‘Operation Buyelekhaya’³⁸ in Alexandra (Desai, 2008:50) during December 1994 and January 1995, when armed youth gangs assailed suspected illegal immigrants – destroying homes and property, and marching alleged illegal persons to a local police station, demanding their immediate and forcible removal (Minnaar *et al.*, 1996:172-98).

The 2008 Alexandra attacks served as the impetus for a national onslaught on all ‘foreigners’. Attacks first spread to Diepsloot and the East Rand where the Mozambican Ernesto Alfabeto Nhamuave, nicknamed ‘Mugzu’, was burned alive while bystanders laughed (Hassim *et al.*, 2008:1). Then the pogroms extended further throughout informal settlements and townships in the rest of South Africa and by early June – when the violence had “subsided” – 62 people had died, one-third of them South Africans (Hassim *et al.*, 2008: 1). Most victims were from beyond South Africa’s borders, as Landau (2010:214) points out, but “a third were South Africans who had married foreigners, refused to participate in the violent orgy, or had the misfortune to belong to groups that were evidently not South African enough”.

³⁸ Buyelekhaya is an isiXhosa word – also used in isiZulu – translated as ‘go back home’.

...the paradox involved in the loss of human rights is that such loss coincides with the instant when a person becomes a human being in general – without a profession, without a citizenship, without an opinion, without a deed by which to identify and specify himself (Arendt, 1958: 297).

Apart from the killings, dozens of women were raped, close to 700 wounded, and over a hundred thousand displaced (Polzer, 2010:3). Millions of rands worth of goods and hundreds of foreign owned houses were destroyed or ‘redistributed’ in the process (Landau, 2010: 214). The government first denied the crisis, but then blamed criminal forces and even alluded to a third force responsible for the violence. However, Matsinhe (2011:308; *cf.* Misago *et al.*, 2009) points out that the aggressors were isolated groups scattered across the country, acting without an organising and co-ordinating ‘third force’. These scattered local mobs appeared to be organised because a crowd mentality, mediated via the media, united them (Matsinhe, 2011:308). These violent excesses were foreshadowed by the litany of violent incidents against foreigners which were reported with “ominous regularity in the local media during the preceding years” (Duncan, 2012:106).

Writers, journalists and scholars proposed various explanations for the attacks, which Harris (2002:170) groups into three categories:

- 1) The scapegoat theory, which holds foreigners responsible for crime, for the lack of jobs, for stealing of wives and for poverty;
- 2) The biocultural theory which entails that non-nationals are attacked on the basis of physical differences (the darker skin tone, accent, and even dress code become xenophobic indicators); and

- 3) The isolation hypothesis, which blames South African isolation (resulting from the former Apartheid policy) from the international community and the rest of Africa as the main cause for xenophobic attacks.

However, Landau (2010:215) notes that most explanations falter under empirical interrogation, as statistical analysis indicates that the poorest areas were not those on the rampage, suggesting that poverty and disadvantage were not the only triggers for the violence (Wa Kabwe-Segatti & Fauvelle-Aymar, 2009).

Another unexplained phenomenon of the xenophobic outbreaks, as Landau (2010:229) notes, is that Venda- and Shangaan³⁹-speaking citizens were assaulted while Sothos and Swazis were unharmed. The reason for these selective attacks on Africans (which may be termed ‘Afrophobia’, cf. Gqola’s 2008:210 “*Negrophobia*”) remains unanswered. However, Neocosmos’s (2006:1-6) theory of “foreign native” and “native foreigner” mentality may render a possible explanation for the failed identification of fellow South Africans. ‘Native foreigners’ refer

...to those black South Africans in our ‘new’ South Africa who, because they conform to the stereotypes which the police and home officials have of ‘illegal foreigners’ today [...] are arrested along with more genuine ‘foreigners’ (Neocosmos, 2006:6).

³⁹ South Africans often refer to Tsonga speakers as Shangaans, but South African Tsongas regard Shangaans as those Tsonga people living in Mozambique (<http://www.sa-venues.com/language/tsonga.htm>). South Africa recognises eleven official languages; amongst these Tsonga (Shangaan) and Venda are two of the linguistic minorities.

The catalyst for this study was the formal complaint laid at the Press Ombudsman on 29 May 2008 against the tabloid *Daily Sun* by Media Monitoring Africa (MMA; cf. MMA, 2008a) and its partner, Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA). They complained, inter alia, about the use of the word ‘aliens’ to describe non-nationals, and what they regarded as incitement to hatred (MMA, 2008a). Although Press Ombudsman, Mr Joe Thloloe, initially ruled in favour of the tabloid (MMA, 2008b), the parties agreed to settle their dispute after a hearing before the Press Appeals Panel. The *Daily Sun* subsequently agreed not to use the word ‘aliens’ to describe non-nationals and to abide by the Press Code (MMA, 2008b).

The suggestion that xenophobia was spread by the media thus prompted me to take a closer look at the way in which non-nationals were represented by various metaphorical mappings in the media at the time of the events. In line with the principles of CDA, this study focuses on a few “discoursal events” (after Fairclough, 1999) to describe, interpret, and evaluate these representations from a linguistic, as well as a sociological angle. The role of the print media – and more specifically the tabloid *Daily Sun* – is thus closely scrutinised in creating social and political constructs via its language use and concomitant ideologies. Exposing and explaining underlying ideologies in accordance with the emancipatory aspirations of CDA remains a priority. In the next section, a textual analysis where discursive patterns in the presentation of non-nationals are described, interpreted, and explained, is performed on excerpts from the *Daily Sun*. The analysis derives its principal methodological tools from critical discourse analysis, which strives to serve society by addressing discourse-related problems, often political in nature (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999:60). Within the paradigm of CDA, a metaphoric analysis (after Santa-Ana 1999; also see Lakoff & Johnson’s (1980) seminal

study on metaphor as mentioned in Chapter 3) affords additional analytical tools for describing, explaining and evaluating relevant discourse fragments from the print media.

CHAPTER 5

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

Language has been completely taken over, shot through with intentions and accents. For any individual consciousness living in it, language is not an abstract system of normative forms but rather a concrete heteroglot conception of the world ... Each word tastes of a context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life; all words and forms are populated by intentions (Bakhtin, 1981:273-274).

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The textual analysis that follows in this chapter derives its principal methodological tools from Critical Discourse Analysis, which strives to serve society by addressing discourse-related problems, often political in nature (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999:60). In line with Bednarek (2005:6) who argues that “metaphors are crucial devices for establishing particular construals⁴⁰ of ‘newsworthy’ events in news reports”, conceptual metaphor analysis, along with discourse-related analytical tools found fruitful in addressing the research questions, are integrated to triangulate the analyses of relevant headlines and extracts from the *Daily Sun*.

Problematic political and moral concepts are often created by metaphor in media discourse (Santa Ana, 1999:196). Because of its potential and frequent use as an instrument of social control, as Fairclough (1989:26-8) notes, metaphor, although supplemented by other semiotic

⁴⁰ Event-construal, according to Bednarek (2005:6) refers to “the way in which a particular event in the ‘real-world’ is construed via textualisation”.

and textual strategies, serves as a central analytical tool in this textual analysis. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:3) define a metaphor as a conceptual mapping from one semantic source domain to a different semantic target domain. To extend the target domain, “a stock of entailments are available for further inferences that without the association of the source domain would not be made” (Santa Ana, 1999:195).

Van Dijk (1991) notes that ethnic prejudices are often portrayed via certain lexical choices, but the style, rhetoric, and the local semantic moves of news reports may also be indicators of ethnic prejudice (Wodak, 2006:13; *cf.* van Dijk 1991). The graphical aspect (semiotic analysis) of any newspaper is also essential to the messages it conveys to the public and is briefly addressed in the analyses.

