PORTRAYAL BY A SELECTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIA OF NIGERIANS RESIDING IN SOUTH AFRICA

By

Celestine Emeka Amaechi

A mini thesis submitted to the Department of Language Practice and Language Management of the Faculty of the Humanities of the University of the Free State, in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Masters Degree in Linguistics.

May 2011

Supervisor: Prof. J.A. Naudé

Co-supervisor: Ms J. Lake

DECLARATION

I, Celestine Emeka Amaechi, declare that the mini-thesis hereby submitted for the Masters Degree at the University of the Free State, is my own independent work, and has not previously been submitted by me to another university / faculty. I furthermore cede copyright of the thesis in favour of the University of the Free State.

CELESTINE EMEKA AMAECHI 15 APRIL 2011

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to the following people who made an immense contribution to the completion of this thesis:

- Professor J.A. Naudé, for his time and guidance in spite of his various commitments.
- Ms Jennifer Lake, my co-supervisor and academic adviser, for her ongoing support and encouragement.
- Ms Jackie Smith, for support in finalising the manuscript and departmental administration of the mini thesis.
- Dr Arno Oberholzer, for his demonstration of love to my family.
- Dr Matthew Achilonu of the Chemistry Department at the University of the Free State, for being a source of sustained encouragement.
- Reverend Sister Stella Iheadiri, for her ongoing words of encouragement.
- My long-time colleague, Emmanuel Ibeawuchi for identifying with me.
- Ugorji Ogbonnaya (Eagle), for advice offered along the way.
- My family members, especially my parents, who join with me in the joy of having completed this research.
- My lovely wife and sister, Christy Ebere Amaechi, for her loyalty and godly love all these years. Together we join hands and thank God for His grace and love in our lives.

AMAECHI CELESTINE EMEKA

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my late uncle, Mr. Anthony Onwuliri Njoku,

who went to be with the Lord on the 7th of November 2009.

May his gentle soul rest in perfect peace.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1 :
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Rationale

Many young (21–50 years) Nigerians are located across the length and breadth of the South African Republic. The cities of Gauteng are home to the bulk of these people from all walks of life. Unofficially, there are approximately 50 000 Nigerians living in limbo as refugees (Tromp, 2006:8). Indeed, the Nigerian community in diaspora has become part and parcel of the great nation of South Africa.

In the South African community, there is a stereotyping of Nigerians with regard to issues relating to justice, crime, security and home affairs. The South African media has severely 'accused' Nigerians, especially those in the private sector of the economy, of causing certain suburban problems and with the mayhem often found in the city centres. That a gigantic number of 50 000 undocumented Nigerians are said to reside in South Africa, clearly supports the allegation that "foreigners are unacceptably encroaching on the informal sector and therefore on the livelihoods of our huge numbers of unemployed people" (Danso & McDonald, 2001:124). In the words of Fowler (1991:121): "It stands to reason that a newspaper is likely to project such beliefs as are conducive to the commercial success of its proprietors generally". The South African media, i.e. television, radio and print media play a role in the entrenchment of this stereotyping. It is therefore of value to launch an investigation into how Nigerians are portrayed by the South African media, and by newspapers in particular.

The project will serve as a relevant contribution to the field of Critical Linguistics (CL) and it is hoped that it will provide study material for aspiring critical linguists and teachers of language. Furthermore, as the South African print media has published widely on the activities and attitudes of Nigerian nationals residing here, it has become necessary to conduct research on this phenomenon thereby, thus setting the stage for other researchers to delve further into this domain.

1.2 Research Problem

The majority of South Africans hold strongly negative views about immigrants living in the country, particularly people from Nigeria. Nigerians in South Africa are perceived to be responsible for: (1) stealing jobs and business, (2) causing crime in the country, and (3) spreading HIV/AIDS across the country (Africa Today, 2001: 116). With these issues in mind, the research endeavours to provide answers to the following questions:

i) What is the nature of the portrayal by the selected South African newspapers of Nigerians residing in South Africa?

ii) What are the discernible features across these newspaper reports about Nigerians?

iii) How do the selected South African newspapers use *language* in portraying Nigerians?

This study aims to answer these questions through rigorous analysis. In taking a critical look at the existing stereotypes, it is necessary to get a historical overview of how these stereotypes have acquired their meanings and values over time.

1.3 Purpose of the Research

As mentioned above, this study will focus on the portrayal by the selected South African newspapers of Nigerians in South Africa. The main objectives are thus to:

i) investigate, through a review of the literature, the situation of Nigerian residents in South Africa as this is portrayed by the selected South African newspapers.

ii) describe and explain the use of language by the selected South African newspapers in stereotyping Nigerians.

In achieving the study's aims, an attempt will be made to understand the discourse techniques of three South African newspapers, namely: *The Star*, *The Citizen* and the *City Press*. The researcher's main reason for selecting these newspapers is that the primary survey of South African headlines revealed that these three newspapers provided the greatest coverage of Nigerian residents in South Africa.

1.4 Delimitation of the Study

As may be seen from the study's title, '*Portrayal by a selection of South African Media of Nigerians residing in South Africa'*, this investigation falls within the discipline of critical

linguistics. The target population under investigation comprises individual Nigerians as well as groups. More specifically, the study takes a probing look at the crimes committed by these Nigerian individuals and groups.

1.5 Hypotheses

The hypotheses of this study are as follows:

i) that more bad news than good news about Nigerians residing in South Africa is reported by the selected South African newspapers;
ii) that the selected South African newspapers stereotype Nigerians living in South Africa;
iii) that the selected South African newspapers use specific techniques such as the lexical choices which are made, the patterning of phrasal verbs or metaphors, intertextuality, and certain syntactic features to enforce these stereotypes.

1.6 Methodology

This study is informed by the methodological framework of critical linguistics (CL) as a field of study and makes use of critical discourse analysis (CDA) strategies to examine the headlines/articles of three South African newspapers over a period spanning four years (2004–2007). The employment of CDA involves analysing newspaper texts for lexical choices made, phrasal verbs, intertextuality, and syntactic devices. The investigation of these discourse strategies will shed light on the use of language by the press and the reasons behind the use of such language. As far as the use of CDA will elucidate the grammar and the vocabulary of the texts, the CL methodological framework will make the contextual discourse explicit.

1.7 Research Design

The research is focused on the textual data yielded during the period between the beginning of 2004 and the end of 2007. The researcher mined newspaper articles about Nigerians in South Africa, published during this time in *The Star*, *The Citizen* and the *City Press*. The dissertation is composed of five chapters. Chapter 1 sketches the background to the study, gives the problem statement, and describes the general purpose and methodology of the

research. Chapter 2 gives an overview of the literature available on the subject and provides a description of the field of critical linguistics (CL), of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and of the Hallidayan framework for text analysis. Chapter 3 considers the South African media landscape and gives a brief history of *The Star*, *The Citizen* and the *City Press*. It furthermore provides the historical background of Nigeria's image in South Africa and lists the extracts for analysis. Chapter 4 sets out the actual analysis of these extracts using the analytical toolkit of the transitivity model and paying particular attention to the lexical choices made in them. Chapter 5 concludes the dissertation with a summary of what was achieved and provides recommendations for future researchers to bear in mind.

1.8 Data Collection

The newspaper clippings relevant to this study were provided by the office of SA Media located at the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein. The clippings were drawn based on their correspondence with certain pre-selected keywords relevant to the aims of the study.

The data were systematised or classified according to certain predefined stereotypes, e.g., sexual predators, womanisers, fraudsters, etc. The researcher remained mindful throughout the process of whether the newspapers had remained objective or whether they had been tempted into sensationalising certain of the reported events. The analyses of the headlines/articles were conducted using qualitative content analysis and CDA.

1.9 Value of the Research

In the first instance, the value of this research lies in the critical appraisal and approach taken in analysing media portrayal of Nigerians residing in South Africa. In addition to this, it is the researcher's aim that the study will constitute a boon to Critical Linguistics Awareness (CLA) in South African society through its rigorous employment of Critical Linguistics (CL) strategies. Lastly, it is hoped that the contents of this study will alert the press to the necessity of performing continual checks on their use of language (and the potentially harmful effects of this), thereby provoking future research into advances in semantics.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE OVERVIEW OF CRITICAL LINGUISTICS

2.1 Introduction

The main objective of this chapter is to provide an overview of Critical Linguistics (CL).

Regarding the scope of this study, the overview will focus on:

- the historical background of CL;
- some of the features of CL;
- the theoretical assumptions of CL;
- the major aims and claims of CL;
- CL's method of analysis;
- the theoretical background of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

The contention here is that, in order to understand the functioning of critical linguistics as a brand of mainstream linguistics and its current level of development, it is important that the above-mentioned aspects be clarified.

2.2 Critical Linguistics: An Overview

2.2.1 Historical Origins of Critical Linguistics

The historical origin of critical linguistics is found in the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) of M.A.K. Halliday and neo-Marxism. This means that critical linguistics bears some resemblance to Critical Language Study (CLS) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The latter two are interrelated and share one major focus with systemic functional linguistics and critical linguistics, namely the (critical) analysis of language as it is used in society. Critical linguistics emerged from the synoptic concluding chapter of the book, '*Language and Control'* by Roger Fowler, Robert Hodge, Gunther Kress and Tony Trew, all colleagues at the University of East Anglia in Britain (1979). The subject of the book is "instrumental linguistics…the study of language for understanding something else" (Coulthard, 1996). Kress and Hodge's (1979) '*Language as Ideology'* is also among the first authoritative texts in critical linguistics (Mills, 1995; Simpson, 1993; Steiner, 1985).

Simpson (1993:5) contextualised the origin of the practice of critical linguistics by saying that it can be traced directly back: "to the work carried out during the 1970s by Roger Fowler and his associates

at the University of East Anglia". Critical linguistics is currently practised by increasing numbers of social scientists, particularly sociologists, political scientists, those studying the media, sociolinguists, etc. The European practitioners are names such as Norman Fairclough, Paul Simpson, Ruth Wodak, Teun Van Dijk, Paul Chilton, Malcolm Coulthard, Sarah Mills, etc. Australia is home to critical linguists David Birch, Terry Threadgold, Paul Thibault and James Martin, whereas Lester Faigley and Carmen Caldas-Coulthard are found in the USA. One popular South African critical linguistics practitioner is Hilary Janks of the University of the Witwatersrand (cf. Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard, 1996; Fowler, 1996; Janks, 1995).

As mentioned above, these scholars are drawn from a broad spectrum of disciplines and are inclined to apply their theories within inter- or multidisciplinary dimensions, for instance, the list above contains many critical discourse analysts who at the same time are social theorists (Fairclough, 1992, 1995, 2003; Wodak, 1989, 1996a, 1996b; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Van Dijk, 1995, 1993; Sullivan, 2002). The following paragraph will look at certain key features of critical linguistics as a discipline.

2.2.2 Some Features of Critical Linguistics

As mentioned above, critical linguistics as a brand of mainstream linguistics draws its traditions from the systemic functional linguistics and neo-Marxism. Halliday's theory of systemic functional linguistics is borrowed and sourced from various beliefs and ideas. Neo-Marxism draws extensively on critical sociology (cf. Wodak, 1989; Fairclough, 1992). Consistent with this dual theoretical background, critical linguistics claims to be a socially and politically mediated linguistics which describes and analyses language in relation to its major roles and functions in perpetuating power relations in society. It views language as a medium or instrument of control that can be used to perpetuate inequalities of power. In other words, critical linguistics views language as an encompassing ideology with the power to enforce power relations and cause social struggle. Critical linguistics also uses language or discourse as a tool for the social construction of reality. It maintains that discourse is a form of knowledge and a way of representing social practices (Fairclough, 1989:1–4; Fowler & Kress, 1979a:186–190; Kress, 1990:88–89). Mills (1995:10) states that it is a "study of texts from an avowedly political perspective". In all, it is a theory of language whose aim, according to Hodge and Kress (1988: vii), "is to provide an illuminating account of verbal language as a social phenomenon, especially for the use of critical theorists... who want to explore social and political forces and processes as they act through and on texts and forms of discourse."

Another feature of critical linguistics is that it expands the horizons of stylistics by exploring and studying other texts. It also attempts to show how value systems and sets of belief reside in such texts. In other words, in the furtherance of stylistics, critical linguistics strives to highlight how ideologies manifest themselves in texts. Here, the concept of ideology is shallowly construed in terms of social values and beliefs. Simpson (1993:5) clarifies this conceptualisation of ideology in critical linguistics:

> From a critical linguistic perspective, the term normally describes the ways in which what we say and think interacts with society. An ideology therefore derives from the taken-for-granted assumptions, beliefs and value-systems which are shared collectively by social groups. And when an ideology is the ideology of a particularly powerful social group, it is said to be *dominant*. Thus, dominant ideologies are mediated through powerful and social institutions like the government, the law, and the medical profession. Our perception of these institutions, moreover, will be shaped in part by the specific linguistic practices of the social groups who comprise them.

The above citation is a conceptualisation of ideology about the assumptions, beliefs and value systems of social groups and this in terms of dominant ideologies. This thesis of dominant ideology is one of the major propositions that dominant ideologies are reproduced by social and linguistic structures (cf. Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 2000). Simpson presents his comment about this in the following way:

> A central component of the critical linguistic creed is the conviction that language reproduces ideology... It is used in a host of discourse contexts, contexts which are impregnated with the ideology of the social systems and institutions... First, dominant ideologies operate as a mechanism for maintaining asymmetrical power relations in society. As language can be used by the powerful groups to re-enforce this dominant ideology, then language needs to be targeted as a specific site of struggle (1993:6).

Critical linguistics perceives the different contexts of texts as being socially and ideologically determined, thus requiring a critical intervention or linguistics that is critical in nature (cf. Fairclough, 1992:26). Thus, the assumption is that of ideological critique which highlights the critical orientation of linguistics rendering it a different form of linguistics to the mainstream. One separates meaning from style or expression while the other posits a fundamental distinction between

linguistic and grammatical structures and the ways in which they are applied in actual instances of linguistic communication (cf. Fairclough, 1992:26; Fowler & Kress, 1979a:186–196). Furthermore, it supports the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis which maintains that languages embody reality and worldviews and which asserts that certain texts and certain instances of language use embody particular ideologies (cf. Fairclough, 1992:26; Fowler, 1991:28–30; Simpson, 1993:163–164).

2.2.3 Theoretical Assumptions of Critical Linguistics

Regarding the dualism in its theoretical foundation, critical linguistics assumes the following:

- Language users tend, owing to their socio-cultural positioning, to adopt a particular stance towards sets of codes which constitute a language. In other words, as socially located individuals, language users only have partial or selective access to certain configurations of the language system. This indicates that there are different configurations, dispositions, and knowledge that producers of texts bring to bear on textual forms which are in tune with the differing social positionings of language users.
- Language is social practice. It argues that language is but one of many social practices of signification and representation together with visual images, layout, gestures, music, etc.
- Texts are the result of the actions of socially situated speakers and writers who operate with relative degrees of possibility of choice within the structurings of power or domination.
- Linguistic features result from social processes, and, as such, are motivated instances of forms (signifiers) and meanings (that which is signified), i.e., they are arbitrary or pre-determined combinations of form and meaning.
- In any given text, linguistic features show opacity since language itself is an opaque medium.
- Meanings are the result of the interaction of readers and hearers with texts and with speakers or writers of texts. This implies that meanings depend on strict normative rules, e.g., on rules of genre, and/or on relations of power prevalent in a given interaction (cf. Fairclough, 1989:24–27, 38–43; Kress, 1990:85–89; Fowler, 1991:41–45; Hodge, 1993:201–211).

The assumptions above may have as their main objective, to produce an analytic method which is usable by people who may, for example, be historians rather than linguists.

2.2.4 The Major Aims and Concerns of Critical Linguistics

Critical linguistics resists the mystifying tendencies in language to enhance the social processes which make language work in communication. In other words, the effectiveness of critical linguistics, if it could be measured, would be seen primarily in its capacity to equip readers for clear readings of ideology-laden texts. Thus, it could be claimed that the main function of critical linguistics lies within the educational system. It examines, interprets, and comprehends how and why reality is structured by language.

Critical linguistics also explains language practices in terms of the underlying social and power relations. It explores the power relations exercised via language and language practice to expose the controlled political and social environment underlying language in society. Critical linguistics also uncovers and demystifies certain social processes in society and makes mechanisms of manipulation, discrimination, demagogy, and propaganda explicit and transparent. It renders the discipline of linguistics more responsible, more accountable, and more responsive to issues of social equity.

Furthermore, critical linguistics advances a critical theory of language to foreground social conflict and antagonism and facilitate a critical understanding of languages and their use (Fowler, 1996:6; Bell, 1991:214; Kress, 1989:446–450, 1990:88; Sullivan, 2002:3–6; Wodak, 1989: xiv-xvi, 1996a:6–7). The basic claims of critical linguistics, however, are that all linguistic usage encodes ideological patterns or discursive structures which mediate representations of the world in language; those different usages (e.g. different sociolinguistic varieties of lexical choice in syntactic paraphrases) encode different ideologies, resulting from their different situations and purposes, and; that, by these means, language works as a social practice. It is not, as traditional linguistics claims, a transparent medium for communication about an objective world, nor is it a reflection of a stable social structure. It promulgates different versions of reality and thereby operates as a constantly part of social processes (Malmkjaer, 1991:89). Critical linguistics proposes that analysis which uses the appropriate linguistic tools, and which refers to relevant historical and social contexts, can bring ideology, normally hidden through the habitualisation of discourse, to the surface of inspection. In this way, critical linguistics can shed light on social and political processes. Promising revelation through an analytic technique – indeed quite a simple set of tools – critical linguistics has been welcomed by a variety of workers concerned with discourse.

The reader must note that the critical linguistics model is a controversial one. It has been faulted by critics because it challenges some of the most central, established principles in the linguistics school of thought. Even others who are more sympathetic to the aims of the venture oppose it because it

employs some notoriously difficult concepts such as “ideology” and “function”. Critical linguistics receives resistance in some quarters because its practitioners are clear about their socialist motives and have doggedly subjected the dominant discourses of authoritarianism, capitalism, and militarism to linguistic critique. Under no circumstances should “critique” or “critical” be understood as negative. “Critical” linguistics is simply a linguistics which seeks to understand the relationships between ideas and the possible social conditions of their existence (Malmkjaer, 1991:90).

It is important that agreement is reached on formal methods of analysis and “we must resist theorizing ‘language and society’ as separate entities”. The discourse of linguistics puts great pressure on us to do so, as can be seen from book titles such as ‘*Language and Society’, ‘Language and Social Context’, and ‘Language and Social Behaviour’* (Malmkjaer, 1992:92). Richardson (1987:146) aptly stated about critical linguistics that: “One facet of critical linguistics is an attempt to advance a critical theory of language – i.e., one which does not neutralize or suppress social conflict and antagonism – and understanding of languages and their use.”

2.2.5 Critical Linguistics’ Method of Analysis

With reference to its methodological approach and its analytical procedures, critical linguistics attempts to integrate a linguistic text analysis methodology with a social theory of the functioning of language in political and ideological processes, informed of the functionalist linguistic theory of Michael Halliday (1978, 1985) and known as “systemic linguistics” (Fairclough, 1992:25–26). According to Faigley (1992:89), this is why it is taken to be a marriage of Marxism and systemic functional linguistics or “an odd blend of mentalism and materialism” (p.101).

For textual analysis of critical linguistics, Halliday’s grammar comes into play (cf. Halliday, 1985). In addition to Chomsky’s transformational grammar and Austin’s speech act theory for social analysis, critical linguistisc utilises a neo-Marxist theory of discourse as informed by Louis Althusser, Antonio Gramsci, Valentin Voloshinov and Michel Pêcheux. Regarding this, critical linguistics pays special attention to the grammar and vocabulary of texts by placing emphasis on linguistic and grammatical processes such as *transitivity, modality, classification, transformation, nominalisation, passivisation, lexicalisation* and *thematisation.*

The main contention of the above linguistic and grammatical processes, e.g., “passivisation” (the deletion or suppression of agency. i.e., conversion of an active clause into a passive clause), may be associated with ideologically significant features of texts such as the systematic mystification of agency. In this case the headline “Police Shoot Demonstrators” appears instead as: “Demonstrators

Are Shot". The agent "Police" has been deleted. The passive transformation thus implies the linkage between language and ideology, language and power, and language and society – an association it has with neo-Marxist analysis (Birch, 1989:167–168; Faigley, 1992:89–104; Fairclough, 1989:2–5, 1992:25–30; Fowler, 1991:66–67; Fowler & Kress, 1979a:191–196; Mills, 1995:10–14; Van Dijk, 1998:3).

