



**UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE**

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Magister Artium, in the Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape.

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Abstract

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South Africa transitioned from an apartheid system of government, with one ruling party to a new democracy; a transition that is still currently in progress. With this transition came many new freedoms, such as the ability to choose and freely express one's linguistic and cultural preferences, amongst many others. This study analyses the negotiation of identity in constitutionally multilingual parliamentary discourses in the Western Cape in order to create a better understanding of the influence the new South Africa has on the identities constructed in parliamentary discourses whereby polylingualism is used as a linguistic resource. The parliamentary discourse is deemed constitutionally multilingual due to the fact that before 1994, African languages were not considered official, but presently Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa are credited provincial official languages in the Western Cape and are amongst the eleven national official languages. In order to investigate how performative identities are constructed discursively in the relatively new spaces of linguistic democracy, this study conducted a multisemiotic analysis on political manifestos in conjunction with a discourse analysis of a randomly selected Hansard Report of the Western Cape Provincial Parliament, which is the only parliament of the national nine to have an alternate political party in government. In collaboration with consulting the Standing Rules of the House, the National Language Policy Framework, the Western Cape Language Policy and observing the actual sitting, scholarly literature pertaining to language use, multisemiotic features and identity negotiation were evaluated to better understand the discursive spaces in which identity is negotiated as well as to achieve the objectives of this study.

Adopting a poststructuralist approach to the negotiation of identities, this study achieved its objectives (1) to explore the language practices in a parliamentary sitting; (2) to explore the extent socio-historical factors influence the discourses and interactions in the House; (3) to examine how performative identities are negotiated linguistically in parliamentary discourses; (4) to evaluate how identities are negotiated as implicated in the parliamentary interactions and discourses; (5) to investigate the implications of the unequal social distribution of linguistic resources for discursive practices and identity negotiation in the House and (6) to evaluate the dominant identities implicated in the linguistic choices observed in the discourses. In achieving the objectives of this study it became transparent that the negotiation of identity within a multilingual context is influenced by various factors. In the case of this study, the legacy of apartheid, political ideologies and interdiscursivity played significant roles in negotiating the prevalent hybrid identities of the members of provincial parliament. Exploring the negotiation of identities through language use dictated that a paradigm shift is needed to understand hybrid identities and language use, being cultivated in the new post-apartheid and postmodernist South Africa. Therefore, earlier notions based on monolingual/monoglot perspectives, will fail to account for multilingualism which has become the linguistic dispensation in parliament. Hybridity in terms of cultural attributes and language practices is increasing and making it difficult to base parliamentarians' ethnicity on dress or language use alone.

September 2014

Declaration

I declare that *Negotiating Identity in Multilingual Parliamentary Discourses in the Western Cape: A Discourse Analysis* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full name: Stacy Avril McLean

Date: September 2014

Signed.....



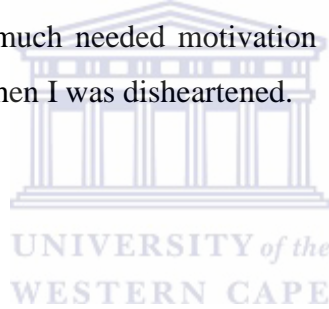
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Thank-you is an understatement.



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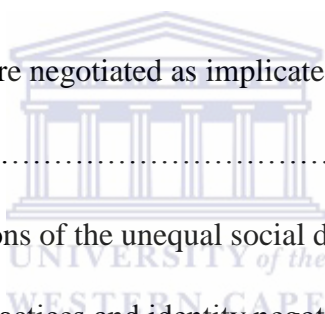


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Chapter 1

Introduction and Background

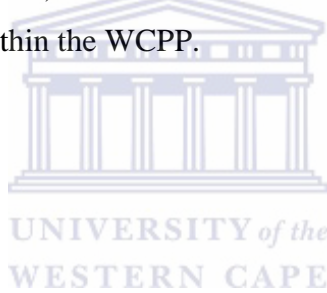
1.1 Introduction

South Africa transitioned from an apartheid system of government, with one ruling party to a new democracy, a transition that is still currently in progress. With this transition came many new freedoms such as the ability to choose and freely express one's linguistic and cultural preferences, amongst many others. This study analyses the negotiation of identity in constitutionally multilingual parliamentary discourses in the Western Cape in order to create a better understanding of the influence the new South Africa has on the identities constructed in parliamentary discourses whereby polylingualism is used as a linguistic resource. The parliamentary discourse is deemed constitutionally multilingual due to the fact that before 1994, African languages were not considered official, but presently Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa are credited provincial official languages in the Western Cape and are amongst the eleven national official languages. In order to investigate how performative identities are constructed discursively in the relatively new spaces of linguistic democracy, this study conducted a multisemiotic analysis of political manifestos in conjunction with a discourse analysis of a randomly selected Hansard Report of the Western Cape Provincial Parliament, which is the only parliament of the national nine to have an alternate political party in government. In collaboration with consulting the Standing Rules of the House, the National Language Policy Framework, the Western Cape Language Policy and observing the actual sitting, literature pertaining to language use, multisemiotic features and identity negotiation were reviewed to better understand the discursive spaces in which identity is negotiated as well as to achieve the objectives of this study.

1.2 Background to the study

1.2.1 Introduction

Owing to the fact that this study focuses on the negotiation of identity in the constitutionally multilingual context of the Western Cape Provincial Parliament (WCPP), reference is made to background information which sets the context for the dynamics within the House today. To better understand the current parliamentary discourses in the House today, it is important to be aware of the role apartheid played, the socio-linguistic history of the Western Cape, the transitioning South Africa from pre-democracy to post-apartheid and the history and current perceptions of opposing parties in the legislature, namely: the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the African National Congress (ANC). All these factors certainly played and continue to play a role in the present discourses within the WCPP.



1.2.2 The role of apartheid

The constitution of South Africa boasts a multilingual state, in which its 11 official languages are treated on the basis of equality. However, this constitution as well as the notion of equality, which will be further discussed later, only came into play in South Africa post 1994. From 1948 to 1994, the South African political climate was characterised by segregation, infamously known as apartheid. It is pivotal to note as the South African Yearbook (1995) points out that segregation did not only start with the onslaught of apartheid but dated back to the Reconstruction Era under Lord Milner. According to the South African Yearbook (1995:33) “(Apartheid) did not invent the colour bar, which dated before the Union and had been regularised by Hertzog in 1926. It did not invent the pass laws, though it held on to them.” Apartheid brought with it inequality on the basis of one’s skin colour. The value of human dignity was dependent on race, whereby the status quo dictated that whites were superior to coloureds, Indians and blacks, respectively. This status quo was kept intact by draconian laws, such as the Group Areas Act of 1950, which governed the areas in which the population could live, based on their different races. It was this very Act that validated the

forced removals in District Six in 1966. The Group Areas Act 1950 divided the population geographically and kept members, whom the apartheid government considered to be of the same race, together. This division gave rise to the variety of languages, dialects and cultures in South Africa.

The current diversity prevalent in South Africa is attributed to the forced separation apartheid enforced upon the people prior to becoming a democracy in 1994. To clarify this statement I echo, as Rajend Mesthrie (1996) did in his foreword in Adhikari's *Straatpraatjies*, Bourdieu's notion of symbolic domination. Mesthrie (1996:vii) acknowledges that "characteristic sets of social relations gave rise to particular forms of language, situations of bilingualism and linguistic hierarchies". Furthermore, Mesthrie (1996: viii) explains that Bourdieu's notion of symbolic domination is the "control of the representations of reality by the dominant classes with the unconsciously inculcated consent of subordinate groups". By this definition, apartheid could be said to characterise symbolic domination, however, it is a concept which is currently still present in South Africa, even if more implicit. Mesthrie (1996:viii) suggests that "language in control and resistance is not an unfamiliar theme in South African history. In one way or another every variety spoken within the territory has been pitted against one or other language and came up as winner or loser". Here, I would like to refer to the linguistic history of South Africa under apartheid, focussing on the current official languages of the Western Cape. I agree as Mesthrie noted that every variety spoken within the territory had been pitted against one another because under apartheid and even still today, this was and still is perceived to be the case. However, I argue that this should not well be the case, not in South Africa or any nation deemed democratic. Considering the apartheid era, Standard English and Afrikaans was/is associated with the minority white population. A less standard variety of both English and Afrikaans was/is associated with the coloured community and African languages are associated with black citizens. The varieties used by the white population were used in parliament at the time, therefore as a result of the coloured and black population not being represented in government, their languages were not considered either. Even though there are more exceptions prevailing, whereby white individuals are acquiring African languages and coloured people are acquiring more standard varieties of English, not much has changed as it may be said to be marked linguistic performances. An example of this is found in the derogatory term, 'coconut', which refers to a black or even coloured person sounding white. Sounding white refers to speaking a standard form of English or Afrikaans with either a hint of British or American accent or a

suiwer (pure) Afrikaner accent, as will be explained in McCormick's (2002) contribution to this thesis, respectively.

McCormick (2002) further provides insight into the language ideologies of English and Afrikaans in the Western Cape, which created and prescribed white Afrikaans, white English and coloured Afrikaans/English speaking communities and identities in the Western Cape during the apartheid era. These apartheid prescriptions influenced language use in the Western Cape. McCormick has conducted extensive research in District Six, which was a renowned inner-city residential area in Cape Town. During the 1970's more than 60 000 inhabitants were forcefully removed from District Six by the apartheid regime.

According to McCormick (2002:98), some District Six decedents acknowledge their variation of Afrikaans as different from the standard Afrikaans, known to them as "suiwer Afrikaans" (pure Afrikaans). McCormick (2002:97) states that they often define their local dialect as "less neutral, more pejorative: onbeskof (impolite/ unrefined), stupid, bastardized, cheap, careless, messing up the language". These descendants are aware of the stereotypes attached to their language variety as being "lazy, feckless, poor and streetwise, rather than formally educated". McCormick (2002) explains that despite these negative connotations, the dialect once used in District Six was upheld with high esteem by its speakers and was considered to be "warm, intimate, and expressive of emotions, rooted in the community's past and a sign of neighbourhood bonds." Furthermore, McCormick (2002) expresses that the standard variation of Afrikaans is often associated with the white nationalist government, who instilled the apartheid era in South Africa. Therefore, some may refuse to speak Afrikaans, more specifically its standard form. However, there are those who find Afrikaans to be endearing as they feel that "Africans ought to be proud of it as it is unique to this country." Despite the positive attitude towards Afrikaans, more value is placed on English as it is thought to be a universal language and is held in high esteem globally. McCormick (2002) suggests that speaking English is indexical of being a city sophisticate, as opposed to a "country bumpkin". She adds that if one wants to be perceived as "sophisticated" or even "cool", they must acquire the ability to speak English fluently.

McCormick's arguments relate to this study as they are associated with a large population of Capetonians and explain the perceived differences in value between English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa. McCormick's arguments justify why particular language or language variety choice by speakers in the House is used in an attempt to negotiate a particular identity by either

resisting or affirming it based on the expressed ideologies associated with each language as well as language variety.

Here, it is pivotal to refer to Dervin (2011) as he says that when identities are reduced in such ways, the consequences can be quite strong as it could lead to conflicts and barbarities, but it can also stereotype, humiliate, dehumanise and stigmatize identities. Dervin (2011:184) then acknowledges Duncan (2003:150) as he holds “when expressing identity, there is always an issue of power at hand”.

Also, further incorporating segregation and imposed identities was that of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. The Bantu Education Act restricted black people from the same educational opportunities and resources enjoyed by white South Africans. Hartshorne (1992:41) affirms that “Bantu education denigrated black people's history, culture, and identity. It promoted myths and racial stereotypes in its curricula and textbooks. Some of these ideas found expression in the notion of the existence of a separate "Bantu society" and "Bantu economy" which were taught to African students in government-run schools”. The portrayal of this society limited black students’ vision of their place in the broader South African society and therefore imposed a particular identity on them. This imposition is further discussed later in this thesis.

Even though the era of apartheid officially came to an end when Nelson Mandela was democratically elected as South Africa’s first black president on 27 April 1994, the racist ideologies and mentality of some South Africans are yet to be shifted (Gumede 2010). According to Gumede (City Press: 24 April 2010), “South Africa’s bitter history of more than 350 years of colonialism and apartheid – with its accompanied ethnic divisions, conflict and state-sponsored economic inequalities – makes the challenge of cobbling together a new South African-ness, from our divided past, so much harder, yet so much more urgent”. Alexander (2002:109) also speaks to the notion of being South African in that he suggests, “our primary identity should be that of being South African, not in any exclusivist or national-chauvinist sense”. He further explains to which I am in agreement, that “we also have to become much more conscious of the stereotypes we carry around with us as being so much racial and ethnic baggage that make it difficult and even impossible for us to connect with fellow South Africans and fellow Africans.

Apartheid caused countless public outcry, which consequently led to uprisings from the oppressed and their supporters in a bid to win their freedom. The famous Sharpeville

Massacre of 1960 is an example of the people's revolt to the National Party, and the government who enforced apartheid in South Africa since 1948. At the forefront of the struggle were political movements, who sacrificed their lives in defiance against apartheid by fighting for its demise and their freedom. These movements include the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) amongst others. Majority of the members of these liberation struggle movements were the marginalised (blacks, coloureds and Indians) but also had the support of liberal whites. The demise of apartheid is owed to the freedom fighters that persisted with defiance campaigns, going into exile and gained international support to apply pressure on the apartheid government by means of sanctions.

1.2.3 The new South Africa

The new democratic South Africa was established on 27 April 1994 and as the South African Yearbook (1995:39) explains, "the country woke up to a new flag, a new anthem and a transitional constitution." At the first democratic elections 19 parties contested and 19 726 579 votes were counted. The parties included the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), the African Democratic Movement (ADM), African Moderates Congress Party (AMCP), African Muslim Party (AMP), African National Congress (ANC), Democratic Party (DP), Dikwankwetla Party of South Africa (DPSA), Federal Party (FP), Freedom Front/Vryheidsfront (FF/VF), Inkhata Freedom Party (IFP), Keep it Straight and Simple Party (KISS), Lusano-South African Party (LSAP), Minority Front Party (MFP), National Party (NP), Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), Soccer Party (SP), Women's Rights Peace Party (WRPP), Worker's List Party (WLP) and the Ximoko Progressive Party (XPP). The National results were as follows: the ANC with 62, 65% of the national tally, the NP with 20%, IFP with 10,5%, the FF/VF with 2,17%, the DP with 1,73%, the PAC with 1,25% and the ACDP with 0,45%.

For the scope of this study, it will be more constructive to consider the provincial assembly results, especially that of the Western Cape, as they focus on the negotiation of identities in multilingual parliamentary discourse in the Western Cape Legislature. As illustrated in the South African Yearbook (1995:39), the first democratic elections resulted in the WCPP being represented as follows: the NP with 53, 2%, the ANC with 33%, the DP with 6, 6%, the FF

with 2, 1% and the ACDP with 1, 2%. The implications hereof is that even though South Africa transitioned constitutionally from apartheid to a democracy, the NP who was believed to be the apartheid government was still in power in the Western Cape, however, the ANC gained a significant amount of votes in the Western Cape and thus for the first time had official seats in parliament. The ANC at this stage represented the historically marginalised population which included coloured and black individuals.

The new democratic South Africa also gave rise to the creation of the nine provinces, in comparison to the previous four, which the South African Yearbook (1995:47) explains was “created in terms of the constitution brought about [by] a new system of second-tier government. The position of provincial government and local government, which is recognised as a separate level of government, is entrenched in the Constitution”. As affirmed by the 1996 Constitution of South Africa in Chapter 6 section 104.1, “the legislative authority of a province is vested in its provincial legislature, and confers on the provincial legislature the power – (a) to pass a constitution for its province or to amend any constitution passed by it in terms of sections 142 and 143”. As prescribed in the Secretary Report of 1997, the Western Cape Provincial Parliament did exactly that and the writing of the provincial constitution commenced in July 1996, when the Premier at the time, Mr HJ Kriel requested the Speaker, Mr WP Doman “to set in motion a process whereby the Legislature would draft a provincial constitution”. Interestingly, also noted in the Secretary Report (1998:i) “the activities of the Legislature for the period 1994 to 1996 have not been recorded in official annual reports”. More interesting is that the reports before the year 2000 were only available in English and Afrikaans, not in isiXhosa. This proves interesting because official documents after the Constitution of the Western Cape came into effect on 16 January 1998 were to be available in Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa as it was constitutionally bound but was not up until 2000. To reconcile the linguistic inequalities of the past as entrenched by the apartheid policy, Chapter 1 of the Western Cape Constitution section 5.1 with reference to language asserts “for the purpose of provincial government (a) the official languages Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa are to be used; and (b) these languages enjoy equal status.” Section 5.2 declares that “the Western Cape government must through legislative and other measures, regulate and monitor its use of Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa”. Lastly Section 3, stipulates that the Western Cape government must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of those indigenous languages of the people of the Western Cape whose status and use have been historically diminished”. This historically diminished

language refers to isiXhosa which was never used in legislation pre-democracy. The notion of the equal status of these languages is debateable and will be further elaborated later in this thesis.

1.2.4 The Democratic Alliance (DA)

Similarly to the national political climate, whereby transitioning occurred from one government to another, the Western Cape also underwent a change in government. This occurred when the Democratic Alliance (DA) was voted into government, in 2009, in the province with an outright majority of 51, 5% of the provincial vote. In accordance with the official Democratic Alliance website, the DA was consequently formed as a result of many parties and movements coming together through the years and coalescing around the vision of an open opportunity society for all South Africans. The DA's history dates back to 1959 when a number of liberal members of the United Party (UP) broke away to form the Progressive Party (PP). The PP merged with the Reform Party which is another splinter group of the UP and formed the Progressive Reform Party (PRP). Other UP members left and formed the Committee for a united opposition, which later joined the PRP and formed the Progressive Federal Party (PFP). Zach de Beer, the leader of the PFP at the time merged with the Independent Party, National Democratic movement and formed the DP on 8 April 1989. The realisation that the best way to protect and strengthen democracy in South Africa was to build a strong opposition to restrict the one-party dominance of the ANC, led to the formation of the DP. In 2009, the DP merged with members of the Federal Alliance and the New National Party and called themselves the Democratic Alliance. Its founding members include anti-apartheid activists such as Helen Suzman, Colin Eglin and Harry Schwarz to name a few. Currently, in the national sphere of government and prior to 2009 in the Western Cape, the DA was known as the official opposition party. The DA promotes liberal democracy and free market principles and therefore is rooted in the political ideologies of liberalism and capitalism. Or in unbiased terms, this is the way in which they position and represent themselves.

However, as a political party the DA has many preconceived notions and stereotypes attached to their identity. Dervin (2011:186) explains that “stereotypes are often described as being

static, limited and inert but they often change as their content is not shared by everybody but is contextually and individually determined”. An example of this is an article written by Tiisetso Makhele, a socio-political commentator as appeared on News24 (<http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/The-real-reasons-behind-DAs-sudden-support-for-BEE-20130914>:14 September 2013). Makhele’s (2013) perceptions of the DA are common stereotypes of the party and are maintained by many South Africans. In his controversial article, Makhele (2013) states “contrary to their claims, the DA (also) does not support social grants or land reform. The DA does not support the convictions of Nelson Mandela or Steve Biko. The DA has never participated in the struggle against Apartheid. Instead, they have benefited from Apartheid. To sum it all up; the DA does not care about black people or the poor. And this I state without any hint of prevarication. I state this with my head up in the sky because of a number of observations I have made”. He further goes on and writes, “the DA then tried an old tested strategy; window dressing. Some coconut blacks like Lindiwe Mazibuko and Mmusi Maimane were recruited to shift the voters’ attention away from the DA’s racist policy posturing. When some of these “rented” blacks became too cocky for the DA’s liking, the DA decided to steal the history of the ANC”. In Makhele (2013) stating “the DA decided to steal the history of the ANC”, he refers to the DA’s, Know Your DA Campaign, in which they attempted to educate the masses about the DA’s role in the fight against apartheid and also used images of Nelson Mandela and Helen Suzman together, as a way of displaying association with Nelson Mandela, and thus anti-racial.

Linguistically, it is interesting to note that as mentioned, Afrikaans is associated with the apartheid government of the time, who was considered white, if considered on a racial premise. The DA, who is the political party in government in the Western Cape, is also perceived to be associated as white and of having benefitted from the apartheid regime.

1.2.5 The African National Congress (ANC)

In a complete contrast to that of the national government, the ANC in the Western Cape is currently the opposition party. The ANC has a rich history of freedom fighters and contributed significantly to the liberation struggle and the historic birth of democracy in South Africa. However, today, the leadership paradigm has shifted from that of the Nelson

Mandelas, the Steve Bikos, the Govan Mbekis and the Walter Sisulus. Kadalie (2009:103) holds that “We should shed this notion that only the ANC can save us”. She further elaborates that “when things went awry early on in our democracy, political leaders were often given the benefit of the doubt, the rationale being that since they struggled for a moral cause, they must therefore be highly moral. Hence, the escalating corruption, political intolerance, non-delivery and mismanagement were initially excused as mistakes, committed by infants of democracy.” Kadalie (2009) further argues that the ANC is now plagued with factionalism which is decomposing the once united front they upheld.

The former assistant editor of the Cape Times, Gerald Shaw (Cape Times: 27 September 2013), speaks to this construction as he states, “the ANC and the South African government which it controls are going nowhere, lacking decisive, coherent leadership and sliding sideways and downward in political and economic decline”. Shaw (Cape Times: 27 September 2013) makes mention of prominent ANC members who have the same perception. He uses Kgalema Motlanthe, the current deputy president of the country as well as the ANC and Pallo Jordan, who had been a member of Nelson Mandela’s cabinet. According to Shaw (Cape Times: 27 September 2013) Jordan noted that “The leadership of the ANC had been stripped of dignity and the movement’s influence was shrinking, and there was “a perception that corruption is sustained and encouraged with impunity within the ANC and that the movement is allowing corruption because so many of its leaders are implicated in corruption”. Motlanthe is also noted and according to Shaw (Cape Time: 27 September 2013) “has decried vested personal interests preventing the movement from being more united and effective. He added that things were going to get worse before they got better. In an interview with the Financial Times on July 14, Motlanthe said the problems of the ANC were likely to deepen in the short-term and it would run the risk of losing power if it did not pay attention to the importance of being relevant to the people of South Africa”.

Furthermore, Shaw (Cape Time:27 September 2013) explains that “there is a pressing need for reform of the public service, in which standards have slumped as a result of nepotism and over-hasty and ill-considered affirmative action”. He also adds that “declining confidence and a weakening rand mean a poor economic outlook for the country, a deterioration in the conditions of the poorest section of the community and heightened social tensions. And the bitter faction-fighting in the trade union movement has the potential for corrosive political disruption”.

This background information serves to set the historical context for the current interaction in the House, of which comprehension is required to understand the crux of this study, as it deals with the present parliamentary discourses, including that of its history.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

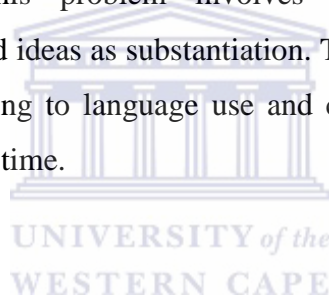
Considering South Africa's past in terms of apartheid and the transition from that past into a democracy, came various changes which include the availing of new freedoms in the new South Africa. Language use is one of these changes. Even though Afrikaans and to some extent English were the languages of debate in the Western Cape Legislature pre-1994, the new dispensation recognised isiXhosa as an official language of business. Similarly, the demographics of parliament during apartheid included Afrikaans and English speaking white politicians, while the new system of government brought in black individuals from isiXhosa speaking backgrounds and coloured individuals who speak Afrikaans or English or both languages. Thus, the statement of the problem relates to kinds of identities implicated in the various linguistic and cultural 'mix' as a result of the interactions among the parliamentarians with different socio-histories. Specifically, the purpose of this study is to explore the influence the changes in government, that is from the initial NP term, to the ANC term, to the current term - which is characterised by the DA being in government - have on current interaction and discourses in provincial parliament, and particularly the identities constructed through language use in the discourses of a parliamentary sitting.

This study is in part motivated by Gumede (2010) as he holds that "diverse developing countries such as South Africa with such a politically divided past obviously cannot find a solution in a nationalism based on shared culture, language or ethnicity". Therefore, contributing to the problem to which this study elaborates on is that of intercultural conflict and resolution in a democratic setting. The National Language Policy Framework (2002:5) has also contributed to asserting a problem for this study, which is realised by the fact that after 20 years of democracy, "South Africa has now arrived at a crucial point in its history. South Africans have to respond to their linguistic and cultural diversity and to the challenges of constitutional multilingualism". The problem here relates to how parliamentarians respond

to linguistic and cultural diversity each member and their linguistic repertoire bring to the fore.

Before academic consultation, the barrier between policy and implementation has always been of great interest. This interest led to questioning the practicality of multilingualism, especially in a country which boasts a multilingual state in which 11 languages are credited official status. The language policy of this country and more specifically that of the Western Cape is progressive in its context but its practical implementation is problematic and thus forms a problem this study speaks to. To further illustrate this, I refer to the notions of multilingualism in language policy planning brought to this conversation by Banda (2009), Canagarajah (2011) and Alexander (2002) as well as modern considerations of language use, as will feature later in this thesis.

All encompassing, is the literature reviewed in order to conduct this research and in doing so, another problem emerged. This problem involves considering language use and communication based on outdated ideas as substantiation. Therefore, this study highlights the ways in which literature pertaining to language use and communication have evolved and how paradigms have shifted over time.



1.4 Aims of this Research

The general aim of this study was to investigate how parliamentarians, through deploying linguistic resources, negotiate identities, for themselves and for others in a single parliamentary sitting. This study also engaged with literature dealing with language use and identity extensively in order to gain insight into the two multifaceted concepts to illuminate the unnoticed phenomena which surface from the two.

1.5 Objectives

To critically analyse how parliamentarians negotiate identities in multilingual parliamentary discourse in the Western Cape, I devised the following objectives:

1. To explore the language practices in a parliamentary sitting.
2. To explore the extent socio-historical factors influence the discourses and interactions in the House.
3. To examine how performative identities are negotiated linguistically in parliamentary discourses.
4. To evaluate how identities are negotiated as implicated in the parliamentary interactions and discourses.
5. To investigate the implications of the unequal social distribution of linguistic resources for discursive practices and identity negotiation in the House.
6. To evaluate the dominant identities implicated in the linguistic choices observed in the discourses.

1.6 Justification



The underlying motivation of this study lies in its theoretical framework as propounded by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) in the book entitled *Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts*. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:10) suggest that late modern studies should aim to “examine instances of negotiation of identities that are not necessarily limited to code-switching and to explain what identity options are available to speech event participants, what shapes these options and which identities are being challenged and why”. Following Pavlenko and Blackledge, this study looks at the linguistic resources available to parliamentarians and how these are selectively used to challenge, maintain and negotiate identities. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:8) also acknowledge that “several sociolinguist examined negotiation of language choice and identities in multilingual contexts, only a few, however, attempted to theorize it.” Thus, adding significance to this thesis as it attempts to add to the few existing literature available on the topic. However, no scholarly literature has been written about the negotiation of identity of members of parliament in a South African context and this study speaks exactly to this and opens the academic conversation thereof, but specifically focussing on the Western Cape Provincial Parliament.

Furthermore, Fairclough (1989:ix) argues for the need to explore the social stratification of society “through a critical awareness of the power of language.” Whereas studies have focused on the unequal power of (English) language in education and commerce, there is a dearth of studies on language practices and even fewer on identity negotiation in parliament.

1.7 Research Questions

The questions I had hoped to acquire answers for, through this study were based on the objectives, thus they were as follows:

- What are the dominant language practices in parliament?
- To which extent do socio-historical factors influence the discourses and interactions in the House?
- How is linguistic choice appropriated to legitimize, challenge and negotiate particular identities?
- Which types of identities are most prevalent in the house?
- What implications does discursive practices have on identity negotiation in the House?