5.2. HEADLINES

In order to outline the anti-foreigner discourse, I take a cursory look at the headlines, after which I turn my attention to excerpts from selected articles. The headlines below are arranged diachronically. When these headlines are first examined on the plane of lexicality, the recurrence of patterns of ethnic prejudice becomes evident. Traces of some of these loaded lexical indicators, or collocations thereof, are underlined in Table 1:

Table 1

Date of publication	p.	Headline in the <i>Daily Sun</i>
09April 2008	13	63 <u>aliens</u> bust in <u>crime</u> drive By Warren Mabona
14April 2008	1-2	Zims <u>flood</u> into SA
	3	MAGIC <u>RATS</u> ARE <u>STEALING</u> MY CASH! A TUCK shop owner believes that a <u>Zimbabwean merchant</u> is sending debt collectors to her place – <u>magical rats</u> !
15April 2008	10	THIS ISN'T MAGIC, IT'S <u>THEFT</u>! <u>Aliens</u> disappear with the cash By Thokozani Mgagagula
16April 2008	5	<u>Alien</u> girl (9) dies in attack By Abram Mashego
17April 2008	1	Mugabe's <u>Tsunami</u> Yes, it IS a <u>crisis</u>! By Sun Reporter <u>MORE THAN 1000 OF THEM</u> A DAY ARE CROSSING OUR NORTHERN BORDER ... FLEEING THE REVENGE OF ZIMBABWE'S ELECTION LOSER, ROBERT MUGABE!
25April 2008	5	<u>Aliens</u> arrested in rowdy <u>protest</u> SAPA
9 May 2008	2	<u>Bloody</u> end of <u>alien</u> lover By Noluvuyo Mkhetho
09May 2008	11	THEY WAIT FOR DARK BEFORE THEY <u>ATTACK</u>! <u>Aliens</u> use muthi to <u>steal</u> our cattle! By Mzamani Mathye
13 May 2008	4	IT'S <u>WAR</u> ON <u>ALIENS</u>! 20 <u>bust</u> for <u>attacks</u> By Dikgari Ramothatha
14 May 2008	1	COPS SAID I WAS AN <u>ALIEN</u>

		Homeboy angry after <u>jail horror</u> BE very careful...don't look or act like a <u>foreigner</u>
	2	<u>WAR AGAINST ALIENS</u> Thousands forced to <u>flee</u> Alex By Rifumo Maluleke
15 May 2008	1	<u>ALIENS: THE TRUTH!</u> Daily Sun tells why Alex <u>exploded</u>
	1	<u>FLAMES OF FURY!</u> When <u>crime</u>-battered people have had enough
	2	<u>ANGRY CROWDS ATTACKS</u>
	2	<u>ALEX ALIENS WANT TO GO HOME</u>
16 May 2008	3	<u>DESTRUCTION RAGES DIEPSLOOT</u> By Rifumo Maluleke and SAPA
19 May 2008	1	<u>RAMPAGE!</u> 13 <u>aliens</u> <u>dead</u> as <u>angry flames</u> of <u>hatred</u> spread!
19 May 2008	3	<u>BLOOD AND FLAMES</u> <u>Aliens</u> <u>killed</u> and <u>injured</u> as new <u>attacks</u> <u>stoke flames</u> of <u>hatred</u> By Rifumo Maluleke
	3	<u>BLOOD AND FLAMES</u> SA couple's shop <u>looted</u> and <u>burnt</u> By Ntombi Nkosi
	3	<u>BLOOD AND FLAMES</u> <u>Foreigners</u> helped us says Zuma By Sun Reporters
20 May 2008	1	<u>FLEEING THE MIGHTY WIND</u> By Rifumo Maluleke <u>Aliens</u> <u>armed</u> with rocks <u>fought back</u> yesterday
	3	<u>GOODBYE MZANSI</u> 500 <u>fearful</u> Mozambicans <u>pack up and go</u> By Bridget Masango, Sipho Kekana and Kola Alli
	4	<u>BATTLEGROUND: IMAGES OF <u>WAR</u> IN THE STREETS</u> <u>The Alien Terror!</u>

		It's like a <u>war</u>. All over Southern Gauteng, <u>foreigners</u> and South Africans are <u>fighting</u>. Here are images from the <u>battlefront</u> in the streets yesterday by SunSnappers
22 May 2008	1	POLICE PUT US THROUGH <u>HELL</u>! As <u>foreigners</u> turn their backs on hope!
	2	COPS BLAME <u>THUGS</u>! <u>THE ALIEN TERROR</u>! By Rifumo Maluleke, Sipho Kekana, Africa Ka Mahamba and AENS
	2	COPS BLAME <u>THUGS</u>! Mbeki calls in the <u>army</u>! By SAPA
	2	Call for calm in KZN as <u>aliens attacked</u>! By Anil Singh and Sibusiso Zondo

The semantic macrostructures⁴¹ which emerge from these headlines refer to crime, war, outsiders ('aliens', 'foreigners'), and destruction. Microstructures⁴² include syntactic, rhetorical, and lexical characteristics of newspaper style (Fairclough, 1995:30). Lexical choices in above headlines, which include "Tsunami" and "flood", represent metaphors of natural disasters which are presumably caused by the 'aliens'. The covert negative ideology which emerges from these headlines is that foreigners are dangerous, criminal and unwanted in South Africa. They are subhuman beings ('aliens') who only cause destruction. The underlying supposition is that locals should get rid of all foreigners as they pose a serious threat to the local population. These notions emerge throughout this study and will further be illuminated during the course of this chapter.

⁴¹ According to Fairclough (1995:29), "the macrostructure of a text is its overall organization in terms of themes or topics". Thus the term "is central to the analysis of thematic structure..." (Fairclough, 1995:29).

⁴² These structures "are analysed in terms of semantic relations between propositions – coherence relations of causality, consequence and so forth" (Fairclough, 1995:29).

5.3. METAPHOR

Within the metaphoric analysis of this study, the target domain⁴³ is established as the non-national or the ‘alien’. The tokens that share a source domain appear in two patterns of usage: dominant and secondary metaphors (Santa Ana, 1999:198). Dominant metaphors appear frequently in a wide variety of texts, while secondary metaphors appear in multiple linguistic expressions, or as an occasional metaphor (for example, a single instance of tokens of a source domain), or even a single lexical item which may have a distinct effect in the texts (Santa Ana, 1999:198).

In the pages of the *Daily Sun*, the dominant metaphors which occur most frequently in a great variety of forms are that of crime, war, and the depiction of the non-nationals as ‘aliens’. Secondary distributions (which appear in a variety of linguistic forms) portray tokens of nationalism and natural disaster which are analysed in greater detail below:

5.3.1. DOMINANT NEGATIVE METAPHORS: ALIENS, WAR, AND CRIMINALITY

As early as 1995, *The Star* (14 August, 2008) conceptualised the notion of ‘alien’ for its readers: “Alien has become almost a swearword in this country, used by xenophobes to describe those who have come to take our jobs, our homes, our women...”. Bourdieu’s (1998:28) conception that repetition functions as “a process of permanent, insidious imposition which produces, through impregnation, a real belief” is significant in explaining

⁴³ “The conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain is called **source domain**, while the conceptual domain that is understood this way is the **target domain**” (Kövecses, 2002:4).

the potential harm locked up in the repetitive use of the ‘alien’ metaphor. The strong historical context attached to this derogatory term is important as “none of the things we say or do, whether we speak, listen, write, read, or think, occur in a vacuum” (Moen, 2006:3, after Bakhtin’s dialogic theory, 1986). The term ‘alien’ featured in the title of the 1937 ‘Aliens’ Act, but it was later replaced by the ‘Immigration Act’ in 2002. Within this Act, ‘aliens’ denoted prohibited or unwanted non-nationals (Vallentgoed, 2008:6; *cf.* Crush & Mojapelo).

In the following tokens (1-5) derived from *Daily Sun* headlines, the ‘alien’ and criminality metaphors are synergised to create rampant prejudice against non-nationals:

- 1) ***63 aliens bust in crime drive*** (*Daily Sun*, 9 April 2008, p.13).
- 2) ***THIS ISN’T MAGIC, IT’S THEFT! Aliens disappear with the cash*** (*Daily Sun*, 15 April 2008, p. 10).
- 3) ***Alien girl (9) dies in attack*** (*Daily Sun*, 16 April 2008, p. 5)
- 4) ***Aliens arrested in rowdy protest*** (*Daily Sun*, 25 April 2008, p. 5)
- 5) ***They Wait For Dark Before They Attack! Aliens use muthi⁴⁴ to steal our cattle!*** (*Daily Sun*, 9 May 2008, p.11)

In addition to being depicted as criminal sub-humans (‘aliens’) the metaphor of war is invoked (3) to create a suitable setting for the ‘hostile invaders’ (5). Unnatural circumstances are concomitant with war. This corresponds with the invaders’ penchant to “steal” from and

⁴⁴ *Muthi* refers to the medicinal and magical properties of herbs, plants and animal parts that are used for healing purposes (Wallace, 2012: 2).

“attack” South African citizens (5) under cover of darkness. Their deviousness, highlighted as “darkness”, is occasioned as an additional entailment to reinforce the war and criminality metaphors associated with the target domain of the non-national.

The discursive effect of conflating the criminality and war metaphors in (3) and (5) maximises the villainous framing of non-nationals. The headline in token (5) is represented by Text 1 below.

‘These criminals’ appear more threatening by their use of *muthi*. This implies that they are not merely launching a physical attack, but also one in the spiritual realm – creating an even more terrifying attack. Of relevance here, is the style of personalised story-telling (Allan 2004: 203) which taps into the “affective engagements” of citizens (Wahl-Jorgensen 2008: 158). The folkloric tradition in which tabloids are situated also gains prominence as it contributes to restructuring “diffuse beliefs, uncertainties, and stereotypes in narrative form” (Bird, 1992:165).

The aspect of mythical journalism is touched on by late editor and publisher of the *Daily Sun*, Deon du Plessis, who stated that “There's a very strong spiritual element in this country which it would be foolish to ignore” (Townsend, [www.](#)).