Fairclough describes Halliday's mode of analysis contextualised within critical linguistics as follows (1992:26): "critical linguistics again takes a Hallidayan position, in contrast with the practice of mainstream linguistics and sociolinguistics, in taking complete texts (spoken or written) as the object of analysis". Kress (1990:88–89) also stressed this point when he declared that "critical linguistics has from the first time taken text as the linguistic unit, both in theory and in description/analysis… categories that have been particularly prominent have been transformations, transitivity (or case-grammar analysis), modality forms (modal auxiliaries, adverbial modifiers, mental process verbs), forms of embedding, and subordination and coordination".

The neo-Marxist mode of analysis underpinning critical linguistics is likewise summarised by Mills (1995:10) when she says that: "Critical linguists such as Hodge and Kress have shown that meaning does not simply reside in a text but is the result of a process of negotiations and a set of relations between the social system within which the text is produced and consumed... They draw on explicitly political theorists such as Valentin Voloshinov and Michel Pêcheux to focus on how language can be a motivating force in the way that people define and are defined by others".

Fairclough (1992:30) also tries to relate this critical approach in asserting that "Michel Pêcheux and his collaborators (Pêcheux et al., 1979; Pêcheux, 1982) have developed a critical approach to discourse analysis which, like critical linguistics, attempts to combine a social theory of discourse with a method of text analysis, working mainly on written political discourse". A critical linguistic analytic procedure also follows this pattern: "diagnosis first, interpretation and therapy (later)" (Wodak, 1989: xiv). This analytic mode is referred to as a "diagnostic textual interpretation" (Richardson, 1987:145).

Theorising still further on critical linguistics, Fowler (1996b) hailed consciousness as an agent of emancipatory discourse practices as one of the major tasks of critical linguistics. He states that critical linguistics views representations as mediated and moulded by value systems ingrained in the language used for representation. Therefore, the theory challenges common sense/ naturalisation/hegemony phenomena by positing that something could have been represented some other way, with a very different significance (Fowler, 1996b:4). Linguistic analysis is utilised by

critical linguistics to unravel or reveal misrepresentation and discrimination in public discourse. The revelation is achieved through critical readings of newspapers, political propaganda, official documents, and regulations, among others. An examination of various topics such as sexism, racism, inequality in employment, education, the courts and so on is at the core of critical linguistics. By examining such topics in relation to public discourse, the goals of critical linguistics are, in general terms, defamiliarisation or consciousness-raising (Fowler, 1996b:5).

Critical linguistics in all its varieties is the only appropriate and suitable alternative form of linguistics in relation to mainstream linguistics and conventional sociolinguistics for studying language, ideology, power, social structures and other related social practices. Nevertheless, in the study of the functioning of ideology and power in language, critical linguistics resorts to the tried and tested linguistic and grammatical processes such as transitivity, modality, classification, transformation, nominalisation, passivisation, lexicalisation and thematisation, which characterise not only mainstream linguistics but also everyday language use. For instance, transformations constitute the basic part of Chomsky's theory of transformational generative grammar (cf. Chomsky, 1957, 1965).

The following section gives a description of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and touches on a few linguistic tools which may be used to conduct these analyses, e.g., transitivity, lexical structure, syntactic transformation of the clause and modality.

2.3 Theoretical Background of Critical Discourse Analysis

This section will trace the historical and philosophical development of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). It will also describe the influence of Michael Halliday's Functional Grammar in the development of CDA.

Pennycook is of the opinion that CDA is one of the most influential critical approaches to text in applied linguistics (2001:79). Critical discourse analysis is a form of discourse analytical research that studies, primarily, the way in which social power abuses, dominance, and inequalities are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (Van Dijk, 2008:85). Put simply, CDA is a socially and politically committed analysis that has been successfully employed to investigate the structuring of power, ideology, and domination in speech in general, and in texts in particular. Language is described and explained as "an instrument of control as well as communication" (Kress & Hodge, 1979). One of its assumptions is that language is never neutral but always embodies ideologies which are themselves the fabric of power relations and social

struggle. In other words, words, whether spoken or written, have power (Luke, 1997). In this vein, Fairclough (1989) states: "Language is both a site of and a stake in class struggle and those who exercise power through language must constantly be involved in struggle with others to defend (or lose) their position". A critical approach to discourse analysis, in contrast with many of the other forms of discourse and conversation analyses, does not go to work on informal conversations but concentrates on data where the discourse types embody the ideologies which legitimise power relations. These discourse types may include news reporting, political interviews, and advertising (Candlin, 1992:78). Examples of embodied ideologies may involve "unequal encounters" in terms of power relations, or as in news reporting and advertising, of discourse manipulating while apparently informing in a natural and neutral way.

Consumers of these data are usually not aware that they are receiving an ideologically biased message, when, for instance, they read about a "manipulation" rather than a "deception" or when the passive is used to describe how a group of people were lured into behaving in a certain way so that the agent is never explicitly mentioned. Critical discourse analysis pays close attention to the linguistic code (grammar, vocabulary, and prosody) of discourse processes such as cohesion, coherence and topicalisation, and of schema and discourse types. The most noteworthy characteristics of this method lie in the adequate description of linguistic structures and vocabulary to determine how discourse manipulates people and maintains the social status quo (Candlin, 1992:78). With Gee's (1990) suggested general principle of functionalist discourse analysis that language use contributes to the (re)production of social life, we might deduce that discourse must play a part in producing and reproducing social inequalities. To this end, CDA strives to illuminate social practice and social relationships, particularly relationships of disempowerment, dominance, prejudice and/or discrimination (Richardson, 2007:26). This kind of critical analysis may be contextualised "at different levels of abstraction from the particular event: it may involve its more immediate situational context, the wider context of institutional practices the event is embedded with, or the yet wider frame of the society and the culture. All these layers may be relevant to understanding the particular event…" (Fairclough, 1995b:62).

According to Van Dijk (2008:87), concerning the conceptual and theoretical frameworks of CDA, it:

> is not a specific direction of research. It does not have a unitary theoretical framework... Critical analysis of conversation is very different from an analysis of news reports in the press or of lessons and teaching at school... Most kinds of CDA will ask questions about the way specific discourse

structures are deployed in the reproduction of social dominance, whether they are part of a conversation or a news report or other genres and contexts.

What this means is that CDA employs different ways in which it treats a variety of text/conversation genres. The method employed will depend on the analysis. A genre which has enjoyed increasing attention for the practice of CDA is the media.

2.3.1 Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis

Titscher et al. (2000) used the work of Wodak (1996) to summarise the general principles of CDA as follows:

- CDA is concerned with social problems. It is not concerned with language use per se, but with the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures.
- Power-relations have to do with discourse, and CDA studies both power in discourse and power over discourse. That is, discourse focuses on how power operates through language.
- Society and culture are dialectically related to discourse: society and culture are shaped by discourse, and at the same time constitute discourse. Every single instance of language use reproduces or transforms society and culture, including power relations.
- Language use may be ideological. To determine this, it is necessary to analyse texts to investigate their interpretation, reception, and social effects.
- Discourses are historical and can only be understood in relation to their context. At a metatheoretical level this corresponds to the approach of Wittgenstein, according to which the meaning of an utterance rests in its usage in a specific situation.
- Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory. Critical analysis implies a systematic methodology and a relationship between the text and its social conditions, ideologies, and power relations... (Wodak, 1996:17–20, cited in Titscher et al., 2000:146).

In broad terms, it is possible to distinguish two principal types of analysis. The first involves the ways in which unequal power relationships between participants in conversations are reproduced. Thus, while analysing interactions between participants in conversation, one can detect, for example, that "topics are introduced and changed only by the dominant participant, often according to a pre-set agenda or routine, which may or may not be overtly set in the discourse" (Fairclough, 1992b: 155). This kind of analysis which has been used to determine who should make a speech, about what and for how long, has constituted a major focus of work on language and gender.

The second type of analysis focuses on the content rather than the structure of texts and has to do with ways in which ideologies are (re)produced through discourse. Fairclough (1995) argues that the goal of critical discourse analysis is to denaturalise ideologies that have become naturalised. He explains that ideologies are representations of some aspect of the world that can be associated with some particular social base. Therefore, what is assumed to be background knowledge or common sense really is an ideological representation. In other words, what we assume to be common, everyday knowledge is in fact the worldview (ideology) of a particular social group.

2.3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis: Early Development

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has its origins in the humanities and social sciences. Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) stemmed from overlapping intellectual traditions, each endorsing the linguistic turn in the social sciences. CDA itself is a particular strand of CDS which constitutes a problem-oriented and transdisciplinary theory and method that emerged from different schools of thought. Fairclough (1992) described CDA as a textually oriented form of discourse analysis (TODA). In developing this method of text analysis, Fairclough amassed the linguistic theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday & Hasan, 1989; Halliday, 1985) with the social theory of discourse as it is featured in the work of Foucault (1969, 1972, 1979, 1981). Systemic Functional Linguistics is the branch of grammar which stresses the importance of social context (the context of culture and situation) in the production and development of language, both historically and in terms of meaning in individual discourse events. It always has been concerned not only with words and sentences, but also with longer texts and collections of texts (corpora) above the sentence level (Bloor & Bloor, 2007:2).

From these developments in language theory sprang Critical Linguistics (CL), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and later Critical Language Awareness (CLA; Fairclough, 2003; Luke, 1995, 1996; Pennycook, 2001). In the early 1990s a group of European scholars (Fairclough, Kress, Van Dijk, van Leeuwen and Wodak) invested 48 hours at a symposium in Amsterdam discussing theories and methods specific to CDA. These scholars were from somewhat diverse academic backgrounds and the emergence of CDA reflects their interdisciplinary approach (Van Dijk, 1993). CDA has now been adopted as widely as in Europe, Australia, North America, Africa (e.g., Ensor, 2004; Janks, 1999; Kapp, 2004), Asia (e.g., Tong, 2005; Yiemkutitavorn, 2005) and South America (e.g., Heberle, 2000; Coulthard & Coulthard, 1996; Magalhaes, 2005).

Various strands of CDA exist and different scholars have drawn on different semiotic traditions. Barker and Galasinski (2001), for example, have linked cultural studies with CDA. Gee (2004) argues that CDA refers to the brand of analysis that has been informed by the work of Fairclough, Hodge, Kress, Wodak, Van Dijk, van Leeuwen and others. He points out that what critical approaches to language have in common is that they "treat social practices in terms of their implications for things like status, solidarity, distribution of social goods, and power" (Gee, 2004:33). According to Hornberger (2008:55), each of these schools of thought share commonalities in terms of a situated theory of power and discourse but differ according to their analytic procedures and the degree to which they emphasise context. Nevertheless, there are a few shared characteristics between the researchers engaged in CDA. First, all approaches are buttressed by some form of critical theory. Critical theory is not a unified set of perspectives but rather includes critical race theory, post-structuralism, postmodernism, neo-colonial studies, queer theory, and so on. Critical theories generally treat issues of power and justice and the ways in which the political economy and ideologies about race, class, gender, religion, education, and sexual orientation construct, reproduce, or transform social systems. Critical researchers are intent on discovering the specifics of domination through power, in all of its various forms (Hornberger, 2008:55).

Furthermore, there is a shared assumption within the CDA tradition that defines discourse as *language use as a form of social practice*. Moreover, discourse oscillates between reflecting and constructing the social world. In this way, language cannot be considered neutral, because it involves political, social, racial, economic, religious, and cultural formations (cf. Blommaert, 2004; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). CDA is a socially committed scientific paradigm that addresses the social problems which arise through these formations through a range of methodological approaches with the aim of raising awareness of the ways in which language mediates asymmetrical relations of power, hence the notion of Critical Language Awareness (cf. collection of papers edited by Norman Fairclough, 1992). In general terms, analyses aim to describe, interpret, and explain the relationships between texts, social practices, and society-wide processes. However, each discourse analyst approaches research in different ways, some foregrounding micro-level issues and others foregrounding macro-level ones. Some analysts draw on extensive fieldwork, and others stay close to the texts themselves.

2.3.3 Philosophical underpinnings of Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis can also be traced to several philosophical propositions, including the 1930s Frankfurt School, Marxism, decisionism, the Bakhtin/Voloshinov circle and the universal pragmatics of Habermas.

Mikhail Bakhtin, a Soviet scholar prominent in the 1920s who went by the pseudonym of Voloshinov, promoted the study of ideology via language (Mesthrie, 2000). Voloshinov's ideas were centred upon a critique of Saussurean structuralism regarding the linguistic sign. A more sophisticated view held by some philosophers and linguists from the ancient times up to the modern day, is that the signifier and the signified are related through the mediation of concepts in the mind (Palmer, 1978:17–24). The nature of the link between a word in language, the extra-linguistic reality it denotes and the concept it evokes in the mind, remains a subject of strong debate among semanticists. Ferdinand de Saussure, one of the pioneers of modern linguistics, theorised that the signifier (uttered and written word) and the signified (concept) are linked by means of an associative psychological bond, and that both the sounds we utter and the objects in the world we talk about are mirrored by concepts (Palmer, 1978:24). In other words, the linguistic sign or entity consists of an association of the signifier and the signified, the relationship of which is arbitrary. Consequently, the signifier spelt d-o-g has no inherent link with the concept "dog" that it names. "A succession of sounds is lingual only if it supports an idea; considered independently, it is material for a physiological study and nothing more than that" (Saussure, 1974:103). The relationship is therefore a kind of social contract endorsed by a speech community. In furtherance to this, Saussure characterised society as general and abstract and ignored the subgroups within the society.

Since critical linguists very much cherish social arrangements and divisions within society, the idea of language as a system of socially neutral signs is unacceptable (Mesthrie, 2000:322). Voloshinov took a different view to the Saussurean framework, stressing the ideological nature of the sign. Voloshinov accentuates the conditioning of the forms of signs by the social organisation of the participants involved and by the immediate conditions of their interaction. There is an elevation of the sign through this conditioning in that the sign becomes an arena of class struggle, exposing it to different orientations and evaluations in the social world. Although Voloshinov's interest lay in class inequalities, his formulation can be extended to other discourses as well, for example those of gender, culture, and minority rights. Voloshinov termed this "heteroglossism" – the side-by-side existence and interplay between several "voices' or linguistic and social orientations in a speech utterance. The multiplicity of orientations (or open-endedness of language) is opposed by dominant classes (ideologies) because their stocks-in-trade are to downgrade the polyphonic, semantic, and

social possibilities of the sign. Voloshinov is of the belief that we enter human consciousness and social consciousness through our learning of language. Therefore, to have subjectivity and to be human is to have first entered, via language, into dialogue with others. The "self" is therefore social since it is a collection of various roles; a make-up of languages or voices spoken by others (Mesthrie, 2000:322).

Marxism and the Frankfurt School also contributed to the development of CDA. Hammersley (1997) explains that the primary source of the term "critical" in CDA is the "critical theory" developed by the Frankfurt School of Marxism. Hammersley (1997) goes on to argue that the use of the term "critical" arose when the Frankfurt Marxists were exiled to the United States because of the Nazi takeover in Germany. The term "Marxism", a taboo word in the US, was then avoided, which was why they referred to their work as "Critical" rather than "Marxist". Hammersley is of the view that the early Frankfurt theorists inherited from Marx the idea that society should be perceived objectively and not subjectivity. They argued that in the twentieth century the possibility of this objectivity was immanent as capitalist society had become almost completely obscured by ideology. In this instance, ideology is taken to mean a false set of ideas perpetuated by the dominant political force (Littlejohn, 2002:211). This, they believed, was the reason, among others, why a successful communist revolution had not taken place in the west. The principal task for them was critique of ideology. The aim was to expose that which was obfuscated by ideology, to make manifest the possibility that modern society could be organised in a different non-oppressive way (Hammersley, 1997:240). Based on the idea of ideology critique about the exposure of objective possibilities for change, is Marx's philosophy of history.

Marx considers every form of exploitation and operation resident in history and in contemporary society as an index of humanity's alienation from its own true nature; this alienation resulting from sheer success in gaining control over external nature. Marx opined that the development of technology had reduced domination by nature and increased the alienation of human beings from one another because technological development had culminated into hierarchical modes of organisation ranging from feudal estates to nation states and joint stock companies. Marx went on to argue that this process had reached its zenith as a form of capitalism, where the natural resources for human liberation are available but the relations of production represent the most severe level of social alienation. Consequently, he believed that capitalism contained all the necessary preconditions for the self-realisation of humanity: it had developed the forces of production to the point that provided the material base for this. The extreme social alienation of the working class supplied them with a capacity for a true understanding of the nature of capitalism, and a motive for bringing about radical

change to a new kind of society in which oppression and exploitation would disappear (Hammersley, 1997:240–2).

Hammersley (1997) claimed that CDA could be founded on decisionism. His argumentation is that proponents of decisionism differ from the Frankfurt School because they avoid or reject any effort made to derive value judgements from socio-historical analysis. The Marxism tradition presents ideals about how things can and should be, as may be seen from the true picture of the world, while decisionism disagrees that values are open to rational justification. Viewed within the decisionism boundaries, one is at liberty to make one's value judgements and this involves a leap of faith rather than rational deliberation. Hammersley (1997) maintains that much "critical" writing in the social sciences is apparently dependent on decisionism. It is often debated, for instance, that what is distinctive about "critical" research is that it makes its value commitment explicit and uses it to guide inquiry whereas mainstream research claims to be value-neutral but is not (Hammersley, 1997:242–243).

There is no gainsaying of the fact that Habermas' universal pragmatics also contributed to the development of CDA. Jurgen Habermas is the best-known contemporary Frankfurt scholar whose theory of universal pragmatics and the transformation of society has exerted considerable influence in Europe and an increasing influence in the United States. His theory draws from a wide range of thought and presents a coherent critical view of communication and society (Littlejohn, 2002:212–213). Hammersley (1997) recognises Habermas' prodigious work as being derived from the Frankfurt School but having followed a characteristic Kantian turn. Habermas found the dangers of a stark positivistic science and its proneness to dominant ideologies deplorable. Menz (1989) stated that a science which limits itself to the descriptive and objective representation of reality is not a science. This indicates that science is practised by scientists. Thus, Habermas maps out a scientific theoretical framework within which one can pursue critical social sciences and critical linguistics. A model containing two important dimensions was developed by Habermas (Menz, 1989). These two dimensions state, first, that a critical science must first and foremost be self-reflective to legitimise itself. Secondly, it must pay attention to the historical life-context in which linguistic and social interactions occur. Habermas refers to an attitude in the case of self-reflection. This means that the scholar must consider the social implication/importance of his own actions. The social and linguistic scholar situates himself as part of his analysis. In this instance, he realises that scientific research itself is not value-free, in other words, it does not find itself in a vacuum. The scholar must invest his interest in it. According to Menz (1989:228–230), a critical science must be conscious of the fact that

the social rules and the social context analysed are historically grown and not given by nature. These are derived from a life context and must be interpreted within their historical development.

Critical discourse analysis aims to expose cases where laws have been breached, principles of democracy have been hijacked, and where equality and justice have been perverted by those who wield power. It is often found that written laws legitimise power abuse, courts sanction it, police enforce it, and it is then ideologically sustained and reproduced by the media or textbooks (Van Dijk, 1998:369–373). What is distinctive about CDA is that it intervenes on the side of both the dominated and the oppressed groups, and that it openly declares the emancipatory interests that motivate it (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997:259). The philosophical orientations discussed above actually played no significant role in the linguistic research of the mainstream structural and generative approaches of the 1960s and 1970s. What is discovered here is that structural and generative grammars in those years had been developing formal systems of analysis whereby language users and social contexts were almost disregarded. There then emerged pragmatics – the branch of linguistics which studies language use, as opposed to the structure of language. This involves the concept of speech acts, which is akin to the study of social interaction, though its approach remained philosophical and abstract. The focus on the units of language use and communication (that is, text and talk) came up in preference to the rigid sentence boundaries of grammars. Both discourse analysis and text linguistics were context-free. Put differently, discourse analysis and text linguistics were very close to grammar and logic, or their focus was on the purely formal properties of conversational interaction such as turn-taking and other forms of sequencing. Such theories never went beyond an analysis of the general rules and strategies of mutual understanding and interaction about language users and the relevant properties of social context. The prevalent mode of linguistics took a new turn through the various developments in the 1970s. Thus, the pattern of emphasising the use of abstract sentence structures changed to an emphasis on speech acts and natural forms of language use and discourse. Much more attention was paid to dialectal and sociolectal variation. Again, the contextual functionality of language and discourse forms was added to the interest in universals and abstract language systems of homogenous speech communities. Thus, the new developments (dialectology, sociolectal variation and functionality of language and discourse forms) were seen as new modes for studying linguistics.