1.8 Research Methodology

In an attempt to adopt the method of triangulation, in order for it to be more credible, and less biased, this study made use of four instruments for the collection of data, all of which adopted a qualitative approach as the analysis required in-depth scrutiny and could not depend on countable variables to answer the research questions mentioned above. The first instrument was the document analysis of the Hansard Report of the sitting which took place on 26

February 2013, the second a multisemiotic analysis of the political manifestos of two of the opposing political parties represented in the House, consulting the national and provincial language policies or variations thereof. All of which were analysed by means of a critical discourse analysis. Interview data with a participant was another instrument and the fourth instrument was actual observations data of the parliamentary sitting on which the Hansard report is documented. The research design and methodology of this study is further conceptualized in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

1.9 Organisation of Thesis

In what follows, to facilitate readability, I provide a brief summary of what to expect in the chapters that follow.

Chapter Two, entitled Literature Review, deals with the academic literature reviewed in order to theoretically substantiate this study. The scholarly contributions pertaining to the notions of language use: both the earlier notions of bilingualism, multilingualism and code-switching and more contemporary notions of translanguaging, languaging, poly-lingualism, metrolingualism and the marketization of language in conjunction with the notions of resemiotization, semiotic remediation and Kress and van Leeuwen's ideas about reading images were extensively reviewed. Also, literature pertaining to identity, language and power, discourse analysis and the linguistic phenomena of intertextuality and interdiscursivity were also elaborated on.

Chapter 3 documents the intrinsic research design and elaborates on the methodological details of this study. The qualitative approach adopted by this study is explained, as well as the actual ways in which this research was conducted are framed in this chapter. These methods are motivated by objective logic together with personal justification.

Notwithstanding the significance of all the other chapters in this thesis, as it functions holistically, Chapter 4 together with Chapter 5 are pivotal chapters of this thesis as they deal with the documentation of the analysis of the data. Chapter 4 specifically explores the analysis of the multisemiotic political manifestos through using the notions of

resemiotization, semiotic remediation, the marketization of language, intertextuality, interdiscursivity and the aspects of visual design as investigative tools to highlight how identities are negotiated through semiotic resources as well and not solely through verbal or written language use.

Due to the interaction in the House, almost taking its cue, if I may put it that way, from what is made transparent in Chapter 4, Chapter 5 documents the analysis of the interaction in the House which takes the form of a parliamentary debate. This analytical chapter pays particular attention to the social constructionist and poststructuralist approaches to the negotiation of identities and uses the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 as investigative tools to analyse the Hansard Report and the actual parliamentary sitting, through observing its video recording to explore how identities are performed and negotiated in a constitutionally multilingual context.

Chapter 6 is characterised by concluding remarks of this thesis and includes a summary of the study, recommendations that have surfaced from the research as well as a conclusion to the thesis as a whole. In conclusion, this study illustrated through its literature review, methodology and analyses that language is in fact used as a linguistic resource to negotiate identities within the constitutionally multilingual context of the Western Cape Provincial Parliament.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The literature reviewed was aligned to the way in which it speaks to the objectives and research questions of this study. Therefore, the development of notions pertaining to language use: both the earlier notions of bilingualism, multilingualism and code-switching and the more contemporary notions of translanguaging, languaging, poly-lingualism, metrolingualism and the marketization of language were extensively reviewed in order to document the evolving nature of the study of language use. As a result of preparing to analyse the multisemiotic manifestos of the political parties, multimodal scholarship was reviewed and accounts for insights involved with reading images, resemiotization, semiotic remediation and intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Also, literature dealing with the concepts of identity, language and power and discourse analysis contributed to the significance of this study as will be more clearly documented in this chapter.

2.2 The development of notions of language use

The early scholarship on bilingualism reviewed highlighted the debateable definition of bilingualism. Dorian (2006) and Kamwangamalu (2006) speak about early notions of bilingualism in Southern Africa and the perceived hierarchy official status creates with reference to languages. Also introduced is the complementarity principle as provided by Grosjean (2006). Bhatia and Ritchie (2006) are also featured as they divulge reasons for language choice and mixing as well as introducing the notion of private vs. public world.

This literature review then moves on with the times and introduces contemporary notions of language use by including the theories of translanguaging, languaging, poly-lingualism,

metrolingualism and the marketization of language is also included as it highlights how language use has evolved from the earlier scholarship referred to.

2.2.1 Early Notions of Language Use

2.2.1.1 Official languages and the perceived hierarchy it creates

As is the case in South Africa, Dorian (2006:439) affirms that “the establishment of a nation-state typically confers distinct advantages on a select language or set of languages, namely any language(s) adopted as official by the state or acknowledged as the official language(s) of a particular province within the state”. For the Western Cape Province, on paper, these languages are Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English. Dorian (2006:440) also highlights that “where the state promotes a particular language as the sole legitimate linguistic medium of national identity and state authority that language typically moves to an unchallenged place at the pinnacle of a hierarchy of utility and prestige among all the languages that may be spoken within the state boundaries”. In particular contexts and specific domains, yet not in all, this is inevitably the case in South Africa, whereby, irrespective of its eleven official languages nationally and three in the Western Cape as well as the many other languages and dialects that are spoken in the province, at times English is the most promoted language, followed by Afrikaans and isiXhosa, and thus enjoys the most prestige.

Dorian (2006:440) explains that “because shift away from a limited-currency minority language to a wider-currency state-promoted language occurs with considerable frequency, it is sometimes asserted that bilingualism is essentially a practical matter, governed by social or economic necessity”. However, Dorian (2006:440) holds that “in most cases this concentration on a single favoured language works to the disadvantage of all other languages, for which neither comparably high regard nor institutional support will be available”.

Kamwangamalu (2006) provides a variety of definitions for official languages. Kamwangamalu (2006:727) makes use of Walker’s (1984:161) definition of an official language which reads as follows, a language “designated by government decree to be the

official means of communication of the given state in government administration, law, education and general public life". In addition, Kamwangamalu (2006:727) provides functions of which a true official language would fulfil as compiled by Fasold (1984:74) and modified by the addition of the latter two criteria by Fishman (1971:288). The following are the functions of an official language, if used "(1) as the language of communication for government officials in carrying out their duties at the national level; (2) for written communication between and internal to government agencies at the national level; (3) for the keeping of government records at the national level; (4) for the original formulation of laws and regulations that concern the nation as a whole; (5) for forms such as tax forms; (6) in the schools and (7) in the courts".

Considering the above mentioned definition, the functions of an official language and the implementation of the three languages, Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English are official languages of the Western Cape. However, English and Afrikaans, respectively are used more predominantly than isiXhosa, if one considers the general public domain, yet Government Gazettes and parliamentary discourses other than the Hansard report are available in all three languages. Kamwangamalu (2006:727) speaks to this phenomenon as he asserts that socio-functionally "the relationship between English and Portuguese and the African languages can rightly be described as diglossic, with the former as the H(igh) language and the latter as L(ow) languages". One of the characteristics of diglossia, says Ferguson (1959) as noted by Kamwangamalu (2006:727), is that "H has more prestige than L and that it has specialized functions and domains of use in the community". Kamwangalu's arguments relating to rigid stratification of language, and in which languages are characterized as autonomous systems are evidently outdated, as is also shown in the next section (2.3).

Due to the evolving nature of all things, including language use, we should move away from the notion of diglossia in that one language is considered "higher" than another because hierarchies are always shifting, they are not concrete. The use of English may be prestigious in one context but can be diminished in another, especially if there are a number of languages deemed official and so many other unofficial languages and dialects used in one space.

2.2.1.2 Bilingualism by conventional definitions and descriptions

The notions of monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism have for a long time and continue to be sources of controversial debates amongst linguists. These notions are prone to cause debate as their definitions are perplexed and their characteristics are not mutually agreed upon. This is evident in discussions surrounding language proficiency; levels of competency in different languages, with respect to reading, writing, speaking, listening and understanding; fluency and actual language use, which include code-switching, stylisation and borrowing. However, Grosjean (2006:34) holds that bilinguals are “those people who use two (or more) languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives” and that they “can be characterised by a number of general features”. In his earlier works, Grosjean (1997) introduces the complementarity principle. The complementarity principle refers to bilinguals usually acquiring and using their languages for different purposes, in differing domains of life, with different people. Grosjean (2006:34) also acknowledges that bilinguals “are rarely equally fluent in all language skills in all their languages. Level of fluency depends in large part on the need and use of a language and of a particular skill”. He differentiates that some bilinguals are still in the process of acquiring another language while others have reached a level of stability, yet they are still bilingual. Significantly, Grosjean (2006:34) states that “the language repertoire of bilinguals may change over time: as the environment changes and the need for particular language skills also change, so will their competence in these skills”. He further substantiates this statement by suggesting that “bilinguals interact both with monolinguals and with other bilinguals and they have to adapt their language behaviour accordingly”.

Grosjean (2006:35) adds to the early academic conversation surrounding bi- and multilingualism. He argues that “some people still feel that bilinguals have and should have equal and perfect fluency in each of their languages (which has been called the two monolinguals in one person viewpoint), others still see language mixing as an anomaly, be it in children acquiring their languages simultaneously or successively, or in adult bilinguals; and others still fail to realise that many bilinguals are also bicultural and that their languages will reflect this dimension”. Interestingly, Grosjean’s (2006) argument here proves viable when considering the sample group of this study. Most, if not all the Members of Provincial Parliament are bi or multilingual by Grosjean’s (2006) definition. Each of them have

differing levels of fluency in Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English. In the Western Cape language mixing can be considered more typical than an anomaly. As Grosjean (2006:35) notes that “language mixing in the form of code-switches and borrowings in bilingual interactions has long been known to be perfectly normal behaviour among bilinguals interacting with one another”.

In retrospect, with which I am in agreement, Grosjean (2006:36) affirms that “bilinguals are speakers-hearers in their own right who will often, not give exactly the same kinds of results as monolinguals. One should be ready to accept this and maybe not always seek alternative solutions.”

Assuming that monolinguals still exist, bilinguals or multilinguals also differ from monolinguals in that they have access to an array of styles in two or more variations as opposed to one (Banda 2009). Ritchie and Bhatia (2006) provide motivations for language choice and mixing. Ritchie and Bhatia (2006:339) suggest that “the bilingual’s pragmatic competence enables him or her to determine the choice of one language over the other in a particular interaction”. This choice is based on a compendium of factors. These factors include as Ritchie and Bhatia (2006:339) list, “with whom (participants: the background and relationships), about what (topic, content) and when and where a speech act occurs, bilinguals make their language choice”. Language attitude including social dominance and security are also factors.

From previous experience with parliamentary discourses, the motivations for language choice listed by Ritchie and Bhatia (2006) underlie the actual language use in the House. Further elaboration is documented in Chapter 5, where the analytical substantiation of the data can be found, in order to make this observation more clear.

According to Ritchie and Bhatia (2006:342) “in bi-/multilingual societies, languages generally do not overlap each other’s discourse domain...some languages are viewed as more suited to particular participant/social groups, setting or topics than others”. Ritchie and Bhatia (2006:342) introduce the notion of public vs. private world. They suggest that “the public language often serves as the “they” code and the private language as the “we” code”. They explain this notion by providing the functionality of the different codes. As stated by Ritchie and Bhatia (2006:342), “the “they” code can be used to perform a range of functions, from creating distance, asserting authority, and expressing objectivity, to suppressing the taboo

of an interaction. The “we” code conveys a range from in-group membership, informality and intimacy, to emotions”.

Prior to analysing the data and reviewing the work of Ritchie and Bhatia (2006) especially their notion of the “they” vs. the “we” codes, I anticipated to find the prevalence of these codes in the parliamentary interaction on which this study is based. Post data analysis, I did in fact find on numerous occasions that Members of Provincial Parliament adopted the “we” and “they” code in the attempt to negotiate identities for themselves as well as those of others.

Ritchie and Bhatia’s (2006:342) lexical choice of “more suited” in their statement that “some languages are viewed as more suited to particular participant groups, settings or topics than others” proves insightful as they do not suggest one language is of a higher status than another or they do not create a linguistic hierarchy as many other theorists have before. Instead, by their choice of words, they acknowledge language not as an autonomous system and reaffirm that hierarchies are always shifting, are not concrete and is in fact a social construction. Language choice is rather a matter of functionality in the particular context in which the speaker finds themselves. This ideology emerged after reviewing the apt notion of translanguaging as explained by Canagarajah (2011). Canagarajah (2011:3) holds that the tendency to adopt binary and hierarchical orientations to language has distorted the integrated nature of multilingual competence and communication”. Canagarajah (2011:3) continues to elaborate on this relatively novice concept that “translanguaging helps us adopt orientations specific to multilinguals and appreciates their competence in their own terms. The notion of translanguaging will be further explored later in this chapter.

2.2.1.3 Code-switching

I cannot continue to discuss the relatively new notions of translanguaging in language use before I acknowledge code-switching. Code-switching has for a long time been considered the linguistic result within a multilingual context, based on the premise that monolingualism is the norm, yet it fails to account for multilingual discourse practices in which language alternation is the norm.

According to Myers-Scotton (1998:99) “code-switching patterns may be indicative of how speakers view themselves in relation to the socio-political values attached to the linguistic varieties used in code-switching”. This implies that language choice and code-switching are indexical of identities. However, Auer (1998) and Jacobson (1998) as cited in Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) suggest that it is pivotal to note that identity is not the only factor influencing code-switching. The mixing or switching of two languages is also attributed to linguistic competencies of the speaker.

Code-switching, if considered as former linguistic practice, solicited much scholarship and debates. Of these include Gullberg, Indefrey and Muysken (2009:21) who provide research techniques for the study of code switching. Prior to establishing the different techniques, they clarify that an understanding of code-switching is required. Bullock and Toribio (2009:1) broadly define code-switching as “the ability on the part of bilinguals to alternate effortlessly between their two languages”. This definition is indeed broad as the notion of bilingualism in itself becomes controversial and debatable (Banda 2009). Bullock and Toribio (2009:i) further defines code-switching as “the alternating use of two languages in the same stretch of discourse by a bilingual speaker.

Bullock and Toribio (2009:1) explain that “the act of code-switching can be studied as a reflection of social constructs and of cognitive mechanisms that control language switching. From the perspective of linguistics, then code-switching is worthy of study for a variety of reasons”. Bullock and Toribio (2009) make it known that there exist many controversies in the study of code-switching as a result of it being approached from different perspectives and therefore making its definition and explanation problematic. However, they focus on code-switching from a linguistic perspective and attempt to define code-switching by identifying who engages in the practice and for which purposes, thus presenting its importance. Bullock and Toribio (2009:2) affirm that “all speakers selectively draw on the language varieties in their linguistic repertoire, as dictated by their intentions and by the needs of the speech participants and the conversational setting”. They introduce the notion of style shifting, which originally referred to monolinguals that were capable of shifting between linguistic registers and dialects in which they are proficient. Furthermore, Bullock and Toribio (2009:2) state that “given the appropriate circumstances, many bilinguals will exploit this ability and alternate between languages in an unchanged setting, often within the same utterance”. Exploring stylization of identities through linguistic choices enables this study to characterise

style shifting as a tool available to bilingual speakers to construct different identity options. It is for this reason that I now steer away from the out-dated notions of language use including code-switching as they are borne out of monolingual discourses which assumes languages are autonomous systems, based on a socially constructed hierarchy and fails to account for the linguistic behaviour of multilinguals.

2.3 Contemporary notions of language use

The earlier notions of language use cannot be entirely discarded as they serve to pave the way as it lays the foundation for the more modern paradigm, in that it allow for critique. In that way, they create a space for more contemporary scholarship to be produced as time passes and discourses change. The following section elaborates on these more recent notions and in that way highlights paradigm shifts within the concept of language use.

2.3.1 Language as social practice

Instead of solely focussing on the system and structure of language use, Heller (2007) considers the site, the resource, integrates the practices and mainly focuses on the speakers and capillary process of language use and language meaning. In particular, Heller (2007:1) moves “the field of bilingualism studies away from a ‘common-sense’ but in fact highly ideologized, view of bilingualism as the coexistence of two linguistic systems, and to develop a critical perspective which allows for a better grasp on the ways in which language practices are socially and politically embedded”. Much like the objectives of this thesis, Heller (2007:1) aims to “move discussions of bilingualism away from a focus on the whole bounded units of code and community and towards a more processual and materialist approach which privileges language as social practice, speakers as social actors and boundaries as products of social action”. Heller (2007) acknowledges that the consideration of language as an autonomous system and its usage as based on a socially constructed hierarchy should be challenged and offers a view that better accounts for the ways speakers are drawing on their resources at a time when boundaries are often deliberately played with. Heller (2007:2) offers “a view of language as a set of resources which circulate in unequal ways in social networks

and discursive spaces and whose meaning and value are socially constructed within the constraints of social organisational processes, under specific historical conditions”. Heller (2007:2) continues to argue that “hierarchies are not inherently linguistic, but rather social and political; language is but one terrain for the constructions of relations of social difference and social inequality”.

Significant to this thesis, Heller (2007:2) explains that:

“a critical social perspective on the concept of bilingualism, combining practice, ideology and political economy, allows us to examine the ways in which that idea figures in major forms of social organization of discourses of state and nation, and therefore tied to the regulation of citizenship and of ethnonational identity, to education, to the role of the state in the organisation of economic activities, and to the construction of what it means to be a competent person on an individual level”.

Heller (2007:7) then critiques the notion of code-switching as she explains:

“the term was largely meant to capture a form of bilingual behaviour which has been thought to allow for particularly fine-grained empirical analysis of the relationship between bilingualism and linguistic theory, that is, what the intersections of codes in bilingual performance can tell us about universals of linguistic structure. The concept of code is clearly related to that of language, insofar as both refer to autonomous and bounded linguistic systems; it has been preferred in the literature largely to make a distinction between large-scale moves from one language to another, and the kind of close relations within utterances or conversations that analysts have wished to understand”.

However, the boundaries between such phenomena are usually fuzzy, and so it is no surprise that definitions of code-switching have been abundant and complicated at the same time.

Heller (2007:9) also critiques the notions of diglossia, as mentioned by Kamawangalu (2006) as she elaborates that “diglossia famously pointed to the ways in which even different varieties of one language could be assigned different functions within a hierarchy of prestige and status, with the ‘high’ language conventionally involving more institutionalized functions

connected to everyday life and relations of solidarity among marginalized segments of the population. The concept seemed applicable to situations where the linguistic varieties in question were conventionally thought of as different languages altogether". Heller (2007:13) then responds to structural accounts, such as Kamawangalu's and state that they "have to take into consideration the messiness of actual usage, and interactional accounts, in order to arrive at useful explanations, they have to take into consideration the situation of speakers in space and time".

In order to provide a means for reorienting studies of language, community and identity, including bilingualism and multilingualism, Heller (2007:13) highlights four sets of concepts to steer away from the autonomous structure and towards process and practice. The first set of concepts deals with "calling into question the nature of some of the foundational concepts in many of the disciplines interested in bilingualism, namely community, identity and language; rather than treating these concepts as natural and bounded phenomena, it has become more common to see them as heuristic devices which capture some elements of how we organise ourselves, but which have to be understood as social constructs". Heller (2007) explains that social constructs by definition have to be constructed and processes of construction can take time and be perplexed because people do not necessarily agree on what to construct or how to construct it, and even if they do, it can take time to find their way there. The second concept Heller (2007:14) elaborates on, entails "looking at language as a set of resources which are socially distributed, but not necessarily evenly, and so speakers have to act within certain kinds of structural constraints." The third set of concepts seeks to "explain why people do what they do, not just in terms of what kinds of resources they can muster, but also in terms of what they do with what they have access to, and why they act in certain ways with them. If the uneven distribution is understood as not random, but rather the product of a history of political economic processes, then the question of the relationship between power, social organisation and material and social ecology comes to the fore". The final set of concepts involves the ways in which people make sense of their engagement in these processes. Heller (2007:15) notes that this area of enquiry investigates the discourses in which processes of attribution of value to linguistic forms and practices are inscribed, along with the processes of construction of social difference and social inequality with which they are associated. "Our ideas about language(s) are, in other words, not neutral; we believe what we believe for reasons which have to do with the many ways in which we make sense of our world and make our way in it".

Before I focus on more recent approaches to language use, approaches built on the premise that language use is not autonomous but rather fuzzy in that it is characterized by hybridity and is a process of social practice, I acknowledge the theoretical framework of this thesis.

2.3.2 Theoretical Framework

As implied earlier, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) describe four approaches to the study of the negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts. These approaches include socio-psychological, interactional sociolinguistic, social constructionist and poststructuralist approaches, of which the combination of the latter two became the theoretical framework of this study.

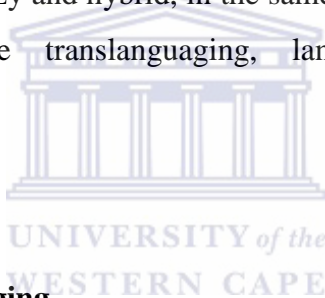
Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:13) note that social constructionist focus on “how languages are appropriated to legitimize, challenge and negotiate particular identities”. Widdicombe (1998:199) illustrates that “identities are linked to discourses and power relations by conceptualizing how individual identities are socially produced by means of available resources”. Analysing the implications of discourses of power was critical to the study of negotiated identities in parliamentary debates.

Another approach which will form the basis of this study is that of the poststructuralist approach to the negotiation of identities. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:10) states that poststructuralist approaches to the negotiation of identities consider “language choices in multilingual contexts as embedded in larger social, political, economic and cultural systems.” Especially beneficial for this study is that the poststructuralist approach recognizes the socio-historically shaped, contestable and unstable ways in which language ideologies and identities are linked to power relations and political arrangement in communities and societies. The most influential factor, resulting in the adoption of the poststructuralist approach is that it highlights the “splits and fissures in categories previously seen as bounded or dichotomous and brings into focus hybrid, transgendered and multiracial identities that have previously been ignored”, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:13). Therefore, using the poststructuralist approach and postmodernism ideologies enabled this study to explore the extent of post-apartheid hybrid, multicultural and transformative identities and accompanying

discourses, which were discouraged during apartheid in which the state prescribed a particular language and identity to an individual.

It is also pivotal to note that this study did not only adopt the poststructuralist and postmodernism approach as its theoretical framework, but also made use of an analytical framework as put forth by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), Iedema (2010), Prior and Hengst (2010) and Heywood (2002). The scholarly insights of these theorists made it clear that, on the basis of the poststructuralist premise, both the negotiation of identity and language use emit notions of hybridity and transformation and can also be explored and investigated through multisemiotic analysis and hence the necessity for a multisemiotic discourse analysis of the political parties' manifestos in collaboration with the critical discourse analysis of the Hansard Report.

I now refocus on the more recent approaches to language use based on the poststructuralist approach that language use is fuzzy and hybrid, in the same way that identity performance is. These recent notions include translinguaging, languaging, metrolingualism and polylingualism.

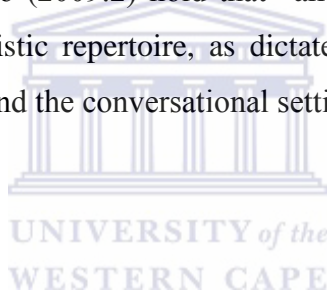


2.3.3 The notion of translinguaging

Canagarajah (2011:1) explains that translinguaging:

“has come to stand for assumptions such as the following: that, for multilinguals, languages are part of a repertoire that is accessed for their communicative purposes; languages are not discrete and separated, but form an integrated system for them; multilingual competence emerges out of local practices where multiple languages are negotiated for communication; competence doesn't consist of separate competencies for each language, but a multicompetence that functions symbiotically for the different languages in one's repertoire; and, for these reasons, proficiency for multilinguals is focused on repertoire building – i.e., developing abilities in the different functions served by different languages – rather than total mastery of each and every language”.

Oftentimes, code-switching is assumed to be practiced in an effort to highlight a hierarchy between the different languages in an individual's linguistic repertoire, as Mesthrie (1996:viii) acknowledged that "in one way or another every variety spoken within the territory (that of South Africa) has been pitted against one or other language and came up winner or loser". At this point I would like to argue that as Mesthrie states that indeed there has for a long time and still is the assumption that one language is better than another and should be placed at a higher position on a linguistic hierarchy. However, ideological paradigms have evolved since then. Canagarajah (2011:3) reveals this idea as he explains "the tendency to adopt binary and hierarchical orientations to language has distorted the integrated nature of multilingual competence and communication. Translanguaging helps us adopt orientations specific to multilinguals and appreciate their competence in their own terms". Thus, it is more an issue of competence and intention for language alternation, than a case of which language is perceived to be at a higher level on the socially constructed hierarchy, as Bullock and Toribio (2009:2) hold that "all speakers selectively draw on the language varieties in their linguistic repertoire, as dictated by their intentions and by the needs of the speech participants and the conversational setting".



2.3.4 The notion of languaging

Also adding to recent approaches and the understanding of language use is the notion of languaging and poly-lingualism as introduced by Møller and Jørgensen (2009). Møller and Jørgensen (2009) speak to current ways of thinking about language use and in that sense broaden the contemporary understanding of language and communication. Møller and Jørgensen (2009:143) explain that "language is a phenomenon with which we can attempt to reach (some of) our goals. Language use is therefore intentional". Therefore, focussing on meaning in communication without considering the intentions of it does not make much sense. Møller and Jørgensen (2009:143) hold that "to only describe and analyze the exchange of words and sounds which are produced by language users who happen to be within hearing distance of each other, however much regularity one can determine, contributes very little to our understanding of why we use language and why we use it the way we do". Thus, this literature cautions against only focussing on what is verbally communicated but also to consider the underlying reasons for language use and what it communicates about the

speaker, listener as well as the context, much like this study focussed on the multisemiotic manifestos and not only the interaction in the House.

Møller and Jørgensen (2009:145) assert that “with the concept of “a language”, and we remember that this is a normative concept, come beliefs about access, rights, and belonging. All of us have access to language. But with the concept of “a language” it becomes possible to think of (a) language as inaccessible to certain individuals. Along with the norms of how “a language” can be used we find norms about who can use it, and to whom it belongs”. This is evident in many societies and especially in outdated paradigms of language use which dictates the notion of “one-to-one association among language, ethnicity, nation and territory”, (Heller, 2007:343). However over time the notion of language use has evolved and we now find, as is the case in South Africa and more specifically the Western Cape, that more than one language is used by one individual to communicate and to take it further, more than one language variety of a particular language is used by that same person. At this point, I want to clarify that the proficiency in the different languages and language varieties used by an individual is not the focal point but rather the intention of using it and whether it is fulfilled or not should be foregrounded.

Møller and Jørgensen (2009:146) explain that “there are also stereotypes about who has access to which linguistic features. Sometimes these stereotypes lead to abstentions from use by people who actually are considered to “have” these features. This happens when they believe that their interlocutors do not”. This insight was clear in the communication event of the parliamentary sitting as there are already established stereotypes of language use by Members of Provincial Parliament, as will become clear in Chapter 5.

Møller and Jørgensen (2009:146) introduce the notion of poly-lingualism and define it as “a term which can be used both at the normative level and the level of use”. They also assert that poly-lingualism is the only concept of those presently used in sociolinguistics which accounts for both the normative and the practical level. Møller and Jørgensen (2009:146) then provide a table explaining the norms of language behaviour which includes the monolingual norm, the double (or multiple) monolingualism norm, the integrated bilingualism (or multilingualism) norm and finally the poly-lingualism norm. Møller and Jørgensen (2009:146) define the monolingual norm as “persons with access to more than one language should be sure to master one of them before getting into contact with the other”. The double

(or multiple) monolingualism norm is defined as “persons who command two (or more) languages will at any given time use one and only one language, and they use each of their languages in a way that does not in principle differ from the way monolinguals use the same language”. Møller and Jørgensen (2009:146) then explain that the integrated bilingualism (or multilingualism) norm is characterised by “persons who command two (or more) languages will employ their full linguistic competence in two (or more) different languages at any given time adjusted to the needs and the possibilities of the conversation, including the linguistic skills of the interlocutors”. Lastly, Møller and Jørgensen (2009:146) explain that the poly-lingualism norm refers to “language users employing whatever linguistic features are at their disposal to achieve their communicative aims as best they can, regardless of how much they know from the involved sets of features (e.g. “languages”); this entails that the language users may know - and use - the fact that some of the features are perceived by some speakers as not belonging together and some features are assumed to belong to sets of features to which the speaker has no access”.