The breathlessly credulous tone exemplified in Text 1 may be connected to the hybrid identities that many ‘novel’ citizens (newcomers to the South African democracy) have been confronted with post 1994. For example, there is a desire for modernity on the one hand, but

on the other, the traditional African beliefs as exemplified in the use of muthi are innate and impact on all spheres of life. This metaphor took hold and was reproduced further:

- 6) *I believe they're hard to catch because they're using muthi!* (Daily Sun, 09 May 2008, p. 11)

The underlying presupposition of Text 1 is that the Mozambicans have transcended the plane of conventional criminality by their muthi infused powers. Even the police struggle to find these criminals as they are aided by mystical powers which are difficult to oppose. A discursive strategy of intensification is applied here as the underlying presupposition is that the 'criminal aliens' buttress their powers via mystic interventions. This provides them with an unfair advantage over the locals. Lexical choices such as "fighting mad", and "fuming" illustrate the local feelings toward the 'aliens' who are portrayed via the conceptual metaphor of ALIENS ARE THIEVES. This metaphor is realised by three signalled⁴⁵ and three unsignalled propositions⁴⁶:

- 7) Aliens attack in the dark (unsignalled)
- 8) Mozambicans come by night to steal South African cattle (unsignalled)
- 9) Khazamula Dinda is the latest victim (unsignalled)
- 10) All his cattle disappeared (signalled)

⁴⁵ Bednarek (2005:15; cf. Fairclough, 1988:131) broadly refers "to explicit marking of propositions as reported (via the use of reporting expressions or quotation marks, etc.: *signalled*) and to unmarked propositions (*unsignalled*). With unsignalled propositions it is normally only possible to hypothesise about their status as reported discourse or writer's discourse" (Bednarek (2005:15).

⁴⁶ Unsignalled propositions have ambivalent interpretations (Fairclough, 1988:131).

- 11) Rangers found his cows in the park with two Mozambicans (signalled)
- 12) Aliens use muthi and are therefore hard to catch (signalled)

Most of the construals are explicitly attributed to Khazamula Dinda, hence it may be argued that it is he (rather than the *Daily Sun*) who establishes the construal of himself as a victim in an effort to evoke sympathy.

TEXT 1: DAILY SUN, 9 MAY 2008, P. 11

**THEY WAIT FOR DARK
BEFORE THEY ATTACK!**

**Aliens use
muthi to
steal our
cattle!**

By MZAMANI MATHYE
MOZAMBICANS come by night to steal South African cattle.

And the villagers on the border are fighting mad!

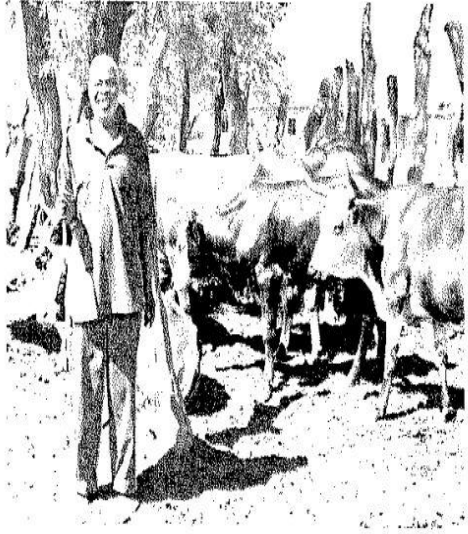
People in Limpopo villages such as Mattiyani, Josepha, Mhinga and Maphomphe are fuming.

Khazamula Dinda (78) of Josepha Village is the latest victim. "Last week all my cattle disappeared. I heard that rangers from Kruger National Park had found my cows in the park with two Mozambicans."

Khazamula Dinda (78) of Josepha Village is happy that he got his cattle back.

Photo by Mzamani Mathye

bicans have stolen from me. I believe they're hard to catch because they're using muthi!"
Inspector Magezi Madhehane of Sasolamani Po.



As this report (Text 1) was published before the major outbreaks of xenophobia, it serves as an example of the xenophobic culture which had already been cultivated in the country's main institutions prior the May 2008 attacks.

What becomes clear though is that by the time of the May 2008 attacks a powerful xenophobic culture had been created and state organs were geared to hounding African immigrants, the media to stigmatisation and stereotyping, while in many townships African immigrants lived under threat of scapegoating that carried with it the use of violence (Desai 2008: 58).

In text 2, a local South African, Lorah Tlhabine, voices her indignation in the form of a simile as she draws an analogy between the magic rats and a court "sheriff".

TEXT 2: DAILY SUN, 14 APRIL 2008, P. 3



MAGIC RATS ARE STEALING MY CASH

A TUCK shop owner believes that a Zimbabwean merchant is sending debt collectors to her place – magical rats!

The frightened woman admits that she has owed the alien merchant money since last year.

Lorah Tlhabine (51), from Elandshoek in Mpumalanga, believes the rats are like the sheriff of the court!

"Only they won't say who sent them, but I think I know," Lorah said.

She suspects it's a Zimbabwean woman who sold her sofa covers, two table cloths and a picture frame for R750 on credit.

"I haven't paid her a cent since I took those items. I have not had the money since the Festive Season.

"Last time she came to collect the money she was very angry that I didn't have it. She told me next time someone else would come and take it!

"When my money started disappearing in January, I suspected my grandchildren were responsible," she says.

"But when my money continued to go after they returned to their parents, I remembered the words of that woman and how harsh her tone was," said Lorah.

Then the rats came . . .

"I thought they were ordinary rats, but they run in a strange manner – on two legs instead of four!"

Lorah says she thinks the rats are walking away with R50 or R100 at a time – and that they have already taken a total of R350 since they started collecting.

She says no matter where she hides the money – the rats are able to find it!

"I want to pay my creditor by hand, not the way she is playing by sending rats. It is making me afraid!"

Lorah added that she has learned her lesson! – AENS

Lorah Tlhabine believes a Zimbabwean merchant has sent two magical rats to collect money that she owes her.

Photo by Siphwe Nyathi/AEN

She believes the rats frequenting her place are debt collectors sent by a Zimbabwean merchant (an “alien merchant”) to retrieve the money owed by her and insists that she knows who sent them, although “...they [the rats] won’t say who sent them”.

13) *I thought they were ordinary rats, but they run in a strange manner – on two legs instead of four!*

This is reminiscent of the remark made by a policeman who mistakenly arrested and deported a South African citizen because “he walked like a Mozambican” (*Mail & Guardian*, 21 July 1994, cited in Desai, 2008:52).

This process of intensification is reminiscent of the ‘strangeness’ that non-nationals (‘*makwerekwere*’⁴⁷) are equated with. Their public and private prosecutions are often based on the way they dress (foreign women wear dresses not trousers), their accent and ability to pronounce certain indigenous words; even the way they walk becomes sites of contestation. Their bodily hexis⁴⁸ (after Bordieu, 1990) thus reveals their ‘true’ identity and leaves them vulnerable to attacks.

⁴⁷ **Makwerekwere:** A derogatory term referring to migrants. It apparently reflects the strange ways they speak; for South Africans the sound of “‘gibberish’ – a ‘barbaric’ form of ‘stuttering’” (Nyamnjoh, 2006:39). “Makwerekwere means different things in different contexts, but as used in South Africa it means not only a black person who cannot demonstrate mastery of local South African languages but also one who hails from a country assumed to be economically and culturally backward in relation to South Africa” (ibid.).

⁴⁸ Bodily hexis (after Bordieu, 1990) refers to “the speaker’s disposition or the way s/he stands, talks, walks or laughs, which has to do with a given political mythology. It can thus be concluded that discourse is multi-modal because it uses more than one semiotic system and performs several functions at the same time” (In Alba-Juez, 2009:13).

On the interpersonal level, the verbal expressions used by the reporter; namely “believes”, “said”, “thinks”, “admits”, “suspects” and “says”, and “added” point to varying degrees of truth modality. The verbs “thinks” (written twice in a reported form) and “suspects” – used once as a reporting verb and then as part of a quotation, point to a lack of factual evidence that not only affects Lorah’s credibility, but also indicate some healthy scepticism on the part of the reporter. To counteract this effect, the more positive reporting verbs “believes”, appear twice, and the neutral reporting verbs “says” and “added” are used to conclude the report.

The negative reporting verb “admits” in “The frightened woman admits that she has owed the alien merchant money since last year” (*Daily Sun*, 14 April 2008, p. 3), serves to validate Lorah’s story by providing the ‘alien merchant’ with a motive for retribution – thus strengthening the credibility of her own story. Laura’s ‘confession’ about owing the ‘merchant-alien’ some money, is not foregrounded; instead, the non-national is cast as the criminal agent in the report. The South African tendency to scapegoat the ‘Other’ also becomes evident on a macro level: Lorah, who owes money legitimately to a merchant, attributes all blame to the non-national who had a “harsh” tone of voice. Wodak’s (2003:139) strategy of predication reveals that by highlighting an ‘unfavourable’ attribute, the non-national is discredited in the report. The negative attribution is thus an effective interpersonal strategy to persuade readers to side with the complainant. The non-national person is alienated to the extent that her ‘testimony’ is completely ignored. The absence of her voice – and the reason for this absence – may be ascribed in equal measures to both her lack of social status and citizenship (*cf.* Moon & Rolinson, 1998:129 for their comments on absence of voice and class inequality) – an oversight which similarly showcases the underlying ideology

of the reporter as representative of the tabloid. Thus, the implied presupposition portrayed by this article is that non-nationals are inferior and insignificant.