The new approaches developed some dynamic tools in language analysis irrespective of the fact that their social orientation remained unmeasurable. The study of language use and discourse was taken to be a form of social interaction. These social situations were analysed in terms of class, gender, age, race, colour, vocation, or status. Nevertheless, most of these studies were descriptive and lacked

a "critical" perspective. When discussing critical discourse analysis (CDA) patterns, these perspectives could hardly be conceptualised or systematically studied in relation to socio-cultural, socio-economic, or even historical structures. As implied before, in revealing the ways in which inequality is enacted and reproduced in discourse, researchers place themselves and hope to place their readers in a position from which to resist social inequality and ultimately to strive for social change. But then, many linguists were unaware of the fact that in interpersonal dialogue and in institutional text and talk, some social members and groups possess and wield power over others. This power or authority (re)produces dominant ideologies which manipulate the minds, programmes, and status of the "powerless".

The social discourse context approach to language studies began in the 1970s, after which the 1980s witnessed the emergence of quite a significantly different approach to these language studies, i.e., the dawn of the practice of critical linguistics and discourse analysis. The critical approach is not simply a genre of applied linguistics or discourse analysis but is replete with its own problems. The approach derived its inspiration from a critical analysis of relevant, structural problems prevalent in society and culture. Since many of these problems are expressed in, and enacted, reproduced or legitimated by talk and text, critical discourse analysis can and should make a significant contribution to the assessment of these problems, and, if possible, provide solutions. The above critical approach of discourse analysis in society utilises a complex cluster of structural relationships variously classified as *power, dominance, exploitation, manipulation,* or *oppression.* This classification is about personal, individual interactions and communication but is more strongly focused on the group-based institutions of our society. The approach is in consonance with the role of the state and its institutions, for example, the police, ministries, the judiciary, education, research, etc. Also included is the socio-economic, financial, and technological dominance of large businesses and banks. Importantly, this critical approach also investigates an organised wielding of power by majorities over minorities or of men over women.

The enactment and reproduction of power, ideology and dominance is informed by the simple or complex features of social organisation and interaction and not merely by might, performance, products, or money. It manifests itself and perpetually produces text and talk in the form of laws, instructions, orders, threats, accusations, interrogations, or similar forms of communication affecting the powerless. Thus, power is contextualised and perpetuated via text and talk and therefore enacted and reproduced structurally and historically. The burden of critical linguistics and discourse analysis is to analyse this power structure showing the role of language and discourse in the development, maintenance, and reproduction of that system (Van Dijk, 1987b). Some critical analysts such as

Fairclough and Wodak have carried out extensive CDA research. Outstanding research has also been conducted by Teun Van Dijk, into matters such as gender inequality, media discourse, political discourse, ethnocentrism, anti-semitism, nationalism and racism (Van Dijk, 2008:93–98). Naturally, the afore-mentioned "media discourse" falls within the focus of the present study. The underlying aim of CDA in this regard is to examine the language and discourse of the press. Van Dijk (1988b) applied a theory of news discourse (Van Dijk, 1988b). One of his areas of media research involved looking at the roles that news reports play in ethnic relations (Van Dijk, 1991). Kaplan (1990) is also of the opinion that CDA has been extensively applied to media discourse. These efforts are assisting in the development of a different approach to understanding media messages.

2.4 The Hallidayan Framework

Michael Halliday's model of linguistics was the basis upon which authors such as Kress, Fowler, Hodge, Simpson and Reah built in their development of CDA. Hallidayan linguistics hinges on a very strong notion of function. The language functions are presented in such practical terms that language is employed to construct headlines, to exchange pleasantries, to make a will, to correct the children, to win cases in courts, and so on. However, as Fowler (1991:32) put it, Halliday had a more global concept of '*function'* in mind and hypothesised that language "is closely related to the demands we make on it". Halliday proposes that language performs two major functions which he terms *ideational* and *interpersonal*. Both functions rely on a third function, namely the *textual* function. The textual function enables these other two functions to be realised and ensures that language in use is relevant. These three functions are referred to as *metafunctions* and are embodied in human language, forming the basis of the semantic organisation of all natural languages (Halliday, 1985:53).

In the first place, language serves for the expression of content: this is used to represent the speaker's experience of the world (its ideational function). The expression of that experience involves the configuration of particular "meaning components", or semantic "roles" (Halliday, 1970:146) to communicate about happenings (termed "processes"), about the persons, objects and entities involved in those happenings ("participants"), and about the different aspects of those happenings ("circumstances"), i.e., time, place, manner, etc. Furthermore, these components are made manifest via lexico-grammatical choices, with the "processes" most usually realised in English by verbal groups/verb phrases, the "participants" by nominal groups/noun phrases and the "circumstances" by adverbials. Less expected realisations of, for example, "processes" can also be found, with

interesting implications (cf. discussion in Fairclough, 2001:43–103; Fowler, 1991:79–80; Hodge & Kress, 1993:187–189). There are also instances of 'nominalisation', where "processes" are realised by nouns rather than verb phrases. In the account which follows, the model outlined will be the most usual, or 'unmarked' choice - the one which is 'congruently' less metaphorical (Halliday, 1994a:342). The Hallidayan model also represents a highly simplified account of the principal types of processes (and the participants' roles in these processes) that are most directly relevant to this study. Processes are the happenings or 'goings-on' represented in a clause: they are something to which aspects of time may be applied. The goings-on may be physical and these different process types are associated with different participant roles.

2.4.1 Transitivity

Halliday and Matthiessen (1999:11) define transitivity as the grammar of processes: actions and events, mental processes and relations. They stress that:

> ...it is that part of grammar which constitutes a theory of "goings-on". Projection and expansion are the fundamental relations between processes: this is the part of the grammar that constitutes a theory of how one happening may be related to another.

Both Fowler (1991:70) and Simpson (1993:88) describe transitivity as part of the ideational function of language which constitutes a fundamental and powerful semantic concept in Halliday's model; an essential tool in the analysis of representation. Fowler (1985:70) points out that, in analysing transitivity, the analyst should pay attention to not only the roles that participants play with predicates, but also to the kinds of entities that are categorised as performing certain roles. He illustrates this aptly with respect the following news snippet: "The hostel residents stoned the police before tear gas dispersed the crowd". The newspaper reporting this incident characterises the youngsters involved as agents, therefore implicitly blaming them while exculpating the police by not attributing agency to them. Similarly, institutions may excuse their responsibility by using abstract terms as a cover and by deliberately not mentioning their agency in unpopular moves such as price hikes, e.g., "economic recession dictates the raising of prices". Sykes (1985:88–90) also presents an instance of where sympathy is evoked for young black people using transitivity. They are not attributed any agency in their misfortunes and are portrayed as unfortunate victims of forces beyond their control. Kress (1976:169) states that transitivity is the representation in language, of processes, the participants therein, and the circumstantial features associated with them. Simpson (1993:88)

simply stresses that transitivity refers generally to how meaning is represented in the clause. He maintains that transitivity shows how speakers encode in language their mental picture of reality and how they account for their experience of the world around them.

Halliday's transitivity is different from what transitivity signifies in traditional grammar. In traditional grammar there is a syntactic distinction between transitive verbs, but this depends on whether they take an object or not. The syntactic distinction may ignore some significant differences in meaning between different types of verbs, and, therefore, various types of clauses. The differences are derived from the kind of process designated by the verb: *Hit* describes a kind of action which influences another entity, *the table*; *ran* is an activity which affects only the actor(s). In *Yvonne is diminutive*, we realise that quite a different situation is encoded, namely, that which is merely a description of a physical state. *Lucy meditates* refers to a mental process, rather than a physical action. A central insight of the Hallidayan model of transitivity is that it is the foundation of representation: the clause is employed to analyse events and situations as being of certain types. Transitivity can also analyse a similar event in some other ways. Because options are possible in transitivity, certain possibilities can always be suppressed. This shows that the speaker's choice is ideologically significant. Newspapers present us with ample examples to illustrate the ideological significance of transitivity.

To illustrate how newspapers reflect the ideological significance of transitivity, Fowler (1991:71–73) selects three front-page headlines extracted from three newspapers (the *Eastern Daily Press*, the *Sun* and the *Daily Express*) dated 1 July 1986:

1. Police constable shot boy from 9 inches ---*Eastern Daily Press*
2. Raid police constable shot boy from 9 inches ---*Sun*
3. Police constable shot boy from 9 inches ---*Daily Express*

These are reports about a policeman arrested for the manslaughter of a five-year-old boy, John Shorthouse. The boy in question lay in bed during an armed police raid on his father's home in August 1985. In the headlines above, the police constable is the agent who performs the action (shot) and the boy is assigned the role of 'patient' (see next section for a definition of this term). The location "from 9 inches" is also indicated as the only circumstance. The headlines explicitly illustrate the basic elements in transitivity: a clause is based on a semantic nucleus consisting of an obligatory verb or adjective called "a process" by Halliday although, following case grammar, it is called a predicate. The predicate designates the event or situation described by the clause.

In transitivity, the basic semantic framework for the representation of process is very simple. A process consists potentially of three components (Halliday, 1985; Simpson, 1993):

i) The *process* itself, which will be expressed by the VP in a clause;

ii) The *participants* involved in the process. These roles are typically realised by NPs in the clause; and

iii) The *circumstances* associated with the process (normally expressed by adverbials and prepositional phrases).

These components serve as the frame of reference with which we interpret our experience of what goes on (Halliday, 1985:101). Processes are classified according to what they represent – actions, speech, emotions or simply states of being.

2.4.2 Material Processes

Material processes involve action, the doing words of traditional grammars, and typically answer the question "what did he do"? Kress refers to these as action clauses. These processes express the notion that some entity "does" something which may be done "to" some other entity (Halliday, 1985:103). Material processes have two inherent participant roles associated with them. One is the ACTOR role which is an obligatory element that represents the "doer" of the process expressed by the clause. The other is the optional GOAL which represents the person or entity affected by the process (Simpson, 1993). Halliday (1985) asserts that the term *goal* implies "directed" at. Another term used for this function is *patient* which means one that "suffers" or "undergoes" the process. Simpson (1993) presents the following examples:

ACTOR	**PROCESS**	**GOAL**
(a) John	kicked	the ball
(b) The lion	sprang	

Because of the GOAL element in (a), we can re-arrange the sentence into a passive form:

GOAL	**PROCESS**	**ACTOR**
The ball	was kicked	by John

The clause still contains the two participants, irrespective of the fact that the GOAL element has shifted to the beginning of the statement and the ACTOR now appears at the end. Material processes can be subdivided for distinct meanings. The animate actor performing an action can be referred to

as an action process. However, if an action is performed by an inanimate actor it is referred to as an event process. Action processes may be subdivided into intention processes (where the act is performed voluntarily) and it is known as supervention when this just happens.

2.4.3 Verbalisation Processes

These are processes of saying. Here the participant plays his/her role as the SAYER (the individual who is speaking) and the TARGET is the addressee to whom the process is directed. To this VERBIAGE (that which is said) may be added.

SAYER	**PROCESS**	**VERBIAGE**
He	declared	that...

SAYER	**PROCESS**	**VERBIAGE**	**TARGET**
They	pronounced	the reason	to him

SAYER	**PROCESS**	**TARGET**	**VERBIAGE**
James	told	Jane	his life story

Note how Kress (1976) categorises what Simpson (1993) calls verbalisation processes as part of mental processes.

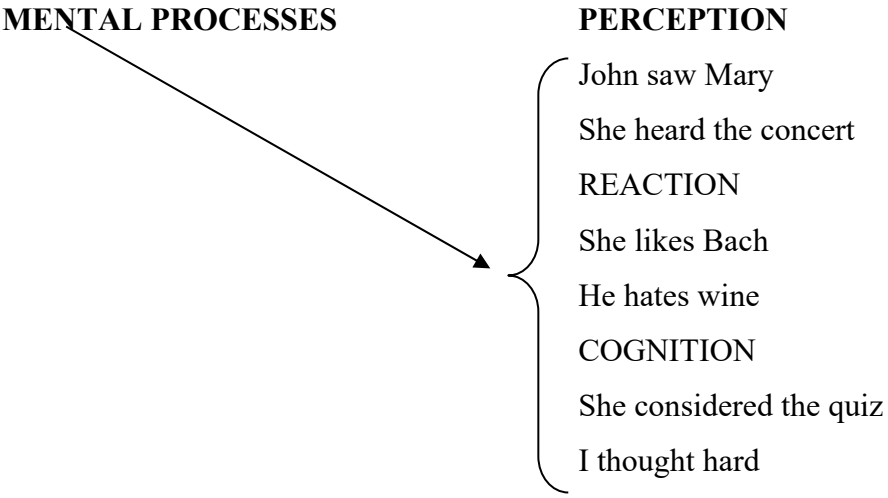
2.4.4 Mental Processes

According to Simpson (1993:91), mental processes account for the process of *sensing.* These processes are "internalised" and as such are quite different in quality to the "externalised" processes of doing and speaking. Kress (1976:164) states that mental processes may be characterised by their being associated (i) with different participant functions and (ii) with different circumstantial elements from action clauses.

Kress (1976), Halliday (1985) and Simpson (1993) classify mental processes into three main types: (i) perception processes ("seeing", "hearing", etc.), (ii) processes of cognition ("thinking", "understanding", "knowing") and reaction processes ("hating", "liking", "smiling", etc). Simpson (1993) and Halliday (1985) indicate that there are two inherent participant roles associated with

mental processes. They are SENSOR (the conscious being that perceives reacting, feeling, thinking, or seeing) and the PHENOMENON (that which is perceived, reacted to, felt, seen or thought about).

Examples from Simpson (1993:91) are illustrated below to show the mental processes involved:



SENSOR	PROCESS	PHENOMENON
John	saw	Mary
She	likes	Bach
She	considered	the quiz
I	thought	hard

2.4.5 Relational Processes

This last category expresses processes of *being.* According to Kress (1976:167), relational processes are clauses in which the "process" takes the form of a relation between two participating entities, or between one participating entity and an attribute. Both types may have the verb "be", which tends to obscure the difference between them. They are perhaps less closely alike than they seem. Simpson (1993) suggests that quite often these processes signal that a relationship exists between two participants but without suggesting that one participant affects the other in any way.

Relational processes may be:

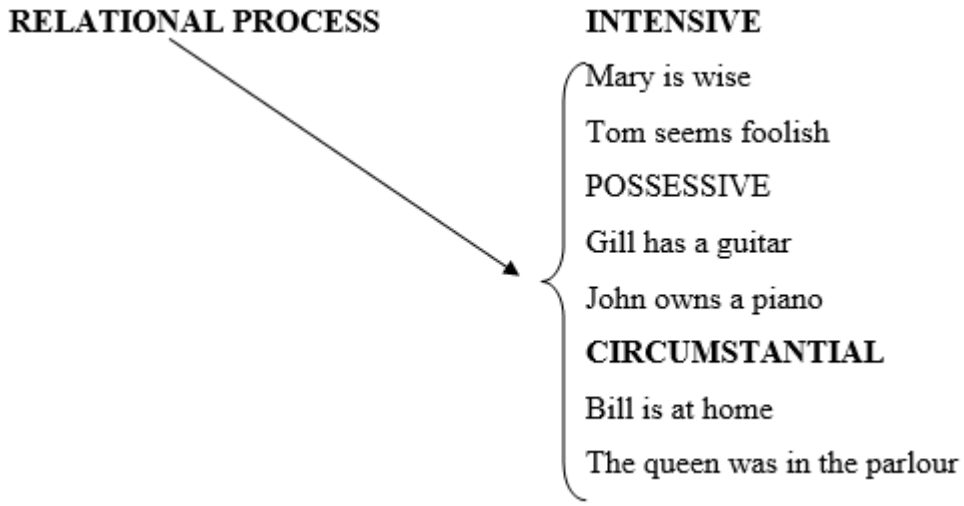
a) Intensive, expressing "X" is a relationship;
b) Possessive, expressing "X" has a relationship; or
c) Circumstantial, expressing "X" is at/of a relationship.

Each of these comes in two modes:

(i) Attributive "a" is an attribute of X. In other words, there is an ascription of 'an attribute to some entity'.

(ii) Identifying "a" is an identity of X. This means that 'an identified can be related with an identifier'.

The examples below are adapted from Simpson (1993:92) to show the relational processes:



2.4.6 Discourse and Social Power

As a core related theme in the discourse of critical analysis, I also wish to present certain citations by Van Dijk (1996) concerning "discourse and social power".

Critical discourse analysis accounts for the relationship between discourse and social power (Van Dijk, 1996). Van Dijk outlines a concise summary of what is entailed in the concept of power and its relation to other institutions (Van Dijk, 1996:84–85):

- First, power is reflected in the relationships that hold between social groups, institutions, or organisations.
- Social power finds its realisation in situations where one group controls another group physically or psychologically/mentally. This kind of control limits or restricts the freedom of action of the others, influencing their knowledge, attitudes, or ideologies.
- The distribution of power of a specific group/institution could be limited to a specific domain such as politics, media, law, education, or corporate business. The distribution and limitation of this power yields different centres of power and creates elite groups that control such centres.

- Dominance is a form of social power abuse and is morally illegitimate control of one group over another in the interests of the controlling group. Thus, dominance leads to social inequality.
- The mainstay of power is access to valued social resources such as wealth, jobs, status or preferential public discourse and communication.
- There is systematic organisation and instruction in the realisation of social power and dominance. The systematisation creates effective control and reproduction of power.
- Lastly, dominance occurs gradually and is met by resistance by dominated groups.

2.4.7 Critical Reactions to Critical Discourse Analysis

Much of the discourse analysis of the twentieth century was essentially *non-critical* - it did not present a critique of social practices. It had three main purposes: (1) to identify and describe how people use language to communicate; (2) to develop methods of analysis that help to reveal the categories (or varieties) of discourse and the essential features of each; and (3) to build theories about how communication takes place (Bloor & Bloor, 2007:12). These authors continued to assert that although these questions are important, there have always been some discourse analysts with a broader agenda, and gradually their numbers have increased. They see discourse both as a product of society and as a dynamic and changing force that is constantly influencing and reconstructing social practices and values either positively or negatively. To approach this broader agenda, they need to address and analyse discourse practices in critical ways, questioning the texts and processes that they study. This requires commitment to social concerns.

The problems addressed by critical discourse analysts range from those of major international importance (macro issues) to relatively small-scale ones concerning individuals (micro issues). The macro and micro are significantly interrelated, and both are equally valid as subjects for analysis. Thus, critical analysis may address general issues such as the verbal representation of ethnic issues or, at the other extreme, the tragedy of a single innocent person who may be unfairly convicted of a crime. Those working in the field differ according to their specific concerns but agree upon certain major principles. Moreover, since CDA is a rapidly developing field, new objective may well arise (Bloor & Bloor, 2007:12).

According to Bloor and Bloor (2007:12), brief and tentative proposals concerning the main objectives of *critical* discourse analysis are the following:

- to analyse discourse practices that reflect or construct social problems;
- to investigate how ideologies can become frozen in language and find a way to break the ice;
- to increase awareness of how to apply these objectives to specific cases of injustice, prejudice, and misuse of power;
- to demonstrate the significance of language in the social relations of power;
- to investigate how meaning is created in context; and
- to investigate the role of speaker/writer purpose and authorial stance in the construction of discourse.

What this means (in brief) is that CDA is concerned with seeking out the origins of social problems and finding ways to analyse them productively.

2.5 Summary

As can be observed from the above, CDA sets out to examine the role of discourse in the (re)production of social inequalities. Again, it is argued that analysis should have an emancipatory goal; that is to say, it must strive to uncover how discourse disadvantages minority groups or those who are powerless. Critical discourse analysis draws from linguistic analysis and tries to link linguistic features to the wider contexts of social, political and economic structures. Finally, it is a stark reality that CDA is critical of conversation analytic methodology, arguing that to fully understand how language works it is necessary to draw from wider social and political contexts.

CHAPTER 3
FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a brief outline of the South African media landscape with its focus on press freedom. It will also take a closer look at the nature and history of three South African newspapers, namely *The Star*, *The Citizen* and the *City Press*. The chapter will present the reader with a text-by-text categorisation of **headlines, words and/or clauses (expressions)** in these newspapers that have been used to *stereotype* Nigerians residing in South Africa. To this end it has also been necessary to sketch the historical background of the image of Nigerians in South Africa. The chapter closes with a brief critical reaction to the content of the chapter.

3.2 The Media Landscape of South Africa

The media, as communicator, is one of the primary components of the mass communication process. Although the media might appear to be the sole communicator in the mass communication context, it is interactively linked with the audience; an interaction which is maintained through feedback from the audience. The media can be divided into print media (e.g., newspapers) and broadcast or electronic media (e.g., radio and television) (cf. Thomas & Wareing, 1999:50).