The three former norms have been dealt with extensively in linguistic literature and for this reason I focus on exploring the notion of the poly-linguism norm. The poly-linguism norm is also more current and appropriates language use in the Western Cape as a whole. Møller and Jørgensen (2009:147) explain that “poly-lingualism is also a concept of language use. In poly-lingualism language users (language users) use linguistic features – with their notions of code membership – even when this involves the speakers’ non-access to the code”. Effectively, current approaches to language use want to replace the term multilingualism with polylingualism, however, Møller and Jørgensen (2009) explain there exists a difference between the two, if considering the connotations of the prefix multi-, which in itself is bounded. They clarify that there exist a difference between poly-lingualism and multilingualism, which has for a long time been accepted as the norm when considering the use of more than one language in one context. Møller and Jørgensen (2009:147) suggest “In multi-lingualism a speaker is considered to have access to three or more varieties, and these varieties can be specified. The speaker may use the varieties in different ways and under different circumstances. The integrated multilingualism norm allows simultaneous use of all of them in certain given situations. However, if a feature is used by a multilingual speaker which is not considered to belong to any of the varieties which are specified as the speaker’s languages, it is considered a deviation, an aberration, and the event is described as a (nonce) loan. In poly-lingualism, on the other hand, such behaviour is mainstream language use”.

Thus, even though initially considered multilingual the context of the Western Cape and of South Africa as a whole is rather poly-lingual. Møller and Jørgensen (2009:147) reiterate that “regardless of our social standing vis-a-vis a given code, as human beings, we do not primarily use “a language” or “some languages”, we use language, linguistic features, and we do so to achieve our aims. To describe human linguistic behaviour in this perspective we propose the term languaging, and for the speakers the term languagers”. Therefore, Møller and Jørgensen (2009) sets the landscape in moving away from ancient paradigms of language use and sets the path for more current ideologies on the pervasive practice of communication. Another concept which allows us to think differently about language use is that of metrolingualism as will be explored in the following subchapter.

2.3.5 Metrolingualism

Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) extend the notion of metroethnicity by introducing the concept of metrolingualism. Otsuji and Pennycook (2010:240) define metrolingualism as “creative linguistic practices across borders of culture, history and politics”. Again much like poly-lingualism and languaging, metrolingualism moves beyond terms like multilingualism and multiculturalism as it is “a product of modern and often urban interaction, describing the ways in which people of different and mixed backgrounds use, play and negotiate identities through language”, Otsuji and Pennycook (2010:240). The inclusion of metrolingualism in this thesis is to create awareness that researchers should move beyond common frameworks of language and communication. It also provides insight into contemporary urban language practices and according to Otsuji and Pennycook (2010:240) accommodates “both fixity and fluidity in its approach to language use”.

As is the case in South Africa, Otsuji and Pennycook (2010:243) acknowledge that “current cultural, social, geopolitical and linguistic thinking is predominated by a celebration of multiplicity, hybridity and diversity. Within this thread, terminology such as multiculturalism, multilingualism and cosmopolitanism are taken as focus and a desirable norm in various fields including academia, policy-making and education”. Following Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) it would be more apt to celebrate hybridity, diversity and multiplicity by complexifying them rather than to pluralise language and cultures in a quantitative sense.

Otsuji and Pennycook (2010:244) frame this idea as they state “while we may wish to focus on a multiple, hybrid, complex world, we need both to avoid turning hybridity into a fixed category of pluralisation, and to find ways to acknowledge that fixed categories are also mobilised as an aspect of hybridity”.

In relation to this study, Otsuji and Pennycook (2010:244) caution against this limitation as they note that “it is important not to construe fixity and fluidity as dichotomous, or even as opposite ends of a spectrum, but rather to view them as symbiotically (re)constituting each other. In talking of metrolingualism, therefore, we also intend to address the ways in which any struggle around new language, culture and identity inevitably confronts the fixed traditions of place and being”. Therefore, the notion of metrolingualism highlights the process of social change and cultural, linguistic and social issues involved in creating different languages and identities. In a nutshell, according to Otsuji and Pennycook (2010:252) “metrolingualism therefore can be conceived as the paradoxical practice and space where fixity, discreteness, fluidity, hybridity, locality and globality co-exist and co-constitute each other”.

Acknowledging that there now exist current linguistic literature which moves beyond common ways of thinking of language use and communication, does indeed shed light on the process of social change. The inclusion of translanguaging, languaging, poly-lingualism and metrolingualism has undoubtedly added to the significance of this study as it has provided further insight to contemporary paradigms of language use and identity construction.

2.4 Identity

Although issues related to identity are not new, the concept of identity as an object of sustained study is relatively novel in the space of academe. As Edwards (2009:15) reveals, “it is only in the last few decades that studies of identity have really come into their own”. According to Joseph (2004) it was only in the early 1980s that significant studies focusing on the linguistic aspects of identity surfaced. To gain insight into and to further elaborate on these phenomena, this study considered the literature made available on language use and the

way in which language is used as a linguistic resource within a parliamentary setting in order to negotiate identities.

There exist preconceived notions as to which language or language varieties ought to be associated with a specific person and context. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:1) explain that the negotiation of identities is pervasive in multilingual contexts in that “different ideologies of language and identity come into conflict with each other with regard to what language or varieties of language should be spoken by particular kinds of people and in what context”. Meir and Ehrenburg (1975) as cited by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:1) explain this conflict by stating that “in multilingual settings, language choice and attitudes are inseparable from political arrangement, relations of power, language ideologies and interlocutors’ views of their own and others’ identities.” In South Africa and other countries, English is often seen as a language of power and socio-economic mobility. This means the social order is determined by knowledge of particular languages, in this case, English. In particular contexts, people are thus drawn to the languages of power. Thus, identity options are also offered to individuals through perpetual social, economic and political changes, therefore legitimizing ideologies and adding value to particular identities and the languages associated with them in specific domains.

Within the new democracy, more freedoms are available and these liberties legitimize the already existing diversity in South Africa as a whole as well as in the Western Cape Provincial Parliament. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) acknowledge that cultural and linguistic diversity is increasing progressively and that the range of identity options is becoming considerably wider. They also express their concern about the ways in which languages are at times used to marginalize and disempower particular individuals or minority groups. As is clear in the parliamentary sitting, in which particular languages are used as weapons to disempower a member from a different political party.

2.4.1 The Negotiation of identity

Even though South Africa’s constitution boasts a multilingual state in which all its official languages are treated equally, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:3) affirm that “the fact that

language and language ideologies are anything but neutral, is especially visible in multilingual societies where some languages and identity options are, in unforgettable Orwellian words, ‘more equal than others’.” For this reason, negotiation is not necessarily a logical outcome. This study looks into the negotiation of identities of members of the Western Cape Provincial Parliament in a multilingual setting of a parliamentary sitting, “where some identity options are more valued than others and where individuals and minority groups may appeal to or resist particular languages, language varieties or linguistic forms in the struggle to claim the rights to particular identities and resist others that are imposed on them”. (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004:3).

Davies and Harré (1990) provide a method of analysing how identities are shaped, produced and negotiated, known as the positioning theory. According to Davies and Harré (1990:48) positioning “is the process by which selves are located in conversation as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines, informed by particular discourses.” There exist two types of positioning, namely: interactive positioning and reflective positioning. On the one hand, interactive positioning occurs when one individual positions another and on the other hand, reflective positioning refers to the positioning of oneself. This study adopts the positioning theory in its analysis of the Hansard report in investigating the negotiation of identities, either by oneself or another. Interestingly, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:20) hold that “instances of reflective positioning are often contested by others and many individuals find themselves in continuous tension between self-chosen identities and others’ attempts to position them differently”.

Positioning could be considered to be a form of othering, as Dervin (2011:187) explains that, “just like stereotyping, othering allows individuals to construct sameness and difference and to affirm their own identity. Thus, othering is not just about the other but also about the self”. Dervin (2011:187) also foregrounds Gillespie (2006) as he holds that othering leads people towards a widespread tendency to differentiate in-group from out-group and self from other in such a way as to reinforce and protect self”.

Similarly to the positioning theory, Jensen (2009:8) suggests that “otherness is a fundamental category of human thought. This is that no group ever sets itself up as the one without at once setting up the other over against itself”. Jensen (2009:11) then adds that “the other is always the other as inferior, not as fascinating”. It is also worth noting that the concept of othering is basically binary as it is based on the dichotomy of the first and the other, rather than that

which transcends these binaries”. Lastly, Jensen (2009:12) mentions the ideology of Riggins (1997:10) which carries much bearing on this study, “the question of whether or not these representations have some kind of validity is bracketed, hence othering tells more about those who do the othering than those who are being othered”.

2.4.2 Identity in discourse

Echoing the reflective positioning theory, Cameron (2001:170) affirms that “whatever we do with words, when we speak we are telling our listeners something about ourselves”. Therefore, Cameron (2001) implies as has been taught in many a linguistic class, that language use is an act of identity. However, early studies on language and identity, assumed that the way in which individuals used language reflected their identities they already had. Conversely, this theory is challenged by poststructuralists as they hold that as Cameron (2001:170) explains “a person’s identity is not something fixed, stable and unitary that they acquire early in life and possess forever afterwards. Rather identity is shifting and multiple, something people are continually constructing and reconstructing in their encounters with each other in the world”. Cameron (2001:170) appropriately made this more clear by arguing against the notion that “we do A, B and C because we ‘are’ X, Y and Z”, but rather to understand that in actual fact “it is in doing X, Y and Z that we become or construct ourselves as A, B and C”.

2.5 Negotiating identity through multisemiotic language use

Owing to the fact that there exist recent and more contemporary approaches to language use in terms of languaging and polylingualism, there also exist more current ideologies on multisemiotic features which also play a role in communication. The inclusion of multisemiotic scholarship is beneficial for this thesis in that language in terms of its written (textual) discourse and verbal (spoken) discourse is not the only means of communicating. However, communication and negotiating identities can be achieved through multisemiotic means as well. This subchapter serves as a theoretical framework to account for semiotic resources used by political parties to negotiate their identities. These semiotic resources

include branded pamphlets and brochures and more mainstream, of which I analysed, political manifestos.

I now explore how identities are negotiated and constructed through language use by referring to the concepts of semiotic remediation and resemiotization as they are relatively novice terms focussing on the same phenomena of intertextuality and interdiscursivity, yet further explore the reusing of prior discourses in communication in order to position participants within a given communicative event.

2.5.1 Semiotic remediation

Prior and Hengst (2010:1) define remediation as drawing attention “to the diverse ways that humans’ and nonhumans’ semiotic performances (historical and imagined) are re-presented and reused across modes, media and chains of activity”. With this definition in mind, it was advantageous to explore semiotic remediation especially when analysing the manifestos of the DA and the ANC in order to engage with the negotiation of identity through the imagery, texts and discourses used in them.

In earlier times, a linguist would consider the culmination of images, text, colours and different discourses in or on one mode to be multimodal. However, Prior and Hengst (2010) steer away from the former paradigm and makes way for a more contemporary way of thinking. Prior and Hengst (2010:1) note that they “have chosen semiotic rather than multimodal because semiotic signals our (their) broad interest in signs across modes, media, channels and so on, whereas multimodal depends on a definition of mode, which has not yet been clarified in the literature and seems to suggest exclusions”. Their rationale for selecting semiotic rather than multimodal is similar to this thesis’ argument in rather using polylingualism instead of multilingualism as is mentioned earlier, in that its definition has proved cumbersome in the literature and also suggests exclusions. Prior and Hengst (2010:1) go further in describing remediation in that “remediation points to ways that activity is (re)mediated – not mediated anew in each act – through taking up the materials at hand, putting them to present use and thereby producing altered conditions for future action”. This statement proved accurate in the analysis of the manifestos as it applied when considering

how the images and texts could have originated from a different medium, reused in the manifesto in order to garner more votes for the following five years of governance.

It is pivotal to note as Prior and Hengst (2010:1) make clear, “a focus on discourse practice is critical because semiotic remediation is at the heart of sociogenesis (the people-, artefact- and society –making dimensions of all activity) as well as of situated discourse, that is discourse situated both in concrete, historical acts and across extended trajectories”. The notions of discourse in practice and that of situated discourse is further discussed in Chapter 4, documenting the analysis of the manifestos.

Adding to the new ways of thinking of communication, Prior and Hengst (2010:2) explain that “semiotic remediation as practice then is fundamental to understanding the work of culture as well as communication, it calls on us to attend to the diverse ways that semiotic performances are represented and reused across modes, media and chains of activity”.

Not only does the notion of semiotic remediation lend itself out to the analysis of signs but also to the negotiation of identities, which is the premise of this thesis. Prior and Hengst (2010:3) acknowledge that “attention to how signs are used and how they are made one’s own opens up not only a broader, semiotic field of communication, but also the critical questions of sociogenesis –a concept that unites individual learning and social formation as questions of situated and mediated practice”. Prior and Hengst (2010: 3) then bring forth the earlier theories of Voloshinov (1973) and Bakhtin (1981, 1986) with the ideologies that not only was “dialogic activity the ground for communication, but also as the site where people become who they are and where sociocultural formations (church, state, profession, class, social group) are constantly being made and remade”. The earlier theories of Voloshinov (1973) and Bakhtin (1981,1986) together with the contemporary paradigms of reviewed linguists have indeed broadened the understanding of the negotiation of identities through language but also through that of semiotics in that identities are constructed in the making and remaking of social formations.

Prior and Hengst (2010:10) also provided this study with invaluable insight and to an extent offered a methodological input for analysing the manifestos as they suggest “attention to remediation calls for careful tracing of semiotic activity across chains and for a subtle and precise vocabulary for practices of alignment as well as processes of transformation across media, genres and events”. The application of this literature will be further elaborated in

Chapter 4, where it becomes clear that the integration of images, individuals, material and activity into one medium and into continuous historical trajectories.

Of utmost importance and to further understand discourse, semiotic remediation, resemiotization and even the ideas of intertextuality and interdiscursivity, a clear understanding of what practice means is required. Prior and Hengst (2010:11) call on the theories of Bourdieu (1990) in their definition of practice in that they hold “the game-like character of practice as experienced by people immersed in uncertain, temporally unfolding action in concrete settings. Much as discourse is always new but contextualized and contextualizing (or presupposing and entailing), practice too involves the weight of trajectories of history, the emergent qualities of the immediate situation, and the disruptive spark of future goal orientations. Practice, like dialogic approaches to discourse in general, then needs a theory of connection that accounts for the *re-*, for what makes something a repetition, a re-cognition, a re-play, a re-presentation, a re-use. A *re* cannot be *re-* because it involves simple relations of identity (that is, because it is the *same* thing again); instead, the relations that we define as *re-*, very like those that Silverstein (2005) interrogates as *co-* (for example, co-text), must emerge from some mix of indexical, iconic, and/or tropic mappings between events or between entities”.



Thus, encapsulating the pervasive nature of language and communication and also clarifying that this very study, this documented thesis is a result of semiotic remediation and therefore characterised as remediated practice as it commenced with an initial idea, put it into words, gathered previous ideas on the subject, re-cognising their relation to the study, re-using them, repeating them and the generic structure of thesis writing and then creating a re-presentation of the same ideas. For these reasons it is pivotal to explore semiotic remediation in the analysis of the manifestos and the parliamentary sitting as a communicative event because as Prior and Hengst (2010:18) note that “semiotic remediation as discourse practice has implications for the motivation of inquiry for the selections of sites and methods, and for the deployment of methods and means of analysis. It argues that studies should attend to the semiotics that are in (inter)action, not to some predetermined set”. Furthermore, they suggest that semiotic remediation as discourse practice should be used reflexively in research as it provides insight on our own complexities, how research is related to identities and how we understand social contextualization’s of all those involved in our research, including ourselves.

2.5.2 Resemiotization

I now direct attention to the notion of resemitotization, its definition, how it is different from semiotic remediation and how it will be applied to the analyses of the manifestos and actual interaction of the parliamentary sitting.

Coined by Iedema (2000, 2001) resemitotization as suggested by Iedema (2010:139) addresses “the ways that practices transition meanings (the content plane) across different structural phenomena (the expression plane)”. Its notion was built on Jakobson’s (1971) theory of intersemioticity as well as Eco’s (1976) focus on semiotics with expressions planes being another semiotic.

Considering the definition, initially, one would then assume that resemitotization and semiotic remediation could be used interchangeably in that they are synonymous. However, Iedema (2010: 139) explains that “where semiotic remediation privileges the multiple and complex flows through which meanings are mediated and project one another (Prior, Hengst, Roozen, and Shipka, 2006) resemitotization serves to highlight how practices capitalize on making meanings traverse across semiotic modes towards increasingly non-embodied (exosomatic) phenomena”. Therefore, resemitotization deals more with the shift of meaning as a result of semiotic remediation as discourse practices.

Resemiotization also builds on the notion of delinguisticification as coined by Hambemas (1987) and refers to linguistic meaning being reframed nonlinguistically. However, delinguisticification and linguisticification place special attention on language while focussing on semiotic change. Resemiotization rather uses language as a point of departure and elaborates on the principle and the possibility of social change itself. Iedema (2010:142) substantiates and holds that a “more general focus on social rather than linguistic one even semiotic change is that it enables us to engage with what Bourdieu (1994) terms universalization. Bourdieu proposed the notion of universalization to capture the enhanced pragmatic relevance (for broader populace) of semiotic phenomena”. To further elaborate and to relate how resemitotization benefits the analysis of this study, I refer to an example provided by Iedema as it captures the crux of the manifestos analysed. Iedema (2010:142) explains “for example talk may be more negotiable, and so less resistant, than print; print is

generally more negotiable, and so less resistant, than architectural design; and so on. Together, the notions of universalization and resistivity enable us to focus on how possible it is for actors in the here-and-now to contest specific meanings' universality (their generalized meaning) or their resistivity (their resource-intensive expression form)". This will become visible in the analysis of the manifestos as I explore the possible generalised meanings attached to the semiotics used and reused as well as the resistivity of the semiotics presented and represented. Another characteristic of the manifesto as an example resemiotization is found in the literature as Iedema (2010:143) notes that "while resistivity is principally a material characteristic, it can be achieved at the content level as well. For example, it can be realized by transforming talk or writing into visual representation and design, or by transforming design into built construction, and so on. It is also achieved by transforming congruent and personalized kinds of interaction into metaphorical and abstract kinds". This is exactly what manifestos in general intend to do with their choice of discourse. Furthermore, the notion of transforming congruent and personalized kinds of interaction into metaphorical and abstract kinds for example, the "building of the nation" and "the open opportunity society for all" metaphors "backgrounds and sometimes elides specific personal, temporal, and spatial details, anchoring what is meant to a point in space and time that the speaker/writer can identify with, or challenge", (Iedema, 2010:143). The detailed analysis will document how this theory applies to the manifestos as it will also illustrate how "the shift away from the here and now of personal interaction makes the knowledge that pertains to these new abstract forms implicit, assumed and embedded in social practices whose authority becomes distributed more widely across agencies and resources", (Iedema, 2010:143).

Lastly, on the elaboration of resemiotization, would be to consider the notion as a process that restricts and resolves social differences. Iedema (2010:143) holds that resemiotization crucially involves the reconstitution of such resolutions at new levels of semiotic organization whose materiality and arrangement of content downplay difference. Such shifts remove the interaction from here-and-now specifics into a domain where knowledge of such specifics is either assumed or strategically backgrounded and rendered relatively non-negotiable".

Thus, resemiotization can be and will be used in this thesis as a tool to explore meaning shift through semiotic remediation. It will also be used to engage with the meanings' universality, that is the generalised meaning and the resistivity meanings interpreted in the respective manifestos.

2.6 Negotiating identity through visual design

As made clear in the preceding subchapters, another form of communicating is through visual images, and in so doing identities are constantly negotiated. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) provide insight into methods of reading images and therefore their theories are included in this literature review as this thesis deals with analysing multisemiotic political manifestos.

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) explain that visual communication has resources for constituting and maintaining interaction between the producer and the viewer of the image. In the same way the political parties interact with the general public, or more specifically the electorate through their manifestos which are inundated with imagery. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:119) hold that “images involves two kinds of participants, represented participants (the people, the places and things depicted in images), and the interactive participants (the people who communicate with each other through images, the producers and viewers of images), and three kinds of relations: (1) relations between represented participants; (2) relations between interactive and represented participants (the interactive participants’ attitudes towards the represented participants); and (3) relations between interactive participants (the things interactive participants do to or for each other through images”. These relations are further explored in Chapter 4 of this thesis, in which the ideas of Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) are analysed in the manifestos.

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) then suggest that producers use images to do something to the viewer and further elaborate that through images producers either demand or offer something from or to the viewer. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:122) explain that represented participants “may smile, in which case the viewer is asked to enter into a relation of social affinity with them; they may stare at the viewer with cold disdain, in which case the viewer is asked to relate to them, perhaps, as an inferior relates to a superior, they may seductively pout at the viewer, in which case the viewer is asked to desire them. The same applies to gestures, a hand can point at the viewer in a visual, “Hey, you there, I mean you”, or invite the viewer to come closer, or hold the viewer at bay with a defensive gesture”. In each case the image wants something from the viewer and therefore these images are called demand images, in the sense that the producer negotiates an identity for the represented participant as well as for the viewer as will be further elaborated on in Chapter 4.

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:124) then explain that “other pictures address us indirectly. Here the viewer is not object but rather subject of the look and the represented participant is object of the viewer’s dispassionate scrutiny. No contact is made. The viewer’s role is that of an invisible onlooker. All images which do not contain human or quasi-human participants looking directly at the viewer are of this kind”. These kinds of images are labelled offer images as it offers the represented participants to the viewers as items of information.

To speak to whether what we see and hear is true, factual or real, or if it’s a lie, or a fiction, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) introduce the notion of modality. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:160) modality refers to “the truth value or credibility of (linguistically realised) statements about the world”. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:160) further elaborate as they explain “modality is interpersonal rather than ideational. It does not express absolute truths or falsehoods; it produces shared truths aligning readers or listeners with some statements and distancing them from others. It serves to create an imaginary ‘we’. It says, as it were, these are the things ‘we’ consider true, and these are the things ‘we’ distance ourselves from”. With this in mind, the modality of the manifestos is further explored in Chapter 4, however it is pivotal to remain cognizant that modality judgements are social, dependent on what is considered real or the truth amongst a particular group and may vary across different social groups who serve as viewers of the manifestos. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:163) aptly puts this statement as they note, “reality is in the eye of the beholder; or rather, what is regarded as real depends on how reality is defined by particular social groups”.

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) also provide a better understanding of reading images as they discuss the composition and the multimodal text of images. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) clarify that different dimensions of visual space, which is best portrayed in the figure below.

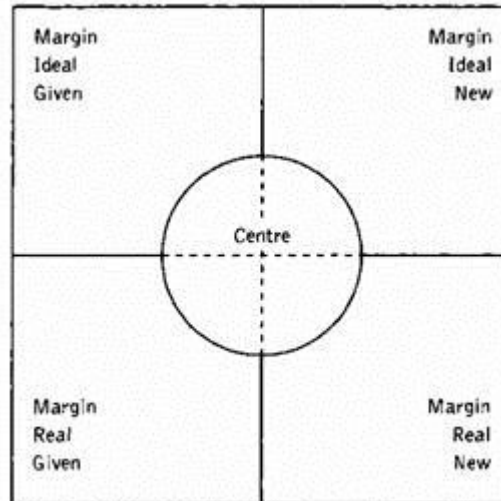


Figure 1. The dimensions of visual space

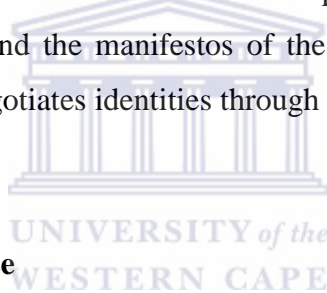
Source: Kress, G and van Leeuwen, T. 1996. *Reading Images: The Visual Grammar of Design*.

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:187) explain that “when pictures or layouts make significant use of the horizontal axis, positioning some of their elements left, and other, different ones right of the centre (which does not of course, happen in every composition) the elements placed on the left are presented as Given, the elements placed on the right as New. For something to be given means that it is presented as something the viewer already knows, as a familiar and an agreed-upon point of departure for the message. For something to be new means that it is presented as something which is not yet known, or perhaps not yet agreed upon by the viewer, hence as something to which the viewer must pay special attention. Broadly speaking, the meaning of the new is therefore ‘problematic’, ‘contestable’, ‘the information “at issue”’; while the given is presented as ‘commonsensical’, ‘self-evident’”. It is important to point out as Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:187) have as they state “this structure is ideological in the sense that it may not correspond to what is the case either for the producer or for the consumer of the image or layout: the important point is that the information is presented as though it had that status or value for the reader, and that readers have to read it within that structure, even if that valuation may then be rejected by a particular reader”. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) also distinguish between the information value of the lower and upper sections of visuals. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:193) explain that “the upper section tends to make ‘emotive’ appeal and show us “what might be”; the lower section tends to be more informative and practical, showing us ‘what is’. A sharp dividing line may

separate the two, although, at a less conspicuous level, there may also be connective elements”. Therefore the upper section is deemed the ideal information and the lower the real information.

Lastly, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) also discuss the difference in the information value of the centre and marginal features of an image. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:206) make us aware that “if a visual composition makes significant use of the centre, placing an element in the middle, and the other elements around it, we will refer to the central element as Centre and to the elements around it as Margins. For something to be presented as Centre means that it is presented as the nucleus of the information on which all the other elements are in some sense subservient”.

The scholarly contribution of Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) have indeed provided this thesis with valuable insight in distinguishing between the different information value attributed to the position of particular features in or on a visual composition and therefore used as an analytical tool to better understand the manifestos of the political parties in an attempt to investigate how the producers negotiates identities through multisemiotic notions.



2.7 Exploring power in discourse

Fairclough (1989) introduces the concept of Critical Language Study (CLS) which as Christopher Candlin, the general editor notes in his preface, “identifies particular areas of language as having the greatest meaning potential for the understanding of the social process, privileging certain options from the whole array of features which are present for analysis”. The simple yet meaningful statement “language is power” constitutes the very crux of this study and thus Fairclough’s (1989) theory on language and power has afforded it with noteworthy insight.

Fairclough (1989) provides theoretical literature on language and power and more specifically focuses on the connections between using language and the associated unequal relations of power. The rationality behind his theory as Fairclough (1989:1) explains is “to help correct a widespread underestimation of the significance of language in the production, maintenance and change of social relations of power”. He also aims to “assist with increasing

“consciousness of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others, because consciousness is the first step to emancipation”. The latter has most definitely contributed as well as motivated the justification of this thesis immensely, in that Fairclough (1989:1) suggests that sociolinguistic studies have generally focussed on describing prevalent sociolinguistic conventions “in terms of how they distribute power unequally, they have not set out to explain these conventions as the product of relations of power and struggles for power”.

Furthermore, Fairclough (1989:2) emphasizes on, as he labels it, “common-sense assumptions...which are implicit in the conventions according to which people interact linguistically, and of which people are generally not consciously aware”. He affirms that these assumptions are ideologies and asserts that ideological assumptions are embedded in certain conventions and “the nature of those conventions themselves depends on the power relations which underlie the conventions; and because they are a means of legitimizing existing social relations and differences of power, simply through the recurrence of ordinary, familiar ways of behaving, which take these relations and power differences for granted.” As a result of language being the most common form of social behaviour, it is closely associated to ideologies. Fairclough (1989:2) explains that in modern society, power is increasingly exercised through ideology, especially through the ideological working of language.