Wodak (2006c:604) emphasises the importance of noting and identifying absences of voice such as those in text 2 (absences are salient as the qualities and presence of the social actors in a text are pertinent in the DHA). The strategy of perspectivation (Wodak, 2003:139) is applied implicitly as the reporter manufactures a one-sided even-construal which is also indicative of irresponsible reporting.

Furthermore, the article exemplifies the deeply ingrained local tendency to attribute blame to non-nationals for any social ills suffered by South Africans. One reason proffered by Rinder (1958-59:257) which may be applicable to this scapegoating of ‘foreigners’, is that for victims of adversity, it is often “at least some comfort to explain their misfortune by attributing it to the evil machinations of villains rather than as a consequence of remote, complex and hardly comprehensible forces” such as economic or political factors. South Africa remains one of the most unequal societies in the world, and a large section of the population lives in abject poverty. Another contributing factor for scapegoating the non-national, which Desai (2008:58) documents, is the institutional problematisation of the non-national:

...during the first decade and half of democracy there has emanated from government, the police and the media a language that defined the African migrant as a problem.

The symbiosis between the voices of the reporter and that of the undignified ‘victim’ creates a dialogic interaction which not only adheres to the colloquial style of the tabloid, but also creates a form of credibility with the reader, reinforced by the close-up picture of the complainant. This ‘extreme close-up’ implies intimacy (after Kress & van Leeuwen, 1999:386-390), and is an effective emotional tool which lessens the social distance between the reader and the complainant, and thus the tabloid itself. The idea of a person talking to an addressee presupposes a dialogue or conversation: “a voice can never exist in isolation” – it never exists in a vacuum and is never neutral (Moen, 2006:3, *cf.* Bakhtin, 1986).

The toxic combination of ‘war’ and ‘aliens’ resurfaces again in the headline at token (7) as a declaration of war calls upon South African citizens to mobilise against ‘aliens’ who pose a threat to the nation. Within the pages of the *Daily Sun*, a very narrow and exclusionary definition of nationalism emerges.

14) **WAR AGAINST ALIENS**

15) *Thousands forced to flee Alex* (*Daily Sun*, 13 May 2008, p.2)


16) *It’s war on aliens!* (*Daily Sun*, 13 May 2008, p.4)

Within the battle metaphor, war is justified as it is waged against ‘aliens’ – invaders who want to take what rightly belongs to South African citizens. This calls for retaliation as the invaders have to be fought off.

- 17) *On Sunday night, two other aliens were also shot dead by an angry crowd* (Daily Sun, 14 May 2008, p.2).

TEXT 3: DAILY SUN, 14 MAY 2008, P. 2

WAR AGAINST ALIENS



NOWHERE TO GO: Foreigners seek protection at Cop Shop. Photo by David M. ...

Thousands forced to flee Alex

By RIFUMO MALULEKE
A THIRD man has been killed in the war against foreigners in Alexandra, outside Joburg.

He was shot dead in the road on Monday night.

On Sunday night, two other aliens were also shot dead by angry crowds.

More than 1 000 aliens, including women and children, living in the squatter camp next to Madala Hostel in the township have been forced out of their homes.

They are camped at the township police station, looking for protection.

Some of their belongings and money were stolen by the crowd.

The situation remains tense.

The violence started on Sunday when a group of local people armed with sticks and guns attacked aliens, mostly Zimbabweans and Mozambicans.

Most of the frightened aliens say they are now planning to go back to their countries.

More than 50 people – most of them South Africans – have been arrested and will be charged with public violence, housebreaking, robbery and possession of stolen goods.

The Red Cross was among other organisations that came forward to help the aliens with food parcels.

A meeting was to be held to discuss the issue of the foreigners' accommodation.

SAPA reports that late yesterday as Safety and Security MEC Firoz Cachalia called on the community, during a mass meeting, to allow the police to do their work regarding illegal immigrants, residents booed and howled.

Some exited the community hall, saying they should "toyitoyi".

Shouts of "we are overpopulated", rang through the hall as the MEC addressed the crowd.

Many cited unemployment as a basis for the animosity toward foreigners.

"They steal our jobs because they work for little money," one woman said.

At an earlier media briefing, Cachalia said the violent attacks carried out were not just "spontaneous acts of xenophobic hatred".

"Let's be very clear that these were criminal acts carried out in violation of our country's laws, its constitution and its commitment to human rights," said Cachalia. He said there was also a degree of misinformation about the attacks as one of the people killed was a South African and a South African family had also been displaced.

"We must call a spade a spade... these are criminal acts."

Cachalia said steps were being taken to ensure that the displaced were being temporarily accommodated and looked after. But by late last night no further attacks were reported.

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On the representational level, the stark juxtaposition between ‘Man’ (represented by the lexical choices “man”, “local people”, “South Africans”, “the crowd”, and “residents”) and the ‘non-Humans’ (represented by “aliens”, “illegal immigrants”, “foreigners”, and “Zimbabweans and Mozambicans”) in Text 3 is unsettling. Ironically, non-national women and children –within the parameters of this text – are treated more sympathetically and do qualify as Homo Sapiens, unlike their male counterparts who remain ‘aliens’. On the lexical-grammatical level, the overwording of this derogatory term, repeated five times in the text, points to unrevealed prejudice towards non-nationals. For Moon and Rolinson (1998:129) the institutionalisation of class inequalities manifest itself in the following representational strategies: invisibility and hypervisibility. This hypervisibility emerges in the repetition or overwording, as exemplified in the extracted phrases below.

Consider the following phrases from the text:

18) *Two other aliens ...;*

19) *More than 1 000 aliens ...;*

20) *...a group of local people armed with sticks and guns attacked aliens, mostly*

Zimbabweans and Mozambicans;

21) *Most of the frightened aliens versus More than 50 people later in the text [...]; and*

22) *...to help the aliens.*

Reasons proffered for the attacks also abound; thus the latent ideology revealed is that non-nationals provoke South Africans and thus deserve to be attacked and killed – an ideology which is not discouraged by the *Daily Sun*.

Illustrative of this seeming justification of attacking and killing non-nationals, is the euphemism (a non-accusatory attribute) “angry”, which is used in relation to the crowd. Instead of judging the actions of the crowd directly and relating, for instance, to the “murderous crowd”, the rhetorical device of euphemism serves to neutralise the horrific injustices. Interestingly, the doctrine of common purpose (commonly used during the 1980s to link people to a crime when they acted as part of a group) was later expected to be used by persecutors when groups of attackers were apprehended in court (*The Star*, 28 May 2008, p. 10). Ironically, very few attackers had been trialled and sentenced for these atrocities. A message of impunity with regard to attacks on non-nationals is thus sent to South Africans who harbour xenophobic sentiments.

A causal link between ‘criminal aliens’ and the outbreak of violence is implicitly suggested by the juxtaposition of two headlines in Text 4, “Aliens: The Truth” and “Flames of Fury!”.

TEXT 4: DAILY SUN, 15 MAY 2008, P. 1



22) **ALIENS: THE TRUTH!** Daily Sun tells why Alex exploded (Daily Sun, 15 May 2008,

p. 1)

In Text 3 (*Daily Sun*, 15 May 2008, p. 1) and Text 4 (*Daily Sun*, 15 May 2008, p. 1) the *Daily Sun* reveals the ‘authentic’ reasons for the attacks: unemployment, lack of government policy on foreigners, as well as corruption. This one-sided report omits significant information, namely the various causes which led to the presence of these non-nationals in Alexandra, other than ‘stealing’ the jobs of locals. The hardships that drove these ‘aliens’ to South Africa initially, and their possible contribution to society, is conveniently omitted. Instead, through the discursive strategy of argumentation, specific reasons are proffered to legitimise attacks on foreigners as explained in the words of a local woman (Text 3):

23) *They steal our jobs because they work for very little money* (*Daily Sun*, 14 May 2008, p. 2).

Violence is therefore justifiable as non-nationals pose a threat. The stock phrase “they steal our jobs” is recontextualised frequently across various texts in tokens (2), (4), (5), (6), (9), and (10). Subsequently, these ‘aliens’ transgress to the ‘criminal’ invader category as the discursive strategy of intensification (Wodak, 2003:139) naturalises the allegation for the uncritical reader. The underlying presupposition is that ‘aliens’ are thieves who steal jobs, houses and women – three most valuable existential entities. Consequently, they steal life and future and therefore should be considered as extremely threatening. As such, they should be eliminated.

Desperate non-nationals are often willing to work for less than the legal minimum wage.

South African citizens can take salary disputes to court whereas undocumented non-nationals have no legal recourse because they are operating outside of the systems.