The South African media is one of Africa's major media centres. While the country's many broadcasters and publications reflect the diversity of the population, the most used language is English. However, all ten other official languages are represented to some extent with Afrikaans being the second most used language, especially in the publishing sector. Up until 1994, the country had a thriving *Alternative press* comprising community broadsheets, bilingual weeklies and even student "zines" and xeroxed samizdats. After the 1994 elections, funding and support for such ventures dried up, but there has been a resurgence of interest in alternative forms of news gathering, particularly since the event of September 11, 2001 (De Beer, 1998:92).

3.2.1 Press Freedom

Press freedom is usually defined as the right to communicate ideas, opinions, and information without government restraint. The main purpose of freedom of the press is to encourage the

existence of an educated and informed electorate that can make decisions about public affairs (Dennis & Merrill, 2002:5). One of the contentious media-related subjects, not only in South Africa but across the globe, concerns the question of freedom of speech forming part of the democratic principle of the freedom of the individual. There is broad consensus that total press freedom in the libertarian sense of the word does not exist and that, at most, there are levels of press freedom brought about by various checks and balances of either the society at large or those acting on behalf of society (De Beer, 1998:104).

Press freedom has a chequered history in South Africa and is currently also in troubled water. While some sectors of the South African media openly criticised the apartheid system and the National Party government, they were hampered by government censorship. For example, journalist Donald Woods became renowned after he fled to live in exile in the United Kingdom for exposing the truth behind the death of Steve Biko, leader of the Black Consciousness Movement. After the end of apartheid in 1994, however, censorship ended, and the New Constitution of South Africa was enacted which has a Bill of Rights which guarantees that every citizen has the right to freedom of expression. This includes freedom of the press and media, the freedom to receive or impart information or ideas, freedom of artistic creativity, academic freedom, and freedom of scientific research. These freedoms are generally respected in practice and the press is considered relatively free. Laws concerning the media and political control over its content are generally considered to be moderate and little evidence is available of repressive measures against journalists. As a result, South Africa is jointly ranked joint 31st (with Australia) in Reporters Without Borders' worldwide index of press freedom 2005 (De Beer, 1998:104–105).

There has also been criticism of certain aspects of press freedom in South Africa. It has been pointed out that almost all the most prominent daily newspapers are owned by just four large media firms, which could lead to pro-corporate bias. In addition, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), which is the public broadcaster, is argued by many to carry a strong pro-ruling party bias (African National Congress; ANC), especially since most of its management and executive staff are either ANC members or ANC aligned. Furthermore, some media aspects of the Oilgate scandal have also been a cause for concern as was the banning of the publication of cartoons of the prophet Muhammad Jajbhay on 3 February 2006 (De Beer, 1998:105).

3.3 Newspapers in South Africa

The first printing press in South Africa was owned and operated by Johan Christian Ritter. Soon after 1793, he produced advertisements, hand-bills, and calendars in the Cape. A British immigrant, H.H. Smith, joined forces with Ritter and offered to undertake printing for the government (The State Library, 1970: xv).

The history of newspapers in South Africa dates to 1800, when the Governor of the Cape Colony, Lord Charles Somerset, initiated the publishing of the government-controlled *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser.* The issue was printed on August 16, 1800, by Walker and Robertson, the two appointed as government printers. The first independently owned newspaper, *SA Commercial Advertiser* was published on January 7, 1824, under the joint editorship of Thomas Pringle and John Fairbairn. Louis Meurant joined them later. The first Dutch language newspaper, *De Zuid Afrikaan,* was published in 1830, whereas the first African language newspaper, *Umshumayeli Wendaba* was published in 1837 and the first Afrikaans language newspaper, *Die Afrikaanse Patriot*, saw the light in 1876 (De Beer & Diederichs, 1998:88).

The 1962 Press Commission's Report stated that there were about 140 newspapers in South Africa and 489 journals, whilst the number in South-West Africa was about ten newspapers and periodicals (De Beer, 1998). Employers engaged in the newspaper industry or who owned or controlled newspapers were members of the Newspaper Press Union, a voluntary employee organisation concerned with the commercial aspects of the Press. The South African Society of Journalists was founded in 1920 and is a trade union registered under the Industrial Conciliation Act No. 28 of 1956. It functions as a voluntary employee organisation. In 1950, a Commission was appointed by the Government to enquire into the press in South Africa. The first section of its report was filed during February 1962, and the final section in May 1964. A Code of Conduct was accepted by the Newspaper Press Union in April 1962 (The State Library, 1970: xvi-xvii).

The current newspaper industry is in a healthy state. According to a South African Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC) survey in 1996, there were 36 daily and weekly urban newspapers in the country, with 29 in English, four in Afrikaans, two in isiZulu and one in isiXhosa. The dichotomy between demographics and publishing languages can be explained by different literacy levels, the widespread popular use of the English language, as well as South Africa's history of censorship, which curbed the development of a culture of newspaper readership. There are also many free (advertising-funded) local and community newspapers in several different languages. An estimated 1.3 million newspapers are sold in South Africa daily.

Today, many independently owned newspapers exist in South Africa, one of which is the *Mail & Guardian.* The majority, however, are owned by four large publishing groups, namely: Avusa Publishing, Naspers, Independent News and Media, and CTP/Caxton (De Beer & Diederichs, 1998:100–101). It was during the apartheid era that newspapers were obligated to register for publication more than 11 times a year. Even an arbitrary amount was charged before registration was approved. The apartheid regime also enforced regulations controlling what newspapers could or could not publish, especially news which commented on activities against the apartheid system. For example, newspapers were not allowed to publish the names and news of banned organisations and their respective spokespersons, or report on conditions in the prisons or the activities of the security forces. In fact, the threat of newspaper closure for those who dared to go against the government laws, forced newspaper editors to apply a self-censorship policy, while other papers printed blank pages or whole paragraphs blacked out as a sign of protest (The Press in South Africa, 2010).

3.3.1 The English Press in South Africa

The history of the English South African newspaper industry can be traced back to the mining industry, as mining tycoons established or acquired newspapers through Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, a subsidiary of the mining giant Anglo American.

Independent Newspapers, South Africa's largest newspaper group, traces its history back to 1889 when Francis Dormer established the Argus Printing Company which had close links with mining magnate, Cecil Rhodes. This printing company was later renamed Argus Newspaper Ltd after it came into the possession of Anglo American. This tie did not last long, for in 1994, 31% of its stake was sold to Tony O'Reilly, the proprietor of Independent Newspapers and Media of Ireland. Another mining-rooted company was Johnnic Publishing, formerly known as Times Media Ltd. A celebrated miner, Abe Bailey, purchased the *Rand Daily Mail* in 1902 and the *Sunday Times* in 1906. By 1937, he had also bought the *Sunday Express*. It was from these publications that the South African Associated Newspapers was established in 1965. When the mining magnates gradually disengaged from newspaper ownership, foreign ownership emerged. Independent Newspapers is now a fully foreign-owned company after O'Reilly's company bought the rest of Argus Newspapers' shares in the 1990s.

3.3.2 The Afrikaans Press in South Africa

The Afrikaans press had a reactionary motive for its establishment: it did not cherish the liberal views expressed in some of the English newspapers. Such views were related to slavery, the tensions between the Dutch farmers and the Xhosa people, and the work of the missionaries in the Cape. In most instances the editors of the early Afrikaans newspapers also served as regional ministers versed in Calvinistic ethics. These papers were Afrikaner-oriented and expressed their stance against British domination.

The Afrikaans press was perceived as a cultural and political weapon for the promotion of the Afrikaans language and political independence, as well as for currying favour against the perceived threat of Black Nationalism. *De Zuid-Afrikaan* was the first newspaper to propagate the interest of Afrikaners and the Dutch. This newspaper was established in1830 by Christoffel Joseph Brand, an advocate who did not agree with the British authorities. Its third year saw Afrikaners from other British-annexed parts of South Africa embracing and increasing its subscription base to 3000. *De Zuid-Afrikaan* folded in1904 after its influential supporters abandoned on account of the editor backing Cecil Rhodes in the clash against the Afrikaner leader, Paul Kruger.

The Afrikaner press today, which emerged from the political division among Afrikaners over involvement in World War I, has vested interests in the newspaper industry. These include stakes in the telecommunications, information technology, entertainment, and publishing industries.

3.3.3 The Black Press in South Africa

The black press in South Africa originated in the Eastern Cape via the establishment of mission stations. The missionaries worked closely with the indigenous people of the area. They taught literacy to these people and, in the process, transferred the skills and resources necessary for publishing.

The first newspaper meant for black readers, *Umshumaleyi Wendaba* (Publisher of the News), was printed at the Wesleyan Mission Society in Grahamstown from 1837 to 1841. *Imvo Zabatsundu* (African Opinion) followed, among several others. It was John Tengo Jabavu who started the newspaper in King William's Town in 1884.

Other black-owned newspapers that followed were associated with the establishment of political movements for blacks, with editors more radical than Jabavu. These papers included *Izwi laBantu* which was started in 1897 by AK Soga and *Ilanga lase Natal* (The Natal Sun), started by John Dube

in1903. The ANC's *Abantu-Batho* was formed in 1912 and the *Indian Opinion* was established in 1903 by Mahatma Ghandi, founder of the Indian National Congress. However, insufficient capital, equipment, and skill as well as the lack of a reliable distribution network saw the entry of white capital into the ownership and control of the black press.

This process began in 1932 with the establishment of Bantu Press Ltd by an ex-farmer who saw the potential of the profits to be made in the black market. Bertram Paver inaugurated a national newspaper, *Bantu World*, a tabloid modelled on the British *Daily Mirror*, which represented a move away from a local to a national black press. The Argus Newspaper Company took over and controlled the Bantu Press from then onwards. This was 14 months after its establishment, and it endured till 1952. *The Argus* soon became the first monopoly in the black press, with 10 weekly papers in the Southern African region, and handling the advertising for 12 publications in 11 languages. Jim Bailey, son of the mining tycoon Abe Bailey, started *Drum* in 1951 and the *Golden City Post* in 1955, newspapers that were both aimed at black readers. Both publications were run by white editors brought to South Africa from Fleet Street Newspapers.

The next phase in the development of the black press came in the 1990s when Anglo American, through Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, sold some of its publication and newspaper companies such as the Sowetan and Times Media Ltd, to black business groups in empowerment deals facilitated by the advent of democracy in 1994.

3.3.4 The Protest Press in South Africa

Many opposition newspapers abounded during the apartheid years. Some of these were very short-lived while others are still in operation today. The more mainstream newspapers to provide news and opinion in opposition to the nationalistic government policies included the *Weekly Mail* (founded after the liberal *Rand Daily Mail* was closed), the *Vrye Weekblad*, *South* and *New Nation*.

The anti-apartheid press was also made up of smaller newspapers produced by independent organisations and educational institutions. One of these was Sash, originally known as Black Sash, produced by the Black Sash organisation from 1956 to 1994. This organisation largely made up of middle-class women, held petitions, protests, marches and vigils to oppose apartheid, all of which were detailed in the newspaper. The newspaper brought issues such as pass laws, migrant labour, the Group Areas and Bantu Education Acts, forced removals, detention without trial and land reform to the attention of white South Africans.

Grassroots, the first of a series of anti-apartheid community newspapers with a circulation that grew up to 20 000, was started in 1980. The paper was financially bedevilled but got some aids from donations and adverts sold to small Cape Town traders. Its first organiser, Johnny Issel, was banned after eight months of inception but the paper managed to survive till 1990. *Work in Progress* was a trade union publication produced from 1977 to 1994. The founders were the postgraduate students at the University of the Witwatersrand. It made inroads into Publications Acts committees and in July 1994, *Work in Progress* was incorporated into *Southern Africa Report*.

The *African Communist* was first produced by the South African Communist Party in 1959. Produced in London, it was moved to South Africa in 1990. Jeremy Cronin was the chief editor. Another protest press product, *Critical Health*, focused on health issues in the prevailing socio-economic climate of unequal health care provision in apartheid South Africa. The duration of the publication was 15 years (1979–1994). Last, but not least, was *Contact*, the official publication of the Liberal Party, published monthly from 1954 to 1967. The Liberal Party was the only legal multiracial party in South Africa during this period, but was dissolved in 1968, when legislation made multiracial parties illegal in South Africa.

The following three sections present a discussion of the three newspapers selected for purposes of this study, namely *The Star, The Citizen* and the weekly (Sunday) newspaper, *City Press*.

3.3.5 The Star

The Star began as the *Eastern Star* in Grahamstown in 1871, but originator Thomas Sheffield persuaded his brother George and they moved up north. The entire plant was moved via train to Kimberley to the new El Dorado. Seventeen days after the last edition was printed in Grahamstown, the *Eastern Star* was on the streets once again as a tri-weekly newspaper (Ritchie, 2007:1). Two years later, the brothers Sheffield met Francis Dormer who would lay the foundations of South Africa's English newspaper industry. Dormer persuaded the brothers to merge with the *Cape Argus*. On March 29, 1989, *The Star* emerged as a daily newspaper and was the cornerstone of the historic Argus Company. This company in turn went on to form the building block for an even bigger international media company in 1994, when it was bought by Tony O'Reilly's company, Independent Newspapers (Ritchie, 2007:1).

The Star fights for the rights of the people of Johannesburg and for the citizens of South Africa. In doing so, it has been closed by war and by government, has been troubled by extremists from both sides, and its editors and staff have been threatened with countless legal suits and even physical

harm. *The Star* covers the heart of the nation with unequalled reporting of local, national, and international news and sport. It favours a tolerant democratic society and is highly proactive in its reporting, appealing to A/B income readers, primarily in greater Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni. It is widely considered to be a superb advertising environment. The readership this year (2010) stands at 1 081 000 and the circulation is 156 900 (http://www.mediaclubsouthafrica.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article).

Some of South Africa's most famous creative minds have passed through *The Star's* offices and it has produced many of the country's finest journalists. Moegsien Williams, the editor, is one of them. *The Star* has consistently been the first with the news, from publishing the first copy of the constitution of the Union of South Africa half an hour after it was released at 20:00 on February 9, 1909, to the unprecedented 24-hour-long scoop of President Thabo Mbeki's decision to fire Jacob Zuma as deputy president in June 2005 (*The Star*, 2007:1).

The Star has lived through and faithfully reported on the turn of two centuries, a brand-new millennium, one dyed-in-the-wool revolt, two civil wars and two world wars. It has borne witness to countless strikes, the advent of union, the end of dominion, the throes of apartheid and the dawn of democracy (Ritchie, 2007:1).

The Star was in its 20's when communism arose, and was hardly breaking into middle age when it floundered. It not only covered the race to the moon but was also there when Mark Shuttleworth became the first African in space. The newspaper has reflected the dramatic technological changes of the age; from delivering subscriptions on horse-drawn trams to providing up-to-the-minute updates on its website; from producing the newspaper on "hot metal" to using one of the most advanced desktop publishing systems in the world. Furthermore, the paper has grown from dramatic sell-outs of 1750 copies in 1888 to more than 300 000 when Nelson Mandela was released from prison in 1990 (*The Star*, 2007:1).

3.3.6 The Citizen

The Citizen is an independent, balanced and lively tabloid-style newspaper that made its first entry into the South African media industry on 7 September 1976 under a cloud of controversy. It was launched by an Afrikaner fertiliser magnate, Louis Luyt, as direct competition for the anti-government newspaper *Rand Daily Mail*. The newspaper is distributed nationally in South Africa and was the only major English language newspaper that was favourable to the ruling National Party

under apartheid. In 1978, the newspaper was at the centre of the Muldergate Scandal, so named after Dr Connie Mulder, the Cabinet minister who was first implicated in this incident.

The Citizen's political alignment to the National Party government was illustrated during the referendum held in November 1983. Publicly, it supported the government in requesting the white voters to vote "Yes" to the inclusion of Coloureds and Indians in Parliament. It refused to accept advertisements from the left-wing Progressive Federal Party who supported a "No" vote. Similar support for the government took place during the General Election of May 6, 1987 (Claassen, 1989:116). The readership stood at 732 000 by February 2010 while the circulation is 67 600.

3.3.7 City Press

City Press was established in 1982 as *Golden City Press* and was the first national Sunday newspaper aimed at a black readership. *City Press* is an English national Sunday paper of the RCP Media group and is sold weekly in South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Namibia. It had an Audit Bureau Circulation (ABC, 2010) of 197 112 and a readership of 2 530 000.

The owners of this paper were Jim Bailey and the South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN). In 1983 the name of the publication was changed to *City Press.* When SAAN withdrew, Jim Bailey became the sole proprietor of *City Press* and the magazines *Drum* and *True Love.* In 1984, financial problems developed and only Nasionale Pers was willing to guarantee sufficient funds to help with the publication's development. On April 1, 1984, Nasionale Pers took over *City Press, Drum* and *True Love* (De Beer & Diederichs, 1998:96). A charter confirming that journalists would continue to enjoy the same freedom within the law was signed between Nasionale Pers and these publications. Since May 1, 1999, *City Press, Rapport* and the other Sunday newspaper of Naspers have been published by RCP Media - a wholly owned subsidiary of Naspers (De Beer & Diederichs, 1998:314).

A limitation of the study is that the three (3) selected South African newspapers do not represent a cross-section of all the South African dailies, but were selected on the basis of availability of documents (data) reporting on issues relating to Nigerians residing in South Africa (Tromp B. 2006:8).

3.4 The Image of Nigerians in South Africa: A Historical Background

The word 'Nigerian' is virtually a profanity in South Africa and most people hold the opinion that Nigerians are all drug dealers, pimps, or human traffickers. Put simply, many reports in the South African media point to the criminal activities of the "infamous" Nigerians (Tromp B. 2006:8).

Shortly after her first democratic elections in 1994, South Africa began experiencing an influx of "foreign" Africans who no longer feared the *oppressive* apartheid regime. According to Tromp (2006:9), there are officially more than 50 000 Nigerians residing in South Africa, with the vast majority undocumented and living in limbo between asylum seeker and refugee status. Although the increased influx of Nigerians started at the end of apartheid and the authoritarian rule of General Sani Abacha, many moved to South Africa for economic reasons. Apparently, the general ill-feeling towards Nigerians is in part due to the debacle between former President Nelson Mandela and his Nigerian counterpart at the time, the late General Sani Abacha.

World-renowned human rights and environmental activist, Ken Sarowiwa, was hanged on November 10, 1995, despite Mandela's concerted effort and appeal to Abacha to spare the writer's life. Thus, the South African government condemned the wicked action and called for international sanctions against the Nigerian government. These sanctions materialised and this was one of the main reasons why Nigeria was conspicuously absent from the 1996 African Cup of Nations (AFCON) tournament hosted by South Africa. The relationship between the two countries was soured and this filtered down to the average South African and Nigerian citizen (*The Star*, 2006:9).

South Africans were cut off from the world during the apartheid regime and therefore had no knowledge of other African people. They had never met people quite like the Nigerians who could invest money and make a profit. Those they were used to were people from neighbouring Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi, and Mozambique who came into the country to do menial work for very little money.

Although the visible symptoms of xenophobia have abated considerably since the late 1990s, negative perceptions surrounding Nigerians (in South Africa) have persisted and grown. In fact, many foreign, black, non-Nigerian criminals hide under the cloak of being Nigerian. Therefore, to most South Africans, if you are a black foreign African fraudster, you are simply "a Nigerian". In other words, many people of South Africa guess the criminal's nationality by their activities.

This research aims to illustrate the cause(s) of these negative perceptions.

According to Ayere (2006:9):

> "the class of Nigerians that most South Africans interact with or see are those boys hanging out on street corners in Hillbrow busy with passport forgery, drugs and other things. Little do they know that there are hundreds of Nigerians contributing positively to society".

To buttress the point Ayere is making, the researcher is also aware of the presence in South Africa of many honest and upstanding Nigerians who still exhibit integrity in their attitude and way of life. These Nigerians believe in the decency of work and of maintaining a good reputation. Thus, it is the researcher's opinion that those reading the newspapers must guard against making generalisations about the nature and conduct of the Nigerian people.

3.5 Content Analysis of the Crime Reports

3.5.1 Definition of Content Analysis

Content analysis, according to Weber (1990:9), is a research method using a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text. Krippendorff (1980:21) also defines content analysis as a research technique for making replicable and valid references from data to their context.

Newspapers do not merely monitor the events of the real world; they construct representations and accounts of reality which are shaped by the constraints imposed upon them. These constraints emanate from the conventions, ideologies, and organisation of journalism and news bureaucracies. Generally, the basic interests of humanity are not in music, politics and philosophy, but in commodities such as food and football, money, sex, and crime. The popular image that newspapers frequently convey is one of independence and impartiality (or objectivity), but complete neutrality is not possible. News does not just "happen": it is the product of a process of selection, interpretation, and organisation. In their selective presentation of events to readers, newspapers invariably convey a partial view of the world. This view is shaped by the financial, political and social considerations that determine a given newspaper's editorial and news construction policies, together with a sharp awareness of what the newspaper's readers expect from it.

