THE 2010 FOOTBALL WORLD CUP AND THE RAINBOW NATION

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE UPCOMING FOOTBALL WORLD CUP 2010 IN SOUTH AFRICA.

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01. 02. 2010

Acknowledgements

Chapter 1. Introduction

South Africa has become known as a 'success story' with its transition from apartheid to democracy in the 1990's. Without any of the major conflicts one believed might arise. Fronted by the charismatic Nelson Mandela South Africa was to be known as the 'rainbow nation' reflecting the possibilities in a country with such a diverse demography, culture and traditions not only the conflicts and challenges known from the past.

This thesis evolved during my year as an abroad student in Cape Town, and I was intrigued by the South African history, its social and cultural complexity as well as its many political challenges. Through sports many of the social conflicts became visible, for instance, going to a football game you would probably be surrounded by black supporters as supposed to the majority of white supporters during a rugby game or cricket match.

In 1994 Nelson Mandela became the first democratically elected president of South Africa (1994- 1998) after over forty years of apartheid. He represented the African National Congress (ANC) and received the Nobel Peace Price together with the former president F. W de Klerk, for their joint effort to end apartheid. ANC is still the governing party in South Africa with no actual opponents in the political sphere.

With the end of apartheid and the ban on South Africa finally abolished, they could now compete on an international level. As a kick off for the new democracy, Mandela and his government understood the possibilities situated in the role of sport as a nation builder, and managed to host the Rugby World Cup in 1995 as well as the African Cup of Nations. These events will be further examined in the coming background chapter, but especially the Rugby World Cup is relevant for my question thesis because it was with the Rugby World Cup South Africa for the first time used sport as a contributor to the notion of a united 'rainbow nation'.

I will use the background of the four main media groups to provide a platform for my analysis of The Sunday Times and its coverage of the Football World Cup 2010. The media situation in South Africa will be further investigated throughout the analysis in accordance with the other main discourses found in this thesis about the upcoming Football World Cup 2010, namely sport and politics. To understand how the Football World Cup is part of the nation-building process in South Africa one needs to explore the social and historical context. As any other mega- event, the Football World Cup is about much more than just sports. While this is true for all countries an international event this size in South Africa still differentiates from

other countries because of its history and the role the Rugby World Cup played in the immediate aftermath of their transition to democracy.

1.1 Research questions

I have chosen to use samples from the largest South African newspaper, the Sunday Times. It is a weekly paper, written in English. Through the articles I have collected, I am trying to find out how or if they are using the coming Football World Cup as a part of the nation building process, with the Rugby World Cup in 1995 as a background for my thesis. When I started this process, I was almost certain that the Football World Cup would be used with the same intentions as the Rugby World Cup, with the objective to make a picture of South Africa still as 'the Rainbow Nation'. During my process, I have however found that the circumstances and the actual process leading towards the Football World Cup 2010 might not be as similar as first expected.

The South African government's former use of great sport events such as the Rugby World Cup 1995 and the African Cup of Nations was influenced by the political situation and the urgency to focus on reconciliation after apartheid. One of the main discourses in this thesis thus regards the political context in South Africa as well as their portrait of South Africa towards the international community as a host nation in 2010. Is the government using the Football World Cup to emphasize the beauty of national diversity as in 1995 or has the focus shifted since the Mandela period?

1.2 Thesis goals

The coming world cup is one of the largest events in the world, only contested by the Olympic Games. The possibilities as well as responsibilities connected to host such an event are what make this thesis intriguing. How the Sunday Times covers the coming Football World Cup is analyzed through the critical discourse analysis, seeking to detect power dynamics in the different discourses and look at how that might affect the public opinion towards 2010.

The anticipation of increase in tourism and international economic investment are some of the positive outcomes in hosting such an event. There are also many responsibilities connected to the hosting with crime and infrastructure being two of the main concerns. In addition, the building of new stadiums is done on the expense of other domestic priorities as housing, electricity, education and the fight against poverty.

Football is regarded as a 'black sport' in South Africa, representing the majority of the South African population, thus playing on the notion of 'Africanism' and 'black empowerment'. This form of characterizing football and sport has repeatedly been used during Thabo Mbeki's presidency instead of building around the concept 'one team, one nation' as in the 1995 Rugby World Cup. As one start to analyze the coverage of the coming Football World Cup, it becomes evident that it has to be understood in a historical context. The significance and symbolism connected to sport in South Africa is not necessarily unique but it builds upon the discourses as politics, traditions, culture, media and ethnicity. All of whom has to be seen in a larger social and historical context.

1.3 South African news coverage - a conflict of interests?

In the post- apartheid era, South African media was in need of new guidelines, coming from a strict censorship with few or no possibilities to express free thought and speech. Anthony A. Olorunnisola, Professor of Media Studies at Pennsylvania State University has argued that the negotiations of ethical codes have been problematic after the shift towards 'professional self-regulation' and detected two main conflicting discourses in the role of media. The first position is based upon the western ideologies of the role of the media, stemming from an orthodox view of free speech and democracy. The other position is connected to the more nationalist view rooted in the African values and the rebuilding of their cultural identity in a post- apartheid perspective (Olorunnisola.2006: 234- 235).