Similarly to Critical Language Studies too, as Fairclough (1989:5) holds, this thesis intended to “analyse social interactions in a way which focuses upon their linguistic elements and which sets out to show up their generally hidden determinants in the system of social relationships, as well as hidden effects they may have upon that system”.

2.7.1 The all prevailing notion of discourse

Johnstone (2008:44) argues that “we cannot observe languages, nor can we study them without making the untenable assumption that our own intuitions about grammar and meaning are exactly the same as those of anyone else who speaks the same language.” However, we can actually only observe discourse as each of us creates different sets of generalisations throughout our lives, dependent on our own different experiences with discourse, “about what the possibilities are for shaping and adapting to the world via

language'. Therefore, the discourse analysis of the Hansard report is an original and unique analysis as it expresses my own interpretation thereof based on my experience with the discourse. The implication is similar for the interaction between the participants of this study as they communicate and construct identities in a somewhat new space of freedom, drawing on different discourses as will surface in chapters 4 and 5.

2.7.2 Intertextuality and interdiscursivity in discourse

Intertextuality and interdiscursivity are linguistic phenomena which permeates through language use. Wu (2001:96) defines interdiscursivity as referring to “the mixing of diverse genres, discourses, or styles associated with institutional and social meanings in a single text”. The phenomena of intertextuality and interdiscursivity have received much scholarly attention in that it is pervasive in language use and communication. Wu (2011:97) explains that “generally, intertextuality refers to the phenomenon that other texts are overtly drawn upon within a text, which is typically expressed through explicit surface textual features such as quotations and citations”. In other words then, all texts borrow from other texts and use such intertextual resources to various extents and for different purposes. Wu (2011:97) also states that “interdiscursivity, however, operates on a different dimension in that it refers to how a text is constituted by a combination of other language conventions (genres, discourses and styles). Thus the difference between these two concepts is that intertextuality refers to actual surface forms in a text, borrowed from other texts; whereas interdiscursivity involves the whole language system referred to in a text. In this sense, interdiscursivity is more complicated because it is concerned with the implicit relations between discursive formations rather than the explicit relations between texts”.

Wu (2011:98) further elaborates that “interdiscursivity is grounded on Bakhtin’s (1981, 1986) notion of heteroglossia. Bakhtin (1981: 291) holds a heteroglossic view that any text is a combination of one’s own voice and the voices of others. Thus we can see heteroglossia is a phenomenon that produces social heterogeneity. Later on, heteroglossia was recontextualized by Fairclough (1992) as interdiscursivity, with the ideological flavour highlighted at the same time. For Fairclough, interdiscursivity is more ideological than heteroglossia in the sense that the tracking of ideology is a more specific task for interdiscursivity than in Bakhtin’s works”.

Wu (2011) also clarifies that texts and utterances are not the writer or speaker's own, they normally consists of other voices from other sources, including genres, discourse and styles from other language conventions, through which interdiscursivity is formed.

Wu (2011) then frames the development of the notion of interdiscursivity as he notes that interdiscursivity is a special kind of intertextuality and explains that interdiscursivity, coined by Fairclough (1992), accounted for the more overarching concept of intertextuality. Fairclough (1992:84) defines intertextuality as “the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth”. Fairclough (1992) then drew upon Bakhtin's (1986) work, and further introduced the classification of intertextuality, namely “manifest intertextuality” and “constitutive intertextuality”. According to Wu (2011:99) “manifest intertextuality refers to the explicit presence of one text in another through the techniques of discourse representation, presupposition, negation, metadiscourse and/or irony. Constitutive intertextuality refers to the mixing configuration of discourse conventions such as genres, activity types, and styles associated with different types of discourse”. In order to highlight that the attention is on discourse conventions rather than other texts as constitutive, Fairclough introduced the new term interdiscursivity to replace constitutive intertextuality.

Also adding to the conversation of intertextuality and interdiscursivity is Bhatia (1995, 2004) from the perspective of business advertising, news reporting, public administration and bureaucratic communications. Bhatia (1995) notes that the phenomenon of mixing personal intentions with socially recognised communicative purposes is characteristic of and widely used in a number of professional domains, resulting in the mixing and often blending of genres and this is referred to as interdiscursivity. Bhatia (2004:392) also defines interdiscursivity as “innovative attempts to create hybrid or relatively novel constructs by appropriating or exploiting established conventions or resources associated with other genres and practices”.

The all permeating linguistic phenomena of intertextuality and interdiscursivity was in fact embedded throughout both the multisemiotic manifestos and the interaction in the House, which took the form of a debate between members of Provincial Parliament on 26 February 2013 and is documented and further explored in chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis.

2.7.3 Discourse and emotional language

Pavlenko's (2005) literature on emotions and multilingualism significantly contributed to this study in that she added Pérez Firmat's questions on bilingual Spanish and Hispanic writers to the academic conversation surrounding bilingualism. Pavlenko (2005:22) states that the questions he posed "are crucial to a full understanding of the phenomenon of bilingualism and yet are unexamined in the scholarly field that studies it". Firmat's questions were as follows, "What is the nature of the emotional bonds that tie individuals to their languages? How do these ties influence self-expression?" Pavlenko (2005:23) then shares personal experiences of how emotional bonds were or are tied to her different languages and then also adds her own question to the conversation and asks "What factors govern code-switching in emotional talk? Are emotion and emotion-laden terms in bilinguals' languages perfectly equivalent or are they represented differently? Do bilinguals have different emotional reactions to their respective languages? Do their emotional bonds influence their language choice? Are their actual feelings affected by the language they speak?"

In anticipation of finding that emotions came into play during the parliamentary sitting, especially since there is a continuous contestation for power which was characterised through the negotiation of identities through positioning, the questions raised above assisted in making sense of the linguistic interaction. Positioning was a common practice in the House and at times participants contested the ways in which they were positioned and the literature reviewed provided by Pavlenko (2005) which deals with emotions and multilingualism better equipped me in my interpretation of the interaction in that I was able to understand it from an emotional perspective. I was aware, as Pavlenko (2005:35) mentions that "researchers continue to frame the issue as the relationship between languages and emotions, leaving out languages of emotions or multilingual performance of affect". Also I was not oblivious to the fact that the participants may perform particular emotions through using language as a linguistic resource and considered this while analysing the data.

Of particular interest in the conversation about emotions and multilingualism is that of vocal cues to emotional expression. Continuous cognizance of the objectives of this study persisted that I cannot only focus on the verbal language use because as a first year Linguistics student should know, language consists of verbal as well as non-verbal communication. The objectives I am specifically referring to here is that of exploring the language practices in a

parliamentary sitting and examining how performative identities are negotiated in parliamentary discourses. Therefore, I considered the theoretical insights of Pavlenko (2005) pertaining to vocal cues to express emotion in a multilingual context. In Pavlenko's (2005:44) third chapter, entitled, "Vocal level: Is the lady angry?" she opens with a story which I feel is useful to share in this study as well.

It is a sunny Saturday afternoon in Philadelphia's busy Chinatown. Outside of a little grocery store, a group of middle-aged Chinese women is absorbed in a lively discussion. Their high-pitched loud voices and staccato rhythm attract the attention of a blonde five-year-old kid passing by with his mother. "Mommy, why are the ladies arguing?" inquires the child. I do not hear her answer and can only hope she will explain that the ladies may not be arguing at all and that in other languages loud voices and high pitch do not necessarily signal anger. But is this in fact common knowledge? What do we really know about ways in which vocal cues signal affective meanings across language and cultures?

Pavlenko (2005:45) suggests that "vocal cues are often seen as the most important type of cues to other people's emotions. We all engage, more or less successfully, in interpretation of these cues on a daily basis". However, Pavlenko (2005:45) goes on to question, with which I agree and have found myself considering oftentimes, "can we always rely on first language patterns of vocal expression in intercultural communication?"

This very question brought me to the realisation that my interpretation of the data may be obscured in that I may not fully rely on my understanding of the cultures of the different members as I am not and have not been acculturated to all of them. For this reason my interpretation of their vocal cues may be miscommunicated as I am not as familiar as a native would be with the normative cues amongst their cultures. However, as Searle (1969) affirmed that in order to master a language one has to master the rules and that in continuous engagement with the language, one is mastering the rules. The same principle then applies in understanding different cultures, and that is that the more one engages with it and members of the particular culture, the better one is able to understand and interpret their practices, which include vocal cues.

Pavlenko (2005:46) reassures objectivity with respect to my interpretation as she provides a summary of vocal profiles in English and German, two languages in which most of the work has been conducted to date. However, it is pivotal to note that the vocal profiles provided

may not be accurate in particular contexts and that the speakers, the situation they are in and their communicative intentions should be considered, as was done in the analysis of the data.

2.7.4 Marketization discourse

When browsing through the manifestos of the ANC and the DA it was prevalent that they made use of business or organizational discourse in their language choice. Simpson and Cheney (2007) refer to this phenomenon as marketization. Simpson and Cheney (2007:191) explain that “marketization is diverse in forms and approaches. It may be considered as a framework of market-oriented principles, values, practices, and vocabularies; as a process of penetration of essentially market-type relationships into arenas not previously deemed part of the market; or as a universal discourse that permeates everyday discourses but goes largely unquestioned”. To the layman the practice of marketization in the manifestos may not be visible as the manifestos are forms of campaigning before elections, documenting the respective political parties’ “promises” if voted for.

It is important to note here that as Heywood (2002:240) explains “the act of voting reflects an expression of self-interest on the part of voter, who selects parties in much the same way as consumers select goods and services for purchase. On this basis, the winning party in an election can reasonably claim that its policies most closely correspond to the interest of the largest group of voters”. Again I reiterate that votes are political currency and the more votes a political party obtains the richer they are in government and the more power they have as government. Heywood (2002) speaks to the notion of votes being political currency as he compares voting to consumers buying goods. Political parties are aware that their policies should speak to the largest population which is the poor and so called black individuals of South Africa and therefore foreground them and their plight in their language use in their manifestos to garner the most votes. Heywood (2002:240) also explains that “rather than ‘buying’ policies, voters are typically poorly informed about political issues and are influenced by a range of ‘irrational’ factors, such as habit, social conditioning, the image of the parties, and the personalities of their leaders. Moreover, the ability of parties to attract votes may have less to do with ‘goods’ they put up for purchase than the way those goods are ‘sold’ through advertising, political campaigning, propaganda and so on”. The manifestos and

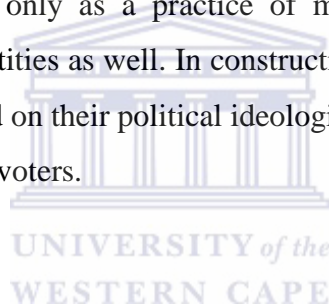
the language use adopted in them are an example of how political parties attempt to attract votes through lexical and imagery selection in their manifestos to ‘sell’ their ‘goods’. Linguistically, this is deemed marketization. Simpson and Cheney (2007:192) hold that “part of marketing’s current success is to be found presumably democratic ethos (or mythos): that is finding out what the consumer wants and providing it to her. Because marketing respects and engages the consumer”. In the case of the manifestos, the consumer is the voter and the political parties the organisation hoping to persuade the voter to vote for a particular political party, with the guise of the voter benefitting.

Simpson and Cheney (2007:193) explain that “it is easy to assert that an area of life or an order of discourse is colonized by market discourse. However, it is far more persuasive to specify levels at which the adoption of such discourse occurs in organizations”. They then provide three levels at which to analyse the adoption of a given discourse like market globalisation. The levels they identify include the common reference point in the everyday functioning of the organisation, the adoption or the appropriations of formerly external practice in distinctively regional, local or even organisation specific ways and lastly the fundamental transformation of an organisation or sector by external influences.

Simpson and Cheney (2007) also introduce the notion of rhetorical criticism as a method for analysing the manifestos. Simpson and Cheney (2007:199) explain that “while the traditional core term of rhetorical criticism is ‘persuasion’, the purview of the method and related theory have expanded in recent decades to include non-intentional and non-specific uses of influence under the rubric of ‘identification’” Simpson and Cheney (2007:200) elaborate and state “rhetorical criticism traditionally focuses on persuasive or potentially persuasive aspects of text: for example, the forms of expressions and communicative intentions of the author, speaker, writer, or rhetor of a given text (Gill and Whedbee, 1997). Rhetorical criticism is concerned with (1) expectations created by the context; (2) what the text presents to a given audience; and (3) features of the text that are significant (Gill and Whedbee, 1997), similar to the relations noted by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996). Analysis includes, for example, circumstances under which the text is written, the author and author’s persona, intended audience; how an *implied* audience is created by the presence of certain ideas, images, and language use, and the absence of others (Wander, 1984); as well as specific textual features”. Therefore in analysing the manifestos this study will adopt rhetorical criticism in

collaboration with resemiotization, semiotic remediation and Kress and Van Leeuwen's ideologies of reading images as tools of investigation.

Fairclough (1992) also provides three dimensions of discourse production and reproduction which the analysis of the manifestos follow. They include textual practice, discursive practice and social practice. Simpson and Cheney (2007:199) cites Fairclough (1992) as he states "analysis at the level of *textual practice* focuses on how the text draws on multiple discourses (interdiscursivity) and the ways in which specific texts are used to construct a given text (intertextuality)". Discursive practices refer to the reproduction and transformation of social identities and relationships and belief systems. Simpson and Cheney (2007:200) explain that "social practice focusses on text interpretation and is concerned with questions about the "extent to which readers . . . are disposed to subscribe to a text's "preferred" reading . . . and how readers actually respond to a text". Thus, framing the motivation and formulation of the analysis of the manifestos, not only as a practice of marketization but in the sense of negotiating and constructing identities as well. In constructing their identities, I anticipated to find that the political parties build on their political ideologies in negotiating their identities in a bid to be more appealing to the voters.



2.7.5 Political ideologies and discourse

To clarify, political ideology refers the ideological style of politics. Heywood (2002:43) defines political ideology as "an action-orientated" belief system, an interrelated set of ideas that in some way guides or inspired political action". The ANC's foundation is built on socialism, while the DA's is on liberalism and this is indexical in their language use in their manifestos and other discourses.

Heywood (2002:43) explains that liberalism "was a product of the breakdown of feudalism and the growth, in its place, of a market or capitalist society. Early liberalism certainly reflected the aspirations of a rising industrial middle class, and liberalism and capitalism have been closely linked". Heywood (2002) continues to explain that over time social liberalism emerged and focused more on welfare reform and economic intervention. This became

known as modern, twentieth-century, liberalism. Heywood (2002:43) provides a range of elements of liberalism, which include: individualism, freedom, reason, equality, toleration, consent and constitutionalism. Of these, I explore the elements of individualism and constitutionalism as they account for the values of the DA as constructed in their manifesto. Heywood (2002:43) explains that “individualism is the core principle of liberal ideology. It reflects the belief in the supreme importance of the human individual as opposed to any social group or collective body”. The liberal objective is then therefore to create a society in which individuals can prosper and develop, individually pursuing “the good” by their own definition thereof.

Considering the element of constitutionalism, Heywood (2002:44) acknowledges that “although liberals see government as a vital guarantee of order and stability in society, they are constantly aware of the danger that government may become a tyranny against the individual (“power tends to corrupt” (Lord Acton)). They therefore believe in limited government. This goal can be attained through the fragmentation of government power, by the creation of checks and balances amongst the various institutions of government, and through the establishment of a codified or ‘written’ constitution embodying a bill of rights that defines the relationship between state and the individual”.

Heywood (2002:46) holds that modern liberalism is “linked to personal development and the flourishing of the individual that is, the ability of the individual to gain fulfilment and achieve self-realization”. Furthermore she continues and states that “modern liberals’ support for collective provision and government intervention has always been conditional. Their concern has been with the plight of the weak and vulnerable, those who are literally not able, once again, to take responsibility for their own circumstances and make their own moral choices”

In terms of socialism, Heywood (2002:51) acknowledges that in its earliest forms socialism “tended to have a fundamentalist, utopian and revolutionary character. Its goal was to abolish a capitalist economy based on market exchange, and replace it with a qualitatively different socialist society, usually to be constructed on the principle of common ownership”. Similarly to liberalism and capitalism, socialism and communism are closely linked. Heywood (2002) again provides a range of elements of socialism which includes: community, fraternity, social equality, need, social class and common ownership. Of these, I explore the elements of community and fraternity as it explicitly applies to the negotiation of the ANC through their

manifesto. Following Heywood (2002:51) “the core of socialism is the vision of human beings as social creatures linked by the existence of a common humanity. This refers to the importance of community, and it highlights the degree to which individual identity is fashioned by social interaction and membership of social groups and collective bodies. Socialist are inclined to emphasize nurture over nature, and to explain individual behaviour mainly in terms of social factors rather than innate qualities”.

Heywood (2002:52) also refers to fraternity as an element of socialism as he explains “as human beings share a common humanity, they are bound together by a sense of comradeship or fraternity (literally meaning ‘brotherhood’ but broadened in this context to embrace all humans). This encourages socialists to prefer co-operation to competition, and to favour collectivism over individualism. In this view co-operation enables people to harness their collective energies and strengthens the bods of community, while competition pits individuals against each other, breeding resentment, conflict and hostility”. The marketization of these political ideologies will be highlighted in the analysis of the manifestos in Chapter 4 of this thesis.



2.8 Conclusion

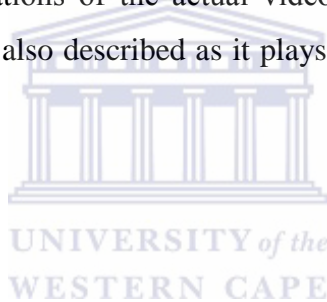
All the above literature reviewed has remarkably contributed, not only to this thesis as a generic structure, but to the understanding of the negotiation of identity through language use, that is verbally as well as multisemiotically. The development of the notions of language use and of identity construction have certainly created awareness of the evolving nature of linguistics and how researchers should constantly aim to produce new knowledge so to keep with the times. As will become evident in the following chapters, the insight provided by these esteemed researchers contributed significantly to the analysis of the data and the conclusions this study draws.

Chapter 3

Methodology and Design

3.1 Introduction

This chapter serves to elaborate on the methodological details of this study. It includes the intrinsic research design as well as the documentation of the process this study underwent in the conduction thereof. This chapter deals with the research context; an elaboration of the research approach; a detailed description of the documents analysed, an explanation of the interview as well as the observations of the actual video footage. Lastly, Searle's (1969) philosophy of language theory is also described as it plays an integral role in how this study was conducted.



3.2 Research Context

This study is based on a parliamentary sitting in the Western Cape Provincial Parliament. As framed in the first chapter of this thesis it was noted that in the apartheid era, much of the Western Cape's population was forcefully removed from their residential areas, in terms of the Group Areas Act 1950, which legitimately placed people of the apparent same race in a particular area. It would be beneficial to note that the members of Provincial Parliament come from different cultural backgrounds, which creates a status quo amongst them aside from the unmarked Rules of the House, however, their allegiance to their respective parties lessens the power distance amongst those of the same party, yet increases the power distance if from another party, especially between the ANC and the DA.

3.3 Phenomenological Research

Gray (2004) provides insight into research methodologies and offers a range thereof. He acknowledges experimental and quasi-experimental research, action research, analytical surveys, phenomenological research and heuristic inquiry. I was more interested in the phenomenological research methodology as it is the approach I adopted in conducting this study. Gray (2004:28) explains that “phenomenology is a theoretical perspective that uses relatively unstructured methods of data collection”. He adds, which I found to be significant, that “one of the advantages of phenomenology is that, because of its emphasis on the inductive collection of large amount of data, it is more likely to pick up factors that were not part of the original research focus”. This is the case with this study as the manifestos of the ANC and the DA became a focal point of the study, even if it was initially expected to play only an auxiliary role. Furthermore Gray, (2004:28) holds that the phenomenological research “is capable of producing ‘thick descriptions’ of people’s experiences or perspectives within their natural settings”. This was indeed proven by this study as will become clear in the following chapter of this thesis. However, Gray (2004:28) cautions that “it is often based upon quite small case studies giving rise to concerns about its generalizability to other situations. This statement created awareness that this study focusses on one provincial legislature out of nine, countrywide, and that I should remain cognizant of this fact throughout this research and only to refer to the Western Cape but also draw on national discourses as a whole as national government has implications for the Western Cape.

Gray (2004:28) also implies that phenomenological research “emphasizes inductive logic, seeks the opinions and subjective accounts and interpretations of participants, relies on qualitative analysis of data and is not so much concerned with generalizations to larger populations, but with contextual description and analysis.

3.4 Document Analysis

3.4.1 Hansard Report (Addendum 1)

Initially, I planned to solely use a Hansard Report of a randomly selected parliamentary sitting in the Western Cape Provincial Legislature in order to investigate how identities are negotiated in a multilingual context. A considerable portion of this thesis was drafted while attending a seminar in Chicago which was aimed at developing this very thesis. As a result of being out of the country and needing the Hansard Report in order to start the analysis thereof, I asked a colleague to send me a final version of any Hansard Report, to which he obliged. Thus, the selection of the used Hansard Report was even more random than initially expected.

As stated before, a Hansard Report is a substantial verbatim report of parliamentary proceedings. Post data analysis I found that the Hansard Report is less accurate in terms of content as well as the generic structure of the transcript, as it omits repetitions and redundancies, corrects obvious mistakes and documents content negligently. Hence the need for other instruments arose, which are described below. The Hansard Report was analysed using critical discourse analysis for the underlying ideologies embedded in the linguistic choices and identity options afforded (Fairclough 1989). This process included coding, in which all relevant information were gathered together by means of a particular coloured highlighter and broader discourses by particularly coloured post-its. The task of analysing the data as bound by a common theme was then made less tedious as relevant information was grouped together.

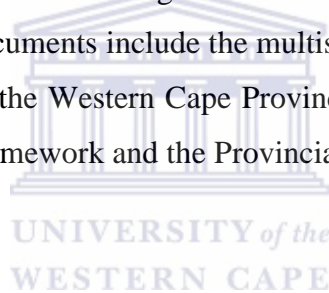
Furthermore, Gullberg, Indefrey and Muysken (2009) explain that different methods and techniques adopted for any study allow for different questions to be answered. This study adopts a naturalistic data method as the Hansard Report is the written recording of naturalistic data, which illustrates languaging and a host of other language interaction phenomena. Gullberg, Indefrey and Muysken (2009) identify problems with this method and list them as costs, accountability and inherent limitations, of which the latter does not pertain to the specificity of this thesis.

With reference to the costs involved with naturalistic data, Gullberg, Indefrey and Muysken (2009) consider the gathering and transcribing of a large corpus of bilingual speech as complicated and costly. To counter the identified problem, I avoided the complicated time consuming task of transcribing as the Hansard Report is an already transcribed report of parliamentary proceedings by experts in the field whom are employed by Transcriptions South Africa. Gullberg, Indefrey and Muysken (2009:23) also note that accountability is also

problematic in that, for various reasons, one of which being anonymity, almost none of the recorded data on which code-switching studies are based are publicly available. Therefore it is not possible to analyse the same material “in order to test the conclusions reached or explore other interpretations”. Fortunately, South Africa is deemed a democracy in which most governmental documentation and proceedings are made available to the public, which allows the basis of this study, the Hansard Report to be accessed by any member of the public for further scrutiny.

3.4.2 Additional Documents Analysed

While analysing the Hansard Report, it became clear that additional document analyses were to be conducted in order to provide more insights into the discourses at play as characterised by the Hansard Report. These documents include the multisemiotic manifestos of the DA and the ANC, the Standing Rules of the Western Cape Provincial Parliament and an analysis of the National Language Policy Framework and the Provincial Language Policy.



3.4.2.1 The Political Parties' Manifestos

Owing to the ideology that communication and negotiating identity can be achieved through multisemiotic means and not solely through written and verbal discourses, a multisemiotic and multimodal analysis of the opposing parties' latest manifestos was conducted in order to gain insight into the wider discourses that shape the discourse in the House during the debate. The opposing parties' manifestos on which I focused on was the 2011 Local Government Manifestos of both the ANC (addendum 7) and the DA (addendum 8). This analysis took the form of both a multimodal and multisemiotic analysis in that the theories of Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996) *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* as well as the notions of resemiotization and semiotic remediation was respectively reviewed to make transparent of what was opaque in the manifestos. Further elaboration of this analysis and the ways in which it applies to the data and actual interaction in the House is documented in chapter 4 of this thesis.

3.4.2.2 The Standing Rules of the Western Cape Provincial Parliament (Addendum 2)

The Standing Rules of the Western Cape Provincial Parliament, labelled Addendum 2 prescribes the unmarked behaviour for the House. The Standing Rules were consulted in the analytical section which is chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis, in order to analyse the ways in which marked language choices and linguistic behaviour are prevalent in the communicative event in order to investigate the negotiation of identities through these choices.

3.4.2.3 The National Language Policy Framework (Addendum 3) and the Provincial Language Policy (Addendum 4)

The Language Policy for the Western Cape was also considered in order to observe the implementation thereof in a parliamentary sitting. The Western Cape's language policy was reviewed in order to gain further insight into its viability and implementation in the House. The goals of the Western Cape's language policy as prescribed therein include: promoting the use of the three official languages of the Western Cape, namely Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English, by the provincial and local governments of the Western Cape; elevating the status and advance the use of those indigenous languages of historically diminished status used by the people of the Western Cape, such as the Khoi and San languages. It also aims to ensure that the Western Cape is a caring home for all by promoting multilingualism; eradicating the serious marginalisation of isiXhosa in the public service by resourcing and promoting the development and awareness of its official status; fostering respect and to protect language rights, thereby avoiding the use of language for exploitation and domination based on gender, race, class, age, religion, culture or sexual orientation, or language that condones violence and to ensure social cohesion and improve relationships by promoting language diversity. The National Language Policy Framework [NLPF] (2002:10) makes reference to treating all official languages equally by stating as a principle "commitment to the promotion of language equity and language rights as required by democratic dispensation".

Much like many other policies, the Western Cape language policy and the NLPF are no different in that it appears to be progressive and spews of equality in its prescription but in

practice, its implementation may not be as prescribed. This study also focused on the implementation of the language policy in the House and how it is used to either promote or restrict specific language preferences in an attempt to construct a particular position.

To emphasize the point that the NLPF and the Western Cape Language Policy appears progressive and promotes equality on paper, yet in reality is contested I refer to Neville Alexander (2002). Alexander (2002:91) notes with reference to South Africa that “in both the interim and the new Constitutions, the equality of languages is hedged with qualifying phrases such as ‘wherever practical’ and at one level, this is an unavoidable and, thus acceptable position”. Alexander (2002:92) then questions the notion of equality and what it really means to the language policy of South Africa, as more South Africans ought to as he states, “we would be guilty of the most cynical behaviour if we did not warn such ‘safety clauses’, allegedly based on technical and economic grounds, are usually the perfect loopholes for reducing the commitment to equality of treatment to no more than lip service”.

Another critique of the notion of equality as prescribed in both the NLPF and the Western Cape Language Policy is the acknowledgement of 25 or more different languages spoken in South Africa, yet only 11 are deemed official. The NLPF (2002:5) states that “approximately 25 different languages are spoken in South Africa, of which 11 have been granted official status in terms of section 6 of the Constitution (Act No. 108 of 1996), on the grounds that their usage includes about 98% of the total population”. That is to say that more than 50% of the languages spoken in South Africa is not accredited with official status and thus makes me question the validity of its proclaimed equal status, as more than 50% of the languages in use in the country is not recognised as official, which does in fact influence its usage. Banda (2009:7) explains that “the proclamation of languages as official, national and non-official imposes a power and status hierarchy not only among the languages, but also among the speakers of these languages. Material resources for the development and use of the languages depend on official designations, meaning that the colonial languages retain the monopoly in terms of national exposure in the media (private and parastatal) as well as in government communication. This has led to distortions in the multilingual landscapes of Africa as it becomes desirable, and even fashionable, for individuals to acquire colonial languages at the expense of local ones”.