When media representations depict groups of people in particular ways, they may play an important part in determining how media consumers come to think about individuals who are members of those groups. One of the most important and interesting aspects of the potential power of the media from a linguistic point of view, is the way that people and events get reported. Since the early 1970s,

linguists have been interested in the relationship between how a story gets told, and what that might indicate about the point of view it gets told from (Lee, 1992; Simpson, 1993, 1996). This level of language use is called *linguistic representation* which in this research is otherwise termed *portrayal.* The following 34 headlines/articles have been selected from *The Star*, *The Citizen* and the *City Press,* and were taken from the period 2004 to 2007. These focus on applicable crime-related events supposedly perpetrated by Nigerians residing in the South African republic. The following section provides a list of the portrayals or *stereotypes* taken from the headlines and is followed by their appropriate crime categories.

3.6 Text Extracts

Newspaper headlines are rich sources of information about a wealth of different fields, and they can be difficult to understand especially when the reader cannot recognise the covert allusions, issues, and cultural elements necessary to decode the content. The reader must understand enough about what has been going on in the news setting, that is, the reality that is assumed to be widespread in the society at that point in time. The following headlines were carefully selected from the three newspapers in question:

3.6.1 Headlines/Articles from 'The Star', 'The Citizen' and the 'City Press'

2004

The Star / Saturday Star

(1)

We bust the world's dumbest drug dealers (Oliphant & Mpye, 2004:1)

(2)

Boy (3) rescued in sex slave swoop (Staff Reporter, 2004:1)

(3)

Stop these perverts (Saturday Star, 2004:14)

(4)

Scam uses name of FSB boss (Staff Reporter, 2004:3)

The Citizen

(5)

Drug lord bust in undercover op (Viljoen, 2004:4)

(6)

Police save girls from Nigerian sex slavery (Venter, 2004:3)

City Press

(7)

Businessman caught with his pants down (Sefara, 2004:2)

(8)

We must unite to halt child-sex syndicates (City Press, 2004:18)

(9)

I was sex slave for drug lords - girl (15) (Pelesa & Ncaca, 2004:1)

(10)

Assessing the threat of child sex rings (Sefara, 2004:19)

(11)

“Schoolgirls are lured into prostitution...” (Seepe, 2004:19)

2005

The Star / Saturday Star

(12)

Man’s passion led to arrest of alleged scam artist (Eliseev, 2005:1)

(13)

We do this because you pay us peanuts, says fraudster (Eliseev, 2005:3)

(14)

Banks stand to lose wooing blacklisted Nigeria (SAPA, 2005:9)

(15)

Urgent action needed to curb child trafficking (Staff Reporter, 2005:1)

The Citizen

(16)

Conmen pose as firm's directors (Kirk, 2005:3)

City Press

(17)

Scorpions sting 3 for graft (Pearce, 2005:6)

2006

The Star / Saturday Star

(18)

Drugs sold openly in Midrand centre (Staff Reporter, 2006:5)

(19)

We don't come here intending to be drug dealers (The Star, 2006:9)

(20)

Crack down! Ecstasy, heroin and cocaine found in swoop (Gifford, 2006:1)

(21)

Your townhouse? Not any more (Mnisi & Molosankwe, 2006:2)

(22)

Male prostitutes accused of killing, extortion (Mkhwanazi, 2006:2)

(23)

Cellphone records led to rent boy, say police (Mkhwanazi, 2006:2)

The Citizen

(24)

Nigerians charged with murder of SAA man (Roestoff, 2006:6)

(25)

2010: Pimps prepare for World Cup kick-off (Helfrich, 2006:1)

(26)

Ransom cash went unfetched (Lieberum, 2006:5)

(27)

Nigerian arrested for rape, murder (Tshetlo, 2006:6)

City Press

(28)

Turn a scammer into a real moegoe (Waldner, 2006:6)

2007

The Star/Saturday Star

(29)

Beware: card-skimming syndicates doing big business (Farber, 2007:7)

(30)

Rape, murder accused's crash cost him his freedom (Maughan, 2007:6)

(31)

"My brother was dead before threat" (Maughan, 2007:2)

(32)

Killer Nigerian rent boys get life behind bars (Maughan, 2007:2)

The Citizen

(33)

Two sex “rent boys” are kidnap-killers (Lieberum, 2007:6)

(34)

Birthday gift is 25 years in jail (Noyce, 2007:8)

The newspaper headlines or snippets listed above can be categorised into the following crime categories:

1. Drug trafficking
2. Child/human trafficking
3. Prostitution (sex slavery)
4. Abduction/kidnapping
5. Rape
6. Murder
7. Card-skimming
8. Money laundering
9. 419 crimes/scams (see Chapter 4 for a definition of these crimes)

These categories can be further categorised into three broader, more manageable subdivisions, namely:

Category A: Crimes related to drug/human trafficking

Category B: Crimes related to abduction/rape and murder

Category C: Scam-related crimes

The main reason for this abridgement is that certain crimes are multi-faceted in their nature. For instance, most of the girls who are peddling drugs are also prostituting themselves and stealing (ref. HL*9*)

3.7 Summary

As may be seen from the headlines selected, Nigerians have been described by these newspapers as:

- bands of criminals; brainless characters; vice syndicates; bandits; drug lords/dealers;
- the brains behind the sex rings; perverted male adults; spineless sadists; conmen;

- desensitised human beings; kidnappers and murderers; callous traffickers in human flesh;
- heartless, greedy people who see themselves as deserving a good life at the expense of the poor;
- drug kingpins; child racketeers; audacious drug advertisers; rent boys;
- rapists and paedophiles; scam artists; swindlers; fraudsters; card-skimmers; sodomites; killers;
- money launderers; terrorism financiers; sexual predators;
- sex traders; abductors; robbers; smugglers; impostors; male prostitutes; “makwerekwere”.
- 419 scammers; pimps; extortionists; biters of the hand that feeds them; law breakers; as well as
- a brotherhood of crooks and stupid millionaire wannabes.

It is clear from the above that the South African media portrays Nigerians in an extremely negative light. The reader must note that this research is not insisting on justification for these stereotypes, but that the critical analysis aims to shed some light on the validity, or the falsity of the *language used.*

CHAPTER 4
DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the data, employing the tools of CDA as discussed in Chapter 2. Texts may be analysed for a variety of reasons. The goal of this study is to investigate the **language used** by three South African newspapers (*The Star*, *The Citizen* and the *City Press*) in post-apartheid South Africa with a view to finding out how Nigerians residing in South Africa are portrayed in South African media discourse. More precisely, the chapter sets out to analyse how language is deployed to represent these Nigerian nationals and their activities in the South African republic. The approach adopted for this analysis mainly draws its inspiration from critical linguistics (CL) where it is hypothesised that, as far as the Nigerian situation in South Africa goes, media genres serve to activate and perpetuate social power relations. The headlines listed in Chapter 3 (section 3.6.1) portray the Nigerians resident in South Africa as shamelessly presumptuous, exploitative, and insensitive to the plight of their victims. The situation is currently of such a nature that the man on the street holds the same opinion.

Given the theoretical stance and the methodological orientation of CDA presented in Chapter 2, this chapter will now go on to analyse the headlines/extracts from the three newspapers of this study. The analysis will concentrate on the Hallidayan **transitivity model**, looking at, amongst others, vocabulary, the recurrence of certain words and phrases, idiomatic expressions/metaphors, factual content, and the reasoning underlying the message relayed. In other words, the empirical data will be examined in terms of their lexical, syntactic, and discursive features.

4.2 The Transitivity Model

Transitivity, according to Richardson (2007:54), describes the relationships between participants and the roles they play in the processes described in reporting. The study of transitivity concerns how actions are represented, that is, what kind of actions appear in a text, who performs them and who are the actions directed at. The study is based on the presumption that, in producing texts, a range of choices are there to be made, and every text which has been produced could have been produced differently. These choices involve choices about the way in which to represent an event's participants and choices about the way that the event itself is represented as reflected in the principal

verb of the clause. Generally, transitivity is concerned with the transmission of ideas and therefore falls within the ideational function of language. However, considered linguistically, it has to do with propositional meanings and functions of syntactic elements. Often the representations within the transitivity model convey bias, manipulation, and ideology.

Simpson (1993:88) states that, in any process, there are three components that can be changed:

1. The *participants* involved in the process. These roles are typically realised by noun phrases in the clause.
2. The *process* itself, which will be expressed by the verb phrase in a clause.
3. The *circumstances* associated with the process, normally expressed by adverbial and prepositional phrases.

Hillier (2004:42–43) comments that less expected realisations of *processes* can also be found, and these may have interesting implications. There are also instances of 'nominalisation', where *processes* are realised by nouns rather than verb phrases (cf. Fairclough, 2001:43,103; Fowler, 1991:79–80); Hodge & Kress, 1993:187–189). As an example, nominalisation may permit "habits of concealment, particularly in the areas of power-relations and writers' attitudes" (Fowler, 1991:80). In Halliday's words (1985:101), "These components provide the frame of reference for interpreting our experience of what goes on."

Section 2.4.1 discussed the theoretical orientation of transitivity, and this section will thus go on to focus on the practicability of the model, that is, the applicability to the data. The transitivity analysis will focus on the extracted newspaper headlines as these have persuasive functions in attracting the reader's attention and interest, thereby manipulating his/her opinion (Reah, 1998:28). According to Richardson (2007:47), concerning the choice and meaning of words in text analysis:

> the analysis of particular words used in a newspaper text is almost always the first stage of any text or discourse analysis. Words convey the imprint of society and of value judgements in particular –they convey connoted as well as denoted meanings. All types of words, but particularly nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs, carry connoted in addition to denoted meanings.

for analysis also indicates transitivity processes types and have been classified thematically. A word-level analysis of the headlines will therefore follow shortly. The data

4.3 Thematic Classification of Headlines

4.3.1 Analysis of Category A crimes: Drug/human trafficking

South Africa faces a multitude of problems associated with drugs and human trafficking (ref. HL*1*, HL*5*, HL*9*, HL*18*, HL*19*, HL*20*, HL*21*, HL*25*, and HL*34*). Hundreds of lives from all walks of life have been destroyed through drug abuse; those using the drugs themselves as well as the family members and friends affected by the usage. Those crazed with drugs may end up destroying other lives, property and often are sexually exploited themselves which attracts the attention of pressmen who present these events from diverse ideological viewpoints. The headlines related to this category are presented below[1]:

HL*1*. We bust the world's dumbest drug dealers (Material Process)

The Saturday Star, 19 June 2004 (p.1)

HL*5*. Drug lord bust in undercover op (Material Process)

The Citizen, 12 May 2004 (p.4)

HL*9*. I was sex slave for drug lords – girl (15) (Verbal Process)

City Press, 28 November 2004 (p.1)

HL*18*. Drugs sold openly in Midrand centre (Material Process)

The Saturday Star, 4 March 2006 (p.1)

HL*19*. We don't come here intending to be drug dealers (Verbal Process)

The Star, 13 March 2006 (p.9)

HL*20*. Crack down! Ecstasy, heroin and cocaine found in swoop (Material Process)

The Saturday Star, 13 July 2006 (p.1)

HL*21*. Your townhouse? Not any more (Material Process)

The Saturday Star, 19 August 2006 (p.2)

HL*25*. 2010: Pimps prepare for World Cup kick-off (Material Process)

The Citizen, 30 September 2006 (p.1)

HL*34*. Birthday gift is 25 years in jail (Relational Process)

[1] The full articles are provided in Appendix A.

The Citizen, 3 December 2007 (p.8)

Although the range of crimes reported on by the newspapers is broad, the most prominent of all these is the drug trafficking committed by Nigerians in South Africa (Ref. HLS *1*, *5*, *9*, *18*, *19*, *20*, *21*, *25* and *34*). To gain a better understanding of these data, the lexical choices were analysed item by item.

Lexical choices

The lexical choices that will be focused on in this case are nouns / noun phrases, adjectives / adjective clauses, verbs, adverbs, and metaphors. Lexical choices constitute a very powerful tool in influencing our thoughts in the way we conceptualise events that occur in our daily lives. The media has enormous potential to influence or manipulate people's perceptions about a particular event using words. Words can be used as instruments of power and deception. The receivers of these words use their interpretative strategies to make sense of the reality of the events presented in the reports. In other words, readers can be influenced by what they read, and the effect of their actions depends on how language is used. Media discourse reflects the socio-cultural and historical relationship between people and society.

A range of choices abound which a writer can make at the syntax level. These choices provoke different responses in the reader. In any representation of processes in a text, as described by Fairclough (1995b:104), writers must determine "what is included and what is excluded, what is made explicit or left implicit, what is foregrounded and what is backgrounded, what is thematised and what is unthematised, what process types and categories are drawn upon to represent events, and so on". According to Fairclough (1995a:104), there are two major aspects to consider during text analysis: "the first has to do with the structuring of propositions, the second with the combination and sequencing of propositions". The first indicates the representation of individuals and other social actors, and the clauses representing actions, processes and events. The second has to do with the organisation of these single clauses into a coherently structured whole. The analysis of the texts should therefore flow from the small-scale (micro-) analysis of words, through sentences and onto large-scale analysis of the organisation of meaning across a text (Richardson, 2007:46–47). For Van Dijk (1985:84), "first paragraphs are used to build full macro propositions, to confirm (or reject) the initial macro-assumptions of the reader and to

further extend the macrostructure and the model of the text." In other words, the first paragraph of the text technically is the most important paragraph of the news (written) story.

When we talk about what a word or a sentence means, that is, its meaning as representation, what we have in mind is its meaning in terms of its content. From the perspective of discourse analysis, linguistic representation refers to the way language is used to represent and describe the real world. In other words, words are like road signs. They point, but they have no meaning in themselves. They take on meaning in that we visualise what they represent, when we have arrived at the destination to which they point. The following paragraphs embark on a discussion of the lexical choices made in the three newspapers.

HL*1*. We bust the world's dumbest drug dealers

***The Saturday Star,* 19 June 2004 (p.1)**

The above *Saturday Star* headline uses *dysphemism* to describe the arrested Nigerian drug dealers; dysphemism being the antonym for euphemism. According to Crystal (1992:112), and in consonance with the perspective of Allan and Burridge (1991), dysphemism is "the use of an offensive and disparaging expression instead of a neutral or pleasant one". Similarly, Enright (1985:2) describes dysphemism as "making things sound worse than they are". In fact, exaggeration is a key feature of dysphemism, and the instance of dysphemism may be regarded as verbal caricature. These dysphemisms can be *lexical* (located within a single word) and *syntactic* (located within a phrase, clause, sentence, or complex string of any of these).

Looking at the type of process involved (Material Process), in the *GOAL* '*the world's dumbest drug dealers'*, *The Saturday Star* describes the drug dealers with the negative superlative adjective *dumbest* (stupidest). From the headline, we can deduce that the *ACTOR* role is occupied by a common noun "we", thereby foregrounding the goal, the sufferer of the arrest. The alleged Nigerian drug dealer advertised his drugs using advertising flyers containing his contact number. This is the reason for the use of dysphemism in the language of *The Saturday Star.*

HL*5*. Drug lord bust in undercover op

***The Citizen,* 12 May 2004 (p.4)**

This Material Process headline is rendered in a passive form. The ACTOR (the police) is backgrounded (concealed) while the GOAL (drug lord) is foregrounded. The headline's

lexical choice, the process "bust" is a strong negative synonym of "arrested". The first paragraph says "...police operation led to the arrest of one of Hillbrow's most sought after Nigerian drug lords..." "Drug" connotes negative definitions and "lord" spells master- or rulership. In this instance, *The Citizen* metaphorises the arrested Nigerian master criminal in a covert police operation as a drug lord. This headline is meaningful and pragmatically successful to the extent that readers understand the lexical meanings and criminal antecedents of the words *drug*, *bust* and *undercover op.*

HL*9*. I was sex slave for drug lords – girl (15)

***City Press,* 28 November 2004 (p.1)**

From this Verbal Process, we read that the 15-year-old Johannesburg girl "bunked school and ran away from home". The Nigerian drug dealers gave her drugs on credit, locked her up in the room, and sold her to another Nigerian drug lord who beat her mercilessly with an electric cable because she stole his drugs to cushion her cravings for drugs. Her life was plunged into drug addiction at an early stage, which was followed by prostitution, and, later, by drug peddling and stealing for the Nigerian drug lords. According to the girl, "My clients were rich South African personalities, role models and icons. These celebrities did not have a problem with a kid. They often said, 'the younger the better'."

The underlined clauses are essentially syntactic dysphemisms.

HL*18*. Drugs sold openly in Midrand centre

***The Saturday Star,* 4 March 2006 (p.5)**

The Saturday Star vilifies Valentine and his brothers by referring to their manner of selling drugs *openly* at La Michelle, a townhouse complex in Midrand. The use of the above headline presupposes that the media associate Nigerians with controlling the drug trade in South Africa. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines *openly* as '*publicly; without concealment'*. It therefore amounts to sheer effrontery, for he, Valentine, a Nigerian, allegedly married to a South African policeman's daughter, boasted that he would never go to jail because he would 'just buy the f***ing cops'. In other words, he would bribe his way out of any situation as far as the police are concerned. The fact that these Nigerian drug dealers' 'customers were mostly white and Indian males driving luxury cars', is a pointer to who patronises these nefarious activities in South Africa. Should not these 'elites' also share in the blame of what goes wrong in this society? It is the researcher's opinion that indeed they should, as they are perpetrators of evil.

HL*19*. "We don't come here intending to be drug dealers"

***The Star,* 13 March 2006 (p.9)**

The South African media generally refers to foreign black Africans as *makwerekwere*. Being a *makwerekwere* means that such an individual is a victim of circumstance in South Africa. As was testified by Chima, being Nigerian, you 'can hardly walk the streets without being harassed by policemen'. He agrees that 'Nigerians are drug dealers, but we didn't come into this country with that intention'. Unreasonable searches are often conducted in Nigerian residences and arrests and detentions are made without charges. Chima, an educated youth, complains that he almost died of hunger in Johannesburg because 'there was no work to be found for foreigners'. He made about R20 per day by selling *ganja* and glass pipes for crack until other Nigerians in Hillbrow introduced him to 'selling drugs as the only way to survive' in such a predicament. Chima later searched for genuine employment with his CV in order to quit the drug business, but he was labelled a 'Nigerian' everywhere he went. He 'tried to explain to them that we are not all the same'. Eventually he found work as a waiter at a restaurant in Cresta where he was honoured with an award for his abilities, something he took great pride in. Business in drugs became a thing of the past for Chima.

HL*20*. Crack down! Ecstasy, heroin and cocaine found in swoop

***The Star,* 13 July 2006 (p.1)**

The Star uses a Material Process in the above headline to portray *Nigerian nationals* in drugs business. At the Southdale shopping centre in Johannesburg, two men aged 40 and 44 were found in possession of ecstasy and cocaine valued at R50 000. After their arrest they were taken to their residence in Bromhof where a police search uncovered cocaine worth R1 million, plus a large quantity of ingredients used to make the drug CAT. Police also found R100 000 in cash in the house. The language used, *in possession of* in connection with ecstasy and cocaine amounts to a disparaging expression. Even the monetary values (R50 000, R1m and R100 000) mentioned further paint a nefarious picture of the whole event.

HL*21*. Your townhouse? Not any more

Ogbuke arrested and accused of drug dealing

***The Saturday Star,* 19 August 2006 (p.2)**

On taking a first look at the headline, we observe a process of *nominalisation*. The striking feature of *nominalisation* is that it allows for the elision of both the actor and the goal of the process. In other words, through *nominalisation* the writer cuts the process off from the present, thereby concealing a great deal of information. Most of the time the data that are omitted are the participants since the pattern is without a verb. An investigation of the content of the article reveals that *The Saturday Star* foregrounds Ogbuke (GOAL) the Nigerian, in arrest and accusation processes for the drug dealing circumstance. Two more charges of **robbery** and **419 scams** were also levelled against him. He *smuggled* cocaine, *stole* a vehicle, and *swindled* the money (R2 million) of overseas citizens. The paper's use of the italicised verbs enhances the overall dysphemistic effect of the text. The opening paragraph of the article describes the smuggler's mode of dressing as *...in shackles*. This type of symbol serves to deflate the robber's image. Following this, is the use of the noun phrases, *luxury townhouse, cream couches* and adjective *well-equipped* to describe the appearance of his house. These also might have been used to make a mockery of him as having amassed wealth fraudulently.