These two main positions can also be seen in the light of media in a conflict/ consensus paradigm and with the implementation of critical discourse analysis one might identify the power relations or elite representation in the media discourse. When Olorunnisola detects these two dimensions, one could also ask; what are 'African values' compared to, for instance European? What and not least, who do they include? Because 'African values' is likely to

forward connotations based on skin colour and ethnicity instead of perhaps democracy. These arguments are just to follow the thought of Olorunnisola and the role of media.

The two positions made in media discourse has been further explored by Olorunnisola in his *Media in South Africa After Apartheid* (2006:237), were he argues that the first position rooted in western ideological media ethics, and the concept of' public interest' has later been contested by the other paradigm leaning more towards medias role of supporting national interest in terms of the recent transition from apartheid. The criticism of South African media, has especially been on its shift from the focus on reconciliation after the transition to 'one of reconstruction and consolidation of a specifically African identity' (Olorunnisola.2006:238), were the focus on race and ethnicity once again became a prime interest of the media. The latter position has to a large extent been driven by Thabo Mbeki during his Presidency (1998- 2008) were he stressed the importance of 'African Renaissance' instead of focusing on class differences or the continuing urgency for reconciliation. The shift in media towards an African identity based on black empowerment can first be seen through changes in South African media ownership, and second in the light of focus on 'interests'. Are media taking the side of ANC leadership thus reflecting 'national' interest or are they supporting the notion of the liberal democratic view of 'public interest'?

The conflict of public versus national interest has been pointed out by Jane Duncan in her *Another journalism is possible. Critical challenges for the media in South Africa* (2003:6) were she quotes the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) in their submission to the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Communications on the Broadcast Amendment Bill on their views of 'public interest';

It is our contention that the use of the term 'national interest' in relation to news gathering and dissemination is too restrictive and can have a narrow political connotation. Journalists work in the public interest which is much wider. Politicians of a ruling party may decide that there should be secrecy over an issue "in the national interest" – where the meaning of "national interest" is defined by the politicians. Journalists work in the "public interest", a sounder, much wider base which might override "national interest". Chapter Two of the constitution protects the "public interest"(Cited by Duncan.2003:6).

Duncan continues her discussion on national and public interest and quotes Xolela Mangcu saying; *national interest should be based on the founding values of the constitution: if this*

happens, then there is sufficient room for consensus-building around this concept (Duncan.2003:6).

The argument on national and public interest is interesting because it seems problematic in a country like South Africa, were the development of media in the public sphere is first connected to the new democratic changes, and further linked to the national heritage whose importance has been enhanced the last decade. The point to be made by Duncan and Olorunnisola is that the media in post- apartheid South Africa had to change, from strict censorship to the right of free speech. This transformation is not easy however, especially when it involves changes in ownership and power structures, and when the concept of a free media has been contested by the questions, who *does* the media represent, and who *should* it represent?

Mathata Tsedu, a former Chairperson of the South African National Editor's Forum, (SANEF) (Duncan.2003:6) continues the argument made by MISA;

There are essentially two publics that can be identified: one well organised, which understands its own interests and knows how to push it, and the other consisting of 'the silent ones' and whose interests are therefore marginalised by virtue of their silence (Duncan.2003:6).

Tsedu identifies the role of the recipients and the power relations within media discourse. The large differences in South Africa are reflected in the media and power relations can be seen as a product of just that inequality. If this is not about race or ethnicity, as the Mbeki led government pressed it to be, then inequality must be looked upon in the light of access to resources and thus power and control (van Dijk.1993:254).

These issues are part of the contextual basis in my analysis of the articles from the Sunday Times on the coming World Cup. The texts are linked to the historical changes in the country as well as placed within one of the two positions mentioned above. After identifying some of the main paradigms in the media discourse, this introduction will now look towards the newspaper in question and its material and selection criteria.

1.4 The Sunday Times: Material and Selection Criteria.

For my analysis I chose the 'highest circulating newspaper in South Africa' (Jacobs.1999:5). They are written in English and were sent to me from an acquaintance from South Africa. In that way I could read and analyze them in their original state. I wanted four newspapers, thus representing a month's work, with the ability to follow statements and arguments week after week. This consistency also enabled me to see the reader's point of view, in their regular column space as well as political answers to claims and propositions made in that period. The Sunday Times has historically represented the English side of South African media, traditionally opposing the Afrikaans press. I will come back to that later in this chapter.

The material may not seem vast, but the articles included in those newspapers are very functional for my thesis and provide a lot of information. As the Sunday Times is a serious newspaper with the highest circulation, as well as a black ownership, the newspaper seemed an appropriate choice. I have used articles online to support my view; www.thetimes.co.za, and collected some articles from www.FIFA.com and www.SouthAfrica.info. The latter two eagerly tries to provide the picture of the nation- building process I first expected to see in the newspapers.

1.5 The composition of the Sunday Times

I want to explain how the Sunday Times is composed in order to create a better image of the newspaper. The Sunday Times consists of four parts. The first includes this week's major news stories and headlines. It also provides the reader with some hints as to what to expect in the following parts. The advertising campaigns are quite large, some going over whole pages. It has also some popular news and focus on lifestyle.