This is cause for concern if considering the viability of being a polylingual nation. It is pivotal to note that I do not neglect to acknowledge the attempted justification of the NLPF

with reference to the selection of only 11 out of 25 official languages which is “on the grounds that their usage includes about 98% of the total population”. Here, I question the methodology surrounding the conduction of this research which concludes that “about 98% of the population” uses the 11 official languages. This line of questioning is owed to Banda (2009:7) as he provides the *Ethnologue* (2009) list of languages of Africa. In what follows, I refer to 4 of these for explanatory purposes:

- Nigeria: 10 national/official languages (English plus nine African languages); 521 listed languages (510 living, nine extinct; the status of the other two languages is not stated possibly because *Ethnologue* could not verify whether the languages are extinct or not).
- South Africa: 11 official languages (English plus 10 African languages – or, if one does not regard Afrikaans as an African language, then English, Afrikaans and nine African languages); 31 listed languages (24 living, four extinct; the status of the other three languages is not stated, perhaps for the reason given above).
- Tanzania: Two national/official languages (Kiswahili and English); 128 listed languages (127 living, one extinct).
- Zambia: One official language (English); seven national languages; 72 listed languages/dialects.

The point I hope to make here as Banda (2009:7) holds that “it is not always possible to determine the number of first, second, third, etc. language speakers of a particular language based on census data. The census data impose another restriction on the analysis of particular languages, as the collection of these data is often restricted to colonial geographical borders”.

3.5 Instruments used for data collection

With the context of the study now framed, it simplifies the understanding of its methodological details with reference to the instruments used for data collection. This study made use of four instruments for the collection of data. The first instrument was the Hansard report, which was analysed by means of a discourse analysis, secondly, the manifestos of the ANC and the DA was analysed by means of multimodal and multisemiotic analysis.

Interviewing a Member of Provincial Parliament was another instrument used for data gathering and the fourth instrument was actual observations data of the parliamentary sitting on which the Hansard report is documented. The methodology for data collection is further elaborated below.

3.5.1 Interview

Initially, I planned to interview 5 parliamentarians who participated in the debate. In the process of analysing the data, I selected four (4) participants on a purposive basis as their contribution to the debate added significant value to this study and garnered questions on which I wanted clarity. I then emailed the 4 members on 30 April 2013 requesting their participation in the study. The email read as follows:

Good day Honourable Member

I trust that all is well and this email finds you in good health.

In my capacity as a Master's student at the University of the Western Cape in the Department of Linguistics, I am currently completing my thesis and my study deals with the negotiation of identities in a multilingual parliamentary context. Initially I planned to solely conduct a discourse analysis of a randomly selected Hansard Report as the basis of the study but in the process of analyzing I realized that interviewing a few participants involved in the analyzed debate documented in the Hansard Report would add significant insight to my study.

With this being said, I would like to schedule an interview with you, which will not take longer than 10 minutes at your earliest convenience. The questions will pertain to the parliamentary sitting which took place on February 26th 2013, the State of the Province Debate and deal with your role played in the debate.

Please note that you are not obliged to participate in this research but your input will be greatly appreciated.

I have attached my thesis proposal which has been approved by the Post Graduate Board at the University of the Western Cape for your perusal. Would you be so kind as to respond as to whether you are interested in participating in my research and subsequently a convenient time, date and place in which the interview could be scheduled?

Thanking you for taking the time to read this request.

Warm regards

Stacy McLean

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Due to no response from any of the members, I then formulated the email into a letter and personally delivered them to the offices of the four members and they were received by their respective personal assistants. Thereafter, only two members of the selected four obliged to participate in this study. However, I only interviewed one as there was a lack of correspondence from the other member whom initially obliged.

During the interview that took place on 6 June 2013 with Honourable Bevu, I asked the following questions:

1. How would you describe the hierarchy of languages in the House and why?
2. What is your first language?
3. Is there a reason for choosing to deliver your speech in English?
4. In your speech, you respond with “I don’t know what is happening there” (show footage 37.30). Is that because you didn’t know or was it a way of illustrating that nothing is in fact happening.

Honourable Bevu’s responses to these questions are incorporated in chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis as she speaks to the usage of English rather than isiXhosa, which is as she put it “her mother tongue”.

3.5.2 Observation of parliamentary session

As a result of the Hansard Report illustrating some discrepancies between what is documented and the actual occurrence of events and speech in the House, as well as wanting to avoid critically analysing a frozen style of language, I have not solely depended on the Hansard Report as this study's primary data. As Edwards (2009:29) notes "frozen style is used for declamation and, most commonly, is the form enshrined in print. It lacks participation and interactional clues and it requires no social exchange between speaker (or writer) and listener (or reader). It necessitates care and planning, for one of its great advantages is that when written, it can be consulted with at will". Therefore, I observed video footage of the selected parliamentary sitting as well as the audio recording so to optimally engage with and reflect on the discourses.

Another underlying reason for the observations is to create my own interpretation of the sitting, which proved beneficial when analysing the Hansard report. This choice was guided by the fact that the Hansard report proved less accurate as initially expected as it omits repetitions, redundancies and mistakes, amongst others, which may have indexed particular identity negotiations in the House differently than what is in effect documented in the report.

3.6 Philosophy of Language

Not only has Searle's (1969) philosophy of language provided me with scholarly reassurance of my field of study but also answers what I have been asking before and during the process of analysing and interpreting the data of the Hansard report. I also anticipate having this question posed after the completion of this study as well. Searle (1969:5) poses this question eloquently when he states "now the question naturally arises, how I know that what I have to say is true". He further questions, which rings very true with my own voice, "how do I know the sorts of things about language that I claim to know? Even assuming that I do not need to back my intuitions by appeal to criteria of certain sorts, still if they are to be shown to be valid must they not be backed by something?" In his explanation in answering these complex questions he continues to question. Searle (1969:12) explains by asking, "Is it not the case

that all such knowledge, if really valid, must be based on an empirical scrutiny of human linguistic behaviour?” “How could one know such things unless one had done a really exhaustive statistical survey of the verbal behaviour of English speakers and thus discovered how they in fact use words?” In a more straightforward manner, Searle (1969:12) elaborates that “speaking a language is engaging in a (highly complex) rule-governed form of behaviour”. He suggests that in order to master a language you have to learn to master those rules. Searle (1969:12) then makes the revelation that will forever stick with me and that is that the mastering of the language which is a result of learning to master the rules is “a familiar view in philosophy and linguistics; but its consequences are not always fully recognised. Its consequence is that when speaking as a native speaker, making linguistic characterizations, I am not reporting the behaviour of a group but describing aspects of my mastery of a rule-governed skill”.

3.7 Conclusion



To conclude this chapter documenting the research design and methodological details of this study, I acknowledge the research context, literature justifying the qualitative approach to this research, the selection of documents analysed and instruments used for data collection as cooperatively contributing to the conduction of this study and especially to the significant outcomes thereof. Searle’s (1969) revelation puts into perspective a perpetual observation that language is pervasive, it is all over, part of everyday life and with my acquired linguistic skills, I am continuously analysing linguistic interaction, whether it be verbal, or not.

Chapter 4

Multisemiotic features as a resource for negotiating identity

4.1 Introduction

In what follows, the reader is made aware, through continuous links between the literature reviewed and the manifestos of the ANC and the DA, of how language is used as a linguistic resource to negotiate identities. This chapter documents the analysis of the political manifestos and the following chapters explore the analysis of the parliamentary sitting. This is done as a result of the manifestos framing how identity is negotiated in the House. Therefore, this chapter explores the multisemiotic discourses as characterised by the manifestos and secondly the discourses in the House because language is not the only social semiotic used in the House but there also exist multisemiotic features which negotiate identities as well. The literature review in chapter 2 explored the contemporary paradigms of resemiotization, semiotic remediation, intertextuality, interdiscursivity and the marketization of language. This section now illustrates how these notions are practiced in the manifestos of the ANC and the DA. The use of these novice terms and paradigms, into the ways in which communication is evolving, as investigative tools affords this thesis the opportunity to make once opaque discourses now transparent. In that way this thesis explores how identities are negotiated through re-using, re-presenting, re-mediating and re-producing language.

4.1.2 Political Context

In order to comprehend the analysis of the manifestos using resemiotization, semiotic remediation, intertextuality and interdiscursivity as investigative tools, one first needs a clear understanding of the political context of the time in which these manifestos were distributed. The analysed manifestos were used before the 2011 Local Government Elections in South Africa. At the time the ANC was still the ruling political party in government and the DA the largest opposition party. Even though the DA was the official opposition party nationally,

they governed the Western Cape after winning the majority vote in in 2009. They also had a strong hold in other province's constituencies due to the outcomes of by elections in the different areas. As stated earlier in this thesis, the ANC has a significant history with its role in the struggle against apartheid and bringing about freedom and democracy to South Africa. Since their induction, the ANC's values have been rooted in socialism and communism. As of recent, members of the ANC have tainted the identity of the organisation as a whole as being corrupt, maladministrative and extravagant, a notion which has been publicly broadcasted through various forms of media. The DA has and since its induction been perceived as a political party who caters to the elite white population and will bring apartheid back if voted into government. The DA has built its foundations on the values of liberalism and capitalism as its official website indicates. The 2011 Local Government Elections saw the ANC trying to retain 'lost' votes, while the DA was trying to gain more votes. Again, I point out that votes are political currency and therefore the more votes a political party wins the more power is attributed to them.



4.2 Discourse as shaped by political manifestos

4.2.1 The negotiation of identities through visual communication

Considering the notions put forth by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) pertaining to visual communication, I now show how their ideas apply to that of the manifestos which is in fact a multisemiotic form of communication and negotiates identities for all participants involved.

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:119) explain that images “involve two participants, represented and the interactive participants”. In the manifestos the represented participants are the people, places and things depicted in the images. The interactive participants are then the political parties as the producers and the general public or the electorate as the viewers. In the DA's manifesto the represented participants of the first image is a diverse group of people, unified by blue attire, standing together, looking ahead of them. Even though their faces are not visible, I describe them as diverse from an anthropological perspective and therefore considered the individuals' visible features which include: blonde hair; light

skinned; darker skinned; differing hair texture; height, age, gender and hence came to the conclusion that this is a diverse and racially integrated group of people. The represented participants of the ANC's first page which is characterised by a collage of images includes people working together and building communities through fixing infrastructure, teaching, building roads, children playing in a park, elderly socialising and keeping fit and a child drinking water from a tap.

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) also provide three kinds of relations between the participants. In the case of the manifestos there exist the following relations: relations between the represented participants; relations between the interactive and represented participants, referring to the electorates' attitudes toward the represented participants in the images and lastly, the relations between the interactive participants, that is between the political parties as the producer and the electorate as the viewers.

4.2.2.1 The relations between the represented participants



The first relation is characterised by the relation between the represented participants. In the ANC's first page the relation can be described as unified, building community in that it portrays two men repairing a streetlight, a group of men constructing roads, a unisexed group paving, children playing in a park and a group of elderly people collectively performing physical activities. The relation between the represented participants can be described as empowering, in that there are images of elderly people collectively performing physical activities, children learning with the assistance of modern technology (the computer) and what can be assumed to be a teacher.

On this page the relation between the represented and interactive participants is characterised by the electorates' attitudes towards the pictured participants which could be said to be one of empathy, in that they share the same circumstances based on the viewer being part of the majority of the country, from the working class and previously disadvantaged due to apartheid. In realising the relation between the presented participants and the viewer, I focus on the textual practice used in the ANC manifesto by referring to the following statement, "Our Manifesto is affordable, realistic and achievable. It draws lessons from our experience in government. It builds on the achievements and changes we have brought since 1994". As

stated before, the text draws on marketing discourse but now it is also embedded in historical discourses as framed by apartheid discourse when referring to the changes they as the ANC have brought about since 1994. In drawing on apartheid discourse the ANC then negotiates and almost exploits the identity of being the liberation movement to have ended the struggle during apartheid and therefore uses it as a selling point in order to obtain more votes. This then builds on the social practice as the readers could react to this interdiscursive links as many South Africans have and that is that the ANC will get the vote out of loyalty to the South African struggle against apartheid. The ANC is aware of this and therefore makes discursive links to apartheid and their role in liberating the people of South Africa. Another example of this is evident in “Together we put an end to apartheid, achieved peace and stability, made the lives of millions of our people better, developed the economy, and built a firm foundation for even faster progress. Our country is one of the most stable and growing democracies in the world. And we have made steady progress in building a non-racial and non-sexist democracy”. In this way the reader is made to feel part of the collective based on the painful history of apartheid, the elation of freedom and presently the loyalty owed to the ANC. The ANC may have opted to use possessive and collective pronouns to claim and take ownership of the liberation struggle and subsequently constructing them as the founders of democracy in which we as South Africans find ourselves today. In this way the ANC positions themselves as more appealing to the voter and at the same time negotiates a reflexive identity. In negotiating this reflexive identity by drawing on the mentioned discourses, the poststructuralist approach becomes clear, which is further elaborated at the end of this chapter.

Drawing attention to the DA’s manifesto, I refer to the DA’s vision as it reads, “We call it the open, opportunity society for all. By ‘open,’ we mean a society in which people have the right to be themselves and follow their own path in life. An open society is founded on a bill of rights, the rule of law, democratic decision making, transparency, accountability and tolerance. In an open society, independent institutions protect you from power abuse, the media is free and civil society is independent”. The textual practice of this segment draws on a range of discourses and the ways in which specific texts are re-used to construct this given text. The specific texts it draws on includes the Bill of Rights, which is enshrined in the Constitution, which is the cornerstone of democracy in South Africa. Therefore, building on the discourse of democracy, transparency, accountability as well as constitutionality. Also in drawing on these discourses, the DA markets itself as the alternate to the perceived corrupt,

maladministrative nature of the current government, who was and still is the ANC as they refer to “in an open opportunity society, independent institutions protect you from power abuse”. The DA also negotiates their identity as integrative as they profess an open, opportunity *for all*, which is substantiated by the various images of integration, not only amongst races, but gender, age as well cultures and religion. In using the pronoun “you” in addressing the reader, the reader is made to feel a sense of significance, as a special participant in the communicative event as it appears the DA singles the audience out individually in using “you” and they undertake in expressing both their textual and semiotic practice, to improve the standard of living for the “you”. In the same way as the ANC has negotiated their identity by drawing on different discourses, so has the DA and again through this, the poststructuralist approach prevails.

4.2.2.2 The relations between the interactive participants

The relation between the interactive participants can be realised through exploring the idea that Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) present that image producers may demand or offer something to the viewers. Out of the 10 images in the ANC’s collage, there is only one in which the represented participant makes direct eye contact with the viewer. This image is indicative of a demand image because as Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996:122) note represented participants “may smile, in which case the viewer is asked to enter into a relation of social affinity with them”. Also, indexing images of demand are the two images in the collage which display the represented participants smiling, the one depicting children playing in the park and the one in which three participants are seen discussing a document. By making direct eye contact and smiling with the viewer, the represented participants ask the viewer to relate with them as well as to enter into a relation of social affinity. Considering that this multisemiotic item is a political manifesto in which political parties campaign to obtain more votes, in entering a relation of social affinity through the represented participants in the image, the producer, the ANC creates in the viewer a sense of solidarity, improvement, empowerment and access to basic functional infrastructure, which most voters desire in a democratic nation. Therefore, as Heywood (2002) notes that political parties are aware that their policies should speak to the largest population which is the poor and so called black individuals of South Africa and therefore foreground them and their plight in their manifestos

to garner the most votes. Hence the ANC made use of the represented participants who in a sense mirror the circumstances of the largest population and also their plights and therefore not only do they use demand images but also offer images, in which they offer empowerment through education (images of children learning and older individuals discussing a document), job creation, social cohesion and lastly access to basic functional infrastructure.

The relation between the interactive participants namely the ANC and the electorate can further be realised through Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) notion of the composition and the multimodal text of the images in terms of the different dimensions of visual space and its indexicality of information value. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) hold that if visual compositions are divided into quadrants, the information on the left is considered given, on the right, new, in the top section, ideal and the bottom section, the information can be considered real. On the left of the ANC's cover page, there are images of men repairing a streetlight, fixing and tarring a road, elderly collectively occupied with physical activity, a group of unisexed individuals paving a road and an image of children learning. Due to these images being placed on the left quadrant, it could be said to be the given information. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:187) state that "for something to be given means that it is presented as something the viewer already knows, as a familiar and an agreed-upon point of departure for the message". Therefore, it could be argued that the viewer is already familiar with streetlights being repaired, individuals working in the streets and children learning. The right quadrant is said to hold new information and as Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:187) explains that "for something to be new means that it is presented as something not yet known, or perhaps not yet agreed upon by the viewer, hence as something to which the viewer must pay special attention". The images on the right encapsulates young adults discussing a document, children playing in a park, workers occupied with an underground drainage system and a child drinking from a tap. There is also text on the right quadrant, stating "2011 Local Government Manifesto" which incorporates the new information as it introduces the document and because there has never before been a 2011 Local Government Elections, making this document new as well.

More salient, is the top and bottom sections of the page. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) explain that the top holds ideal information while the bottom keeps real information and this is portrayed in the ANC's cover page. The top section of the page is filled with images as Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:193) explain "the upper section tends to make 'emotive' appeal and show us 'what might be'". The bottom section is filled with ANC branding, their

black, green and yellow colours, their logo and slogan, “a better life for all” and the text, “together we can build better communities”. In including these multisemiotic features at the bottom of the page, the ANC could be said to be showing us “what is”, that is if voted for, together they will build better communities and better life for all, as depicted in the ideal section on top of the page.

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:187) caution that “this structure is ideological in the sense that it may not correspond to what is the case either for the producer or for the consumer of the image or layout”. The DA’s first image does not seem to consider Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996) visual dimension compositions in that the first image does not display any text and is abstract in nature. The image remediates a gathering of some sort as it portrays a diverse group of people, unified by blue attire, standing together, looking ahead of them. Even though their faces are not visible, I describe them as diverse from an anthropological perspective and therefore considered the individuals’ visible features which include: blonde hair; light skinned; darker skinned; differing hair texture; height, age, gender and hence came to the conclusion that this is a diverse and racially integrated group of people. What is salient about this image is that the picture is taken from behind the group, which foregrounds their backs and their faces are not visible. In trying to make sense of the justification for using this angle, the following questions surfaced: why are the groups’ backs faced; why are their faces not visible; what is on the placards; what is their focal point; who are these people; and therefore creating suspense and wanting to know more and thus reading the manifesto further. This could be the intention of the producer, however, in re-presenting this image in this way, (from an initial idea, to an image, and reproducing a discussion around it, or even in a simplistic form, of thinking about and questioning it), semiotic remediation occurred as meaning was shifted. This is drawn from Bourdieu’s notion of universalisation which Iedema (2010:142) acknowledges as capturing “enhanced pragmatic relevance (for a broader populace) of semiotic phenomena”. Iedema (2010:142) also notes that “talk may be more negotiable, and so less resistant, than print; print is generally more negotiable, and so less resistant, than architectural design; and so on. Together, the notions of universalization and resistivity enable us to focus on how possible it is for actors in the here-and-now to contest specific meanings’ universality (their generalized meaning) or their resistivity (their resource-intensive expression form)”.

With contestable meanings of the images used in the manifestos, both the ANC and the DA create a space in which their identities can be negotiated by means of positioning (Davies and Harre, 1990) by firstly constructing an identity for themselves and secondly by the participants who engage with the images. The identities constructed for both parties are based on universality (their generalized meanings) and on resistivity (their resource intensive expression form). The universality of the image on the ANC manifesto expresses the generalized meaning that if voted for, the ANC will “build better communities” and “a better life for all”, therefore constructing a co-operative and almost saviour-like identity for the ANC. This identity construction is further substantiated by the notion of resistivity by including the images connoting the text because as Iedema (2010:143) notes “while resistivity is principally a material characteristic, it can be achieved at the content level as well. For example, it can be realized by transforming talk or writing into visual representation and design, or by transforming design into built construction, and so on. It is also achieved by transforming congruent and personalized kinds of interaction into metaphorical and abstract kinds”. Similarly the notions of universalisation and resistivity are explored in the DA’s image as they position themselves as an integrated diverse party, catering to all people irrespective of age, gender, race, religion and class, as the image denotes this by portraying the diverse group and in this way contesting the stereotypical identity of the DA as an élites party only catering to white people. Iedema (2010:143) explains this re-producing of meaning as he holds “the notion of transforming congruent and personalized kinds of interaction into metaphorical and abstract kinds for example, “the open opportunity society for all” metaphors “backgrounds and sometimes elides specific personal, temporal, and spatial details, anchoring what is meant to a point in space and time that the speaker/writer can identify with, or challenge”.

Whether viewers identify or challenge what is positioned by the producers through the represented participants (both textual and multisemiotic) in the manifestos is known as modality. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) clarify that modality refers to the truth value or credibility of statements about the world. The ways in which the political parties negotiate identities for themselves and that of the viewers can either be accepted as truth or challenged as political scoring in a bid to obtain more votes, depending on what is considered real and credible by the viewer because modality judgements are social and vary across different social groups. Therefore, staunch ANC and DA voters will regard the respective manifestos as credible, as telling their story as it is, while they may challenge the other’s “story” in that

they may differ on political grounds and thus pitch against each other's campaigns in considering their supported party's campaign as the truth and the other as disingenuous.

4.2.3 The semiotization of political ideologies

Paying closer attention to the text, it became clear that even though there are many similarities between the two manifestos, the most prevalent difference was the marketization and therefore semiotization of liberalism in the case of the DA and socialism in the case of the ANC. The use of pronouns, how the electorate was addressed and the ideas of their political ideologies were indicative of this marketization. This is evident in the ANC's use of "we" and the DA's "you". There could be various underlying reasons for this differentiation in pronoun usage in addressing the reader, but the most viable, based on the most emergent theme of political ideology is the parties' values as portrayed in the text.

To refresh, Heywood (2002:43) defines political ideology as "an action-orientated" belief system, an interrelated set of ideas that in some way guides or inspired political action". With that definition in mind, as well as the background information of the ANC and the DA provided in Chapter 1, I highlight how the use of "we" and "you" align the ANC and the DA to their respective political ideologies. The ANC's foundation is built on socialism, while the DA's is on liberalism and this is indexical in their language use in their manifestos and other discourses. In illustrating how the different political parties are guided by their political ideologies in their manifestos, whether intentional or not, in order to reveal what may have been hidden, I explore the notions of liberalism and socialism as they are the most emergent opaque themes.

4.2.3.1 Resemiotizing liberalism: the case of the DA

Heywood (2002:43) provides a range of elements of liberalism, which include: individualism, freedom, reason, equality, toleration, consent and constitutionalism. Of these, I explore the elements of individualism and constitutionalism as they account for the values of the DA as constructed in their manifesto. Heywood (2002:43) explains that "individualism is the core principle of liberal ideology. It reflects the belief in the supreme importance of the human individual as opposed to any social group or collective body". The liberal objective is then

therefore to create a society in which individuals can prosper and develop, individually pursuing “the good” by their own definition thereof. This is evident as the DA manifesto states “this manifesto tells you about the DA’s approach to local government. It shows why the DA is becoming the party of choice for every South African who wants the better life promised in 1994”.

Considering the element of constitutionalism, liberalists often believe in limited government. Heywood (2004) notes that this goal can be attained through the fragmentation of government power, by the creation of checks and balances amongst the various institutions of government, and through the establishment of a codified or ‘written’ constitution embodying a bill of rights that defines the relationship between state and the individual”. The DA constructs their liberal identity through the element of constitutionalism in the inclusion of the following in their manifesto, “By ‘open,’ we mean a society in which people have the right to be themselves and follow their own path in life. An open society is founded on a bill of rights, the rule of law, democratic decision making, transparency, accountability and tolerance. In an open society, independent institutions protect you from power abuse, the media is free and civil society is independent”.

Much like the DA constructs its identity, Heywood (2002:46) holds that modern liberalism is “linked to personal development and the flourishing of the individual that is, the ability of the individual to gain fulfilment and achieve self-realization”. This is visible in the DA leader’s foreword in the manifesto, which reads, “this election is your opportunity to compare the performance of the two main parties in government over the last five years”. And then it is up to you to make a choice. You can choose five years of corruption, inefficiency, poor service delivery and economic decline. Or you can choose the DA”. Heywood (2002:46) also states that “modern liberals’ support for collective provision and government intervention has always been conditional. Their concern has been with the plight of the weak and vulnerable, those who are literally not able, once again, to take responsibility for their own circumstances and make their own moral choices”. Therefore, again highlighting how the liberal identity of the DA is embedded in its manifesto as it states, “By ‘opportunity,’ we mean a society in which people are given the means to use their rights and improve their circumstances so that they can live lives they value. The state recognises its duty to do for people what they cannot be expected to do for themselves. We believe this includes creating opportunities for redress.

We cannot, and do not, ignore the legacy of apartheid. At the same time, we believe every citizen must take responsibility for using the opportunities provided”.

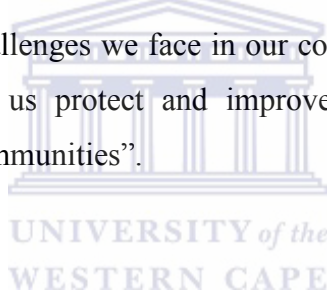
4.2.3.2 Resemiotizing socialism: the case of the ANC

Heywood (2002) also provides a range of elements of socialism which includes: community, fraternity, social equality, need, social class and common ownership. Of these, I explore the elements of community and fraternity as they explicitly apply to the negotiation of the ANC through their manifesto. Following Heywood (2002:51) “the core of socialism is the vision of human beings as social creatures linked by the existence of a common humanity. This refers to the importance of community, and it highlights the degree to which individual identity is fashioned by social interaction and membership of social groups and collective bodies. Socialists are inclined to emphasize nurture over nature, and to explain individual behaviour mainly in terms of social factors rather than innate qualities”. This is evident in the ANC’s repetitive reference to community, for example in the message from the president, “through our direct contact with the people –in villages, townships and suburbs- we have received feedback on the progress” and “the ANC is best placed to carry out this next phase of developing and transforming our cities, towns and villages because of our values and principles, our policies, what we have learnt from our experience in government, and our commitment to ensuring that each community is actively involved in creating better communities”. To emphasize the prevalence of referring to community in their manifesto, the ANC uses the word “community” or its plural form “communities” 83 times in the 16 text based pages of their 20 paged manifesto. This only accounts for the explicit use of the word and does not include the implicit, underlying references made to the notion of community. All the images used in the manifesto also attaches the connotation of the concept of community as it portrays groups together, children playing in parks and people co-operatively working in communities.

Heywood (2002:52) also refers to fraternity as an element of socialism as he explains “as human beings share a common humanity, they are bound together by a sense of comradeship or fraternity (literally meaning ‘brotherhood’ but broadened in this context to embrace all humans). This encourages socialists to prefer co-operation to competition, and to favour collectivism over individualism. In this view co-operation enables people to harness their

collective energies and strengthens the bonds of community, while competition pits individuals against each other, breeding resentment, conflict and hostility”. The notion of fraternity is also embedded in the ANC manifesto as it emerges as a continuous theme throughout. This is evident in the connotations of unity, togetherness, co-operation and reference to the collective. This is prevalent in the images used as well as their catch phrase “together we can build better communities”, their slogan, “a better life for all” and various phrases used in the manifesto, such as “going forward and taking the message of working together, we need to do things differently” and “working together, all our people have united to overcome the divisions of the past and deal with the challenges facing our country”.