HL*25*. 2010: Pimps prepare for world cup kick-off

***The Citizen*, 30 September 2007 (p.1)**

Here, *The Citizen's* reporter, through the structure and syntax of the headline (Material Process), foregrounds *pimps*, an alternative name that the South African print media uses for 'Nigerian drug lords'. Through this the reporter assumes that readers are sensitised to the activities of *Nigerians in the city* concerning the hosting of the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup in South Africa in 2010. The ninth edition of the Concise Oxford Dictionary defines *pimp* as 'a man who lives off the earnings of a prostitute or a brothel'. The reporter also assumes that the social and economic antecedents of drug dealing and prostitution *by Nigerians* are sufficient background for easy comprehension of the write-up. The paper alleges that the pimps *lure* as many girls as they can into their net by *making them drug-dependent*, so they can more easily be cultivated as prostitutes with a view to *having* them for the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup. Both black and white girls as young as 12 years are *abused by Nigerians* in an extremely profitable market where clients pay huge sums of money to have sex with virgins. In other words, the girls are being *recruited* into drugs and sex for sale in Pretoria ahead of the world cup event. This claim begs for cogent feedback: Who are these respected and well-to-do people in society that cruise the towns patronising the so-called pimps? The girls are given free drugs as they serve as drug peddlers *for Nigerians*. The author insinuates

that these very young girls are *kept* in continuous *prostitution slavery* as long as their *Nigerian drugs and sex syndicates* provide them with accommodation, food and drugs.

A cursory look at this context reveals that the reporter is using a kind of sweeping generalisation when he writes *...by Nigerians ...for Nigerians.* That *Nigerians make these youngsters drug-dependent* casts a very negative light on the Nigerian nation. They (*Nigerians*) also *lure, have, keep* and *abuse* the girls in drug and sexual matters. *The Citizen* uses these verbs (*abused, recruited, lure, have, keep*) to portray the general negative presence of Nigerians in South Africa.

HL*34*. Birthday gift is 25 years in jail

***The Citizen,* 3 December 2007 (p.8)**

This Relational Process headline construction refers to the smuggling of 114 kg of cocaine which earned the victim, a 35-year-old Nigerian man, 25 years in jail. The first paragraph foregrounds the *Nigerian man,* probably to highlight his nationality considering the statement in the second paragraph that 'police *...were overjoyed that the Nigerian received the stiffest penalty the court could hand down for drug smuggling'*. The expression b*irthday gift*, in relation to *25 years in jail*, is a mockery to the recipient. A gift, such as a birthday gift, is supposed to please the receiver rather than plunge him into agony. This bitter *birthday* present connotes outright condemnation of the Nigerian importer and dealer in drugs. In other words, the noun phrase '*birthday gift*' stands in sharp contrast with the relational process attribution, *25 years in jail*.

4.3.2 Analysis of Category B crimes: Abduction/rape and murder

Crime, be it in the form of abduction, rape, or murder, is a subject that attracts press attention all across the world. Crime reports are usually found in ready columns situated on the front pages of newspapers. It is common knowledge that Nigerians have committed a multitude of atrocities in South Africa relating to abduction, rape, and murder (category B crimes), as is evidenced by the headlines below[2]:

HL*2*. Boy (3) rescued in sex slave swoop (Material Process)

The Saturday Star, 20 November 2004 (p.1)

[2] The full articles are provided in Appendix B

HL*3*. Stop these perverts (Verbal Process)

The Saturday Star, 4 December 2004 (p.14)

HL*6*. Police save girls from Nigerian sex slavery (Material Process)

The Citizen, 8 December 2004 (p.3)

HL*7*. Businessman caught with his pants down (Material Process)

City Press, 21 November 2004 (p.2)

HL*8*. We must unite to halt child-sex syndicates (Relational Process)

City Press, 28 November 2004 (p.18)

HL*10*. Assessing the threat of child sex rings (Mental Process)

What sort of human beings get pleasure from trading kids as sex slaves?

City Press, 28 November 2004 (p.19)

HL*11*. "Schoolgirls are lured into prostitution..." (Relational Process)

Downtown schools serve as recruitment centres for Nigerian syndicates

City Press, 28 November 2004 (p.19)

HL*15*. Urgent action needed to curb child trafficking (Material Process)

The Star, 3 December 2005 (p.1)

HL*22*. Male prostitutes accused of killing, extortion (Material Process)

The Star, 12 October 2006 (p.2)

HL*23*. Cellphone records led to rent boy, say police (Verbal Process)

The Star, 18 October 2006 (p.2)

HL*24*. Nigerians charged with murder of SAA man (Material Process)

The Citizen, 20 January 2006 (p.6)

HL*26*. Ransom cash went unfetched (Material Process)

The Citizen, 18 October 2006 (p.5)

HL*27*. Nigerian arrested for rape, murder (Material Process)

The Citizen, 25 October 2006 (p.6)

HL*30*. Rape, murder accused's crash cost him his freedom (Material Process)

The Star, 18 April 2007 (p.6)

HL*31*. "My brother was dead before threat" (Verbal Process)

The Star, 16 August 2007 (p.2)

HL*32*. Killer Nigerian rent boys get life behind bars (Material Process)

The Star, 17 August 2007 (p.2)

HL*33*. Two sex 'rent boys' are kidnap-killers (Relational Process)

The Citizen, 16 August 2007 (p.6)

Lexical choices

The category B headlines above will now be analysed, item by item, as in the previous section.

HL*2*. Boy (3) rescued in sex slave swoop

***The Saturday Star,* 20 November 2004 (p.1)**

The headline construction (Material Process) above places the 3-year-old boy in a beneficiary position in the rescue process for the sex swoop situation. The ACTOR(S), the police, is suppressed. The child was held as *a hostage* to force her mother to prostitute her body for the benefits of a child prostitution syndicate in Johannesburg. *The Saturday Star* said that several other children aged between 11 and 16 years were rescued from the sex ring in swoops. The Durban and Johannesburg raids led to *the arrest of 59 Nigerians*. The minors that were subsequently placed in drug treatment centres for drug-dependence after their rescue were said to hate the Family Violence, Child Protection and Sexual Offences Unit why it had detached them completely from their *lovers*, despite the fact that they were *being sexually exploited.* The police said that '*another person, a child sex slave client was arrested*' during the swoops but his nationality was not revealed. The italicised words and clauses are a pointer to the negative way that language is used by the South African media to portray Nigerians in the country.

HL*3*. Stop these perverts

***The Saturday Star,* 4 December 2004 (p.14)**

The headline above presupposes certain knowledge about the undesirable activities in society which need to be dealt with. This is *The Saturday Star's* opinion on the *perverts* in the South African community. The p*erverts* in this context are the customers of child prostitutes. The article contains an elliptical, non-finite clause: "*Howling angrily*". The circumstance is realised by the adverb "*angrily*" – a circumstantial adjunct of manner, telling us about how the **Sayer** performed the verbal process. The newspaper alleges that the child sex rings 'have been imported into our country by *foreigners*'. These foreigners are *callous traffickers in human flesh*; they are *abominable syndicates* and what's more, they are *foreigners with awful desires.*

The linguistic features of this text stereotype Nigerians in a negative light. The Nigerians are representatives of the *foreigners* who import child sex rings into South Africa. According to Van Dijk (1985), "first paragraphs establish the main theme and give information about the basic facts and people involved in an event'. However, the headline above does not conform to Van Dijk's supposedly universal format considering the textual structure of the first paragraph which talks about the alleged 'Nigerian-run child sex ring that was bust by police' instead of beginning with the subject matter – **the perverts.**

HL*6*. Police save girls from Nigerian sex slavery

***The Citizen,* 8 December 2004 (p.3)**

This headline construction is a Material Process. The process is realised by the verbal expression *save.* The subject, *Police,* is the Actor, while the Beneficiary is represented by *girls*. Finally, the Circumstance is realised by the prepositional phrase *from Nigerian sex slavery.*

The opening paragraph of this report reads: '*Five more young girls were rescued...*' which means that some other young girls had already been rescued from these Nigerian child-racketeers. The spokesman for the Ekurhuleni Metro Police describes what was found during a search of the arrested Nigerians' Germiston house: *minor girls, aged from 14 to 16* and *an assortment of drugs*. The language used here leaves readers with little more than sensational accounts of what the Nigerians are alleged to have done. The teenagers were suspected to be *operating as prostitutes and drug runners for the arrested five Nigerians.* The police furthermore reported that *drugs worth R10 000 were recovered in addition to cellphones suspected to be stolen.* Highlighting the minors' **slavery** to portray the arrested men negatively, *The Citizen,* in the third paragraph, wrote*,* "We removed the young girls from the

house" (as if the girls were merely property of the house). This style of language usage to report on Nigerians and their activities in South Africa evokes stigmatisation.

HL*7*. Businessman caught with his pants down

***City Press,* 21 November 2004 (p.2)**

The Material Process headline above has *businessman* as the GOAL, *caught* as the PROCESS and the prepositional phrase *with his pants down* represents the CIRCUMSTANCE (of manner). Both Van Dijk (1997) and Reah (1998:10) state that the biased nature of words or word choice is a powerful tool for establishing an ideological stance. Such *language use* can reinforce some of the already existing beliefs and prejudices held by society. Consider the nominalisation in the first paragraph *Nigerian child prostitution racket*. This use of a disparaging or demeaning term to depict Nigerians can promote the belief that all Nigerians are to blame for the despicable act of one individual. The Nigerian businessman was caught having oral sex with a minor. The chairperson of the Gender Commission described this type of behaviour as *appalling ...to prey on these innocent children*. According to the officer in charge of the police operations targeted at child prostitution rackets, some of these girls were run-away kids who left their homes because of problems, while others were *abducted* or sold to syndicates by their mothers. Once captured, the racketeers *put them on drugs and forced them to feed their addictions through prostitution*. The effects of the damage inflicted on children used as sex slaves, according to a psychologist, are *more than a permanent scar in their psyche*, even after the physical damage has healed. Such girls will always be suspicious of all males they encounter including their rescuers, the police.

HL*8*. We must unite to halt child-sex syndicates

***City Press,* 28 November 2004 (p.18)**

The Relational Process nature of this headline proposes a clarion call for all hands to be on deck to find a solution to this monster called *child-sex syndicates***.** The opening paragraph has the same characteristics as that of HL*7* above. The word *Nigerians* is foregrounded, and they are branded as *bands of criminals*. They are even regarded as "creatures" meaning that *Nigerians* are inhuman (brutal, unfeeling, and barbarous). The newspaper's opinion seems to be that the impulsive xenophobic condemnation of Nigerians as a people is welcome since *those behind the sex rings are almost exclusively Nigerians. City Press* furthermore qualifies

Nigerians as *vice syndicates, bandits*, and *these criminals who regard their victims as mere instruments in the creation of wealth rather than as human beings*.

HL*10*. Assessing the threat of child-sex rings

What sort of human beings get pleasure from trading kids as sex slaves?

***City Press,* 28 November 2004 (p.19)**

The above headline aims to evaluate the havoc of child-sex rings in South Africa. The assessment opens with the gay life that is supposed to characterise the life of humans during their formative years. In the purity and innocence of their youth, these youngsters do not sense the danger of these evil men and the child sex rings in their midst, thus falling prey to the scariest scam to have hit South Africa. The *City Press* describes the 67 adults arrested as almost exclusively from Nigeria. They are considered the brains behind the sex rings. They are furthermore depicted as not seeing anything wrong with abducting girls and keeping them against their will. The Nigerians are said to operate as sex service providers for the pleasure of perverted male adults. It also implies that the child sex ring is the brainchild of the Nigerians. Moreover, it is claimed that the Nigerians gain access to children by endearing themselves to the kids and giving them gifts and money, abducting them in broad daylight, or convincing poverty-stricken parents to voluntarily give their children away in return for a stipend. They then inject their captives with heroin to get the girls addicted to drugs. Because the girls do not have access to other heroin distributors, they are forced into prostitution to get money to feed their drug addiction.

There is every need to say that the abductors continue in these illicit ways because there are "clients" waiting to be "served". Professor Joe Teffo, the executive dean of the Humanities Faculty at the University of the North, describes those who abduct as "cold-hearted creatures". One noteworthy view here is that the abductors *suffer from a love of control informed by deep-seated hatred*. They are *sick, pathological and in need of help*. The screams of the captives (the girls) raise the adrenalin levels of the abductors to inflict more pain because financial gain is uppermost in their minds. They take it that the end justifies the means. The newspaper describes the brains behind the sex rings as *desensitised human beings* whose behaviour is atypical. They see the sex rings that they operate as *businesses* and do not see any of the victims as sisters or relatives of somebody out there. The more they perform these heinous acts, the less trouble they have sleeping.

HL*11*. "Schoolgirls are lured into prostitution..."

Downtown schools serve as recruitment centres for Nigerian syndicates

***City Press,* 28 November 2004 (p.19)**

The headline above is a Relational Process type. The word *schoolgirls* is the **Carrier**; the **Process** is realised by *are* while the clause *lured into prostitution* represents the **Attribute.** The report opens with foregrounding Nigerian drug and child sex syndicates and linking them with inner-city schools which serve as the primary recruitment grounds for mayhem. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines the word *lure* thus: 'entice (a person, an animal, etc.) usually with some form of bait'. This means that the racketeers get the innocent girls into their nets through cunning and deceitful means. Reports say that these Nigerian syndicates target young female students with financial problems for their drug and prostitution rings. The *City Press* goes on to portray Nigerians as *heartless, greedy people who see themselves as deserving a good life at the expense of the poor.* The Nigerians "recruit" young women and *end up using them as prostitutes and drug couriers.* The newspaper writes that once the young girls have been drawn into the syndicates*, they do not have a chance to come out unless they risk being killed.* It adds that to sign up for work in drug trafficking is *consent to a death contract.*

The report goes on to say that at times these girls who *peddle drugs for Nigerians* from foreign countries to South Africa get arrested and end up in prisons as their senders, Nigerian syndicates, must deny and abandon them. What is more, the drug carriers take health risks while they carry large number of drugs. The *language used* to describe these events is loaded but the evidence is of such a nature that the allegations against Nigerian drug and sex syndicates are provable.

HL*15*. Urgent action needed to curb child trafficking

***The Saturday Star,* 3 December 2005 (p.1)**

This is a Material Process headline construction. The text, though full of loaded language, is very lenient with *Nigerians*. It mentions the name *Nigerians* in paragraph six and only once. This time, the Nigerian prostitution rackets do not involve young girls, but boys who *were forced* into the rackets after being "hooked on drugs". Apparently, the boys were also lured into the prostitution rackets by giving them those drugs free of charge.

HL*22*. Male prostitutes accused of killing, extortion

Mystery surrounds discovery of victim's body in municipal bin

***The Star,* 12 October 2006 (p.2)**

This is a Material Process headline talking about the murder of a South African airport company employee by two Nigerian male prostitutes in Johannesburg. The man, Hendrik Adams (54), was assaulted for a few days before his body was found in a municipal bin in Alexander Street, Berea, Johannesburg. The male prostitutes denied charges of kidnapping and murdering. In the same Johannesburg High Court they went on to deny charges of attempting to extort R57 000 from the deceased's family and of robbing him of his Ford Bantam. This article sees recurrent use of loaded language as far as Nigerians and their activities are concerned. For instance, it was alleged that the deceased was kept hostage in the accused's flat. He (the victim) was also tied up and assaulted, which resulted in his death.

HL*23*. Cellphone records led to rent boy, say police

Ransom calls pointed to link between male prostitute and murder, court hears

***The Star,* 18 October 2006 (p.2)**

Headline 23 reports on the same event as headline 22. The police arrested the unsuspecting Chinedu at a fast-food outlet in Johannesburg when he was about to meet a client with whom he had an appointment for a sexual transaction. He and his co-accused allegedly tortured their victim and called his family, demanding a ransom of R57 000 in return for his release. For Chinedu and Judge, his co-criminal, the words *client, sexual* and *tortured* are references to the unsavoury nature of their activities.

HL*24*. Nigerians charged with murder of SAA man

***The Citizen,* 20 January 2006 (p.6)**

The Citizen's Material Process headline style dwells on the same theme of the killing of SAA man by two *foreign nationals, both of them Nigerians*. While *The Star* uses *bin, The Citizen* uses *dustbin*. *The Citizen* says that Adam's body was found *dumped in a dustbin*; in a *plastic waste*; had been *bludgeoned to death*; that the death was caused by *several blows to the head*, and that the killing appeared to have been *financial gain*. The topicalisation of the term "Nigerians" however is not confined to the level of nominal phrases but also occurs at sentential level.

HL*26*. Ransom cash went unfetched

***The Citizen,* 18 October 2006 (p.5)**

This headline is also a Material Process type. As was the case with headlines 22, 23 and 24, it is characteristic of headline 26 that it deploys the passive voice, which brings the concept of agency into prominence. The two sex workers, Anthony Chinedu and Victor Judge, on three occasions demanded money (R57 000) for the safe release of their hostage, Hendrik Adams. The missing man's brother was later "sworn at" and accused of "being a policeman". The two alleged male prostitutes "denied charges of murder, kidnapping, aggravated robbery, and attempting to extort R57 000 from the hostage's brother and a family friend". The above citation centres round the semantic field of criminal activities. The language used focuses on the indictment of the offenders.

HL*27*. Nigerian arrested for rape, murder

***The Citizen,* 25 October 2006 (p.6)**

The Material Process headline above is contextually replete with noun and verb phrases. Readers are very familiar with the main words that depict the criminal act. The writer expects the readers to understand the impact of the words, *rape* and *murder* through their syntactic position. This assumption serves as the basis of the writer/readers cooperative effort to expose the despicable activities of the Nigerian offenders. Some of these noun and verb phrases are the following: '*Nigerian man', 'fatal assault',* '*rape of a woman',* '*32-year-old suspect',* '*had been severely assaulted and raped', 'had stopped to put a blanket over her to keep her warm', 'was rushed to the Sunward Park Hospital', 'were expected to identify her body'*, and *'had argued with the suspect before the incident'.* The manner and use of language in these noun and verb phrases can persuade the readers to mutiny.

HL*30*. Rape, murder accused's crash cost him his freedom

Cops pounced when prostitute's alleged killer went to fetch car at panel beater

***The Star,* 18 April 2007 (p.6)**

The headline above reports about the arrest of Onucha, the Nigerian accused of the rape, sodomy, assault, and murder of a 26-year-old Lindeque, one of the sex workers who once shared his pink-walled home in a Boksburg suburb. Onucha crashed his car as he was rushing away from the scene where he mercilessly tortured Linda Lindeque.

Describing the entire incident, the journalist used the following italicised lexical and syntactic expressions to make an impression on the minds of the readers. Onucha rushed away from Lindeque's *bruised and broken body*. There was evidence against him concerning Lindeque who *was murdered* on October 21 last year. He did that, probably because she *did not give him her money*. He *was enraged* and so *broke Linda's neck, arms, and several of her ribs*. It seemed Lindeque *had been thrown from the car*. It was also alleged she *was seen fighting with the deceased* the previous night. Lindeque *suffered massive internal bleeding and repeatedly raped.* Onucha *abused her sexually*. All that happened in the night. She *was still breathing when she was found in the early hours of the morning*. At last, Linda Lindeque *was declared dead on arrival at Sunwood Hospital*.

HL*31*. "My brother was dead before threat"

Nigerian rent boys convicted of killing and torturing client

***The Star,* 16 August 2007 (p.2)**

This headline belongs to a Verbal Process type, where, in consonance with the text, the deceased's brother, Petrus Adams (SAYER), uttered (PROCESS) the representation of the words spoken, i.e., the headline above (QUOTED).

The incident in question here is the same as those of the headlines 22, 23, 24, and 26. *The Star* opens the chapter by quoting the heart-breaking statement alleged to have been made by Hendrik Adam's killers, Anthony Chinedu and Victor Judge to Petrus Adams, the deceased's brother. These *sex workers* (although they denied the name), according to reports, had already murdered Hendrik, at least 24 hours before making the statement. They *were convicted of kidnapping, torturing, and killing and so faced terms of life in jail*.

As the writer of this incident described it, two days after the killers' call to Petrus Adams, *Hendrik Adams's battered body was found with a urine-soaked sock in his mouth, stuffed into a dumpster outside a Berea, Joburg house.* This agrees with Hendrik's captor's hard-hearted statement in the first paragraph that they were *going to dump his (Hendrik's) body in a dumpster somewhere.* Recorded phone calls between Judge, Chinedu, Petrus Adams and his brother's close friend, Susanna Claasens, were used to find the two killers guilty. The report said that the transcripts of the calls revealed that the dying Hendrik pleaded for his family to pay the ransom to his captors, but the captors swore and insisted that the last option for their hostage was death. Hendrik Adams's hands and feet reportedly swelled up because of the torture he received from his captors. He was even starved, the paper reported. Despite the

seemingly clear evidence before the Johannesburg High Court, Anthony Chinedu and Victor Judge denied any involvement in Adams's killing.