The second part is called 'Business Times' and focuses on business and economical issues mainly in South Africa. The Business Times does not have as much regular advertisement as the first part, but to a larger extent advertisements directed towards 'the working man' or towards the higher class with advertisements about universities and higher education. With articles concerning the political economy and foreign investment, it is clear that it is a serious newspaper. Moving to the third part, called Business Money Times, the economical and political focus continues but with more focus on mere economy as well as on registered offshore trusts and market statistics.

The last part in the newspaper is called News & Opinion, which provide the 'readers debate' following previous stories and its responses. News & Opinion is both political and diverse, with some sarcastic columns. The last pages are the sports section with focus on football, rugby and cricket for the most part.

1.6 Ownership in the South African Press

In order to explain some of the changes and traditions within South African press I wish to clarify some of the challenges faced by the print media and how it can be understood in a social and historical context today. The South African Press has traditionally been divided into four main owners, namely Argus Holdings Limited, Times Media Limited (formerly known as South African Associated Newspapers), Nasionale Pers Beperk (Naspers) and Perskor (Afrikaanse Pers Korporasie). The four main media establishments were however considered to act as a 'duopoly', one representing the English- language press, and the other representing the Afrikaans- language press (Jacobs.1999:2).

1.6.1 The English speaking press

Argus Holdings Limited (AHL) can be traced back to 1957 when The Argus Newspaper was established. It had strong relations with the mining industry, and with the development of the gold mines at Witwatersrand, the Argus Company expanded their business. In the beginning of the 1990's it was recognized as the most powerful and important of the four media groups in South Africa, holding more shares and assets than any of the other (Louw.1993:160).

The South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) was founded in 1906 with the newspapers the Rand Daily Mail and the Sunday Times being bought by Sir Abe Bailey. The Sunday Times is thus one of the oldest newspapers in South Africa, and part of the second media group forming the pro- British alliance. Times Media Limited (TML) as it was later called, and the Argus Holdings had close ties not only because of their equal interest in British capital but also because of their joint conglomerate, the Anglo- American Corporation (Jacobs.1999:2).

In 1994 TML changed name to Johnnic Commnications, selling their majority share to NAIL, a 'black controlled media group' (Jacobs.1993:2). This is regarded as one of the major shifts that occurred after the South African transition towards 'black empowerment'. The members of NAIL have been closely linked to ANC, consisting of mainly former anti- apartheid activists and politicians looking for investment (Jacobs.1999:2-3).

1.6.2 The Afrikaans speaking press

The Nasionale Pers Beperk was established in 1915 as a result of an Afrikaans opposition to Louis Botha's government, led by J. B Hertzog. Hertzog believed that the Botha government were to closely linked and pro- British therefore formed the new National Party based on Afrikaans nationalism. The Nasionale Pers Beperk, later became known as Naspers (Louw.1993:170).

The NBP followed a conservative 'southern Afrikaans nationalism' and the strong relationship between NBP and the National Party led to what was called 'volkskapitalism'. A term used to describe Afrikaner economic institutions which aimed to weaken the 'British control of South African capital' (Louw.1993:171). The NBP continued to follow the NP and stress the importance of apartheid and fronting the Afrikaans struggle against the British imperialists. However, Louw states that towards the 1990's with F.W de Klerk as President, the NBP came to change its attitude towards apartheid and even moved towards support for the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the African Nationalists Congress (ANC) (Louw.1993:172).

The last media group to be discussed in this chapter is the second Afrikaans supporting news group Perskor. Perskor was closely linked to the 'northern Afrikaner nationalism', but became part of Onafhanklike Pers van Suid- Afrika Beperk (OPSA) in the 1940- 50s. Perskor saw the opportunity of the growing group of black readers, and created magazines written in Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho (Louw.1993:173-176).

1.7 Structure of the following thesis

In chapter two I will focus on the historical background in order to emphasize the most important changes in South Africa during the twentieth century. In order to understand how

mega- events such as the coming World Cup are being used as a part of the nation- building process, I will use the Rugby World cup in 1995 to exemplify how nation- building, sport and politics are intertwined.

In chapter three and four I will explain my method and theory; the critical discourse theory (CDA). By using Norman Fairclough's model of production and interpretation as well as van Dijk's theory of especially elite theory and racism in the press, I can make a model for my own analysis of the articles form the Sunday Times. The theoretical and methodological perspective can not easily be divided using the critical discourse theory, so I have chosen to call chapter three 'research design' and chapter four' critical discourse analysis' in order to explain the theory and method in use, without necessarily making a clear distinction between them.

My analytical chapter will follow as chapter five, where I use the articles from the Sunday Times to analyze the importance of the 2010 World Cup and whether it is being used as a tool in the nation- building process? Finally chapter six will conclude my thesis with a summary of my findings.

Chapter 2. South Africa and the historical context

Since 1994 South Africa has gone through an extraordinary process, where poverty, racism and economical development have been the main focus. With Mandela in front, South Africa has tried to build a new country based upon equality, no matter the race, colour, gender or religion. At least, this has been the corner stone of the "rainbow nation", a term launched to include everyone despite the differences in cultural and personal beliefs. Through great sport events such as the Rugby World Cup in 1995, South Africa used the *rainbow nation,* to create a feeling of unity during an extensive nation- building process. The nation- building aspect of the mega- events is an underlying theme in this thesis and this chapter wants to put South Africa in a historical context, to provide a background for the further analysis of The Sunday Times and how they use the coming World Cup 2010 as a part of that nation- building process.