Also indexical of the ANC’s socialism identity is the use of the collective pronouns to address the reader in relation to the organization. This is evident in the continuous use of “we”, “our” and “us” throughout the manifesto. For illustrative purposes, I refer to “our manifesto addresses the main challenges we face in our communities”, “together let us build local economies”, “together let us protect and improve our local public services” and “together, let us empower our communities”.



As stated throughout this chapter, the poststructuralist approach to the negotiation of identity, which is the theoretical framework of this thesis, becomes prevalent if considered by Pavlenko and Blackledge’s (2004) description thereof. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:10) state that poststructuralist approaches to the negotiation of identities consider “language choices in multilingual contexts as embedded in larger social, political, economic and cultural systems”. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) also acknowledge that the poststructuralist approach highlights the splits and fissures in categories previously seen as bounded or dichotomous and brings into focus hybrid, transgendered and multiracial identities that have been previously ignored. This becomes transparent when considering the different discourses on which both parties draw upon in constructing their identities. In the case of the ANC their identity is constructed through interdiscursive links with the political discourse of socialism, historical discourses, apartheid discourse and “ANC discourse” which is characterized by “building better communities” and “a better life for all”. With reference to the DA, their identity is negotiated through continuous interdiscursive links with the political discourse of liberalism, democratic discourse, integrative discourse and “DA discourse” which is

characterised by “an open opportunity society for all”. Even though the different parties are using different interdiscursive links to negotiate their identities, there appears to be a common link to transformational discourse embedded in both manifestos. It becomes clear that both the DA and the ANC make use of transformational discourses in their respective manifestos in order to negotiate their different identities. However, the transformational discourses are used for different purposes, in that repurposing of the same discourse is prevalent as the ANC uses the transformational discourses to align their socialism political ideology, while the DA uses transformational discourses to negotiate their liberalism identity. In this way, semiotic remediation occurs because by Prior and Hengst’s (2010:2) definition, “semiotic remediation as practice is fundamental to understanding the work of culture as well as communication, it calls on us to attend to the diverse ways that semiotic performances are represented and reused (and in this case also reproduced) across modes, media and chains of activity.” The blurring of transformational discourses highlights the hybridity between the ANC and the DA to which Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) refer to in the statement that the poststructuralist approach reveals the splits and fissures in categories previously seen as bounded or dichotomous and brings into focus hybrid, transgendered and multiracial identities that have been previously ignored.

It is also pivotal to remain cognizant that in earlier times before politics became digitally savvy, manifestos were verbally expressed, therefore the notions expressed in these multisemiotic manifestos were once communicated orally and thus again illustrates how semiotic remediation occurred in terms of the manifestos.

As a matter of further exploration into the hybrid notion of the poststructuralist approach to the negotiation of identity, I refer to the numerous ways in which the DA leader, Helen Zille, as well as the party have crossed boundaries in categories which have previously been seen as bounded. This is evident in the video labelled Addendum 10 and the two accompanying which depicts Helen Zille in traditional African attire. The video clip showcases the highlights of the DA’s 2011 Freedom Day Rally in which transformational discourses are made transparent in the way that the party, which was once considered to be a “whites-only party” who only caters to the elite, is now supported by so called black voters. Singing songs associated with the defiance campaigns of the 1950s under the rule of apartheid, and dancing in ways traditionally associated with black South African is now not uncommon among White, Coloured, Indian, etc. DA supporters. Helen Zille is also seen and heard to be speaking isiXhosa as she has now become accustomed to do in the House as well. All of

these observations result in the blurring of cultural and linguistic boundaries as well as between party lines, and adds to the notions of hybridity. To further explain, in theoretically adopting the poststructuralist approach, the blurring of boundaries is prevalent in the video clip to such an extent that if one was to close one's eyes and listen to the video clip, one could easily mistake the DA's Rally for one of the ANC. This is indicative of the notion of hybridity mentioned earlier as the ANC, in relation to the DA is a political party with strong contrastive ideologies and policies. This illustrates that there exists a hybrid transformational identity shared by both these parties and thus illustrates how previously traditional bounded or dichotomous identity negotiation is now blurred. Through poststructuralist approaches, focus is then placed on hybrid, transcultural, multiracial and polylingual identities across political party lines that have previously been ignored.

4.5 The negotiation of identity through semiotic remediation

As stated in the introduction of this chapter, this chapter is structured in two parts. Firstly, it explored the ways in which the multisemiotic features portrayed in the manifestos are used as resources for negotiating identity. Secondly, it now transitions into elaborating on the ways in which these multisemiotic features undergo semiotic remediation through interdiscursivity as is made transparent by the language use in the House. This chapter continues as it refers to the actual provincial parliamentary sitting of 26 February 2013 and illustrates how the occurrences in the House of this day apply to the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 of this thesis. It also documents how the interaction in the House is guided by identities portrayed in the previous section of this chapter in which the analysis of the manifestos is established and illustrates how the multisemiotic features of the manifestos are semiotically remediated and linguistically expressed in the House.

4.5.1 Recontextualizing the parliamentary discourse

It is at this point that I acknowledge the different members who participated in the debate in order to frame the context which is not explicitly made available in the Hansard report. The Speakers List is also made available and is labelled as Addendum 9.

For comprehension purposes, I distinguish between the opposition parties and the DA. Currently, the opposition parties in WCPP include the ANC, COPE, and the ACPD. The ID is in support of the DA in the Western Cape Legislature. From the ANC benches, the following members participated in the debate: Honourable Brown, Magaxa, Prins, Magwaza and Skwatsha. COPE is only represented by three members in the House but only two, participated in the debate, namely: Honourable Bevu and Ncedana. The ACDP only has one member in the House and therefore Honourable Haskin represented the ACDP in the debate.

Within the DA's benches, there are Ministers of portfolios as well as Members of Provincial Parliament who are chairpersons of Standing Committees of different portfolios. The Ministers who participated in the debate include Minister Meyer, Minister of Cultural Affairs and Sport; Minister Madikizela, Minister of Human Settlements; Minister Botha, Minister of Health and also the Leader of Government Business; Minister Plato, who is in actual fact an ID member and also the Minister of Community Safety; Minister Fritz, Minister of Community Development and Minister Carlisle who is the Minister of Transport and Public Works. Seated behind the Ministers and participated in their capacity as DA members within WCPP are Honourable Hartnick, Labuschagne and as a DA member from the National Council of Provinces (NCOP), Honourable de Villiers.

With the participating members now introduced, what follows in this chapter is made clearer as one can understand that particular speeches, interactions, challenges, utterances and discourses drawn on are influenced by the specific member's affiliation to their particular political party.

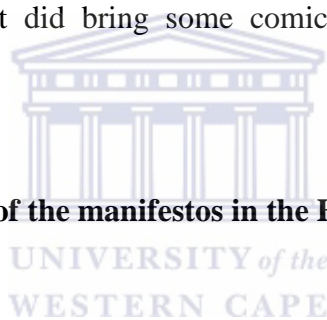
4.5.2 Interdiscursivity

To introduce the prevalence of the notion of interdiscursivity throughout the sitting, I refer to two explicit examples thereof. In trying to outwit each other and in attempting to make their views as clear as possible, Members of Provincial Parliament adopt all manner of speech styles and strategies. Bhatia (2004:392) defines interdiscursivity as "innovative attempts to create hybrid or relatively novel constructs by appropriating or exploiting established conventions or resources associated with other genres and practices". We see this in Honourable Plato reusing aspects of Dr Martin Luther King Junior's speech. Honourable

Plato's utterance "An efficient police service, plus a whole of society approach to preventing crime, can allow us to be free from fear – when our young women can walk home at night without the fear of becoming victims of brutal crimes and our young men have opportunities to reach their full potential and not get caught up in street or fight gangs" (p75) appears to come from Dr. King's "I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the colour of their skin but by their character." Whether Honourable Plato made this interdiscursive link while preparing his speech is unknown, yet I most certainly drew on that very discourse in my interpretation thereof. By drawing on Martin Luther King Jr's speech, Honourable Plato positions a particular identity for himself, one of being reminiscent to that of Martin Luther King Jr., an identity of a visionary, a great man who put the needs of others before his own and struggled against injustices. Therefore, semiotic remediation takes place as Honourable Plato repurposes and recontextualizes the speech for his own and his party's agenda (Prior and Hengst, 2010). At the same time, resemiotization occurred as he usurps Dr King's identity as his own as he wants to be seen as a soio-political visionary and a freedom fighter. As Iedema (2010:139) explains that resemiotization "serves to highlight how practices capitalize on making meanings transverse across semiotic modes towards increasingly non-bodied phenomena". In negotiating this identity through interdiscursivity, Honourable Plato then semiotically remediates Dr King Junior's speech as his own identity and vision.

Again, Bhatia's (2004:392) ideology that interdiscursivity is characterised through "innovative attempts to create hybrid or relatively novel constructs by appropriating or exploiting established conventions or resources associated with other genres and practices" proves viable because in an attempt to position the ANC especially the member who preceded him, in a way that discredits her negotiation of the DA's identity, Honourable Fritz opens his speech by stating, "Mr Deputy Speaker, as I'm standing here I'm thinking of two songs and a poem. The one song is from the group, Swedish House Mafia, and it goes, "Don't worry, son, heaven has a place for you". [Interjections.] "Don't worry, son, heaven has a place for you," (pg. 80). Honourable Fritz exploits a different genre, that of song in his speech. The song infers that regardless of who you are and what you did, heaven has a place for you and in that way Minister Fritz could be implying that even if the ANC is misleading or even lying, heaven has a place for them as is also made reference to in the DA's manifesto as they refer to the ANC and note, "you can choose five years of corruption, inefficiency, poor service delivery and economic decline." By referring to popular culture discourse

Honourable Fritz also reflectively positions himself as “hip”, as cognizant of what the current trends are in pop music and in turn amongst the youth. In this instance, there is evidence of semiotic remediation and resemiotization in the Minister’s utterance. Prior and Hengst (2010:1) define remediation as drawing attention “to the diverse ways that humans’ and nonhumans’ semiotic performances (historical and imagined) are re-presented and reused across modes, media and chains of activity”. The Minister uses a popular song and re-presents it into a speech which he then articulates as a member of parliament. This negotiation of his identity and recontextualization of lyrics significantly adds to his character in his capacity as the Minister of Community Development as he works with many youth organisations and constructs himself as being able to relate to these young people. However, it is worth mentioning that this utterance and form of interdiscursivity is salient in this context as it could be deemed marked within the parliamentary discourse as it is not typical to make use of popular culture references in the House, especially in the way that Honourable Fritz did. On the bright side, it did bring some comic relief to the House which was overwhelmed with conflict.



4.5.3 The semiotic remediation of the manifestos in the House

Johnstone (2008: 166) also adds to the conversation of interdiscursivity and perceives interdiscursivity as “the ways in which discourses draw on previous discourses.” Thus, parliamentarians reuse and refer to the already existing text-types and the discursive practices in which they are embedded. The re-using, re-presenting and re-producing already existing text-types and the discursive practices are examples of intertextuality, interdiscursivity, semiotic remediation and resemiotization.

Post data analysis I found that every DA member, who had participated in the debate, had made reference to either “freedom you can use”, “better together”, “open opportunity society for all”, “redress”, “lives they can value” and “service delivery”, all of which is indicative of both interdiscursivity and intertextuality as they are referred to in the DA manifesto and therefore labelled DA discourse. To quote from the data I refer to where Honourable Meyer says “In the spirit of Better Together, her administration offered three projects to be implemented as part of the National Development Plan” (pg.13). In making this statement, Honourable Meyer blurs the boundaries between DA and ANC discourses as these phrases

appear common with the ANC as well and therefore adds to the notion of hybridity within the poststructuralist approach. He continues “The DA believes, and she believes, that giving the youth opportunities is the key to unlock economic growth and job creation. The DA believes she’s opening opportunities for the youth” (Pg. 14) and he concludes with “Therefore, this government believes in an open opportunity society, but fundamentally we believe in creating the freedom that you can use” (pg. 20). Honourable Hartnick also refers to DA discourse as prescribed in the manifesto as well as their liberal ideology as she states “Our vision for the Western Cape is for an open opportunity Society in which every person has the means, the resources and the power to live a life he or she values. Our government’s ‘slogan is better together’” (pg. 26). She also says, “Another way of giving people of the Western Cape freedom they can use, is the roll-out of the Broadband Project” (pg. 28). Evidently, Honourable Madikizela also draws on DA discourse as he states “In order to build a healthy, prosperous province with opportunity for all, the Premier stated that we speak of a whole of society approach in which government, individuals and communities take responsibility and work together to create success. The only way to support citizens to take responsibility in escaping poverty and breaking away from dependency and entitlement is to grow the economy, create jobs and capacitate them with skills. And in her speech the Premier detailed strategic interventions in areas such as enabling new business, skills development programmes and education interventions” (pg. 41). In specifically stating “with opportunity for all” and “a whole of society approach in government” Honourable Madikizela makes reference to the ANC criticism that the DA only cares for whites and the rich in society by challenging it with the usage of the collective pronoun “all” and inclusive quantifier “a whole of society”. He continues to draw on DA discourse as he states “With their title deeds in their possession, their properties are now freedom they can use” (pg. 42).

Not only did DA members draw on DA discourse as provided in their manifesto in order to perform a somewhat uniformed message and to negotiate the identity of the party as defined by their visions, missions and plans but there is a strong foregrounding of the liberalist political ideology, if considering their utterances in association with individualism and constitutionalism as mentioned by Heywood (2004) and opaquely in their manifestos. Members of other parties also referred to DA discourse but to fulfil a different intention, which was oftentimes to depict the DA in a negative light. In this way interactive positioning occurs in that, as Davies and Harre (1990) explain, interactive positioning occurs when one individual positions another. In this case it would be more accurate to note the interactive

positioning occurring to be that of one party positioning another. This becomes apparent in Honourable Brown's statement (pg. 5), "The Premier tries to prove herself by referring to a so-called "Better Together" and "whole of society" slogans", yet she perpetuates her inherent refugee inclination with at least four different references to people from other areas or countries that may well inculcate an intolerant and xenophobic reaction and further divide our people. Her lip service to nation-building is redundant by her own words veiled with euphemisms like "in-migration". When the moonshine of word-icing evaporates, Speaker, only the refugee tag stays". In drawing on the DA discourse the Honourable Brown constructs a different identity for the DA's leader, Helen Zille, as she rehashes the Premier's "refugee" tweet and perpetuates the construction of Honourable Zille's identity based on this. In March 2012, Honourable Helen Zille tweeted "While ECape education collapsed, WC built 30 schools – 22 new, 8 replacement mainly 4 ECape edu refugees. 26 MORE new schools coming." Since then, her "refugee" reference sparked controversial debate which more often than not was and continues to be spearheaded by ANC members. Honourable Brown also constructs the Honourable Zille as intolerant and xenophobic and as further dividing the people, and by drawing on the DA discourse of "Better Together" and "whole of society" she makes a distinct contrast and in so doing further embeds the identity she negotiates for the Premier as she describes her as intolerant and xenophobic.

Honourable Magaxa also plays on the DA discourse as he states, "One wonders who the colonial handler of this puppet is. Is it the madam who shouts about an open opportunity society – an open opportunity society which is used as a propaganda tool to disguise the DA's racist neo-liberal agenda that subjects our people to continuous poverty and indignity?" (pg. 32). By referring to the Premier as "Madam" the Honourable Magaxa also draws on apartheid discourse as madam referred to what white women were called by black individuals who at the time were considered inferior. In so doing, Honourable Magaxa constructs the Premier as the white madam who as he says, "shouts about an open opportunity society – an open opportunity society which is used as a propaganda tool to disguise the DA's racist neo-liberal agenda that subjects our people to continuous poverty and indignity". By making this statement he also frames his anti-liberal beliefs, foregrounding his and the ANC's socialism political ideology.

There are evidently more examples which can be provided to indicate how the DA discourse is used to shape the interaction in the House. However, the inclusion of examples is limited

due to the prescribed length of this thesis. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that the DA discourse is not only prescribed in the manifesto but also in typical texts, communicative events and behaviour associated with the DA. Of these mentioned, it has become typical of the DA to respond with the failures of national government or even a simple reference to national government and to also refer to occurrences when the ANC was in government in the Western Cape when confronted with issues on which the DA has either not achieved or failed to deliver. This is brought forth in the DA manifesto (page 8) as they note “THE DIFFERENCE THAT DA GOVERNMENT MAKES – THE CASE OF KOUGA. In 2000, the DA took control of the Kouga municipality in the Eastern Cape from the ANC. The municipality was bankrupt and struggling to deliver basic services. By 2002 – within two years – the DA had turned the municipality around. Its finances were sound and services were delivered like clockwork. In 2002, the DA lost control of the municipality to the ANC due to floor-crossing. By 2004 – just two years later – the municipality was bankrupt again”. This is also foregrounded in Honourable Haskin’s speech as he says, “Just because these two figures are higher than in other provinces, and higher than the national average, does that mean that that is good enough?” (pg. 47) and continues after being interrupted “we need to acknowledge that the increase in learner enrolment is outpacing pass rate increases, firstly, and, secondly, it would be more important and more appropriate that benchmarking should not be the poor performances of other provinces; the benchmarking should be the extent to which this government is meeting the needs and the aspirations of the learners themselves, the families, the communities and the economy of the Western Cape which desperately needs education success”.

Even DA members further embedded this discourse. I refer to Honourable Madikizela and Honourable Botha to make this clear Honourable Madikizela says “This is why in 2011 we initiated a study to find out the extent of the problem and we found that under the previous administration, the ANC administration, the title deed delivery hadn’t been done correctly and that over a third, or 36% of the 225 000 subsidy beneficiaries in the Western Cape since 1994, had not received ownership” (pg. 41). Honourable Botha says “The ANC had an opportunity in this province” (pg. 69).

When analysing the data, the ANC discourse was also prevalently drawn upon in order to satisfy particular intentions. Similarly to the DA members drawing on DA discourse to reiterate their commitment to practicing as they preach as declared in their manifesto, so did

the ANC. In manifesting, the ANC negotiated an identity of being pro-poor and this is echoed by many of their members who participated in the debate. One of them being Honourable Magaxa who says, “However, her speech (the Premier) was devoid of any focus on the role of the State in providing decent living conditions to the poor,” (pg. 29). This statement positions Honourable Magaxa and the ANC as a whole as pro-poor and seeking the best for the poor, again foregrounding his and the ANC’s socialist political ideology.

Honourable Magwaza also makes reference to the ANC discourse of being pro-poor as she states, “The DA’s own professed concern that it cares for the poor and unemployed is exposed when most of its inaction and failures are in the areas of inferior services to the poor. A simple example is the dealings with the farmworkers on starvation wages in De Doorns and the frequent violence experienced by this vulnerable group. Not a word is heard of the needs of these people who mostly suffer of malnutrition and whose clinics are closed to punish them” (pg. 79). Drawing on the pro-poor ideology on which the ANC discourse is built on, Honourable Magwaza, in the same way as Honourable Magaxa did, constructs the ANC as only wanting the poor to have better livelihoods, based on the premise of socialism.

However, the ANC discourse of pro-poor is also used by other members, other than the ANC to draw a contrast between what is preached and what is practiced according to the interlocutor, therefore indexical of the modality judgement present in the interaction. In so doing, a different identity is then constructed for the ANC. Honourable Madikizela explicitly states “The reality, Mr Speaker, is this: Government, in fact, not only in this province, has to spend more than R50 billion to rectify the houses that the ANC is boasting about. [Interjections.] Now this shows that the ANC does not care about the poor people even though they claim to care about them. All they care about is chasing numbers so that they can be seen as people who are delivering. That’s the reality” (pg. 39). This statement makes reference to the ANC discourse of boasting and caring about the poor and it overtly positions the ANC as not being who they claim to be. Again, the common assumptions of politicians having ulterior motives come into play. The notion of modality is also present in this interaction, in that being a DA member, Honourable Madikizela does not consider the ANC credible and therefore explicitly expresses this in his utterance.

Overtime the ANC has created a reputation of corruption, maladministration and abuse of power and this discourse is revealed by ACDP member, Honourable Haskin. This is evident

as he says, “Like the ACDP, the DA has vociferously criticised and spoken out against all instances of corruption at a national level and across all provinces” (pg. 45). I refer to Honourable Madikizela’s utterance again as he also draws on this discourse to construct and justify the maladministrative practices of the ANC. He says, “This is why in 2011 we initiated a study to find out the extent of the problem and we found that under the previous administration, the ANC administration, the title deed delivery hadn’t been done correctly and that over a third, or 36% of the 225 000 subsidy beneficiaries in the Western Cape since 1994, had not received ownership” (pg. 41). However, here, Honourable Madikizela positions the current department of Human Settlements, under his leadership, as solution driven by conducting the study to find the problem but he also reverts back to the DA discourse discussed earlier when he implies that it is the ANC’s fault as all the DA’s inadequacies appear to be. Honourable Fritz also draws on the ANC discourse as characterized by corruption as he says “My department is visiting various communities suffering the trauma of brutal rapes and crimes against women. We are engaging with communities so that together we can prevent these horrid crimes, such as those allegedly committed by an ANC MEC, a person in a highly trusted public position” (pg. 72). This statement positions the ANC as harbouring horrid criminals who ought to be a figure the public can trust. Honourable Fritz further negotiates the identity of the ANC as corrupt as he says, “He’s from President Zuma’s inner circle. He served nine months of a three year sentence for killing two people while driving under the influence of alcohol. One person was left seriously disabled in that accident. We know he was released because he’s connected. The law does not serve the poor but serves the elite sitting opposite me. Then they talk about the poor. Stop vulgarising the poor” (pg. 83). In stating this Honourable Fritz explicitly refers to the ANC discourse of corruption and also openly challenges their constructed identity of being pro-poor by assertively stating, “Stop vulgarising the poor”.

4.5.3.1 Remediating the legacy of apartheid

Another discourse which is foregrounded in the manifestos and semiotically remediated in the interaction in the House as Prior and Hengst (2010:1) note that semiotic remediation is “the diverse ways that semiotic performances are represented and reused across modes,

media and chains of activity”, is that of the legacy of apartheid. Both the ANC and the DA make explicit reference to the legacy of apartheid in their manifestos and this is clear when the ANC states “it builds on the achievements and changes we have brought since 1994” and the DA states that their manifesto “shows why the DA is becoming the party of choice for every South African who wants the better life promised in 1994”. Both parties make various references to the legacy of apartheid, but from different angles. The ANC negotiates their identity as having been the sole victor of apartheid in that they claim their actions put an end to apartheid, while the DA maintains that other political parties and forces also played a role in the demise of apartheid. The following section illustrates how positioning is used to negotiate these identities for and from the two different political parties. Here it would be beneficial to remain cognizant that as Davies and Harré (1990:48) explains that positioning “is the process by which selves are located in conversation as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines, informed by particular discourses”.

To illustrate how history is replayed in the House based on the legacy of apartheid as well as in the manifestos. Honourable Brown mentions the “hijacking the Nelson Mandela legacy” when referring to the DA merely emulating the ANC (pg. 4). In so doing she frames the well renowned struggle fighter Nelson Mandela as belonging to the ANC and thus uses the word “hijacking” when referring to one of the DA’s campaigns. The “Know Your DA” Campaign made use of a picture of Helen Suzman and Nelson Mandela to make people aware of the DA’s part in the struggle against apartheid, which is now being challenged by Honourable Brown as she positions the DA as not having a struggle legacy by stating that they hijacked that of Mandela.

In using the word “hijacking” Honourable Brown creates an image that it was forcefully taken and I say this as a South African who is very familiar with the concept of hijacking. More specifically, this image that she creates is an image of demand, as Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:122) explain that “the producer uses the image to do something to the viewer”. In this case Honourable Brown demands something from the viewer; she demands that the viewer enter some kind of imaginary relation with her. In purposefully using “hijacking” Honourable Brown demands of the reader or listener to consider the connotations of the term. In that way, she creates a relation between her, what she is saying and the participant listening or reading her speech. As a listener or viewer, it gives the idea that the DA forcefully took what belonged to the ANC and made it their own, which following

Honourable Brown's use of "hijacking" is unlawful and therefore portraying the DA as common thieves who should be feared and the ANC as helpless victims.

According to Prior and Hengst (2010:10) suggest that attention to remediation calls for careful tracing of activity across chains and for subtle and precise vocabulary for practices of alignment as well as transformation across media, genre and events. Through semiotic remediation, Honourable Brown again embeds apartheid discourse to negotiate identities for both the ANC and the DA when she says "I suppose because of our inferior education or something" (pg. 7). The system of apartheid legislated an inferior quality of education, known as Bantu Education as referred to in the first chapter of this thesis, for black learners and a much more superior quality of education for white individuals. Honourable Brown draws on this discourse to position the ANC as previously disadvantaged and the DA as coming from a privileged background.

Honourable Brown refers to "the poor are reduced to voting cows in the DA kraal" (pg. 8). This statement draws on a farming metaphor to embed a dominant ideology. This ideology draws from the apartheid era, one which the ANC has perpetuated. This ideology is based on the premise that the DA and its senior members are characterised as farm owners and the ANC and the poor as the farmworkers. By drawing on this discourse, she also draws on the protest action which occurred towards the end of 2012 in which farmworkers demanded a wage increase from the Western Cape Government.

Honourable Meyer, also draws on apartheid discourse as he says "The ANC fought for the freedom of the youth, but now that they have that freedom, it prevents the youth from using that freedom. Premier Zille is determined to see that the youth have the freedom they could use" (pg.14). He draws on the apartheid discourse to acknowledge the ANC as the great freedom fighters they once were but he also constructs them as losing sight of their initial goals and now failing to give the youth freedom they can use.

Also drawing on apartheid discourse is Honourable Bevu (pg. 20). She does this in an attempt to create the idea as well as the identity of the province as the most unequal in the country. She achieves this by stating, "Democratic South Africa was born amidst high hopes for the reduction of income, poverty and inequality from their high levels under apartheid. The reality has been disappointing: despite steady economic growth, which we never tire of hearing that it is a little higher than the national average in this province, income inequality

has grown. According to the Oxfam recent report, China, together with South Africa is the country with the highest income inequality, and our province is the most unequal in the land”.

In addition, Honourable Magaxa also refers to apartheid discourse in which he positions DA members. He does so by stating “Whilst you conveniently suffer from collective amnesia about the privileges apartheid granted you as well as your role in defending them – thus denying in your mind that apartheid actually existed – you remain hell-bent on maintaining those privileges at the expense of the poor black majority. Mr Speaker, in this deeply divided province, hon Premier Helen Zille’s DA uses Africans that are poor and opportunists as puppets to entrench the apartheid legacy. They are sitting there” (pg. 32). As I have stated before, Honourable Magaxa draws on apartheid discourse to further construct Africans, who to my knowledge refers to the inhabitants of Africa, irrespective of race or class, who are DA members as puppets who betrayed their race as he did with the Honourable Madikizela. Honourable Magaxa supports the idea of Tiisetso Makhele as framed in chapter 1 of this thesis, in that they both share the idea that the DA or its members to be more specific never struggled in apartheid, they were rather privileged at the “expense of the poor black majority” as Honourable Magaxa puts it. Honourable Magaxa also foregrounds the construction of the DA as Makhele (2013) did as “window dressing” as he refers to the “DA (using) Africans that are poor and opportunists as puppets to entrench the apartheid legacy”.

Lastly, I direct your attention to the interaction between the Honourable Brown and the Honourable Botha (pgs. 68, 69).

MINISTER BOTHA: The hon Leader of the Opposition has again referred to race, and I’m really disappointed that she did this.

The LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION: I will always refer to race.

The MINISTER: When are you going to release yourself ...

The LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION: I’m not scared of dealing with race.

The MINISTER: ... from this intoxicated burden that you are living with? [Interjections.] You survive on your history. [Interjections.] The fact of the matter is, Mr Deputy Speaker, that the ANC ... [Interjections.] ...