The 'elimination' of non-nationals (emphasised in texts 5 and 6) becomes even more effortless as the reader is constantly reminded that sub-human species ('aliens') are inhumane and deserve no mercy. Harber's (2008:165) comment that the Deputy Minister of Safety and Security has pronounced criminals fair game after her proclamation to "Shoot the bastards"⁴⁹ (*The Star*, 4 April 2008) contributes to the vulnerability of undocumented immigrants since 'illegality' also connotes 'criminality' in the eyes of the public. This metaphor of criminality, habitually paraded in the *Daily Sun*, is often uncritically accepted by its readers, as noted by Viney's (2008:122) findings amongst her focus group of *Daily Sun* readers. However, "it should be noted that analyses have never indicated a disproportionate involvement of foreigners in crime in South Africa as such" (Crime Statistics Report, 2009-2010:8).

Ironically, it is migrants who are in fact more likely to be the victims of violent crime (Valji, 2003:9).

The 'criminal migrant' is a rampant stereotype in the South African public sphere. As Crush (2000, 104) states, "[i]t is hard to determine whether the xenophobic press is simply a reflection of public sentiment or stems from xenophobia within the press itself.

⁴⁹ Minister Susan Shabangu's comments came at a public meeting on 10 April 2008 when she conveyed her government's reaction to increasing crime rates. She told police chiefs: "You must kill the bastards if they threaten you or the community. [...] I want no warning shots. You have one shot and it must be a kill shot".

25) **RAMPAGE!13 aliens dead as angry flames of hatred spread** (*Daily Sun*, 19 May 2008, p. 1)

26) **BLOOD AND FLAMES** Aliens killed and injured as new attacks stoke flames of hatred (*Daily Sun*, 19 May 2008, p. 3).

27) **BATTLEGROUND IMAGES OF WAR IN THE STREETS**

a. The Alien Terror!

b. It's like war. All over Southern Gauteng foreigners and South Africans are fighting.

Here are the images from the battlefield in the streets yesterday by SunSnappers

(*Daily Sun*, 20 May 2008, p. 4-5).

In text 5, the battle construal is not contradicted by the image metaphor⁵⁰. Bednarek (2005:11) applies an apt description for the correspondence between image and construal in her analysis by referring to it as having “no semiotic contradiction”.

⁵⁰ “[B]oth the source and target domains consist of concrete images that are put in correspondence on the grounds of visual similarity” (Ibáñez & Hernández, 2011:171, after Grady, 1999).

TEXT 5: DAILY SUN, 20 MAY 2008, P. 5

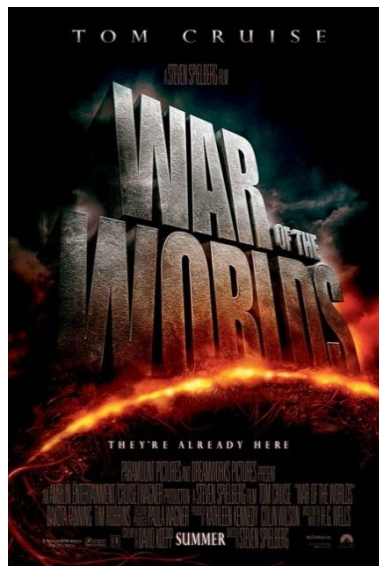


Images of the slogan and poster:

Daily Sun slogan



Movie poster



(Source: Media Monitoring Project Complaint, 2008a:7)

In (27 a) a slogan, “The Alien Terror!” appearing in the text, also invokes the battle metaphor. This inciting slogan appears several times in the *Daily Sun* (cf. token31), forging an intertextual link with the science-fiction movie poster “War of the Worlds”. The Apocalyptic metaphor is an invocation of ‘doomsday’. The concept of intertextuality is a salient discursive strategy in the linguistic analysis, as a text “always builds on what has been said before about anything” (Eggins, 2004:128).

28) **BLOOD AND FLAMES**

Foreigners helped us says Zuma (*Daily Sun*, 19 May 2008, p. 3)

The headline in (28) still proclaims war, spurring a sharp contrast with the subheading which implores the nation to reciprocate historical philanthropy from neighbouring Africans during the Freedom Struggle.

The word “armed” in (29) invokes war images and again presents the ‘aliens’ as a threat, despite their motive of mere self-defence.

29) **FLEEING THE MIGHTY WIND** (cf. Text 6 *Daily Sun*, 20 May 2008, p. 1)

Aliens armed with rocks fought back yesterday (*Daily Sun*, 20 May 2008, p. 1)

TEXT 6: DAILY SUN, 20 MAY 2008, P. 1



When the headline and subtext of the above extract (Text 6) are considered, it is clear that a force metaphor (15) is invoked – the wind is presented as a powerful agent whose mandate is to ‘blow away’ (eliminate) the scourge of foreigners on its home soil. Wind is appropriated as a weapon in the battle against “aliens” who were “armed with rocks” and who “fought back”.

The underlying ideology in the first half of this extract is revealed by applying van Dijk’s (2006b:374) ideological square of discursive group polarisation, Wodak’s (2003:139) referential strategy of categorisation and the strategy of argumentation. The strategy of argumentation (applied implicitly) portrays the South Africans (‘us’) as noble defenders of South African soil, while non-nationals are portrayed as trespassers. The ‘us’ versus ‘them’ dichotomy (van Dijk, 2006b:374) is further realised by Wodak’s (2003:139) referential strategy of categorisation as South Africans are presented as “trying to chase them away”. The lexical choices of “trying” and “chase” (instead of “attack”) have a euphemistic impact which serves to mitigate the actions of the South Africans, affording them a legitimate reason to attack the Mozambicans and Zimbabweans. The idea of South African impunity is again propagated as the non-nationals are represented as the trespassers on South African soil – ‘they’ are the guilty ones, not ‘us’.

The lexical choice of “push” evokes an animal metaphor where non-nationals are to be ‘herded’ by the wind from the propeller of a helicopter. The battle metaphor is evoked once more as evidenced by various lexical choices, such as “enemies”, “tension” and “warring sides”. Ungerer and Schmid’s (1996:124; *cf.* Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:4) framework for the conceptual metaphor of “argument is battle” is applicable as it constructs battles in various stages. It is not, however, explicitly stated here who the winners of this particular battle are.

The various stages of this battle, as analysed by the researcher, applying Ungerer and Schmid's (1996:124) framework are:

Initial positions of the opponents: *Aliens are armed with rocks.*

Attack: *A South African crowd was trying to 'chase' them away.*

Defence: *They fought back and tried to fight off the crowd.*

Retreat: *People ran for cover through the dust clouds.*

Counterattack: *Cops fired rubber bullets at the crowd.*

Victory/defeat/truce: *The warring sides were later dispersed.*

The following four tokens (30-33) recontextualise war, criminality, and alienation – themes that are naturalised for the *Daily Sun* readers:

30) ***POLICE PUT US THROUGH HELL!***

As foreigners turn their backs on hope! (Daily Sun, 22 May 2008, p. 1)

31) ***COPS BLAME THUGS!***

THE ALIEN TERROR! (Daily Sun, 22 May 2008, p. 2)

32) ***Call for calm in KZN as aliens attacked!*** (Daily Sun, 22 May 2008, p.2)

33) ***COPS BLAME THUGS!***

Mbeki calls in the army! (Daily Sun, 22 May 2008, p. 2)

The latent prejudice is fuelled by the association with “police” tokens in (30), (31), and (32) intensifies the metaphor of criminality, while lexical choices such as “hell” (30), “alien terror” (31), “attacked” (32), and “army” (33) evoke the battle metaphor.

As Bloor and Bloor (2007:128) notes, prejudice is inspired by fear:

[f]ear of the unfamiliar, fear of difference, fear of competition for wealth, territory and influence, and fear of change. [It] can become embedded in ideology, operating at an unconscious as well as a conscious level, and informing what is thought of as ‘common-sense’.

The refusal of the then president Mbeki and the state to recognise the attacks as intrinsically xenophobic is illustrated by tokens (31) and (33) which earmark “thugs” as the actual culprits behind the attacks. President Mbeki finally condemned the violence on 25 May 2008. Similarly, the *Daily Sun* explicitly condemned the attacks for the first time in an editorial column by TK Khumalo on 26 May 2008, two weeks after the initial outbreaks of xenophobia (MMA 2008(a):2). The negligence on the part of the tabloid to condemn the violence from the very start, speaks volumes about the ideologies it ascribes to and aims to promote amongst its readers. The ‘unsaid’ (after Derrida, 1980, in Luke, 2002:104) may be just as profound as that which is explicitly stated in a text. Ironically, the inflammatory

slogan, "The Alien terror", is later replaced by the much more neutral "The Terror" (*cf.* bottom centre of the page in Text 7.).

TEXT 7: DAILY SUN, 26/05/08, P. 8

STOP THIS! THERE ARE BETTER WAYS OF SOLVING OUR PROBLEMS.

HOPE, prosperity, dignity, peace!
I saw these fine ideals turn their backs on us.
They limped slowly and painfully. I saw them head for the mountain. They were bleeding. They turned one-by-one to look at me as I screamed for them to stop.
"How dare you leave us when we need you?"
"You do not need us," they answered.
"You do not need us when you choose to kill. Your people could have chosen us. Instead they chose violence ... it is up to ALL of you to call us back.
"But you must put down your weapons."
"No, throw your weapons away; and we will be there in a split-second."