This chapter will first view some of the key historical changes, to illustrate the complexity between history, sports and society in South Africa. The aim of this background chapter will be to provide some answers to the ambiguities concerning the nation and identity -building process connected to the democratization of South Africa. This chapter further seeks to explain the role of sports in South Africa. Since the football World Cup will be discussed thoroughly later in this thesis, this chapter will take a closer look at the Rugby World Cup, hosted by South Africa in 1995.

On the 25th of September 2008, Kgalema Mothlante became the third President of South Africa. He was inaugurated as a temporary head of state, after the former president Thabo Mbkei left office after series of allegations towards Jacob Zuma. Zuma was facing 16 charges for corruption and fraud but was found not guilty during his second trial and assumed office as state president on May 9th 2009 (Gumede. 2008:262). In his first trial in 2006, Zuma was accused of rape and assault on a family acquaintance and prominent HIV positive and Aids activist at his home (Kapp.2006:718).

This short introduction show some of the difficulties found within South African politics. Jacob Zuma is now president but has been through two trials and in both found not guilty. An emerging conflict between two fractions within the ANC has been driven by Mbeki and Zuma, representing to some degree the Xhosa and Zulu population.

2.1 The historical context.

South Africa, as the rest of Africa, was not originally looked upon as a country with a collective culture and identity before the Europeans came and divided the continent. In 1652 the Dutch East Indian Company established a port in Cape Town, supposedly as a place to stop on the trade route to India. This led to a small stream of settlers from the Netherlands and Germany who began as farmers on the East Coast. The new settlers took pride in forming a new identity, with their own language, Afrikaans, and called themselves Boers. In the late eighteenth century the British began immigrating, and conquered the Cape first in 1795, and again in 1806. However, it was not until they found diamonds and gold that the real immigration started from Europe. An escalating conflict between the British and the Afrikaners/Boers ended in the second South African War in 1899- 1902 (Barber. 1999: 38- 45).

The British won, and even though the losses were tremendous on both sides, the Afrikaans speaking population felt inferior, and the need to create an own identity grew stronger. In 1910 South Africa became a Union, governed by a coalition from the British and the Afrikaners, while the black and coloureds were used as plain work force for the growing white elite industry.

The South African economy grew fast because of the gold and minerals, but the increased national wealth was however only experienced by the white elite. During the time of economic growth, the Afrikaners still felt undermined by the British, and the sense of being given a lower priority has been regarded as one of the most important factors to explain how the massive support for apartheid was even possible. The National Party (NP) formed the government in 1948 after they won the election, and with D. F. Malan as Prime Minister, apartheid was set in progress. During the next 46 years, South Africa would be governed by the NP aiming for a South Africa in total segregation (Clark&Wolger.2004: x- xiii) and (Barber.2004:142- 143).

2.2. Apartheid- the ruthless system

The main idea and goal behind apartheid was as mentioned, total segregation, with Black, Coloureds, Asian and Caucasian separated. Countless laws and acts were established to suppress especially Blacks and Coloureds. Whole districts were suddenly moved and all "non-whites" was forced to wear passes, describing who they were and which township they

belonged to. The so- called Bantustans were established, political opposition was illegal and any uprisings were crushed. One could, for example, not walk to another "zone" without permission, even though your family might been trapped somewhere else. To be a black or coloured man, you were almost destined to work in the mines, without any hopes of "climbing the latter" or be properly educated. The thought behind apartheid was not only extremely racist, but the severe discrimination was sustained and regarded as an ideal by many until the beginning of the 1990's (Booth.1996:459).

Even though the apartheid regime introduced a number of appalling and atrocious laws, one can consider apartheid as a system put in place after a long tradition of unrightfully treatments of non- whites in South Africa. History has shown us that discrimination has been the rule rather than the exception in former colonies and Africa in general. Even before apartheid was established, black and coloureds were forced upon strict taxes and prohibited to own their own land. This system was put in place by the government during the nineteenth century and had long lasting effects on both the settlement and the later influx of work force from neighbouring countries. Not to mention, the vital effect it had on families that were forced to split as the men were working in mines for months at the time, while women and children were left on their own. For women, this was devastating and many had to leave their land and settle on the outskirt of the growing cities. Brothels were established around the mines, and in this way, even more families were ruined by adultery and spreading diseases (Kizilos.1998: 41).

2.3 The first phase of apartheid and the Freedom Charter

As the apartheid government tightened their grip on the South African people, the resistance grew domestically and the international pressure became more evident. Three episodes in different phases of apartheid would especially increase the focus on the severe conditions in South Africa for the international society.

In 1955, the inhabitants of Sophiatown were forced from their homes and everything they owned was left behind. Many lost everything and had to move to a controlled area with limited resources. The Sophiatown case was also a result of the active anti- apartheid resistance which grew in the non- white community as the apartheid laws were enforced with greater brutality. A mass protest in 1952, initiated the struggle against the National Party and the apartheid legislations caused by the Afrikaner celebration of the 1652 Dutch Settlement in

Cape Town. The mass protest was one of the first 'defiance campaigns' organized by the ANC. With newly recruited anti- apartheid activist as the Communist Party which had been banned in 1950, ANC were suddenly expanded by the thousands. However, the mass protest also led to an even greater white support of the NP in the 1953 election, securing the apartheid government and its discrimination of non- whites (Louw.2004:62).