Upon examining the language of this report, it becomes clear that both the lexical and the syntactic structures centre round the murderous heart of certain individuals as manifested by such words as *torturing and killing*, and *battered body was found with a urine-soaked sock in his mouth*. The language used is blood-curdling and capable of instigating readers to demand the heads of these murderers.

HL*32*. Killer Nigerian rent boys get life behind bars

***The Star,* 17 August 2007 (p.2)**

We again see a Material Process construction where the noun phrase, *killer Nigerian rent boys* represents the GOAL, *get* stands for the PROCESS, and RANGE is realised by another noun phrase, *life behind bars.* The seriousness of this crime attracted the attention of many print media products at that time. In other words, the incident was a running story because its media coverage endured over a period of months in different newspapers and magazines. What can then be examined is the lexical as well as the syntactic content of the text. The semantic field of terms used in the first paragraph is legal in nature: *slammed two Nigerian rent boys, sentencing Anthony Chinedu and Victor Judge to an effective life term* (paragraph 2). The third paragraph metaphorically described the two alleged killers as having *bit the hand that feeds them and made a mockery of their self-expressed desire to find a better life in South Africa.*

The Star says that Adams trusted his favourite friend Chinedu, but Chinedu and Judge ignored this relationship and *held Hendrik captive for at least five days and viciously assaulted, starved and tortured him*. Despite Adams's pleading for his life, the pair killed him and *dumped his body like it was trash*. Judge Mailula concluded that *their crime was committed out of greed*.

The language of this report is furious and conveys a dastardly act of violence on the part of the perpetrators, Nigerian Chinedu and Judge. The media are sometimes pushed to apply loaded language to depict serious events in society. For instance, Trew (1979:118) states thus: "When social norms are infringed or the legitimacy of the institutions of control is challenged, there is commonly a response in the media that tends to show most visibly the existence and efforts of the specifics – and often differing – ways of perceiving things". Put

differently, the language we view as loaded here, may be considered "soft" regarding the cruelty embedded in the incident**.**

HL*33*. Two sex "rent boys" are kidnap-killers

***The Citizen,* 16 August 2007 (p.6)**

HL*33* is a Relational Process in which the noun phrase *two sex "rent boys"* is termed the CARRIER. *Kidnap-killers stands as* the ATTRIBUTE while *are* represents the PROCESS.

Perhaps because this story had been reported so frequently in the South African media, the word NIGERIAN(S) had been dropped in this article. Though the correspondent was economical in her use of dysphemism, she had introduced "a good witness", a self-confessed former pimp, in the person of Christiaan Crowther. Christiaan was of immense help to the conviction of the accused persons. In Fowler's words (1991:4), "There are always different ways of saying the same thing, and they are not random, accidental alternatives. Differences in expression carry ideological distinction (and thus differences in representation)." Therefore, media studies focus primarily on language choices, rather than language systems, the purpose being to discern the relevant ideology or perspective a particular use implies. For example, terms such as 'favourite companion' and 'life-long friend' or 'stuffed into a dumpster' and 'dumped in a bin' or 'sentence' and 'imprisonment' are not synonymous in terms of the kind of specific construal assigned to them.

4.3.3 Analysis of Category C crimes: Scams

The Nigerian scam, also referred to as "**Advance Fee Fraud**" or "**419 Fraud**" after a formerly relevant section of the **Criminal Code of Nigeria**, is a sub-classification of Advance Fee Fraud in which the perpetrators are West Africans, primarily Nigerians, operating globally from Nigeria and elsewhere (Nigeria – The 419 Coalition Website) -- http://home.rica.net/alphae/419coal/

How the South African media presents Nigerians residing in South Africa and their activities depends largely on the worldview of the media. If the South African press is interested in cultural matters, as well as in influencing social change, it becomes significant to examine the language resources that are used for this purpose. News is for people and about people. Thus, the accurate representation of Nigerians in South Africa is of importance in news dissemination, to prevent South Africans stereotyping them. The motivation for this section is

the same need to explore the linguistic strategy used for portraying Nigerians resident in South Africa. The following headlines have been lifted from the three newspapers and all relate to scams of this nature[3]*:*

HL*4*. Scam uses name of FSB boss (Material Process)

The Saturday Star, 11 December 2004 (p.3)

HL*12*. Man's passion led to arrest of alleged scam artist (Mental Process)

Failed businesses drove private eye to track down and trap fifth Nigerian

The Star, 26 August 2005 (p.6)

HL*13*. "We do this because you pay us peanuts," says fraudster (Verbal Process)

The Star, 29 August 2005 (p.3)

HL*14*. Banks stand to lose wooing blacklisted Nigeria (Relational Process)

The Star, 1 September 2005 (p.9)

HL*16*. Conmen pose as firms' directors (Relational Process)

The Citizen, 9 February 2005 (p.3)

HL*17*. Scorpions sting 3 for graft (Material Process)

Nigerian denied bail while two pay R500 each for freedom

City Press, 22 May 2005 (p.6)

HL*28*. Turn a scammer into a real moegoe (Verbal Process)

Quick-money schemes abound in South Africa. Sometimes these backfire.

City Press, 2 July 2006 (p.6)

HL*29*. Beware: card-skimming syndicates doing big business (Verbal Process)

'Desperate' woman held after 11 incidents at restaurant in two months

The Star, 31 January 2007 (p.7)

Lexical choices

Of the three crime categories created in this study, the one least reported on involves scams. A possible reason for this is that these events are deemed to be personal concerns. That an

[3] The full articles are provided in Appendix C.

individual has been financially duped, especially in 'money doubling', connotes avarice on the part of the victim. The press sometimes does not report the details of a scam because some more people may try them. The analysis of the headlines in this category will basically concentrate on both lexical as well as syntactic features in the reports. In other words, the relevant expressions of the scam crime in the texts will be analysed as they are used to give crime reports about Nigerians in South Africa.

HL*4*. Scam uses name of FSB boss

***The Saturday Star,* 11 December 2004 (p.3)**

Headline 4 is a Material Process type. The report opens with the statement that '*The perpetrators of Nigerian 419 scams are getting increasingly brazen in their attempts to swindle investors worldwide*'. In this case the swindlers used the name of the chief executive officer of the Financial Services Board (FSB), Jeff van Rooyen, in their e-mails to unsuspecting recipients. People from all over the world received false e-mails daily, purportedly to have come from Van Rooyen. These e-mails claimed that Van Rooyen was in dire need of smuggling $14 million out of South Africa.

The scam claimed that Van Rooyen was "*purchasing properties in exotic locations and the shipment of valuable goods from South Africa to the Netherlands*". Marc Holt, an estate agent in the United States happened to be one of the recipients of these e-mails. Holt alerted Van Rooyen about his name being used fraudulently. Holt initially believed that he was dealing with the real Van Rooyen until he discovered that he was communicating with a phoney Van Rooyen who wanted to dupe him with a scam. Holt was requested to fly to Amsterdam to take delivery of the $14m and transfer it to Thailand at his own expenses. He was promised remuneration and a reimbursement of his expenses**.** The noun phrase *the perpetrators of Nigerian 419 scams* is a phrase which serves to strengthen stereotypes of the Nigerian community in South Africa.

Although that which is described above is a real scam, the pertinent question remains: How does one establish that the scammer must be *a Nigerian* or even an African? There is no contextual element which points to Nigerians as the swindlers in this case. It is just the case that Nigeria happens to be the "Home Office" of the 419ers. The following paragraphs analyse the headlines relating to scams of this nature.

HL*12*. Man's passion led to arrest of alleged scam artist

Failed businesses drove private eye to track down and trap fifth Nigerian

***The Star,* 26 August 2005 (p.6)**

The above headline is structured as a Mental Process type, where *man's passion* is the **Senser***, led is the* **Process** and *arrest of alleged scam artist* is the **Phenomenon.** The so-called *Nigerian scam artist* was alleged to have bankrupted two small businesses in a multimillion-rand fraud scam. He became *the fifth Nigerian to be arrested* in South Africa within a period of four months.

Two victims who owned a printing shop in East London were allegedly duped out of R25 000 and R22 000 respectively. The alleged "W. Nkosi", a *fraudster,* was the fake holidaymaker who requested a quote for three nights' accommodation. This was faxed to him at R1200. He then faxed a cash deposit slip for R10 200 – an overpayment of R9 000.

W Nkosi later phoned to say that he had made the mistake of overpaying and asked for a refund together with proof of payment. His *cheque later bounced.*

A bogus cheque of R9 000 was created and faxed to him as a snare. Meanwhile, three policemen and three private investigators monitored his office and *pounced on the Nigerian* fraudster. This was how private eye Daryl Els used the innkeeper, Arthur Shorten, to arrest the *mystery "holidaymaker*". Many of these fraudsters operate their businesses in Hillbrow, according to police communication officer, Inspector Kriban Naidoo. It was also alleged that many Capitec Bank customers have been duped with the same *deposit slip scams*. "Nkosi" had an account with Capitec Bank but registered under a different name. An ABSA Bank spokesperson also confirmed that the scam was a problem but that his bank had promptly alerted the public. *The* S*tar* reported that there was considerable under-reporting by people who had fallen victim.

Perusal of the article points to negative language use (loaded language) with regards to the alleged Nigerian scammer. Examples are: *Nigerian scam artist, the fifth Nigerian to be arrested, cheque later bounced, pounced on the Nigerian, mystery holidaymaker, deposit slip scam, etc.*

HL*13*. "We do this because you pay us peanuts", says fraudster

***The Star,* 29 August 2005 (p.3)**

HL*13* is a Verbal Process construction type. It told about the same 'deposit slip' scam as that of HL*12*, the scammer being the same "Mr W. Nkosi". Nkosi succeeded in defrauding one Bev Grant, a small business owner, to the sum of R4 000 through his stylish deposit slip scam.

Mrs Grant ran a catering home for children at Linbro Park. Fraudster Nkosi approached her for a party quotation which she estimated at R1 000. Nkosi quickly accepted the offer and immediately sent her a fax reflecting a cash payment that he had allegedly made into her account. In his characteristically fraudulent style, Nkosi phoned Grant saying that he had mistakenly overpaid her by R4 000. Grant allegedly sympathised with him and transferred the refund of R4 000 to his account only to find out that the cheque deposited had bounced.

Mrs Grant phoned Nkosi back to demand an explanation of what was happening, to which Nkosi replied: "You white people. You pay us peanuts and that's why we must do this. But don't worry, you are lucky. A lot of people lost a lot more." As may be seen from the interchange, the language is negatively loaded but we cannot ascertain bias as the innocence of the accused was not proven.

HL*14*. Banks stand to lose wooing blacklisted Nigeria

***The Star,* 1 September 2005 (p.9)**

The headline here is a Relational Process construction in which *bank* represents the CARRIER, *blacklisted Nigeria* is the ATTRIBUTE and the remaining verbal phrase*, stand to lose wooing*, is the PROCESS.

The headline did not necessarily report exclusively on Nigerians in South Africa. The first paragraph expressed a notion that aimed to *tarnish* the image of the Nigerian nation. Nigeria was branded a non-co-operating country and territory (NCCT) that was on the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), an organisation of member states that is aimed at countering money laundering and the financing of terrorism. The South African parliament's finance portfolio committee was alerted about Nigeria's status regarding the issue. This sounded a warning against South Africa transacting any bank business with Nigeria. It further warned that if such a transaction transpired between South Africa and Nigeria, it would at best create a reputation risk, and at worst, there might well be mysteriously dirty money flowing into South Africa.

As can be seen from the above, the language of this text is strongly loaded and consequently prejudiced towards Nigeria.

HL*16*. Conmen pose as firms' directors

***The Citizen,* 9 February 2005 (p.3)**

The Relational Process type represented in HL*16* has *conmen* as the CARRIER, while the PROCESS is realised by *pose,* and the phrase *as firms' directors* is the ATTRIBUTE.

The report refers to the resignation of the two companies and the crop of new directors which have been appointed. The companies were CTP Printers and Publishers, the company that runs *The Citizen*, and corporate communications company Ince. The records of the Registrar of Companies were changed to show that their entire board of directors had been changed.

The first paragraph states that the brand-new scam "probably involving Nigerian fraudsters" was later made known to the boards of directors of the two companies affected. The Ince director, David Atkinson, suspected foul play when a bank alerted him that a man (allegedly a Nigerian) was trying to open a new bank account in the name of Ince. The "new director" had presented documents from the Registrar of Companies establishing his sole directorship of the company. Fraud was suspected as Atkinson knew that nobody from his company had resigned. The unknown "new director" attempted to bank a stolen cheque purportedly meant for Ince. The "new director of CTP" bore a name derived from a small town in Nigeria.

Upon analysing the language used in this text, the reader comes to the realisation that lexical items such as *conmen* and *pose* connote imposture.

HL*17*. Scorpions sting 3 for graft

Nigerian denied bail while two pay 500 each for freedom

***City Press,* 22 May 2005 (p.6)**

Headline 17 is constructed in the Material Process genre. The noun *Scorpions* represents the ACTOR, and *sting* the PROCESS while the GOAL is realised by *3 for graft.*

From the Eastern Cape Provincial Government came the report that a Nigerian medical doctor from the Department of Health, Adekunile Faybuyi (42), was allegedly involved in social grant fraud valued at about R2 million. The doctor allegedly recruited people to apply for disability grants. His accomplices were two "local women" aged 28 and 39 respectively.

Faybuyi completed the medical part of the application forms without examining the patients. It was alleged that he went on to keep part of the money paid by the applicants, and that he was also lending money to applicants and thereby accruing large sums in interest.

Furthermore, upon investigating his Kleinskool surgery, Faybuyi was found to be in possession of a large amount of application forms and identity documents including identification document from the Congo, Nigeria and Ghana.

Dr Faybuyi and his accomplices defrauded poor and vulnerable people of R250 to procure disability grants. It turned out that these people were not disabled and could not afford the R250 needed for the doctor to declare them disabled. The deal was such that, for every successful application, the doctor claimed his own share of the money. The fraud was discovered when the deficit in social development reached R1.2 billion. An investigation also revealed an abnormal number of disability grant beneficiaries around the Nelson Mandela metro.

The language used in this report suggested that Faybuyi defrauded both the unsuspecting individuals and the government.

HL*28*. Turn a scammer into a real moegoe

Quick-money schemes abound in South Africa. Sometimes these backfire.

***City Press*, 2 July 2006 (p.6)**

Headline *28* constitutes a Verbal Process. The reporter tells the readers how to be wary of scammers. He describes the typical 419 scam as essentially a game of deception, originally masterminded in Nigerian cyber cafés and copied by computer-literate fraudsters across the globe: "they have now formed a truly cosmopolitan brotherhood of crooks with e-mail addresses and a well-developed proficiency in bagging lucrative bushels of stupid millionaire wannabes". To protect their identity, these scammers always operate by means of e-mail and via the telephone. They have sugar-coated tongues as well as the power to persuade their victims to part with their money through the Western Union money order.

The reporter prescribes three simple ways with which to deal with a 419 letter in one's mailbox. In brief:

1. Delete the temptation;
2. Be honest to yourself in telling yourself that you do not want the money anyhow;
3. Have fun by playing a kind of war game with the crooks that pollute your mailbox with their perfidious proposals.

HL*29*. Beware: card-skimming syndicates doing big business *'Desperate' woman held after 11 incidents at restaurant in two months*

***The Star* 31 January, 2007 (p.7)**

The Verbal Process, of which this headline is characteristic, begins with an imperative: "Beware". The word *you* is understood to be the subject and makes an invisible appearance in front of the verb *beware*.

Card-skimming, as mentioned in the headline above, is the art of using a certain device (small machine) to decode the information in a credit card. *The Star* (2007:7) declared card-skimming a *commercial crime* which had ravaged many businesses and unsuspecting individuals. It cited **Al Fresco** as the restaurant where, in the space of two months, five Nedbank and six ABSA cards had been skimmed.

Who are the brains behind these crimes? Again, *The Star* (2007:7) declared *well-dressed Nigerians* the most essential role players *(kingpin*s) in the card-skimming business at such areas as Fourways, Sandton and OR Tambo International Airport. The suspects were usually desperate Zimbabweans who had crossed the border prepared to do any form of work to feed their families. The suspects would take the credit cards from the table and, instead of giving the receipts straight back to the customers after the transaction, would duck round the back where the skimming machine was situated, to carry out the deal for their senders, *Nigerians.*

The language used to describe the Nigerians in this text is negative. Such expressions as *card-skimming syndicates; commercial crime; perpetrators higher up on the crime ladder*; *well-dressed Nigerian kingpins* provide a signpost to the strong emotion loaded into the report.

Chapter 5 provides a summary of the findings of this study as related to the headlines/news reports analysed. It also makes a few concluding remarks and recommendations for possible interventions to flow from the research.

CHAPTER 5
SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS AND CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

5.1 Introduction

The research conducted for purposes of this mini dissertation set out to investigate the portrayal of Nigerians in the three selected South African newspapers, *The Star, The Citizen* and *City Press*. In carrying out this investigation, the researcher confirmed that many South Africans especially those who had encountered *bad Nigerians*, hold strongly negative views about Nigerians perceiving them to be:

1) poaching local jobs and business;
2) committing crime in South Africa; and
3) spreading HIV/AIDS across the country (Africa Today, 2001:116).

With these perceptions in mind, the research endeavoured to provide clear answers to the following questions:

(i) What is the nature of the portrayal by the South African newspapers of Nigerians residing in South Africa?

(ii) What are the discernible features across the selected newspaper reports about Nigerians?

(iii) How do these selected South African newspapers use language in portraying Nigerians?

The table below gives a breakdown of the newspaper media coverage given to the three crime categories defined for purposes of this study (see section 3.6.1).

Table 5.1: Breakdown of crimes implicated in newspaper headlines, by category

Type of crime implicated in the headline	Number of units (N)	Percentage (%)
Category A: **Crimes related to drug/human trafficking**	**9**	**26.4**
Category B: **Crimes related to abduction/rape and murder**	**17**	**50.0**
Category C: **Scam-related crimes**	**8**	**23.6**
TOTAL	**34**	**100**

5.2 Summary of the Findings

The analysis section of this research report (see Chapter 4) followed the approach of listing and analysing the selected headlines, item by item, on grounds of their thematic classification. Each headline was contextually analysed. This analysis of the language usage considered both lexical and syntactic features of the headlines themselves and of the content of the newspaper reports (see appendices for full newspaper reports).

As a natural consequence of the selection, all the texts analysed tell of the crimes committed by Nigerians in South Africa in all manner of sentence configurations. The 'Nigerian-ness' of the criminals is *foregrounded* in all these news reports. Seemingly, as far as the South African media are concerned, crime in South Africa, especially drug crime, has been 'Nigerianised'. In defining the phenomenon of foregrounding, Wales explains that "linguistic features can themselves be foregrounded or highlighted. They can be made prominent for specific effects, against the (subordinated) background of the rest of the text" (1984:182). What may be seen from the news reports under consideration, is that the criminals' Nigerian citizenship has been foregrounded, which means that readers then go on to view people of this nationality in a certain way.

Given man's proneness to sensationalise, people often overestimate the level of crime in their community and media representations of crime are thought to be partly responsible for this. The South African media has been guilty of presenting some distorted views of the actual magnitude of the crimes committed by Nigerians in the country. Mostly this has resulted from a pragmatic use of language, that is, the reporters wish to convey their own interests and attitudes. If a reporter writes: *some Nigerians, certain Nigerians, many Nigerians,* or *most Nigerians* instead of using the sweeping generalisation '*Nigerians',* his/her *use of language* becomes *unbiased.* The reader of this research must bear in mind that the researcher does not wish to condone any of the crimes committed by Nigerians but that he or she must guard against coming to an over-generalised perception of all Nigerian people. Yes, Nigerians who commit despicable crimes are found in South Africa, but so also South Africans from different ethnic backgrounds. Sadly, what we as residents of South Africa hear on the radio and television, and read in the daily newspapers is: *Nigeria, Nigerian,* and *the Nigerians*.

Nigeria is the largest black nation in the world. South Africa, with her population of almost fifty (50) million people, constitutes only one third of the Nigerian population. Chinua Achebe said the following about Nigeria: he replied:

> One quarter of the entire population of Africa is in Nigeria, so we say that every fourth African is a Nigerian. During the European scramble for Africa, Nigeria fell to the British. It wasn't one nation at that point; it was a large number of independent political entities. The British brought this rather complex association into being as one nation and ruled it until 1960 when Nigeria achieved independence (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004:303).