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! Order!

The MINISTER: ... had an opportunity ...

The LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION: Race is reality.

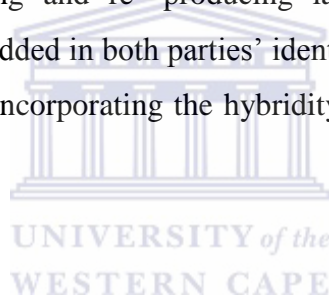
The MINISTER: They had an opportunity in this province – that's also reality.

During this interaction there is an explicit reference made to apartheid discourse, one of which is embedded in racism, history and opportunity. In drawing on this discourse, both participants negotiate identities interactively as well as reflectively. This is an example of positioning by Davies and Harré (1990:48) definition as mentioned earlier. On the one hand, interactive positioning occurs when one individual positions another and on the other hand, reflective positioning refers to the positioning of oneself. On the one hand, Honourable Brown is positioned as always reverting to race as she feels it is a reality and on the other hand Honourable Botha is positioned as having moved away from race and wants Honourable Brown to do so too. It appears, through his negotiation, that racism is in the past and substantiates his claim by stating that the ANC whom Honourable Brown is affiliated to had their opportunity to deal with race but did not.

Simply put, the idea of semiotic remediation and resemiotization are characterised by re-using, re-presenting, re-making and re-producing language in order to achieve particular goals. This analysis serves as re-cognition of these meaning shifts and therefore making opaque discourse transparent by highlighting how the pictures used in the manifestos are results of semiotic remediation which underwent resemiotization and also encapsulates intertextuality and interdiscursivity.

4.5.4 Conclusion

Through the continuous links between the literature reviewed and the manifestos of the ANC and the DA, this chapter explored how the multisemiotic manifestos framed how identity is negotiated in the House. It also showed that language in its written and spoken form are not the only social semiotic used in the House but there also exist multisemiotic features which negotiate identities as well. Together with the literature reviewed in terms of the contemporary paradigms of resemiotization, semiotic remediation, intertextuality, interdiscursivity and the marketization of language, this analytical chapter illustrated how these notions are practiced by the ANC and the DA and how their respective political ideologies are embedded in the multisemiotic features used in their manifestos. In making the opaque transparent, this chapter has elaborated on how identities are negotiated through re-using, re-presenting, re-mediating and re-producing language especially revealing the transformational discourses embedded in both parties' identity negotiations, such as apartheid amongst others and in that way incorporating the hybridity of the poststructuralist approach to identity negotiation.



Chapter 5

The Negotiation of identity through language choice

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 incorporated Heller's (2007) notion that now that conditions are changing, it is possible to challenge the hegemonic view that languages are objectively speaking, whole, bounded, systems and rather to consider languages as a set of resources which circulate in unequal ways in social networks and discursive spaces and whose meaning and value are socially constructed within the constraints of social organisational processes, under specific historical conditions. Chapter 2 also established that English is often seen as a language of power and socio-economic mobility and that people are thus drawn to the languages of power. Therefore, identity options are offered to individuals through perpetual social, economic and political changes, thus legitimizing ideologies and adding value to particular identities and the languages associated with them. I will now make use of the actual Hansard Report to illustrate how the contributed theories play out in practice in this multilingual context. These theories include both the earlier and more contemporary notions of language use. I refer to the earlier notions of language use to illustrate how some of them are still legitimized through 'linguaging' in the parliamentary sitting. I also refer to the more modern notions to pave the way for future considerations based on the evolving nature of communication in identity negotiation.

5.2 Language choice as a socially constructed factor in identity negotiation

Considering Pavlenko and Blackledge's (2004) theory, I distinguished between members' language use in the House. I focused on those who chose to use mostly English as opposed to the languages they predominantly used in the House and those who mostly used their predominantly languages to deliver their speeches during the debate. Referring to members

who chose to use English instead of their predominantly used languages, I elaborate on the contributions by the Honourable Bevu, Magaxa and Marais. With reference to the members who chose to make use of their predominantly used languages in delivering their speeches I focussed on Honourable Haskin, Ncedana and Labuschagne.

I have to acknowledge that I used predominantly used languages rather than mother tongue because I think it is pivotal to mention, as Banda (2009:2) asserts, that “in South Africa there has been a preoccupation with the mother tongue debate”. He elaborates by stating that “an African child is often said to have a singular ‘mother tongue’, which is seen as in opposition to other African tongues spoken in the region or nation. The danger here is that African languages which have existed side by side for significant periods of time, complementing and supplementing each other in multilingual symbiosis, are suddenly cast as competing for spaces. Additionally, multilingual African communities are then erroneously characterised as made up of distinctive monolingual enclaves”. I do not intend to pit any language against another in this section of the analysis as I am too of the opinion that especially in South Africa and more specifically the Western Cape, one has more than one mother tongue, irrespective of the differing levels of proficiency in them, they still account for more than one. I am more interested in the reasons underlying the members’ language choice from either deviating from their perceived mother tongue or maintenance thereof.

In an attempt to test Møller and Jørgensen’s (2009) theory that “there are stereotypes about who has access to what linguistic features, that sometimes these stereotypes lead to abstentions from use by people who actually are considered to ‘have’ these features and that this happens when they believe that their interlocutors do not”. I paid particular attention to the members who deviated from using their ‘mother tongue’; I refer to Honourable Bevu’s speech (pgs. 20, 22); Honourable Magaxa’s speech (pgs 29-37) and Honourable Marais’ turn (pgs 91-96). The selection of these three members is based on the fact that they participated in the debate and especially as a result of them choosing to do so in English as opposed to their predominant language use in the House. The selection of these specific members is on the premise that Honourable Bevu and Magaxa chose English over what is perceived to be their mother tongue, isiXhosa and Honourable Marais chose English over Afrikaans. Here, I recall Møller and Jørgensen (2009:145) as they maintain that “with the concept of “a language”, and we remember that this is a normative concept, come beliefs about access, rights, and belonging. All of us have access to language. But with the concept of “a

language” it becomes possible to think of (a) language as inaccessible to certain individuals. Along with the norms of how “a language” can be used we find norms about who can use it, and to whom it belongs”. However over time the notion of language use has evolved and we now find, as is the case in South Africa and more specifically the Western Cape, that more than one language is used by one individual to communicate and to take it further, more than one language variety of a particular language is used by that same person. At this point I want to clarify that the proficiency in the different languages and language varieties used by an individual is not the focal point but rather the intention of using it and whether it is fulfilled or not.

Honourable Bevu was the only Member of Provincial Parliament who obliged to participating in this study, out of the four members I approached. In the interview she acknowledged isiXhosa as her mother tongue and responded to the question, “Is there a reason for choosing to deliver your speech in English?”, by stating that she feels she is taken more seriously in English and it gets her message across more clearly, yet she feels that a considerable amount of her mother tongue cannot be translated into English and this positions her in a different way. Honourable Bevu’s response therefore proves the insight of Møller and Jørgensen (2009) as prevalent in the parliamentary sitting.

Honourable Bevu’s response also substantiates Heller’s (2007) claim that language should be seen as a set of resources which circulate in unequal ways in social networks and discursive spaces and whose meaning and value are socially constructed. Honourable Bevu’s response also highlights Heller’s (2007) second set of concepts to steer away from treating languages as an autonomous structure and towards process and practice in which she notes that languages should be regarded as a set of resources which are socially distributed, but not necessarily evenly, and so speakers, like Honourable Bevu has to act within certain kinds of structural constraints. Honourable Bevu’s response also accounts for another of Heller’s (2007) claims, in that our ideas about language(s) are not neutral and that we believe what we believe for reasons which have to do with the many ways in which we make sense of our world and make our way in it. Considering Heller’s (2007) claims, it would then come as a surprise that majority of Honourable Magaxa’s speech was delivered in English. I use ‘surprising’ because if one consults prior Hansard reports, one would find that most of his

contributions in the House are delivered in isiXhosa, which could be said to be one of his mother tongues. His language choice in this very debate caused me to question the reasons underlying his use of English instead of isiXhosa, which is his unmarked language choice in the House, if based on the notion that he predominantly uses isiXhosa as a means of delivering his speeches in the context of the House and thus making his English choice marked in this specific situation. Due to him not participating in the study, I am led to assume that the reasons for his language choice in an attempt to negotiate his identity as being linguistically competent in two languages and his choice to use English was made to display this competency. The choice of using English could also show the practicality of the linguistic democracy in the House because he is constitutionally able to use his mother tongue but also has two other official languages available to him. Simply because he can use his mother tongue, does not mean he has to. Lastly, he could have chosen to use English for similar reason as Honourable Bevu did, that is, to have his points understood with his interpretation thereof and not that of the interpreter, if this is the socially constructed value placed on the English language in the House.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:3) suggest “where some identity options are more valued than others and where individuals and minority groups may appeal to or resist particular languages, language varieties or linguistic forms in the struggle to claim the rights to particular identities and resist others that are imposed on them”. Their insight seems to justify why Honourable Marais, who could be perceived as a mother tongue Afrikaans speaker delivered her whole 8 minute speech in English. Considering the observation of her turn from the actual video footage of the sitting (2hrs31mins), it is clear that she found the articulation and pronunciation of some of the English lexicon problematic at times. Delivering her speech in English could be owed to the general ideology surrounding the globalisation of English and the perceived prestige it is esteemed by many as more valued than another language. Another reason for her English language choice could be similar to that of Honourable Bevu to be taken more seriously and to get her message across more clearly and therefore could be said to characterize integrated bilingualism as defined by Møller and Jørgensen (2009:146) as “persons who command two (or more) languages will employ their full linguistic competence in two (or more) different languages at any given time adjusted to the needs and the possibilities of the conversation, including the linguistic skills of the interlocutors”. However, the stereotypical association attached to Afrikaans as being the language of the oppressor in the apartheid era may also be a reason she resisted using Afrikaans, yet opted for the colonial

language of English. Her choice of English could also be as a result of her speech being prepared by a more proficient English speaker as many Members of Provincial Parliament has support staff whose jobs it is to write their speeches and public participant initiatives. To add another justification for her choice of English could be as a result of English also being her mother tongue, in conjunction with Afrikaans, even if it is not used as much. It is advantageous to consider Banda's (2009:4) argument that "in late modern multilingual African societies, rather than "a mother tongue", there are "mother tongues" that constitute speakers' linguistic repertoires".

The reasons given by participants or assumed from an informed perspective echo Ritchie and Bhatia's (2006:339) claim that "bilingual's pragmatic competence enables him or her to determine the choice of one language over the other in a particular interaction". The factors they provide are also reiterated by the language use of those members as they could in fact have influenced their language choice. To refresh, these factors include "with whom (participants: the background and relationships), about what (topic, content) and when and where a speech act occurs, bilinguals make their language choice". Language attitude including social and dominance and security is also a factor. Also Myers-Scotton (1998) adds that the status quo is realised when a speaker makes a marked choice, and opting to speak English as opposed to the one they usually would express themselves with in the House, characterises a marked choice. However, Grosjean (2006:34) acknowledges that "the language repertoire of bilinguals may change over time: as the environment changes and the need for particular language skills also change, so will their competence in these skills". This is evident in Honourable Magaxa's choice to use English which constitutes a marked choice as explained earlier. McCormick (2002) also suggests that speaking English is indexical of being a city sophisticate, as opposed to a "country bumpkin". She adds that if one wants to be perceived as "sophisticated" or even "cool", they must acquire the ability to speak English fluently. Honourable Bevu reiterates this notion as she claims she is taken more seriously when using English. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:5) also remind that languages may be linked to professional, rather than national or ethnic identities as is the case with these members as the choice to use English in their professional domains and not their mother tongues.

Honourable Haskin, Ncedana and Labuschagne chose to use mostly their mother tongue languages, English, isiXhosa and Afrikaans, respectively, when delivering their speeches

during the debate. Despite the reasons underlying the choice of using English by other members as opposed to their mother tongue, as revealed above, as well as the socially constructed prestige ascribed to English, Honourable Ncedana and Labuschagne still chose to use their mother tongue. The reasons for their choice could be as a result of their desirability to maintain their mother tongues. The choice to use their mother tongue as opposed to the option of English, especially in this context, overtly displays the pride they have in their mother tongue. The use of their mother tongue could also be as a result of feeling more comfortable in using it and more confident therein which could be deduced from the contrast visible through Honourable Marais' option to use English and finding difficulty in the unmarked articulation thereof.

Some theorists, such as Kamwangamalu (2006) would argue that the notion of High and Low languages serves as a factor in language choice on the basis that there exists a hierarchy of languages. As Beukes (2009:45) notes: “negative attitudes towards African languages manifest in numerous ways. One of the most ‘visible’ examples of the African languages being relegated to the back seat of public and political life is the minimal use of these languages in both the national and provincial legislature”. The problem with this characterisation is that it is assumed that a language is only important when it is used in official platforms such as parliament. This ignores the fact that languages such as isiXhosa are more widely spoken in communities than English. In addition, it is accredited official status and it is to the discretion of the speaker to choose whether or not to use it. Again, this illustrates as I have mentioned before that in these times individuals are not tied down to mother tongues, they are free to participate in linguistic democracy offered by the language policies. It is more a matter of personal choice to enforce what is scripted in those policies.

Considering the freedom to choose one's preferred language, granted that it is an official language of the Western Cape, one observes that linguistic democracy is practiced in the House during this particular sitting. However, one should not neglect the idea that this may not be the case for other sittings, as issues with interpreters may arise, as has been the case in the past. Conversely, the threat in choosing to use one of the either Afrikaans or isiXhosa as opposed to English, is that their contributions will not be translated into English and in this way made less accessible to the public and researchers alike. They also risk having the content of their speech interpreted inaccurately as not everything can be translated, especially if translated or interpreted by another individual other than the speaker themselves.

5.3 Positioning

Davies and Harré (1990) offer a method of analysing how identities are shaped, produced and negotiated. This method is known as the positioning theory. As stated before, Davies and Harré (1990:48) hold that positioning is “the process by which selves are located in conversation as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced storylines, informed by particular discourses”. I also recap that there exist two types of positioning, interactive and reflective positioning. By Davies and Harré’s definition, interactive positioning refers to one individual positioning another and reflective positioning occurs when one positions themselves.

Positioning, as the following will depict, was prevalent while analysing the data, to such an extent that I am now of the opinion that in the process of positioning, one type cannot take place without the other. When interactive positioning occurs, in positioning another, you are revealing something about yourself and in that way reflective positioning occurs as well. In the same way, reflective positioning suggests that you position yourself and in that way position another, by implying they are not you.

To draw on the data for explanatory purposes, I considered the following utterance by the Provincial Minister of Health and also the Leader of Government Business in the Western Cape, Honourable Theuns Botha (pg. 65),

Minister: Mr Deputy Speaker, we witness every day how the ANC provinces are collapsing. We witness every day the corruption that’s happening. We do not only witness it; we deal with the consequences of it, we pay for it, we provide the services, and we are not complaining about that because we are so glad ... [Interjections.] No, we are not. [Interjections.] We are not complaining about that. We regard ourselves very fortunate that we have the means to look after those people as well, because what would otherwise happen to them? Your government is too pathetic to look after them. [Interjections.] Your governments in the rest of the country are deteriorating. You are falling apart. You are collapsing. It is a fact in this country. [Interjections.]

It is clear that the Minister is constructing the ANC provinces, as failed, filled with corruption and in that way reflectively positioning the Western Cape as not and as providing services

and as fortunate. Also note how the Minister positions himself with the governing party in the Western Cape as he uses “we” to construct allegiance and distances himself from the ANC provinces, by making use of “your” and “you”.

This phenomenon is further entrenched by Ritchie and Bhatia (2006) as they make reference to the notion of public vs. private world, which is used to label the “we” and “they” code. As stated by Ritchie and Bhatia (2006:342) “the “they” code can be used to perform a range of functions, from creating distance, asserting authority, and expressing objectivity, to suppressing the tabooess of an interaction. The “we” code conveys a range from in-group membership, informality and intimacy, to emotions”.

An illustrative example of the “we” and the “they” code is also evident whereby Minister Madikizela says, “The reality of situation as I’m standing here is that we need to spend billions of rands on rectifying those houses, because they were busy chasing numbers. [Interjections.] That’s the reality of the situation, Mr Speaker. [Interjections.]” (pg. 34). In this utterance Minister Madikizela uses “we” as a linguistic resource to negotiate allegiance to the DA as well as the Western Cape Government. He also uses “they” to create distance from the ANC and their governing period prior to that of the DA in the Western Cape.

Considering that this debate is foregrounded by the State of the Province Address, which is defined by the South African Government Information website as the annual opening of the Provincial Legislature and it is an address to the nation by Premiers from different provinces. It focuses on the current political and socio-economic state of the provinces. This debate was then an opportunity for members of the House from all political parties as represented in the House to respond to the Premiers State of the Province Address which was delivered a week prior to this very debate. That said, it is inevitable that the Premier’s identity would then be the one most negotiated throughout the debate. Evidently, this was the case if one consults the Hansard report and reviews the footage. However, her identity was not the only one being negotiated but other members were also positioned, both interactively and reflectively.

I will now focus on how Honourable Brown positioned the Premier and I specifically select her negotiations as she was once in the position of Premier before Honourable Helen Zille. I then also pay attention to Honourable Magaxa’s positioning of Honourable Madikizela as there exists, if it may so be deemed as, a betrayal of culture and even race as positioned by

Honourable Magaxa. Furthermore, I look into Honourable Geyer's positioning of Honourable Magaxa, in that Honourable Geyer overtly uses language as a linguistic resource to marginalise and disempower Honourable Magaxa.

As foregrounded earlier in this chapter, Honourable Brown positioned the Honourable Premier as inadequate in her opening lines. She continues to interactively position the Honourable Premier in this way throughout her speech. This is made evident as she states "The DA mimics ANC slogans, while showing a disingenuous and dangerous indifference to the need of the people. The Premier needs to do a reality check about her same-old-same-old approach" (pg. 4). Honourable Brown positions not only the Premier but also the political party she leads as "disingenuous" and out of touch with the needs of the people. Honourable Brown continues and states, "Not only did the Premier put forth cosmetic solutions mixed with pipe-dreams and schemes, she actually did so without shame in the face of the voices that continue to draw attention to the real state of the province" (pg. 4). With this utterance Honourable Brown positions the Premier as delusional and conniving with the words "pipe-dreams" and "schemes" and her State of the Province Address as fictional. In positioning the Premier, Honourable Brown also reflectively positions herself as I mentioned earlier that interactive and reflective positioning co-exist as the one cannot take place without the other. In referring to the Premier's State of the Province Address as fictional, the Honourable Brown positions herself and or her interpretation as somewhat real. Honourable Brown further positions the Premier as abandoning the Western Cape as can be deduced from her statement, "The Western Cape Premier is moonlighting as she comes here to rest after spending her time frolicking in other provinces despite the work she has to do for the people of this province" (pg. 5). Her choice of the lexicon "frolicking" has a negative connotation as if the Premier's visits to other provinces are fruitless and it also gives the idea that it is more for pleasurable purposes than for business.

Honourable Brown further negotiates the identity of the Premier with her statement, "Evidence has been seen of how, when provincial polemics arise, the Premier is moonshine and disappears like vapour before the sun, and flees elsewhere to make appearances in the front gardens of others instead of dealing with issues here in her own backyard. Remarkably, she has more to say about other provinces, but remains resiliently silent on salient matters here" (pg. 5). Here, Honourable Brown strongly positions the Premier as she describes her as

nonchalant about salient matters in the Western Cape. This negotiation is foregrounded with descriptive metaphors to create an image in the mind of the audience, which in that way makes it more prominent and thus influencing how others consider and in turn negotiate the identity of the Premier, in the same way as she did with the use of “hijacking” earlier in this chapter.

Honourable Brown continues on page 6 and 7 and says:

“In the most crucial department, social development, a DA youth member now acts as the head of department, after I warned you last year you can’t appoint a CFO in such a crucial department. In that department there are several black skilled and experienced officials. They are good enough to meet protesters and receive memoranda on your behalf when you run away, but not good enough to run the department. It boggles the mind. I will use the next few weeks to give meat to my assertion. I’ve listened to a number of very fearful officials on the possibilities of them being fired. As their fears subside, I trust their story will be told. In fact, her idea of all should work together is reminiscent of the gala breakfast arranged by the farm animals. She is like the hen that volunteers eggs, while the pigs have to donate their lives to supply the bacon. This is found in the many remarks that indicate everyone else carries a bigger burden than her own contribution to make her ideas work”.

By stating “after I have warned you last year”, Honourable Brown reflectively positions herself as more informed and the Premier as still having much to learn. If one considers that the Honourable Brown once held the same position as Premier Zille, her statement is fitting in that she has experience, and whether this was the intended interpretation is debatable. Not only does Honourable Brown position the Premier as manipulative in that she uses “several black skilled and experienced officials” to her advantage but these officials’ identities are also then negotiated as victims.

In stating, “I’ve listened to a number of very fearful officials on the possibilities of them being fired. As their fears subside, I trust their story will be told”, Honourable Brown builds on apartheid discourse by referring to individuals being silenced by a regime and placed in a state of fear but their stories will be revealed later. The notion of this discourse and the influence it has in the negotiation of identities will be further discussed later in this chapter. With this statement Honourable Brown also positions herself as the somewhat agony aunt

who listens to the woes of the officials. It appears as if they come to her with their issues and renders the idea of a psychologist listening to patients. This reflective positing also negotiates a caring identity for Honourable Brown, one in which she takes time to listen to destitute government officials.

In the interaction characterised on page 10:

The LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION: The nanny state has read us the riot act on all the evils in the world. Madam Premier, it doesn't work like that; it won't change just because you say it's wrong. It only changes when you empower our people to grow veggie gardens, ensure that the feeding scheme is well-balanced and that during elections when you hand out food parcels, you consider all of your instructions.

It changes when you get buy-in from the public because you have raised enough awareness. It starts with yourselves. The DA councillors who have driven drunk or without a valid driver's license should be charged.

Even more disconcerting are the recent reports – or not so recent reports - about the role of DA MECs Botha, Grant and Winde, as well as some DA councillors inciting and funding violent unrest, illegal land invasion ... [Laughter.] ... and the orchestrated stoning of councillors, public property and municipal staff in the Bitou Municipality in 2007 to destabilise the ANC. [Laughter.]

The MINISTER OF HEALTH: Do you expect us to believe that?

Honourable Brown again positions herself as more informed and the Premier as the amateur who needs to be schooled. She also positions DA councillors as drivers who drive illegally and in so saying as if they are the only ones to do so. Her laughter raises many questions, especially while she is making severe allegations on serious matters. Does her laughter indicate political scoring, conniving nature, revealing the truth or sarcasm? Whatever the intention of her laughter was, the Minister of Health certainly put it into perspective when he asks “Do you expect us to believe that?” In posing that question, he positions the Honourable Brown as a liar and misleading

Much more can be said on the ways in which the Honourable Premier is positioned, not only by Honourable Brown but by other members of the House as well. What I found interesting, as well as expected is that the Premier was positioned, either in a negative or a positive light, depending on which side of the House the positioning was coming from. The DA made use of the “we” code while the ANC, together with members from the other opposition parties made use of the “they” code.

I now focus on the ways in which Honourable Magaxa positioned Honourable Madikizela (pgs. 32-38). Honourable Magaxa says:

“Mr Speaker, in this deeply divided province, hon Premier Helen Zille’s DA uses Africans that are poor and opportunists as puppets to entrench the apartheid legacy. They are sitting there. The MEC for Human Settlements, hon Madikizela, is an example of an African from Makhaza. In Makhaza he provides open toilets that undermine the dignity of his own people. [Interjections.] He perpetuates the apartheid legacy by failing to focus on the provision of serviced sites. Even this he cannot deliver on”.

Again the Honourable Premier is positioned as a parasite who only uses individuals. What is significant about Honourable Magaxa’s positioning is that he makes specific reference to Africans and refers to Africans within the DA as opportunists and as puppets. The use of puppets could be built on the “you betrayed your race” discourse. This discourse is further embedded in Honourable Magaxa’s statement, “hon Madikizela, is an example of an African from Makhaza. In Makhaza he provides open toilets that undermine the dignity of his own people”, (pg. 32)

Honourable Magaxa then goes a step further and personally circles out Honourable Madikizela who is one of the two members within the DA benches who are from African descent. In making this statement, he positions Honourable Madikizela as betraying “his own people” but simultaneously reflectively positions himself as perpetuating racial classifications, which the system of apartheid thrived upon. This is interesting in the light of his following statement that “Premier Helen Zille’s MEC divides communities”. Interesting, firstly because it appears that the MEC, Honourable Madikizela is not a person in his own right but rather a possession of the Premier, in other words, and that of Honourable Magaxa, a “puppet”. Secondly, interesting because he himself perpetuates division when classifying

individuals geographically or more covertly, racially. This position is further entrenched by his statement, “In actual fact, the DA will never win our wards in the African community, except they will be dividing those communities. They will benefit from the divisions. [Interjections.]” (pg. 33). In using “our” and “they” he creates distancing between him, his party as a whole and the African community and the “they” who refers to the DA, respectively. Is this ideology then not inevitably causing division on its own?

I now continue to focus on Honourable Magaxa, but not from the perspective on which he positions both interactively and reflectively but rather from the perspective of how he is positioned during an interaction during the debate, (pgs. 33, 34)

Mr K E MAGAXA: ... are struggling to rebuild their homes after the devastating fires. These fires are largely a result of poor housing provision on the part of the DA.

It is shameful that in her State of the Province Address the Premier did not even mention the displaced Khayelitsha residents currently being housed in the OR Tambo Hall. How dare you do that! The Premier and her MEC were absent in the aftermath of the fires. It was only the national leadership of the ANC, the Ministers who are not even residing in this province, who came all the way to visit. The Mayor and the DA Minister never pitched up there. [Interjections.] He had the audacity to only come during the memorial service of the victims.

Mr H P GEYER: Please try to talk sense so that we can understand.

During Honourable Magaxa’s turn, he positions himself as angry and blaming the DA for neglecting displaced Khayelitsha residents who were victims of devastating fires. He positions the DA as insensitive and the ANC as caring. What caught my attention of this interaction is his last line in the turn, “He had the audacity to only come during the memorial service of the victims”. At first glance one would not observe the significance in the utterance but if one considers the context as well as remove it from its context and consider the wider discourse that shape it, one will re-evaluate its significance. In Chapter 2, Canagarajah (2011:1) explains that translanguaging “has come to stand for assumptions such as the following: that, for multilinguals, languages are part of a repertoire that is accessed for their communicative purposes; languages are not discrete and separated, but form an integrated system for them; multilingual competence emerges out of local practices where multiple languages are negotiated for communication; competence doesn’t consist of separate

competencies for each language, but a multicompetence that functions symbiotically for the different languages in one's repertoire; and, for these reasons, proficiency for multilinguals is focused on repertoire building – i.e., developing abilities in the different functions served by different languages – rather than total mastery of each and every language". In using the masculine pronoun "He", the Honourable Magaxa can be referring to either the MEC or the Minister he makes reference to, as my English logic would regard as rational. However, my basic isiXhosa knowledge also reminds that gendered pronouns are not recognised in isiXhosa and that the Honourable Magaxa could also be referring to the Premier or the Mayor, whom are both femininely inclined. If considering this incident from an English grammatical perspective it could be said that this is a common mistake to make if one's first language is isiXhosa and one is communicating in English or Afrikaans. Affirming this is imminently a mistake on honourable Magaxa's side, is the response from Honourable Geyer in which he says "Please try to talk sense so that we can understand". Honourable Geyer's response could be a referral to the marked use of the English pronoun and positions Honourable Magaxa's variation of English as nonsensical. In this interaction language ideologies come into play and it is clear that Honourable Geyer's response could have been made in an attempt to marginalize and disempower Honourable Magaxa. However, Canagarajah (2011) proves Honourable Magaxa's utterance is indicative of translanguaging in that Honourable Magaxa can be deemed polylingual and therefore his polylingual competence emerges out of logical practices where multiple languages are negotiated for communication and that competence doesn't consist of separate competencies for each language but multicompetence that functions symbiotically for the different languages in one's repertoire. It is also interesting that Honourable Geyer has never been heard to speak isiXhosa, and yet he has so much to say about Honourable Magaxa's English.