In June 1955 and as a result of the Sophiatown case, the *Freedom Charter* was completed. On request by the ANC, 55 000 volunteers went out to the villages and townships, to ask everyone, no matter the race or colour, how they wanted to live, and by which principles and laws. As the former President Motlanthe expressed in his first speech to the nation;

Fellow South Africans,
In everything that we do, we are guided by the vision of the Freedom Charter, which said that:
"South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people."
This vision is all-encompassing. It does not exclude any single South African. Nor does it allow that any person has any greater claim than any other to being an integral part of this nation (Kgalema Motlanthe.28.September 2008. http://blogs.thetimes.co.za).

The first phase of apartheid was characterized by increased violence from the police and more discriminating laws, as well as the support for the anti- apartheid struggle grew and the ANC reorganized and became more powerful. The different factions in the anti- apartheid struggle saw the benefits of standing together in the fight. In the period 1957- 61 the Treason Trial imprisoned 156 political activists on Robben Island, including Nelson Mandela and all opposition was being repressed (Louw.2004:62).

2.4 The second phase of apartheid and the Sharpeville Massacre

The second phase of apartheid started in 1958, when Hendrik Verwoed became Prime Minister, continuing until the end of John Vorster'period as Prime Minister. This period was first and foremost recognized by the 'partition policy' implemented by Verwoed in order to establish independent homelands for blacks and coloureds, the so-called Bantustans. The large land transactions from black ownership to white hands led to an uprooting in the black African society, as well as the 'westernized black population' in the cities were encouraged to go back to 'their' homelands instead of making a living in the cities. If they 'chose' to stay, repression and more aggression was to be faced (Louw.2004:63-65).

One of the most horrifying incidents in the second phase was the confrontation on the 21st of March 1960, were the police shot and killed 69 and wounded 130 peaceful demonstrators, consequently known as the Sharpeville Massacre. Thousands of people demonstrated against the pass laws and were heading towards the police station, intending to be arrested. This was one of the early strategies to the ANC, and the plan was that the police could not manage to arrest everyone, in which case they would show the government that they did not have ultimate power. However, this time, the police fired instead of using handcuffs.

The Sharpville massacre woke up the international community of the ongoing assault of the South African people, and strikes led by the ANC were inflicted to do economical harm. After Sharpville, the ANC formed a militant wing called the Umkhonto we Sizwe, fronted by Nelson Mandela, as a result of the unsuccessful non- violent strategy (Kizilos.1998:42- 57).

As South Africa became a republic in 1961, Verwoed also managed to bring the bond closer between the British and Afrikaner speaking part of the population. While the 1940- 50's had been affected by the bitterness between the two white 'groups', the 1960- 70's was suddenly recognized by rising cooperation. With the republic, Afrikaners felt independent from Britain, thus not as threatened by the British speaking and instead saw new possibilities for economic and political collaboration (Louw.2004:65-67).

2.5 Apartheids third phase and the aftermath of the Soweto Uprising

The 1970- 80s's were characterized by more brutal violence. ANC led different operations to weaken the government who in turn continued with their aggressive discrimination together with the police. The conflict escalated with the *Soweto Uprising* in 1976, were it is estimated that between 200- 500 people got killed during protests against the government's decision to teach Afrikaans in black schools. The demonstrators were students, singing and dancing peacefully towards the police blockade. The police opened fire and in the following day several hundreds were killed in violent demonstrations and further violent police attacks. The demonstration had been backed by the Black Consciousness Movement, led by Steve Biko. He was assassinated in police custody in 1977, and became one of the most important icons of the anti- apartheid struggle (Louw.67- 75).

During the 'struggling years', ANC together with the other anti- apartheid organizations went through changes on their own. As Sacky Madi, a member of the ANC after the Soweto uprising pointed out;

Within the ANC I learned that nonracialism should be a concept in the revolution. If I remember well, they never sat down and said, " Now we are discussing nonracialism", but the point was, okay, if you are saying South Africa belongs to both black and white, people used to ask the question, "Then who is our enemy?" That was when experienced ANC stalwarts would come up and explain exactly what we mean in the ANC by nonracialism, that the ANC is a movement of all genuine freedom fighters, black or white. Those who are opposed to racial discrimination and the apartheid system are welcome to participate in the ANC (Hawk.1992:169)

Most of the members of the Black Consciousness Movement joined the ANC or PAC (the Pan Africanist Congress) eventually, and as former Black Consciousness leader Patrick Lekota described, while imprisoned on Robben Island with the other political prisoners;

In our formative years, politically, we saw the struggle strictly in terms of one race versus another race because we were deprived of the wealth of the heritage of struggle which others who had gone before us had already amassed. Then we were arrested, with men who were black like ourselves, and it was precisely from among those men that some of them took witness stand, side by side with the Security Police, and condemned us and sent us to jail (…) Now I felt it was high time that one really reflected carefully as to weather the struggle in this country was a struggle of those who were committed to justice- never mind the colour of their skin- and those who were committed to injustice. Even if there were no white people participating in the struggle, we would still say it is wrong to judge anyone by the colour of their skin (Hawk.1992:169)

While the Black Consciousness Movement grew and the tension between the opposing groups increased, the South African government suddenly had a new Afrikaner bourgeoisie and middle- class. With the empowerment of Afrikaners, and 'independence' from the British, the apartheid government sought to move away from the state interference in the economy and shift towards neoliberalism (Louw.2004:68-69)

The severe conflicts that had tormented the country since 1948 did not end until the F. W. de Klerk's government in 1990 acknowledged the difficulties and started the release of political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela from Robben Island (Booth: 1996: 459). With an emerging new era the two conflicting sides moved towards reconciliation, using sports to forward unity and nationalism.