This sounds a bit like madness, but it is not.
I am disturbed to a point that I have these conversations... in my head!

These are conversations that are born out of anger and frustration.
I am frustrated by the killings and lootings that have shamed our country.
This is NOT the way to deal with the millions of foreigners among us.
And I am angry that there are people who find joy in all this mayhem...
Youngsters dancing with pangas and bush knives in their hands have taken over many neighbourhoods – and it haunts me.

They are like crazy demons wreaking havoc with maximum force.
If your skin is too dark and you do not speak their language, they fast-track your journey to the grave.
They are blinded by hatred – hatred of themselves because they unleash their madness on people who look like them; people they have lived with for some time. Neighbours

have become enemies and the hatred spreads like wild-fire.
Neighbours who a few weeks ago were sharing drinks, food and jokes – as we have often reported – are now exchanging savage blows...

There have been reasons brought forward for the anger – that I understand.
But there can never be any reason for burning, stabbing and shooting people to death!

- Has the death of any foreigner created jobs for unemployed South Africans?
- Has the looting of foreign-owned shops brought long-term wealth to poor South Africans?
- Has the violence pushed back the ever-advancing poverty?
- Have any of the panga-swingers and looters suddenly found

TK'S SLEDGEHAMMER
EVERY MONDAY IN DAILY SUN

As foreigners turn their backs on hope!

HATE BEGINS TO SPREAD

THE TERROR!

Some of THE TERROR reported by Daily Sun last week.

5.3.2. SECONDARY METAPHORS: NATIONALISM AND NATURAL DISASTER

The secondary metaphors (which appear in a great variety of linguistic forms) are those of nationalism or true ‘South Africanness’, and natural disaster:

34) *In Alexandra, north of Joburg, two men said to be aliens were shot and killed on Sunday night. But cops say one of the victims was identified as a South African! (Daily Sun, 13 May 2008, p. 4)*

In token (34) the only person whose nationality is worth mentioning in a rather indignant tone (as signified by the exclamation mark), is the South African. The other two people are regarded as *persona non grata*, corresponding to worthless ‘aliens’.

35) **BLOOD AND FLAMES**

SA couple’s shop looted and burnt (Daily Sun, 19 May 2008, p. 3)

The exclusive nationalism evident in (34) is imitated in (35) as the horror of the mistaken identities is discovered. These attacks are legitimate – providing the victims are ‘aliens’ and not South Africans.

Token 36, (*cf.* Text 8) presents a similar predicament of mistaken identity:

36) ***COPS SAID I WAS AN ALIEN***

Homeboy angry after jail horror

BE very careful...don't look or act like a foreigner (Daily Sun, 14 May, p. 1)

In (36) the indignity of a South African citizen (a “homeboy”) is captured after police has mistaken him for an ‘alien’. His release only came after having to cite “I am a proud South African” in three indigenous languages (Harber on www.). The unique South African method of identifying ‘foreigners’ – have them pronounce words that are regarded as cultural knowledge, such as the Zulu word for “elbow”⁵¹ (not a term used colloquially, but which an authentic ‘homeboy’ is sure to know) – is reminiscent of a biblical Shibboleth Gideon used in the old testament to identify his enemies. The insistence of the state (as inscribed in the immigration Act of 2002) that South African citizens should identify and report ‘foreigners’ has undeniably contributed to stockpile hysteria, hatred and irrationality in dealing with non-nationals. The Mail & Guardian (21 July 1994) published a report on a police officer who arrested a South African citizen because “he walked like a Mozambican”. As Desai (2008:52) notes,

These methods are particularly relevant as it was precisely similar methods that were used by communities to single out foreigners in the May 2008 attacks.

Everatt (2007:43-44) notes that a women migrant study indicated that some women altered

⁵¹ The IsiZulu word for elbow is ‘indololwane’ (Hassim *et al.*, 2008:16).

[Their] traditional styles of dress after arriving in South Africa, both as a strategy for assimilation and to avoid attention, particularly from the police. One migrant explained that the police ‘know how we walk and how we dress: South Africans put on trousers and Zimbabweans put on dresses’. Another added that she asked her brothers to teach her how to walk like South Africans before migrating in order to better assimilate. Finally, women simply attempted to go about their daily lives unnoticed wherever possible ...

Minnaar and Hough (1996:166-167) have the following comments on methods singled out by the Internal Tracing units of SAPS (South African Police Service) to identify non-nationals:

In trying to establish whether a suspect is an illegal or not, members of the internal tracing units focus on a number of aspects. One of these is language; accent, the pronouncement of certain words (such as Zulu for ‘elbow’, or ‘buttonhole’ or the name of the meerkat). [...] Appearance is another factor in trying to establish whether a suspect is illegal – hairstyle, type of clothing worn as well as physical appearance. In the case of Mozambicans a dead give-away is the vaccination mark on the lower left forearm ...

Viney (2008:170) remarks in her study on the *Daily Sun* that the readers of this tabloid display “evidence of a group identity” that “excludes ‘foreigners’”. The notion of nationality, and more specifically the rise of a new South African nationality after the oppression of Apartheid, becomes highly relevant as Wetherell and Potter (1992:141) label “patriotism and pride” as “the ‘positive’ face, and xenophobia and chauvinism the unacceptable face of nationalism”. The ideological polarisation between ingroups and outgroups – a prominent feature of the structure of ideologies (van Dijk 2006a:133) in many reports of the 2008

pogroms – bears witness to this schizophrenic form of ‘nationalism’, paving the way to “ultra-nationalism, to chauvinism, and finally to racism” (after Fanon, 1990:125).

TEXT 8: DAILY SUN, 14 MAY 2008 P. 1

COPS SAID I WAS AN ANGRY HOMEBOY AFTER JAIL HORROR! ALIEN!

Homeboy angry after jail horror!

By KAMOGILO SEDOLA

BE very careful... don't look or act like a foreigner.

Just ask Elvis Lushaba (29). He's a South African, but cops didn't believe that – they said he was an Ndebele from Zimbabwe...

ELVIS INSISTED HE WAS A HOMEBOY, BUT HE LOST THE ARGUMENT... AND SPENT SIX NIGHTS IN A JAIL CELL!

Elvis told the People's Paper that he was on his way to college in Tembisa, Ekurhuleni, in a taxi when they were stopped at a roadblock.

It was the day before the recent long weekend...

Elvis says he told the cop that he was from Nguthu in KZN... but the lawman was NOT convinced.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

5.4. CONCLUSION

In the concluding chapter of this thesis, final remarks on representational strategies for non-nationals in the *Daily Sun* (during April to May 2008) are made, and recommendations for general media ethics are suggested.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

“We are the scatterlings of Africa

Both you and I

We are on the road to Phelamanga

Beneath a copper sky

And we are scatterlings of Africa

...who made us here, and why?

Remember!

(Lyrics from Johnny Cleggs’ s album Scatterlings of Africa.)

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This final chapter is structured around the key findings of this study, the insights gained in the process, and recommendations for the print media.

The primary focus of the study was the discursive representations and repositioning of non-nationals in the *Daily Sun* during the xenophobic outbreaks of April to May 2008. The researcher endeavoured to identify and reveal opaque ideological constructions that gave rise to pernicious representations. Within the paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis, contextual

descriptions of the tabloid scenario and the immigration landscape in South Africa were evaluated and analysed before the linguistic analysis of the tabloid excerpts were undertaken. These contextual descriptions, evaluations, and analyses are salient as

the institutional factors, such as legislation, immigration and integration policies and the political culture, affect the form that xenophobia takes in any particular society (Igglesden, 2002; 23).

A synthesis of various methodologies and approaches within the paradigm of CDA was adapted to better illuminate the relevant research questions; in the process the study confirmed the interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary nature of CDA.

The emphasis remained on identifying the manoeuvring of various metaphorical mappings to reveal the representation of foreign nationals in the pages of the *Daily Sun*. The linguistic analysis, mainly contingent on conceptual metaphor theory, (after Santa-Ana, 1999; cf. Lakoff and Johnsson, 1980) may thus be regarded as the principle analytical tool for describing, explaining, and evaluating discourse fragments from the *Daily Sun*. The motivation for focusing on this particular analytical tool may be traced to the mandate of CDA – namely to alleviate the plight of the oppressed in society and to reveal insidious linguistic or social abuses that may contribute to this their plight. Metaphors are prime instruments for not only enlightening in the right circumstances, but also for social control for political organisations, mass media and other institutions (Fairclough, 1989:26-8; cf. Santa Ana, 1999:196). This study has concentrated on the negative use of metaphors.

6.2. KEY FINDINGS

Harris (2001:1) alludes to three public spheres, as identified by the Centre for the study of Violence and Reconciliation, as being xenophobic-related, namely the media, political statements, and public violence and vigilantism. The xenophobic outbreak of May 2008 is a stark example of such public violence and vigilantism, while the nature of reporting in the *Daily Sun* during April to May 2008 alludes to Bourdieu's (1991:167) symbolic violence.