Bearing the notion of this strong Nigerian presence in Africa in mind, it is not surprising that the South African media has 'slammed' the activities of Nigerians in South Africa. In a room filled with ten people, the two criminals will stand out. The two will achieve notoriety although the remaining eight are honest. This may be an over-simplification, but perhaps this is the case with Nigerians resident in the Republic of South Africa. It is the researcher's opinion that the reigning negative perception of Nigerians in South Africa is the result of sheer *stereotyping*. Furthermore, the South African press is perpetuating these negative stereotypes about Nigerians, thus fuelling xenophobic tensions in the country (Reitzes & Dolan, 1996). According to Fowler (1991:120), the Press presents – and therefore helps constitute – reality from specific angles, is not claiming that the Press is especially biased. This is the case with the South African Press.

Stereotypes are nothing but a kind of gossip about the world, a gossip that causes us to pre-judge people before we have ever laid eyes upon them. Upon investigating most of the prejudices in the world one finds a cruel stereotype at its core (Wyrick, 2008:356). The media abuses its power and in so doing perpetuates harmful and irrational stereotypes. The danger with these stereotypes is that they cause us to fall into mental laziness. We lose our power or will to discern.

"Think Nigerian and images of drug dealers, pimps and human traffickers spring to mind" (Tromp, 2006:9). Tromp, *The Star*'s Independent Foreign Service reporter, aptly captures the discernible features of the media representation of Nigerians in this one statement. He continues to say: "In fact, just about every report in the South African media points to the criminal activities of the infamous Nigerians." As the outcome of most South African court cases involving Nigerians reveals, Nigerian nationals are indeed involved in crime in South Africa, especially crimes related to illegal drugs. However, many more Nigerians are conducting legitimate business and are feeling the damaging effects of the stigma attached to them through the activities of the drug-dealing Nigerians.

Having set out to investigate the ideological workings as made manifest in their language usage of *The Star*, *The Citizen* and the *City Press*, the researcher is of the opinion that these newspapers are negative in their ideological view of Nigerians residing in South Africa. Bearing in mind that newspapers report on the more newsworthy events in society and bearing in mind that crime sells, it is not surprising that many newspapers have portrayed the Nigerians resident in South Africa in a negative light. The researcher found that the *language use* employed in the descriptions of Nigerian activity is largely dysphemistic; it is loaded language. It is the researcher's personal conviction that although a Nigerian criminal element in South Africa cannot be disputed, there are many more Nigerian professional and non-professionals adding value to South African society. Some are high school and university educators while others work as businessmen and women in foodstuff and clothing materials.

5.3 Recommendations

It would be a welcome academic improvement if educational planners, in cooperation with curriculum and programme designers, were to make more efforts to increase critical linguistics awareness in schools across South Africa by way of organising and awarding prizes to scholars for excellent performance.

Parents should also be careful with the words and statements they use to train their children. In other words, they should not be labelling people at home. Let love and trust reign in the families as such would reflect in the society at large. Not only will this help to decrease the negative effects of stereotyping, but scholars will also draw benefit from having their discerning powers honed. In this manner, they will be better equipped to approach the texts they are confronted with on a daily basis and they will also learn valuable life lessons.

An attempt could also be made to incorporate a subject of this nature into universities' academic writing courses, especially those in the social and human sciences.

Furthermore, the government and its various security agencies can as well call for and sponsor further research into 'serious' crimes such as child sex / drug offences in South Africa. This venture would highlight the root causes of these crimes and consequently proffer solution and implementation.

REFERENCES

Allen, K. and Burridge, K. 1991. *Euphanism and Dysphemism: Language as shield and weapon.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Ayere, K. 2006. "I work hard and make a decent honest living." *The Star*, 2006:1. Johannesburg: *The Star*.

Barker, C. and Galasinski, D. *2001. Cultural studies and discourse analysis: A dialogue on language and identity.* London: Sage.

Bell, A. 1991. *The Language of News Media*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Birch, D. 1989. *Language, Literature and Critical Practice: Ways of Analysing Texts.* London: Routledge.

Blommaert, J. 2004. *Discourse: A critical introduction.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bloor, M. and Bloor, T. 2007. *The Practice of Critical Discourse Analysis*: *An Introduction.* London: Holder Education.

Caldas-Couthard, R. and Coulthard, M. 1996. (Eds*). Texts and practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 3–14). London: Routledge.

Chilton, P. (Ed.) 1985. *Language and the Nuclear Arms Debate, in Nukespeak Today*. London: Frances Pinter.

Chomsky, N. 1957. *Syntactic Structures.* The Hague: Mouton.

Chomsky, N. 1965. *Aspects of the theory of syntax.* Cambridge: M.I.T. Press.

The Citizen. 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007. (http://www.citizen.co.za)

City Press. 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007. (http://www.citipress.co.za)

Crystal, D. 1992. *An Encyclopedic Dictionary of Language and Languages.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Danso, R. and McDonald, D. A. 2001. Africa Today. Writing Xenophobia: *Immigration and the Print Media in Post-apartheid South Africa*. 48(3) (pp.115–137). Johannesburg: South Africa.

De Beer, A.S & Diederichs, P. 1998. *Newspapers. The Fourth Estate: A cornerstone of democracy.* Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Dennis, E. & Merrill, J. 2002. *Media debates: great issues for the digital age.* Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth.

Ensor, P. 2004. '*Contesting Discourses in higher education curriculum restructuring in South Africa'*. Cambridge University Press.

Enright, D.J. 1985. *Mother of maid? An introduction. In D.J. Enright (Ed.), Fair of Speech: The uses of euphemisms*, pp. 1-12. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fairclough, N. 1989. *Language and power*. London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. 1992. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity.

Fairclough, N. and 1995. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. and Wodak, R. 1997. '*Critical discourse analysis: an overview, in Van Dijk, T. A. (Ed) Discourse and Interaction* (pp 258–284). London: Sage.

Fairclough, N. 2001. *Language and power* (2nd Ed.). New York: Longman.

Fairclough, N. 2003. *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge.

Fairgley, L. 1992. *Fragments of Rationality: Postmodernity and the Subject of Composition.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Foucault, M. 1972. *The Archaeology of knowledge and the discourse on language (Trans. Sheridan, A.M.).* New York: Vintage (Pantheon Books).

Foucault, M. 1979. *The History of Sexuality, vol.1. An Introduction*. London: Allen Lane.

Foucault, M. 1981. *History of Sexuality, vol.1.* Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books.

Fowler, R, Hodge, R., Kress, G. and Trew, T. 1979. *Language and Control*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Fowler, R. and Kress, G. 1979a. *'Critical Linguistics', in Fowler, R., Hodge, B., Kress, G. and Trew, T. Language and Control* (pp. 185–213). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Fowler, R. and Kress, G. 1979b. *'Rules and regulations', in Fowler, R., Hodge, B., Kress, G. and Trew, T. Language and Control* (pp. 26–45). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Fowler, R. 1985. "*Power", in T.A. van Dijk (Ed.). Handbook of Discourse Analysis, vol.4. Discourse Analyis in Society, pp.61-82.* London: Academic Press.

Fowler, R. 1991. *Language in the news. Discourse and ideology in the Press*. London: Routledge.

Fowler, R 1996. 'On critical linguistics', in Caldas-Couthard, R. and Coulthard, R. and Coulthard, M. (Eds*) Texts and practices: Readings in Critical Discours Analysis* (pp.3–14). London: Routledge.

Gee, J.P. 1990. *Social Linguistics and Literacies: Ideology in discourses.* London/New York: Falmer Press.

Gee, J.P. 2004. "*Discourse Analysis: What makes it critical"? in R.Rogers (ed.). An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis in Education,* pp. 19-50. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1970. *Language Structure and Language Function, in: J. Lyons (ed.), New Horizons in Linguistics* (Harmondsworth 1970), 140-165.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1978. *Language as social semiotic.* London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1985. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar.* London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1994. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M.A.K. and Hassan, R. 1989. *Language, context and text: aspects of language in a social semiotic perspective.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Halliday, M.A.K. and Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. 1999. *Constructing Experience Through Meaning: A Language-based Approach to Cognition.* London: Continuum.

Halliday, M.A.K. and Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. 2004. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar.* London: Arnold.

Hammersley, M. 1997. On the foundations of critical discourse analysis. Language and Communication, 17(3):237–248.

Heberle, V. 2000. 'Critical reading: integrated principles of critical discourse analysis and gender studies'. Illha do Desterro: A Journal of Language and Literature, Vol.38: 115-138.

Hillier, H. 2004. Analysing Real Texts: *Research Studies in Modern English Language*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hodge, R. and Kress, G. 1988. *Social Semiotics* Cambridge: Polity.

Hodge, R. and Kress, G. 1993. *Language as Ideology*. London: Routledge.

Hornberger, H.N. (ed.) 2008. *Encyclopedia of Language and Education.* (2nd Ed.). New York: Springer Science and Business Media.

Janks, H. 1995. *The research and development of critical language awareness materials for use in South African secondary schools.* Unpublished PhD thesis, Lancaster University.

Kaplan, R. 1990. *Concluding Essays on Applied Linguistics and Discourse Analysis. In* Annual *Review of Applied Linguistics Vol. 2*.

Kapp, R. 2004. *'Reading on the Line': An Analysis of Literacy Practices in ESL Classes in a South African Township School. In Language and Education.* 18, 3 (pp. 246-263).

Kress, G. 1976. Halliday: *System and Function in Language*. Oxford University Press, London

Kress, G. 1989. *History and Language: towards a social account of linguistic change*. Journal of pragmatics, 13:445–466. Discourse and Education. Vol. 3.

Kress, G. 1990. '*Critical discourse analysis.' Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 11:84–99.

Kress, G. and Hodge, R. 1979. *Language as Ideology*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Krippendorff, K. 1980. *Content Analysis*: *An Introduction to Its Methodology*. London: Sage.

Lee, D. 1992. *Competing discourses: Perspective and ideology in language.* London: Longman.

Littlejohn, S.W. 2002. *7th edition. Theories of Human Communication.* Belmont: Wadsworth.

Luke, A. 1995/1996. 'Text and discourse in education: An introduction to critical discourse analysis', Review of Research in Education 21, 3–48.

Luke, A. 1997. 'The material effects of the words: Apologies, "stolen children" and public discourse', Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education 18(3), 343–368.

Magalhaes, I. 2005. '*Interdiscursivity, gender identity and the politics of literacy in Brazil', in M.M. Lazar (ed.), Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis: Gender, Power and Ideology in Discourse*. Palgrave Mcmillan, Houndsmill, Basingstoke.

Malmkjaer, K. (Ed.) 1991. *Linguistics and the language of translation.* Edinburgh: Edinburg University Press.

Malmkjaer, K. (Ed.) 1992. 'Critical Linguistics'. *The Linguistics Enyclopaedia* London: Routledge.

Menz, F. 1989. *Manipulation Strategies in newspapers: a program for critical linguistics, in Wodak, R. (Ed.). Language, Power and Idealogy: Studies in political discourse and critical theory.* 1989, 227–249. Amsterdam: John Benjamin.

Mesthrie, R. 2000. *Critical Sociolinguistics: approaches to language and power, in Mesthrie, Swann, J., Deumert, A. and Leap, W.L. (Eds.)*, 2000, 316–353.

Mills, S. 1995. *Feminist Stylistics.* London: Routledge.

Palmer, F.R 1976. *Semantics: a new outline.* London: Cambridge University Press.

Palmer, S. 1978. Fundamental *aspects of cognitive representation. In: Rosch, E., Lloyd, B. (eds.). Cognition and categorization*, pp. 259–303. Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale.

Pêcheux, M. 1982*. Language, semantics and ideology.* London: Macmillan.

Pêcheux, M., Henry, P., Poitou, J.P. and Haroche, C. 1979. *Un exemple d'ambiguité idéologique: le rapport Mansholt. Technologies, Idéologies, et Pratiques 1(2), 3-83.*

Pennycook, A. 2001. *The cultural politics of English as an international language*. London/New York: Longman.

Reah, D. 1998. *The language of newspapers*. London: Routledge.

Reitzes, M. and Dolan, C. 1996. *The Inside Story? Press Coverage of Illegal Immigrants and Refugees, April 1994 – September 1995. Research Paper, No.48*. Johannesburg: Centre for Policy Studies.

Richards, C.R., Platt, J. and Platt, H. 1992. *Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics.* Harlow: Longman.

Richardson, J.E. 2007. *Analysing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Richardson, K. 1987. *Critical linguistics and textual diagnosis.* Text, 7(2): 145-163.

Ritchie, K. 2007. *The start of a beautiful friendship,* p.5. Johannesburg: The Star.

Saussure, F. 1974. *Course in General Linguistics (trans. Wade Baskin).* London: Fontana/Collins.

Sefara, M. 2004. Assessing the threat of child sex rings. City Press.

Sefara, M. 2004. 'Businessman caught with his pants down'. Johannesburg: The Citizen.

Simpson, P. 1993. *Language, Ideology and Point of View*. London: Routledge.

Steiner, E. 1985. "Towards a critical linguistics'. In Chilton, P. (Ed.) 1985. Language and the nuclear arms debate: Nukespeak Today, pp. 215-230. London: Francis Printer.

Sullivan, F.J. 2002. '*Critical theory and systemic linguistics: texualizing the contact zone*.' Avaliable at http: //jac.gsu.edu/jac/15.3/Articles/2.htm (Accessed on 25 June 2008).

Sykes, M. 1985. 'Discrimination in discourse', in T.A. van Dijk (ed.), *Handbook of Discourse Analysis: Vol. 4. Discourse Analysis in Society, pp. 83-102*. London: Academic Press.

Taiwo, R. Odebunmi, A. and Adetunji, A. (eds.) *Perspectives on Media Discourse*. Nigeria: LINCOM EUROPA.

The Star. 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007. (http://www.star.co.za) Accessed 24 November 2009.

The State Library, 1970. *Current South African Newspapers*. Pretoria: South Africa.

Thomas, L. & Wareing, S. 1999. *Language, Society And Power: An Introduction*. London: Routledge.

Titscher, S., Meyer, M., Wodak, R., Vetter, E. 2000. *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis,* Sage Publications, London.

Tong, J.W. 2005. 'Buy the book before Christmas': Participants' capitalization on cultures in a Hong Kong classroom', presentation at the International Conference on Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory into Research November 15–18 2005, University of Tasmania, Australia.

Trew, T. 1979b. 'What the papers say'. Linguistic variation and ideological difference. In Fowler, R., Hodge, B., Kress, G. and Trew, T. (Eds.). Language and Control, 1979: pp. 117-156. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.

Tromp, B. 2006 'Tarred with the same dirty brush' Johannesburg: *Star*

Van Dijk, T.A. 1985. Structures of news in the press. Available at

http://www.discourses.org/OldArticles/Power%20and%20the%20news%20media.pdf

Van Dijk, T.A. 1987b. 'Elite discourse and racism', in Zavala, T.A. van Dijk and M. Diaz-Diocaretz (Eds.). Approaches to Discourse, Poetics and Psychiatry, pp. 81-22. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Van Dijk, T.A. 1988b. News as discourse. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Van Dijk, T.A. 1991. Racism and the press. London: Routledge.

Van Dijk, T.A. 1993. Elite discourse and racism. Newberry Park. C.A.: Sage.

Van Dijk, T.A. 1995. Discourse analysis as ideology analysis. Retrieved March 29, 2009 from http://www.discourses.org/OldArticles/Ideological%20discourse%20analysis.pdf

Van Dijk, T.A. 1996. Discourse power and access, in C.R. Caldas-Coulthard and M. Coulthard (Eds.). Texts and practices: readings in critical discourse analysis, pp. 84-104. London: Routledge.

Van Dijk, T.A. 1997b. Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction, vo.2. Discourse as Social Interactions. London: Sage.

Van Dijk, T.A. 1998. "Critical discourse analysis." Available at: http://www.hum.uva.nl/~teum/cda.html Accessed on December 8, 2009.

Van Dijk, T.A. 2001. " Critical discourse analysis" in D.Tannen, D. Schiffrin and H. Hamilton (Eds.), The Handbook of Discourse Analysis. Oxford: Blackwell.

Van Dijk, T A. 2008. Discourse and Power. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wareing, S. 1999. What is language and what does it do? In Thomas & Wareing (Eds.), 1999. Language and power, pp. 1-15. London: Routledge.

Weber, R.P. 1990. *Basic Content Analysis*. Newbury Park, California: Sage.

Wodak, R. (Ed.) 1989. *Language, Power and Ideology: Studies in Political Discourse and Critical Theory*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Wodak, R. (Ed.) 1996. Disorders of Discourse. London: Longman.

Wyrick Jean. 2008. Steps to Writing Well (Tenth edition). Boston: Thomas Wadsworth.

Yiemkutitavorn, S. 2005. 'English and its power in the Thai discourse', presentation at the International Conference on Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory into Research November 15–18, University of Tasmania, Australia.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Category A: Crimes related to drug/human trafficking

- We bust the world's dumbest drug dealers (Material Process)

  The Saturday Star, 19 June 2004 (p.1)

- Drug lord bust in undercover op (Material Process)

  The Citizen, 12 May 2004 (p.4)

- I was sex slave for drug lords – girl (15) (Verbal Process)

  City Press, 28 November 2004 (p.1)

- Drugs sold openly in Midrand centre (Material Process)

  The Saturday Star, 4 March 2006 (p.1)

- We don't come here intending to be drug dealers (Verbal Process)

  The Star, 13 March 2006 (p.9)

- Crack down! Ecstasy, heroin and cocaine found in swoop (Material Process)

  The Saturday Star, 13 July 2006 (p.1)

- Your townhouse? Not any more (Material Process)

  The Saturday Star, 19 August 2006 (p.2)

- 2010: Pimps prepare for World Cup kick-off (Material Process)

  The Citizen, 30 September 2006 (p.1)

- Birthday gift is 25 years in jail (Relational Process)

  The Citizen, 3 December 2007 (p.8)

Appendix B: Category B: Crimes related to abduction/rape and murder

- Boy (3) rescued in sex slave swoop (Material Process)

  The Saturday Star, 20 November 2004 (p.1)

- Stop these perverts (Verbal Process)

  The Saturday Star, 4 December 2004 (p.14)

- Police save girls from Nigerian sex slavery (Material Process)

  The Citizen, 8 December 2004 (p.3)

- Businessman caught with his pants down (Material Process)

  City Press, 21 November 2004 (p.2)

- We must unite to halt child-sex syndicates (Relational Process)

  City Press, 28 November 2004 (p.18)

- Assessing the threat of child sex rings (Mental Process)

  What sort of human beings get pleasure from trading kids as sex slaves?

  City Press, 28 November 2004 (p.19)

- "Schoolgirls are lured into prostitution..." (Relational Process)

  Downtown schools serve as recruitment centres for Nigerian syndicates

  City Press, 28 November 2004 (p.19)

- Urgent action needed to curb child trafficking (Material Process)

  The Star, 3 December 2005 (p.1)

- Male prostitutes accused of killing, extortion (Material Process)

  The Star, 12 October 2006 (p.2)

- Cellphone records led to rent boy, say police (Verbal Process)

  The Star, 18 October 2006 (p.2)

- Nigerians charged with murder of SAA man (Material Process)

  The Citizen, 20 January 2006 (p.6)

- Ransom cash went unfetched (Material Process)

  The Citizen, 18 October 2006 (p.5)

- Nigerian arrested for rape, murder (Material Process)

  The Citizen, 25 October 2006 (p.6)

- Rape, murder accused's crash cost him his freedom (Material Process)

  The Star, 18 April 2007 (p.6)

- "My brother was dead before threat" (Verbal Process)

  The Star, 16 August 2007 (p.2)

- Killer Nigerian rent boys get life behind bars (Material Process)

  The Star, 17 August 2007 (p.2)

- Two sex 'rent boys' are kidnap-killers (Relational Process)

  The Citizen, 16 August 2007 (p.6)

Appendix C: Category B: Scam-related crimes

- Scam uses name of FSB boss (Material Process)

  The Saturday Star, 11 December 2004 (p.3)

- Man's passion led to arrest of alleged scam artist (Mental Process)

  Failed businesses drove private eye to track down and trap fifth Nigerian

  The Star, 26 August 2005 (p.6)

- We do this because you pay us peanuts, says fraudster (Verbal Process)

  The Star, 29 August 2005 (p.3)

- Banks stand to lose wooing blacklisted Nigeria (Relational Process)

  The Star, 1 September 2005 (p.9)

- Conmen pose as firms' directors (Relational Process)

  The Citizen, 9 February 2005 (p.3)

- Scorpions sting 3 for graft (Material Process)

  Nigerian denied bail while two pay R500 each for freedom

  City Press, 22 May 2005 (p.6)

- Turn a scammer into a real moegoe (Verbal Process)

  Quick-money schemes abound in South Africa. Sometimes these backfire.

  City Press, 2 July 2006 (p.6)

- Beware: card-skimming syndicates doing big business (Verbal Process)

  'Desperate' woman held after 11 incidents at restaurant in two months

  The Star, 31 January 2007 (p.7)