2.6 The traditional role of Rugby in South Africa

The origins of rugby in South Africa can be traced back to Great Britain from the middle of the 20th century. The sport, how rough it may seem, is actually considered a gentleman's sport, and is first and foremost performed by the upper and middle- class. In 1895, the sport

was divided into two fractions, the Rugby Football Union, and the Rugby Football League. The upper and middle- class belonged to the Union, while the Rugby League represented the working class. Peter Dahlén (2004) argues in his *Klassekamp och Tvedräkt*, that rugby in general was associated with mainly the upper class, while football on the other hand, was linked to football. So even though rugby was spreading to the working class in Britain through Rugby League, it was still considered a sport for the social and economic elite when it reached South Africa (Dahlén. 2004: 6).

This image of elite sport was created with the introduction of the game, and was actively maintained through the apartheid regime in the twentieth century. From the introduction of rugby in South Africa, despite their differences, the Boers and the Britsh agreed on a single governing body for rugby in South Africa. As Sir Alfred Milner expressed how he felt about white supremacy;

The white man must rule because he is elevated by many, many steps above the black man. One of the strongest arguments why (he) must rule is because that is the only possible means of gradually raising the black man not to our level of civilization- which is doubtful he would ever obtain- but up to a much higher level than that which he present occupies (Booth.1998:20).

Sir Milner, the high Commissioner for South Africa was one of the founders of native pass laws and argued strongly against assimilation of black Africans to the *white* South Africa.

2.7 The preparations towards the Rugby World Cup 1995

In the beginning of the 1990's, two opinions were raised concerning the role of rugby in the South African society. On one side you had David Craven as President of SARB (the South African Rugby Board) arguing that there was no actual connection between the South African society and rugby as a sport. On the other side SARU (the anti- apartheid African Union) and NOSC (the National and Olympic Sports Congress) looked upon sport as *"interlinked with the total social formation and had to reflect society"*(Grundlingh, Odendaal and Spies. 1995:3).

The division could become a problem. South Africa and especially some members of the ANC regarded sports as a way of reconciliation. South Africa was still banned from international mega events, such as the Olympics. So with that in mind, Steve Tshwete, an anti- apartheid activist and member of ANC who became the Minister of Sports, recognized

the importance of cooperation between the two sides. SARFU (the South African Rugby Football Union) was established and in December 1991 and in 1992, the new organization began its work. As a result, the international condemnation of South Africa was partly lifted and they could once again compete in the Olympics in 1992 (Grundlingh, Odendaal and Spies. 1995:2-5).

There was however a great concern about how rugby and sports in general were conceived in the South African population, and as André Odendaal describes it,

Black rugby players and sportspeople are relatively underdeveloped as a direct result of South Africa's history of colonialism, segregation and apartheid. Sports in South Africa have always been linked closely to politics and have reflected the society and social structures. This can be seen in various levels: in the organizational structures that developed, in the values systems that became entrenched in sport, in the issues that excited sportspeople over the years, in the differences that emerged amongst them, and in the way the development of sport closely followed the pattern of historical and regional development (Grundlingh, Odendaal and Spies. 1995:25).

For the Rugby World Cup to be held in South Africa, the sport as a whole needed to change in order to represent the country and its plural society. New leaders were chosen to promote the national team, Springboks as a new and fresh symbol of the *Rainbow Nation*. Among the new leaders were Edwars Griffiths, a sports journalist who became CEO (Chief Executive Officer) of SARFU. Morné du Plessis, a former Springboks Captain known for his anti- apartheid attitude, became the new manager, and he played an important role in the new political situation. The new Springboks Captain, Francois Pienaar was equally of great importance, especially in defining Springboks as something else than a symbol of apartheid and white supremacy. As captain, he made the team learn and sing publicly before matches, the national anthem in Xhosa and not only in Afrikaans as the tradition was. Media had commented on this, and in the hectic time before the World Cup, Springboks had a lot of work to do. Most importantly, Springboks had to show they were willing to play for and represent the whole nation, not only the white elite (Grundlingh.1998:70).

As the leader, managers and captain tried to change the attitude of the team as well as change people's perception of the Springboks and rugby in general, one also had to find a black player. In an all white national team, Chester Williams became just that black player and referred to as "the Black Pearl". With an enormous media circus, Williams represented the

new nation and the changes that lay ahead, *"He was the emblem of achievement, hope, reconciliation and recognition for the fledging nation"* (Grundlingh.1998:72).

2.8 The 1995 Rugby World Cup

The Rugby World Cup started with a bang at Newlands Stadium in Cape Town 25th of May 1995. South Africa beat the ruling world champions Australia in the first round, and with that, gave way for a collective celebration. The final match was held in Ellis Park, Johannesburg, were the Springboks won on overtime over the New Zealand All Blacks.