The prevailing narratives on non-nationals in the *Daily Sun*, published between April and May 2008, are centred around three dominant metaphors: the non-national as an 'alien', the non-national as a criminal and the non-national as an invader. Secondary metaphors include nationalism and national disaster. Of these metaphors the most insidious remains that of the 'alien' metaphor. To substantiate this claim, the researcher points to the work of Cunningham-Parmeter (2011:1568), who identified the 'alien metaphor' as "the most dominant metaphor in all of immigration law".

Another highly potent lexical form that emerged is that of "war", or the battle metaphor. Not only are the usual mental images accompanying such conceptions upsetting, but they also become tainted with a more severe form of prejudice when 'teamed up' or connected in the same text with already loaded lexical forms such as 'illegal immigrants', 'migrants', 'refugees' or 'aliens'. The metaphors of 'war' and 'aliens' are conflated in the *Daily Sun* for greater effect and subsequently more harm to the public image of the non-national. The repetitive misuse of 'aliens', combined with the insidious mentioning of 'war', is geared

towards one goal only – the extermination of the enemy – and in this specific context the remedy befits the metaphor – aliens or invaders in local territory should be eradicated!

Furthermore, by casting non-nationals as “criminal aliens”, *Daily Sun* readers are placed in a reader’s position of little sympathy for the predicament of non-nationals. Van Dijk (2006a:115) points out that images of African foreigners that are generated through ideologies, encompass a combined social, cognitive and discursive component. Ideologies organise a social group’s self-image, its identity, actions, aims, norms and values, and resources as well as its relations to other social groups (van Dijk, 2006a:115). More significantly, the primary sources of ideological learning are text and talk (van Dijk, 2006a:133). Ideologies are thus particularly acquired, confirmed, changed and perpetuated through discourse. The *Daily Sun*, in particular, has enforced the ideology of ‘*makwerekwere*’ by constantly referring to non-nationals as ‘aliens’. The xenophobic/Afrophobic sentiments evoked by this image are undeniable as these discursive representations are perceived in a negative light and cast the non-national as a perpetual threat and menace, revealing the South African default position of racial paranoia.

What separates non-nationals is the degree to which exclusion is both bureaucratically institutionalized and socially legitimate. In all cases, it is not only the material acts of marginalization that matter – imprisonment, denial of services, or harassment – but also the nationalist discourse evoked to legitimize and explain them [*sic*] (Landau, 2010:222).

Harris (2002:5) notes that xenophobia in South Africa is not applied equally to all foreigners. Some foreigners are at greater risk than others. African foreigners seem to be particularly vulnerable to violence and hostility (Human Rights Watch, 1998; Human Rights Commission, 1999). Furthermore, the biocultural hypothesis of xenophobia offers an explanation for the asymmetrical targeting of African foreigners by South Africans (Harris, 2002:5). The rationale behind the biocultural hypothesis is that visible difference or otherness (i.e. in terms of physical biological factors and cultural differences) is exhibited by non-South Africans. This may range from variables such as physical features, clothing, and pronunciation of certain indigenous words. All hypotheses regarding xenophobia/Afrophobia should be “read as an interconnected series of explanation”, lest this type of violence should be regarded as uniform or monolithic when, in fact, “it is usually black foreigners who bear the brunt of this phenomenon” (Harris, 2002:6). It is in light of this fact that the term ‘Afrophobia’ (cf. Gqola’s (2008:210) “negrophobic xenophobia”) is deemed an accurate description for the May 2008 attacks.

The *Daily Sun* adopted the stance of the South African violators rather than the ‘foreigners’, who were presented as voiceless, faceless, and without identity – an anonymous mass. The paper justified the actions of the perpetrators and took two weeks before it condemned the violence in a palpable way. A more responsible reaction would have been to challenge the negative stereotypes and to provide more access to non-South African voices in their reports on non-nationals. Significant information is often omitted from reports, namely a mention of the hardships that drove these ‘foreigners’ to South Africa in the first place. The question of truth and the relationship between story and actual event (Fairclough, 2003:85) is another factor in reading these reports, especially in light of the fact that the *Daily Sun* has committed

various blunders, amongst others, the fusing of two unconnected stories into one and being accused of showing “zero interest in ascertaining the truth” (Nicholson, 2012:10).

The paper’s apparent loyalty toward its South African readers (the ‘man in the blue overall’ after former editor Deon du Plessis) may only be questionable in terms of its commercial imperative to attract a greater readership through sensational headlining and imaging – the matter of truth and fairness is conveniently put on the back burner. In all fairness to the *Daily Sun*, expressions of concern for South Africans who were mistaken as non-nationals and consequently attacked by their fellow South Africans were published. As the Parliamentary Task Team reports

...xenophobia is not confined only to foreigners, it can also be directed at local citizens unknown to a specific grouping, or perceived to behave in a manner unknown to a specific grouping (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, 2008).

Amid greater inequality and a society where structural violence⁵² is ingrained, it is hoped that this study may contribute towards critical conversation and ultimately a greater tolerance towards the Universal Other. A greater awareness of insidious linguistic forms in the media is a good starting point – the actual effects of which are hard to gauge⁵³, but the continued use

⁵² Structural violence, according to Johan Galtung (In K. Karim, 2000: 20) is defined as violence that is “manifested in the denial of basic material needs (poverty), human rights (repression) and ‘higher needs’”.

⁵³ The Rwandan genocide is a case in point where Radio Télévision Libre de Mille Collines broadcasted violent propaganda, using insidious linguistic forms – referring to people as cockroaches. “The fact that [most] reporters from Rwanda carried references to hostile tribes [or ‘ethnic’ groups] coloured readers’ perception and influenced their reaction [to the genocide in 1994]”. (Journalism, Media and the challenge of human rights reporting, 2002:84;92).

of such insidious linguistic forms in referring to non-nationals, is highly irresponsible; more so in light of a prejudiced national psyche (*cf.* attitudes towards allowing migrants entry to work in Crush and Ramachandran, 2010:216), imbued in the process of learning to co-exist harmoniously in a relatively young Democracy. Danso and McDonald (2001: 115) state that the print media has a responsibility to be more balanced and factual in its reporting on the issue of non-nationals and migration and not intensify the volatility of conflict situations by certain methods of reporting.

Fairclough (1995a:186) espouses the strong social conscience that lies at the heart of CDA by emphasising its proponents' "aspirations to take the part of those who suffer from linguistic-discursive forms of domination and exploitation". This social responsibility is further advocated in the critical consciousness and language awareness aspirations which are inherent to the emancipatory and interventionist mandate of CDA. Its most salient function remains that of a catalyst unlocking and maintaining the openness of the discursive landscape (O'Regan, 2006:234).

It is with this hope of advocating discursive and social change that the recommendations below are offered. These recommendations are by no means exhaustive, but may be considered as one contribution amongst many multi-faceted options offered by others in response to xenophobic depictions in the media.

6.3. RECOMMENDATIONS

6.3.1. TERMINOLOGY

It is for the media to use clear terms and explain them, and to try to avoid the loaded terminology employed by those in power – not reinforce loose language in their reporting (Journalism, Media and the challenge of human rights reporting, 2002:94).

The term ‘migrant’ and all its corollaries is a cause for confusion, as ‘migrant’ is used in the South African context as a blanket term referring to immigrants, foreigners, refugees, and asylum seekers. The media and public are often ignorant of the inherent disparities signified by these terms as each terminological category connotes a different status for the individuals involved. The former MMP (now MMA) and the South African Migration Project recommended the use of the phrase “undocumented foreigners” instead of “illegal aliens” to refer to the uncontrolled movement of foreigners into South Africa (Glenn, 2008:18).

In the US the Associated Press (AP) Stylebook reviewed the use of the term “illegal immigrant” and removed it from its influential stylebook (Carroll, 2013 on www.apstylebook.com). Possible terminological alternatives include ‘irregular immigration’, ‘unauthorised immigrant’ or ‘an immigrant without papers’. A phrase such as “living in the country without permission” may be a cumbersome alternative.

6.3.2. ALTERNATIVE METAPHORS

Alternative metaphors may be invented by journalists; these metaphors should, as Cunningham-Parmeter (2011:5435) suggests, “emphasise immigrants’ economic contributions and potential for social belonging”. This becomes necessary as harmful metaphors conceal other characteristics; for instance belonging, personhood and diversity (Cunningham-Parmeter, 2011:1549).

As a selective process that emphasises certain aspects of source and target domains, while masking others, metaphors do not tell stories completely (Cunningham-Parmeter, 2011: 1556) and may therefore be misleading on the one hand, while they may also be explanatory on the other hand.

For these stories to be told, regular inserts on non-nationals, including interviews, may be considered – all of these emphasising a common humanity. Stories also require good listeners, and therefore, an ethics of listening (after Wasserman, 2013) is advocated.

6.3.3. THE ETHICS OF LISTENING

Stories, or narratives, need to be told by someone. A narrative is “a basic feature of human action” (Couldry, 2010:7). To deny anybody’s potential for voice implies a denial of “a basic dimension of human life” (Couldry, 2010:7). In this regard, voice is a valuable commodity, it is “people’s practice of giving an account, implicitly or explicitly, of the world within which

they act” (Couldry, 2010:1). “Voice as a social process” involved both speaking and listening from the beginning. It is “an act of attention that registers the uniqueness of the other’s narrative” (Couldry, 2010:9). As Wasserman (2013:78) points out,

...the resonance of this interdependent view of speaking and listening with the underlying principle of ubuntu is obvious: ‘I am because you are’, or, to rephrase, ‘you can tell your story because I am listening to it’.