5.4 Language and Power

Fairclough (1989) focuses on the connections between using language and the associated unequal relations of power. In this section, I argue against the old adage of "knowledge is power" and agree with Fairclough (1989) that in fact "language is power". In his theory, Fairclough (1989:1) aims "to help correct a widespread underestimation of the significance of language in production, maintenance and change of social relations of power". Similar to the

outcome of this study, Fairclough (ibid) also assists with “increasing consciousness of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others, because consciousness is the first step to emancipation”.

The bid for consciousness as referred to by Fairclough (1989) has most definitely contributed as well as motivated the justification of this thesis, in that he suggests that sociolinguistic studies have generally focussed on describing prevalent sociolinguistic conventions “in terms of how they distribute power unequally, they have not set out to explain these conventions as the product of relations of power and struggles for power”. The consciousness of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others is realised in the data documented in the Hansard report, (pg. 23) and can be found on the video footage as well (38:30 mins.).

The SPEAKER: Order! Sit down, hon Ncedana, I didn't recognise you. Order! Can you take your seat, please.

Mr N NCEDANA: May I raise a point of order, please

The SPEAKER: Take your seat, please. [Interjections.]

Mr M SKWATSHA: Mr Speaker, on a point of order ...

The SPEAKER: Order, hon Skwatsha, take your seat!

Mr M SKWATSHA: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: A point of order is allowed in the House.

The SPEAKER: Order! What is your point of order, hon Skwatsha?

Mr M SKWATSHA: It is calling you to order.

This segment of the debate characterises the power relations at play whereby the Speaker exercises his authority by ordering the Honourable Ncedana, a Congress of the People

(COPE) member, which forms part of the opposition, to sit down, as only he is supposedly to have the power to do. Yet, the Honourable Ncedana challenges the Speaker's authority by requesting to speak while ignoring the Speaker's instruction to sit down. The Speaker then asserts his authority by instructing the member to take his seat again, which inadvertently allows another member, also from an opposition party to challenge the Speaker. Again, the Speaker imposes his authority and orders by means of using the imperative "Take your seat!", instead of using the declarative statements as he was earlier in the interaction. Honourable Skwatsha continues to challenge the Speaker's authority and refers to the Rules of the House to better challenge the authority of the Speaker and in that way gaining more power in the negotiation. The Speaker then exposes his authority by being able to call the House to order, but steers away from his initial instruction and allows Skwatsha to have his say. Skwatsha then negotiates a new identity for himself, one in which he challenged the Speaker, the figure who enjoys the most power in the House and in that way affording himself more power in this specific interaction.

Honourable Skwatsha's utterance, "It is calling you to order" is characterized as marked as he disrespects the Speaker by referring to him as "you", which should be "Honourable Speaker" as the Standing Rules of the House prescribes. However, Honourable Skwatsha takes advantage of the power struggle and used the opportunity to gain power in this very interaction.

Considering the political discourse on which this debate is shaped, it would be advantageous to note that the currency within politics is that of votes and that a political party is most powerful dependent on the number of votes they receive come election time (Heywood 2002). During parliamentary sittings, through questions to Ministers, debates and motions, members of the House use different ideologies to garner these votes until the election period. Oftentimes the ideologies expressed, whether explicit or implicit, are done by using language as a linguistic resource to place the opposing party in a negative light so to be seen by the media and then in turn, the public as the most viable political party to trust with their vote, which is substantiated by their prescribed manifestos. The Minister's speech depicts this notion.

Considering his articulation, content, tone and emotion expressed while delivering his speech, Honourable Fritz could be said to be one of the most passionate members with reference to

his portfolio. The following interpretation is simply one of many possible interpretations as there could be different underlying reasons for the occurrences. I add this here, because the reasoning behind the Minister's performance of his identity as the Minister of Community Development could be in a bid to solicit votes, thus using language to only fulfill this intention. On the other hand, the construction of identity through language could be as a result of genuine interest in the well-being of the people who are in effect the individuals who form the electorate. I kept this binary in mind as I interpreted the Honourable members' contributions to the debate.

In saying, "let us not joke about this" he infers that he is genuinely concerned as it is a serious issue and that service delivery to the poor should not be taken lightly. By stating "we all know, and we all know what is happening", he expresses the ideology that they, the DA is not oblivious to the dealings of the ANC and that the ANC cannot deny, as he continues, "Just before the DA government came in you appointed a whole lot of people to chief directorships, to whatever, although they weren't even qualified. So, let's not make jokes about service delivery to poor people". With this statement Honourable Fritz makes this spectacle public knowledge, and to some measure, he portrays transparency, which is embedded in the DA's manifesto and could also be deemed strategic in an attempt to gain votes. Honourable Fritz also creates the idea that the ANC's does not take service delivery to the poor seriously and that this angers him. Displays of anger, as suggested by Pavlenko's (2005:46) illustration of the prototypical vocal cues of selected emotions and affective stances in English and German, is similar to the vocal cues expressed by Honourable Fritz as he delivers his speech at this point. Anger is deduced as his pitch level was high, his pitch range was expanded with abrupt pitch changes and falling intonation. His speech was loud with a relatively fast pace and strong stress and high stressed syllables was used. The paralinguistic feature evident in his speech is his controlled enunciation.

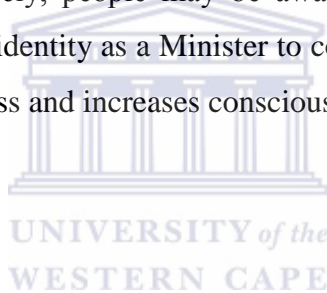
Honourable Fritz's further negotiates both a reflexive and interactive position as he expresses disgust as he says "it is in that context, Mr Deputy Speaker that it makes me sick to the gut..." when referring to national government's response to rape. In using these specific words and intonation, Honourable Fritz implies that he is personally, not only in his capacity as a Minister or Member of Provincial Parliament, but as a human being, disturbed by the actions of national parliament, who happens to be in opposition to the Minister's political party. Honourable Fritz then shares what he portrays as typical behavior from the Minister of

Justice and Constitutional Development, Jeff Radebe as he says “he removes everything that works” and this constructs Honourable Radebe as incompetent and inefficient in his capacity as a Minister. However, the questions: according to whom is it “working” and by which and whose definition, then surfaces. Honourable Fritz substantiates this construction by giving the idea that he himself is knowledgeable, informed and experienced as he says “I know that because I worked with those courts and I know exactly what happened”.

Honourable Fritz then challenges Honourable Magwaza’s ideology surrounding her credibility by exposing what appears to be her double standard identity. This is evident when he says “I marched, by the way, with hon Magwaza and hon Prins. In fact, they had very high high-heels on and I had to assist them with the marching. We marched through the streets of Bredasdorp and she said, “It’s so good, Minister, that you’re marching with us”. Then on Wednesday she says I am the biggest joke. She marched with me to the place where the child was murdered and she said, “Minister it’s so good to have you with us”. She said it was a united front and they took photos of us. Then on Wednesday she supported her leader, Marius Fransman, who said I said I’m blaming the victim. I never said I blame the victim. Hon member, you were with me. When I made the speech I said we can never blame the victim”. This portrayal of Honourable Magwaza is typical of political discourse which is also a common assumption by a majority of South Africans as well as other populations worldwide. This portrayal is that politicians will say one thing and do another, always having ulterior motives. Honourable Fritz positions Honourable Magwaza as having double standards and in effect as shaped by her personal ideologies and discourse and that of her party. Further attention will be paid to discourse in the following sub-chapter.

Honourable Fritz also draws on another ideology when he states “It is interesting when you look at a specific case, Mr Deputy Speaker, to note that in this country there’s one law for poor people and another law for connected people”. The ideology he draws on here is the corruption within the South African government. This ideology is legitimized through various media and political analyst such as Kadalie (2009:103) as she says “we should shed this notion that only the ANC can save us”. She further elaborates that “when things went awry early on in our democracy, political leaders were often given the benefit of the doubt, the rationale being that since they struggled for a moral cause, they must therefore be highly moral. Hence, the escalating corruption, political intolerance, non-delivery and mismanagement were initially excused as mistakes, committed by infants of democracy”.

Fairclough (1989:2) also acknowledges that ideologies are legitimized “simply through the recurrence of ordinary, familiar ways of behaving”. Honourable Fritz takes asserting this ideology further by specifically implicating the ANC as corrupt as he says “We know he was released because he’s connected. The law does not serve the poor but serves the elite sitting opposite me. Then they talk about the poor. Stop vulgarising the poor”. This statement foregrounds the ANC as corrupt and in this way; this ideology is then further embedded in order to legitimize the difference in power between the ANC and the DA. Yet, at the same time he is in a bid for more power by exposing the ANC in a negative light in order to gain more DA votes and he achieves this by interacting linguistically in framing what people are generally not aware of. Fairclough (1989) administers there is in fact “a widespread underestimation of the significance of language in production, maintenance and change of social relations of power” and that it is pivotal to increase “consciousness of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others, because consciousness is the first step to emancipation”. Conversely, people may be aware of the ideologies put forth by Honourable Fritz but he uses his identity as a Minister to communicate what is often not said and in that way he raises awareness and increases consciousness.



5.5 Languageing in the House

Language is a phenomenon which we attempt to reach particular goals, therefore language use is intentional. Møller and Jørgensen (2009) justifies this statement as they made clear in Chapter 2 that regardless of our social standing vis-à-vis a given code, as human beings, we do not primarily use “a language” or “some languages”, we use language, linguistic features, and we do so to achieve our aims and they therefore proposed the notion of languageing and speakers as languagers. Languageing was prevalent in the House. The justification thereof could in fact be that 3 languages can now be used in the House as they were democratically made official in the constitution, and this allows members of the House, languagers to flaunt their linguistic competency and in so doing construct identities.

To use examples from the Hansard Report for illustrative purposes, I refer to Honourable Meyer languageing from English to Afrikaans and back to English (pg. 20). I also refer to Honourable Hartnick also languageing from English to Afrikaans and also reverting back to

English again (pg. 27). To review the literature again, I make reference to Bullock and Toribio (2009:2) as they hold “all speakers selectively draw on the language varieties in their linguistic repertoire, as dictated by their intentions and by the needs of the speech participants and the conversational setting”. With this statement in mind, we can then infer that both the mentioned members languaged as a display of their translanguaging competence so to negotiate this identity for themselves. In contrast, there may also be no apparent reason or intention because as stated earlier that language alternation is typical in the Western Cape and this is even more typical in the House as Members of Provincial Parliament find themselves in a constitutionally democratic space whereby 3 languages can be used.

With reference to languaging, the interaction between the Speaker and Honourable Ncedana sparked much interest (pg. 24, 39:17 mins.). This interaction is characterised by:

The SPEAKER: Can you repeat yourself, if you want to.

Mr N NCEDANA: What did I say, Somlomo (*Speaker*) [Interjections.]

The SPEAKER: You asked me why I wasn't stopping the hon Minister Carlisle.

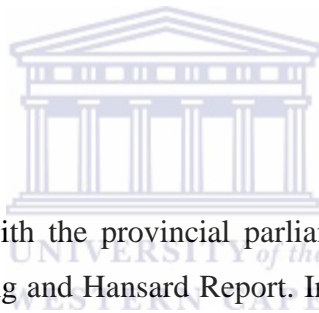
Mr N NCEDANA: Somlomo, you must deal with this thing. Don't divide this House ... [Interjections.] ... because we came here to build this House. [Interjections.]

The SPEAKER: Order, hon member! Take your seat, please.

The selected segment is extracted from a section of the debate whereby conflict between the Speaker, Honourable Ncedana and Honourable Skwatsha occurs, with the addition of other members delivering comments in the background. In this incident of conflict, the authoritative power of the Speaker is undermined by both Honourable Skwatsha and Honourable Ncedana as referred to earlier in this chapter as well. However, Honourable Ncedana still challenges the authoritative identity of the Speaker but translanguages to a common language between himself and the Speaker when referring to the Speaker. Honourable Ncedana translanguages to the isiXhosa equivalent of Speaker as he uses “Somlomo”. In so doing, his intention could be, in an attempt to challenge the Speaker's identity, to decrease the power distance to impose an equal status amongst the two. This can

be attributed to as Bullock and Toribio (2009) suggest, given the appropriate circumstances, many languagers will exploit this ability (to switch between their languages) and alternate between languages in an unchanged setting, often within the same utterance”. By questioning the Speaker, the Honourable Ncedana then also negotiates a decrease in the power distance between them, as it is unmarked or more typical for the individual with the more power to question. The Speaker then answers with “you asked me why I wasn’t stopping the hon Minister Carlisle” with no opposition to reinstate the status quo and in this way legitimizes the negotiable identity constructed by Honourable Ncedana. Honourable Ncedana then instructs, which is also typical of the individual with more power in a situation, “Somlomo, you must deal with this thing. Don’t divide this House ... [Interjections.] ... because we came here to build this House”. By using imperatives which expresses instructions, Honourable Ncedana takes power away from the Speaker and affords himself therewith.

5.6 Conclusion



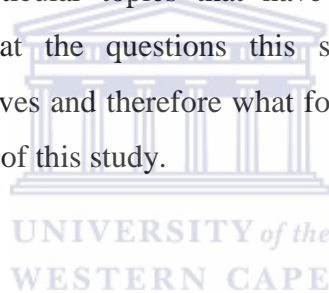
This chapter extensively dealt with the provincial parliament sitting of 26 February 2013 based on its actual video recording and Hansard Report. In using the literature reviewed, the Hansard Report of the sitting and observing the video recording thereof as investigative tools, this chapter explored the ways in which identities are negotiated through language choice and also revealed that different discourses such as those embedded in the manifestos are drawn upon in performing those identities.

Chapter 6

Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

Drawing this thesis to a close, this chapter refers to this study in its entirety, based on the objectives thereof by means of revisiting each of them through discussing how they have been achieved in conducting the study and also makes recommendations surrounding the issues raised through this research. In making recommendations, I also proposed further research be conducted into particular topics that have emerged from this study. It is noteworthy to acknowledge that the questions this study anticipated to answer are interrogative forms of the objectives and therefore what follows is in effect a revalidation of both the questions and objectives of this study.



6.2 Objectives revisited

In order to critically analyse how parliamentarians negotiate identities linguistically, I focussed on achieving the following objectives:

6.2.1 To explore the language practices in a parliamentary sitting

In achieving the objective to explore the language practices in a parliamentary sitting, I randomly selected the Hansard Report of 26 February 2013, which documents a debate between represented political parties in the WCPP in response to the Premier's State of the Province Address. I also analysed the actual video recording of the sitting in order to further explore the language practices of the House. This objective was achieved through the discourse analysis of the Hansard Report as it became clear that the language practices in a

parliamentary sitting are characterised by translanguaging. Translanguaging as theorized by Canagarajah (2011) involves the use a linguistic repertoire as a language practice.

6.2.2 To explore the extent socio-historical factors influence the discourses and interactions in the House

Considering the background to this study in Chapter One it becomes clear that apartheid indeed plays a role in discourse and interactions in the House. This was further ascertained through the discourse analysis of the Hansard Report as well as the multisemiotic analysis of the political manifestos. I found that the apartheid legacy plays a significant role in the discourses and interactions in the House, in that with it came racialised ideologies were sometimes evident in the House. The manifestos from both the ANC and the DA were embedded in socio-historical discourse, more specifically drawing on apartheid discourse in differing ways in order to repurpose transformational ideologies to the benefit of their respective political parties.



6.2.3 To examine how performative identities are negotiated linguistically in parliamentary discourses

In order to achieve this objective, I initially planned to interview members who participated in the debate to examine how performative identities are negotiated linguistically in the sitting. However, only one member obliged to partake in this research. Honourable Bevu made it clear that she opts to speak English because she feels she is taken more seriously by other members in the House, even though she labels isiXhosa as her mother-tongue. In this way, Honourable Bevu linguistically negotiates her identity of one demanding to be taken seriously through choosing to speak in English in the House and using English as her language of preference for her participation during the debate. But she still values isiXhosa as the language of choice in other communicative contexts.

In examining how performative identities are negotiated linguistically, it became transparent that what was multisemiotically expressed in the political manifestos underwent the process of semiotic remediation into the speeches and utterances in the House. This is due to the ways

in which the notions brought forth through images and texts were re-presented, re-used and re-produced across modes and subsequently verbalised in the House through the members' linguistic participation during the debate. This is made evident in how ANC members, for example, performed the socialist identity as made transparent through the multisemiotic analysis of their manifesto and DA members performed the liberalist identity as embedded in their respective manifesto.

6.2.4 To evaluate how identities are negotiated as implicated in the parliamentary interactions and discourses.

This objective was achieved in becoming aware through reviewing relevant scholarly literature and the multisemiotic and discourse analyses that identities are negotiated through the process of positioning as explained by Davies and Harrè (1990) in which interactive positioning refers to one entity positioning another and reflexive positioning occurs when one positions oneself. Identities were also negotiated through resemiotization, which Iedema (2010) describes as the ways in which practices transition meanings across different structural phenomena which is built on the premise of intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Identities were negotiated throughout the parliamentary sitting and these negotiations were embedded with intertextual and interdiscursive links. Wu (2011) explains that intertextuality refers to actual surface forms in a text, borrowed from other texts while interdiscursivity involves the whole language system referred to in a text and therefore more complicated because it deals with the implicit relations between discursive formations.

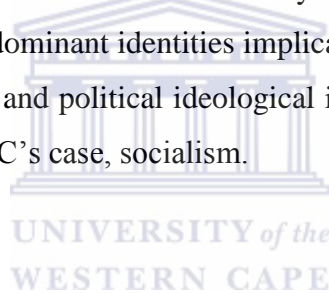
6.2.5 To investigate the implications of the unequal social distribution of linguistic resources for discursive practices and identity negotiation in the House

As stated in 7.2.3, after interviewing Honourable Bevu, it became clear that there is a perceived unequal social distribution of linguistic resources for discursive practices and identity negotiation in the House. This perceived inequality is made clear as she feels she is not taken seriously if she does not speak English and therefore makes the informed decision to deliver her speech in English. Another example of this perceived unequal social

distribution of linguistic resources for discursive practices and identity negotiation in the House is the interaction between Honourable Geyer (DA) and Honourable Magaxa (ANC) in which Honourable Geyer negotiates the identity of Honourable Maxaga as nonsensical based on an English grammatical error, bearing in mind that English is not his predominant language and that his linguistic repertoire consists of English, isiXhosa and Afrikaans, if not more.

6.2.6 To evaluate the dominant identities implicated in the linguistic choices observed in the discourses.

This study as a whole made transparent of what would otherwise remain opaque within South African parliamentary discourses. Poststructuralist analysis of both the manifestos and the Hansard Report showed that the dominant identities implicated in the linguistic choices in the discourses were hybrid identities and political ideological identities, which in the case of the DA was liberalism and in the ANC's case, socialism.



6.3 General conclusion

As stated in the introductory chapter of this thesis, this study set out to analyse the negotiation of identity in constitutionally multilingual parliamentary discourses in the Western Cape. The reason for this was to create a better understanding of the influence the new South Africa has on identities constructed in the House, in which translanguaging is used as a linguistic resource. Analysing the Hansard Report of 26 February 2013, the manifestos of the DA and the ANC and the language policies of both national and provincial spheres of government, together with observing the actual video footage of the sitting, interviewing a willing Member of Provincial Parliament and consulting relevant scholarship, collectively contributed to understanding the ways in which identities are negotiated linguistically. At this point, I acknowledge the role of apartheid, the new South Africa, the discourse surrounding the DA and the ANC as having significantly garnered this study with invaluable insight in fulfilling its objectives.

It would also be useful to reflect on the statement of the problem of this study and that relates to the kinds of identities implicated in the various linguistic and cultural 'mix' as a result of the interactions among the parliamentarians with different socio-histories. Specifically, the purpose of this study was to explore the influence the changes in government has on current interaction and discourses in provincial parliament and particularly the identities constructed through language use in the discourses of a parliamentary sitting. In conducting this study, I found that even though there exist cultural differences, the interaction within the House arises from a more political discourse than from cultural discourse. However, socio-historical discourses are drawn upon in an attempt to negotiate particular identities as a way of political grandstanding.

Through intensive literature review surrounding pivotal issues contributing to the significance of this study, which is to add to the few, if any, academic literature on South African parliamentary identities, and by following the methodological details elaborated on earlier, this study fulfilled its general aim to investigate how parliamentarians, through deploying linguistic resources, negotiate identities for themselves and others. Using the objectives as a constant guideline during this research, exploring the linguistic practices of the manifestos, the parliamentary sitting and the extent socio-historical factors influence these discourses and interactions in the House, made transparent of which would otherwise remain opaque information.

6.4 Recommendations

In the wider spectrum of academia, I suggest that more proactive engagement with contemporary notions of language use be administered but also that the paradigm shift in language use and communication evolving be brought to not only scholarly, but also governmental structure's attention as well, so that policies and law can be drafted accordingly.

In researching the negotiations of identity within parliamentary discourses, I dealt with languaging and the underlying reasons for language choice in the parliamentary sitting, to

which it became clear that a Member of Provincial Parliament felt that speeches as well as the individual is taken more seriously if their speech is delivered in English as opposed to the other official languages of the House. I recommend that further research be conducted to gain clarity on this hypothesis.

In noting the perceived unequal status of the three official languages, I wish to recommend that the NLPF and the Language Policy of the Western Cape be revisited and reconsidered, especially since it aims to facilitate equitable access to government services, knowledge and information, as well as to promote good language management for efficient public service administration to meet public expectations and needs.

I propose that more proactive effort be put into promoting not only multilingualism but poly-lingualism in South Africa. This will be facilitated by the use and involvement of communities as participants in the processes of language development. The Western Cape Language Policy encourages language use that is accessible to all. I also call on the Western Cape Legislature to engage language specialists to assist the process of developing functional poly-lingual programmes and an official language policy through research and dissemination of findings. It is of pivotal importance that policy reviews at reasonable intervals are conducted in order to effectively monitor progress toward a fully poly-lingual society as the Constitution prescribes. Without a doubt, as the NLPF (2002:15) acknowledges, “The implementation of the language policy will increase the demand for translation and editing work and interpreting services, especially in the indigenous languages. The core of translation expertise in these languages will have to be expanded both in government departments and in the private sector, i.e. freelance language practitioners such as translators, editors and interpreters will have to be developed. The increased need for the services of professional language practitioners will require further skills training”. However, this should not only be in written discourse, but concerted efforts by all role-players, being driven by the Western Cape Legislature and collaborated with the Western Cape Department of Cultural Affairs and Sports, should be made and its execution monitored. This way, linguistic democracy can flourish in the Western Cape and actioned by the very institution who is held responsible for passing democratic laws and overseeing that it is implemented, who currently finds it is problematic to practice linguistic freedom in the Legislature.

I would strongly suggest that the Standing Rules of the House be reviewed, updated and that the rule stating that prayers must be read at the commencement of business on every sitting day (Chapter 4, section 19) be repealed and be replaced with only a moment of silence for personal reflection, so to open a democratic space in which individuals can choose to reflect on the basis of their preferred beliefs and not the current imposed Christian belief.

I also recommend that the compilation of the Hansard Report be done with greater attention placed in detail because it is used as a point of reference in making rulings in the House and for that reason it should be compiled accurately. Of great importance, I urge the Western Cape Provincial Parliament to take serious steps to address the backlog of the translations of the Hansard Reports and continue to have translated versions of the reports accessible to the public. In this way, democratic space is maintained and the public can hold the Western Cape Government accountable for the communicative events as documented in the Hansard Report. This fosters inclusivity, on which a democracy thrives.



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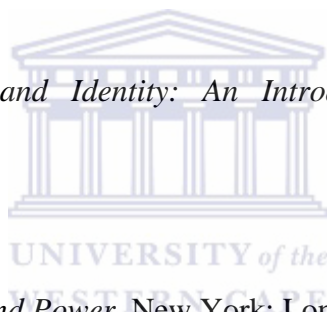
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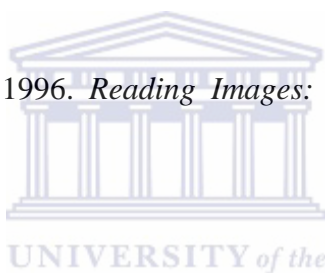
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ADDENDA

Addenda 3,5,9, and 10 are attached hereto.

Addendum 1 can be viewed on

<http://www.wcpp.gov.za/sites/default/files/Final%20Hansard%20%2026%20Feb%202013%20Debate%20on%20SOPA.pdf>

Addendum 2 can be viewed on

http://www.wcpp.gov.za/sites/default/files/WCPP%20standing%20rules_0.pdf

Addendum 4 can be viewed on <http://www.westerncape.gov.za/general-publication/western-cape-language-policy>

Addendum 6 can be requested from 2747179@myuwc.ac.za

Addendum 7 can be viewed on

http://www.anc.org.za/docs/manifesto/2011/lge_manifeston.pdf

Addendum 8 can be viewed on

<http://www.da.org.za/docs/11025/DA%20Local%20Government%20Manifesto%202011.pdf>

Addendum 10 can be viewed on <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SBwfyaHMwOM>



ADDENDUM 5

Interview with MPP Bevu

6 June 2013

1. How would you describe the hierarchy of languages in the House and why?
2. What is your first language?
3. Is there a reason for choosing to deliver your speech in English?
4. In your speech, you respond with “I don’t know what is happening there” (show footage 37.30). Is that because you didn’t know or was it a way of illustrating that nothing is in fact happening.



ADDENDUM 9

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF WHIP – WESTERN CAPE PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT

KANTOOR VAN DIE HOOFSWEEP –WES-KAAPSE PROVINSIALE PARLEMENT**IOFISI YOMBHEXESI OYINTLOKO - IPALAMENTE YEPHONDO
LENTSHONA KOLONI****26 February/ Februarie/ Februarie 2013**

Debate on Premier's State of the Province Address

NO/ INANI	PARTY/ IQEL A	NAME/ NAAM/ IGAMA	TIME/ TYD / IXE SHA	DESIGNATION/ AMP/ ISIKHUNDLA
1.	ANC	L Brown	18	MPP: Leader of Opposition Party
2.	DA	I Meyer	13	Minister: Cultural Affairs & Sport
3.	COPE	T N Bevu	6	MPP / LPP
4.	DA	J Hartnick	7	MPP / LPP
5.	ANC	K Magaxa	10	MPP / LPP
6.	DA	B S Madikizela	12	Minister: Human Settlements
7.	ACDP	G C R Haskin	6	MPP / LPP
8.	COPE	N Ncedana	6	MPP / LPP
9.	DA	C Labuschagne	7	MPP / LPP
10.	ANC	E Prins	10	MPP / LPP
11.	DA	T L Botha	12	Minister: Health
12.	ID	D Plato	8	Minister: Community Safety
13.	ANC	Z Magwaza	10	MPP / LPP
14.	DA	A Fritz	12	Minister: Social Development
15.	DA	M de Villiers	6	NCOP
16.	DA	A Marais	8	MPP / LPP
18.	ANC	M Skwatsha	10	MPP / LPP

19.	DA	R Carlisle	13	Minister: Transport & Public Works
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The names and the times may be changed during the course of the debate. A party may, however not give some of its time to another party.

Die name en tye mag in die loop van die debat verander word. 'n Party mag egter nie van sy tyd aan 'n ander party afstaan nie.

Amagama namaxesha angatshintshwa ngexesha lengxoxo. Iqela alinakho ukuba linikise ngexesha lalo kwelinye Iqela.

ADDENDA 10