The opening ceremony of the World Cup had been well planned and contained as little reference to the hurtful past as possible. Instead, the World Cup started off with joyous dances celebrating the different cultures and traditions represented in the country. South Africa tried to establish itself as a country heading for reconciliation, in spite of differences, language and tradition. The ceremony was maybe considered a show for the gallery, but be that as it may, the festive circumstances, the victory and the symbolism played a very important role for the people. It might not have been a long lasting effect, because everyday life would soon kick in. However, it contributed both in the political sphere and gave a positive 'boost' to the new democracy. South Africa was for the first time talked about in a context without negative connotations (Grundlingh.1998:75- 77).

There was however other arguments of what impact the Rugby World Cup had, as Professor in English at the University of Cape Town argued after the World Cup was finished;

(The ceremonies) presented a de- historicized vision of Tourist South Africa: contented tribesfolk and happy mineworkers, as in the old South Africa, but purified and sanctified, somehow, by the Rainbow. When it got the paler end of the spectrum, however, it found that it could not proceed without becoming, intermittently, not only a pageant but an historical pageant as well. And so to the procession of timeless Sotho on blankets and timeless Zulu in ostrich feathers it had to add what looked very much like a happy eighteenth- century slaves and slave owners in knee- branches, bearing baskets of agricultural produce to the rainbow feast (Nauright.2004:1327).

2.9 Football in South Africa

Sport in South Africa has always been influenced by apartheid, and football was no exception. Because of the apartheid laws football should preferably not be mixed and different football organizations was created, based on race and skin colour. The Football Association of South Africa (FASA) was created in 1892 and for whites only. Indians, black and coloured formed

the South African Indian Football Association (SAIFA) in 1903, the South African Bantu Football Association (SABFA) in 1933 and the South African Coloured Football Association (SACFA) in 1936. Because of the segregation policy of apartheid, South Africa was banned from the African Cup of Nations in 1957 and met with an ultimatum from FIFA in 1960 that ended in a temporary suspension. The suspension led to a final exclusion from FIFA in 1976 and it would take almost twenty years until South Africa formed the South African Football Association, finally without any discrimination of colour or race. The creation of SAFA and political legislations in the first half of the 1990's meant that South Africa finally could participate in international sport events again. After they hosted the Rugby World Cup in 1995, South Africa also hosted the African Cup of Nations in 1996, where they came out victoriously in both disciplines (Höglund and Sundberg.2008: 806- 808).

2.10 Sport, Politics and Nationalism.

The political strategy in South Africa had historically been to control sports through the Department of National Education, in order to make people adapt segregation and racism through sports. As the Minister of the Interior in 1956 expressed; *"whites and non- whites should organize their sport separately within South Africa"* (Jarvie.1991: 176).

This was the standard policy until the 1970's when the government started to think about integrating different racial groups in sports. The policy was however not really considered before the 1990's when the NP started negotiations with the ANC who looked upon sport as a means to reach higher goals with a bigger agenda*; "Freedom in sport, it is argued, can only materialize from true liberation which in turn necessitates the dismantling of apartheid's core statutes and policies"* (Jarvie.1991:1779.

Jarvie further the argument that sport has to be part of the larger social perspective, where class, culture and politics are judged as well;

During the 1980's a key element of the African National Congress (ANC) policy in South Africa was "One Can Not Play Normal Sport in an Abnormal Society". By the 1990's, President Nelson Mandela argued that sport had become part of the new glue that held the nation together. This was exemplified through South Africa's victory in the 1995 Rugby World Cup, a symbolic victory of a new post- apartheid era (Jarvie.1995:115).

Dr. Jason Tuck, the Head of Sport Studies Group at the University of Winchester also claims that sport is part of the national identity as well as it helps define peoples identity be it on a local or international level. Sport can in that way create some of the foundations in a collective interdependence (Tuck.2003:115).

In *Mandela and Amabokoboko: the Political and Linguistics Nationalisation of South Africa*, Douglas Booth presents three dimensions of sport and nationalism. First, sport is considered to be a national symbol, especially when victorious, because it gives connotations of a strong state and country. Secondly, one can look upon sport as an event, creating a reciprocated memory, where one might explore new ideas and create a foundation for change. Finally, the different flags, songs and different symbols represent one country which in turn makes them different from other nations (Booth.1996:460).

2.11 Summary

South Africa won the bidding for the upcoming Football World Cup 2010, and with that in mind, they had to prepare for the world giving them their full attention. To begin to understand how important the event is for South Africa, I have tried to outline some major historical events, as well as the role of sports. To further investigate how the coming mega event will have any impact on the nation building process, I will in the next chapter explain the method and theory provided in this thesis. Apartheid has been the core of social difficulties in modern South Africa so the coming World Cup needs to be analyzed in that historical context (Booth: 1996: 459).

The Football World Cup is just around the corner, and South Africa needs to prepare for what is to be 'a platform for peace and development across Africa', as the UN secretary- General Ban Ki- Moon stated during a meeting on October 21st 2009 with Danny Jordaan. Jordaan is the chief executive of the 2010 Organizing Committee, and met with the Secretary General discussing the coming World Cup and its possibilities concerning `the African story'. Ki- Mon stated that football in particular *unified people and built solidarity* in which Jordaan replied that "the world Cup is a dream that began in 1994, the first year of our democracy, and is part of our ongoing efforts as a nation to build unity in our country" (SouthAfrica.info). The embrace of the coming football World Cup from the UN is part of a larger attempt to promote Africa as a whole, as well as it strengthens South Africa as the first African host of such an important mega event.