The ethics of listening sees journalists as connecting the discussions between ordinary citizens to the powers that be. The media can provide the amplification of voices needed to take local struggles to the national or the global arena. Journalists who listen can facilitate a politics from the ground up (Wasserman, 2013:79).

Journalists “decentralise the power structure inherent in media production and involve news subjects as equal partners in the production process” (Wasserman, 2013:79). The media should thus have a “much more interactive, reciprocal relationship with citizens” (Wasserman, 2013:79). This is in line with Amartya Sen’s capabilities approach, drawn on by Garnham (1999:121) who proposes that instead of conceptualising newspapers as “providers of a stream of content to be consumed”, newspapers should enable and enhance a range of functions such as political participation (In Igglesden, 2002:22).

Also relating to the ethics of listening is Carol Gilligan’s (1993:xiii) ‘ethics of care’, and as Stevenson (1999:178) notes, “[a] socially just media should embrace an ethic of

responsibility and participation that creates space for alternative voices at the same time as acknowledging that representations are always incomplete” (cited in Igglesden, 2002: 22). In this regard NGOs and CBOs may provide support through providing much-needed content that counters xenophobia (Lerner, Roberts (ed.) & Matlala, 2009).

6.3.4. PEACE JOURNALISM

The concept of peace journalism is closely related to the ethics of listening espoused in the previous section. The aim of peace journalism is “to decrease the use of polarising conflict and discourse and frames, by presenting a greater diversity of perspectives and voices from a broader section of society” (Galtung, 2006, cited in Hyde-Clarke, 2011:50). For peace journalism to succeed, it should be “introduced during the non-violent stage of conflict” (Bläsi, 2009:8).

Irvan (2006:37) combines the perspectives of several leading theorists in the field (e.g. Galtung; Lynch and McGoldrick; Tehranian) and suggests the following:

- 1) Mission-oriented principles: journalists should seek peaceful solutions; expose untruths; avoid becoming part of the problem by taking sides or using inflammatory language.
- 2) Principles on news gathering: journalists should seek alternative sources and not rely exclusively on official ones; verify all claims; be sceptical; investigate all sides and all parties involved; focus on the process and not only the event.

- 3) Principles on news writing: journalists should highlight peace initiatives; visible and invisible effects of conflict; exercise ethical reporting at all times; avoid any biased, derogatory or inflammatory language.

Gomo (2010:47) notes that the attribution of blame to a particular party should be avoided and that any violence (actual or latent) should be openly condemned. Shinar (2007:60) advocates greater ethical diversity in team work so that journalists may acquire greater sensitivity and a broader perspective on other cultures. The most essential component of peace journalism, as Hyde-Clarke (2011:51) notes, is “explanation and context” – “the very components most often absent from conflict and war reporting”.

In order to combat xenophobia, and to promote public education, public debate should be promoted by the press. Assumptions “about national identity and immigration, as well as interrogating the basis of social justice” should be on the agenda and the complex nature of xenophobia should be deconstructed via an “explanation of the cognitive and affective aspects of prejudice, as well as the institutional factors that create or support xenophobic ideologies” (Igglesden, 2002:22). The appreciation of the cognitive and affective bases of xenophobia is integral to an understanding of how xenophobic ideologies arise and what their effects are. Hopefully, as (Igglesden, 2002:23) proposes, “...an understanding of human vulnerability, across all sectors of the population” (Igglesden, 2002:23) will be fostered. New forms of training might be required for journalists. Some headway has already been made in this regard, although the management of media organisations ultimately remains responsible for the advancement and implementation of change, as it may have economic implications for their organisations.

The Institute for the Advancement of Journalism in Johannesburg, for example, has produced a thoughtful manual on human rights reporting aimed at media practitioners across Southern Africa” (Journalism, Media and the challenge of human rights reporting, 2002:94).

6.4. FURTHER RESEARCH

Igglesden (2002:23) notes that a more positive impact on the persistence of xenophobic beliefs will also be attained “if the psychosocial basis of prejudice is used in the design of public education programs that otherwise fail to have an impression on the ‘irrational’ nature of prejudices”. This is a potentially fruitful field for further study. Another area for future research is the field of immigration and refugee policy; the discursive forms used in the compilation of these reports, and the practicalities involved in affecting actual employment of non-nationals, the acquiring of scarce skills and the effect thereof on the South African economy. Here Critical Discourse Analysis may provide useful inputs in combining critiques of the linguistic and social aspects of such an endeavour. The focus of this thesis, however, was not an in-depth study of these policies per se.

6.5. FINAL CONCLUDING REMARKS

Harber (2004:156) notes that the *Daily Sun* trades in “stereotypes, xenophobia and fear”. This becomes clear after the analysis of insidious dominant and secondary metaphors describing non-nationals. Ultimately the alienation of specific groups of people culminates in their separation from a common humanity.

Although the *Daily Sun* is not representative of the whole spectrum of the South African press, it is a salient stakeholder in terms of its market value, readership and influence. My aspiration is to raise awareness of pejorative discursive forms and their social implications. This indicates, broadly speaking, the destructive-, -socially irresponsible nature of some forms of the discursive media landscape.

No simple explanations or solutions exist for the problem of unsavoury representations of xenophobia; therefore, a multifaceted contextualised approach (McDonald & Jacobs 2005:321), focusing not only on the media, but on all salient stake holders in society, remains the only alternative to a one dimensional solution. The recognition of a failure to responsibly report on migratory issues is the first step. Furthermore, it is vital that the root causes of xenophobic/Afrophobic attacks are addressed by the media and not merely the articulation of attitudes that manifest as their symptoms (Wasserman, 2010:115). A more responsible approach would further entail the challenging of negative stereotypes by including more non-South African voices within the media. Furthermore, continued coverage on xenophobia should be a priority – reports should not be reduced to a “sidebar one-liner status in newspapers” for low-level violence (Everatt, 2011:8):

Since May 2008, violence against foreigners – that is, African migrants – has continued, but in its earlier form – sporadic, poorly reported acts, though no less murderous for that.

The tabloid *Daily Sun* contributed to social upliftment in South Africa by creating a surge of first-time newspaper readers. However, it is my conclusion that the *Daily Sun* has assumed a

contradictory role during the April to May 2008 xenophobic pogroms by publishing insidious discursive forms, such as the ‘alien’ and other harmful metaphors when referring to non-nationals. Regrettably, the *Daily Sun* continues to yield racist discourse (cf. “Zimbos Hunted and Killed”, *Daily Sun*, 20 November 2012:1) although it has indeed refrained from publishing the word ‘alien’ as stipulated in its agreement with the Press Ombudsman.

Landau (2010:230) refers to “a population that has imbibed and internalized [*sic*] the language of alienation and is killing to act on it”. A direct causal link can, however, not be drawn between anti-immigrant media coverage and xenophobia (cf. Danso and McDonald, 2001:115). On the other hand, the findings of this article reveal rampant stereotypes and prejudice about non-nationals in the pages of the *Daily Sun*. By portraying non-nationals through a stereotypical prejudiced lens, the configurations of pejorative ideologies in the *Daily Sun* are naturalised and adversely affect the way in which a large section of South African society view non-nationals.

The articulation of ‘the other’ plays a significant role maintaining innate stereotypical beliefs South Africans have of the non-national. Instead of challenging these stereotypes and conveying more information about the aspirations of non-nationals and the actual reasons for their presence in South Africa, these stereotypes are discursively maintained and upheld (Landau, 2010:210)

The market value of the *Daily Sun* clearly indicates the dominant niche it has found for itself in South African society. Paradoxically, the *Daily Sun* opened up previously closed topics,

which include new publics (Viney, 2008:169-170), while presenting novel ‘areas of discourse into the mainstream mediated public sphere’ (Örnebring and Jönsson, 2004:286). It crafted a public arena for township readers while fostering social solidarity. This solidarity should, however, not be cultivated at the expense of the non-national – as becomes evident in the stereotypical representations of the 2008 April to May publications of the *Daily Sun*.

No form of media should trade in any form of marginalisation. More specifically, the media should not internalise xenophobic language, reproduce uncritical anti-immigrant stories and research, or give ‘unrestricted freedoms to xenophobic reporters and commentators’ (Danso and McDonald, 2001:117). The salient influence of the media on the national public sphere and psyche demands responsible reporting at all times. Furthermore, the commercial imperative should never be allowed to tip the scales towards misusing linguistic strategies for sensationalism. The meaningful contribution of CDA is, in the words of van Dijk (1993:279), to identify how dominance and inequality are established and sustained by ideologies and further enacted through language, discourse or communicative events. To this end, an on-going monitoring and reporting of trends in media representation (Fine and Bird, 2006:62), and specifically tabloids, is in order.

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