Chapter 3. Research Design

3.1 Introduction

Language defines us, helps us communicate and gives us a certain identity. At the same time, language is socially bound and one feel connected to the people speaking the same language. In all these ways, language contributes to the disputes of nationalism and our identity. It provides us with a meaning of who we are, and reflects our understanding of ourselves distinct from others. In South Africa language is not only part of the history, but it reflects the diversity within the nation. In Norway, we only have Norwegian, and *samisk* the language of our northern native population, in South Africa, there are 11 official national languages and several dialects (www.salanguages.com). The use of language is associated with every form of discourse and the way people understand discourses, texts and speeches, are connected to the society and the surrounding context of our being.

The critical discourse analysis (CDA) is part of the qualitative form of method, but it is also a theory. The boundaries in the field of research within this practise are unclear and scholars have developed a multidisciplinary form of research. Following I will say something about what a discourse is, as well as mention some of the main features of semiotics and linguistics that can contribute to my analysis of the Sunday Times and the upcoming Football World Cup 2010.

I will describe more precisely how the CDA will be used as an analytical tool for my analysis. First this chapter will give a brief introduction to the differences between qualitative and quantitative method, leading to an explanation in both the conceptual and theoretical framework of the critical discourse analysis. Parts of my analysis will be based on conflict and consensus theory, which will be used as a background for my discourse dimensions.

I will use articles from the Sunday Times and supply with some articles from their newspaper online to exemplify the points made in the paper format. It is important to establish that these articles will only be used to exemplify the points already made by original sources and work as contributing material to the Sunday Times.

3.2 Qualitative and quantitative method.

My thesis is based upon a small amount of newspapers, collected from a specific time, enabling a consistency between the articles. To use quantitative method, one needs larger

quantities of material, there are strict rules to follow and the researcher wants primarily to show a cause- effect relationship between his variables of research (Jensen.2002:211). In qualitative method the rules are vaguer and there is room for experimenting and close reading of the texts.

Qualitative research is multimethod in focus, involving in an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln 1994:2 in Gentikow.2002:49).

The two methods can both be traced back to the Chicago school, the Columbian School as well as to the Payne-Fund Studies. With humanists entering the media science in the 1980s, a critical division developed between the quantitative and the qualitative methods (Gentikow.2005:35).

The quantitative method is useful where you use different variables and numbers to determine or explain an outcome. For instance, Ransford Danso and David A. McDonald found the research of the immigration and print media in Post- apartheid South Africa too "impressionistic" and only provided by qualitative studies. They wanted to produce a quantitative research paper in order to examine more precisely the media's coverage of immigration to South Africa in order to say something about the balance of social xenophobia in South Africa, governmental policymaking and news coverage. Here, quantitative method is very productive, because the material is possible to categorize and count. For instance, how many of the 1,200 articles represent a negative view on cross- border migration to South Africa, and how many does not (Danso and McDonald.2001:116)?

It has been argued that quantitative method thus can provide better grounds for generalization than qualitative method. However, the qualitative method provides a much more thorough form of interview and observation during studies. All in all, one can argue that the two methods complement each other.

The qualitative method looks at a text in its natural setting, with focus on the broader context. In many qualitative surveys, the interpreter analyzes a text form a participators view often while the experiment or survey takes place. This provides another form of results compared to quantitative method were the surveys takes place in a controlled environment, or with specified or already given, answers.

Barbara Gentikow has provided a list to simplify the differences between the two methods;

Quantitative	Qualitative
Large selection	Small selection
Surveys	In depth interviews, conversations
Width	Depth
Questionnaire	Interview guide
Closed questions	Open questions
Structured material	Non structured material
Analysis of numbers	Analysis of texts
Distance to the informants	Closeness to the informants
Strict and formal rules during the research process	Flexible process and reliance on self control and insight
Unambiguous answers	Openness for ambivalence
Closed questions	Open questions
Given alternatives to answer	Formulate own answers

(Gentikow 2005:36).

One of the qualities Gentikow wants to stress with qualitative method is the researcher's possibility to gain a so called 'cultural unawareness' or naivety towards their case study or subject. The positive outcome of this maintenance of naivety is how the researchers then can avoid to come to the conclusions they favourite, or seek explanations that just fit their own hypothesis without actually exploring other factors and possibilities (Gentikow.2002:54-55).

"Qualitative methods are particularly oriented toward exploration, discovery, and inductive logic. An evaluation approach is inductive to the extent that the researcher attempts to make sense of the situation without imposing pre-existing expectations on the phenomenon or setting under study, inductive analysis begins with specific observations and builds towards general patterns" (Patton.1990:44 in Gentikow.2002:55).

By using a qualitative method, I will be able to do a close reading of the texts and go deeper into the different articles. The question I would like to ask is how the newspaper fronts the coming World Cup? I expected to find a great deal of advertisements and texts celebrating the

upcoming World Cup, but the articles were focused on more than just predicted positive outcomes.

3.3 Semiotic studies and Linguistics

In my critical discourse analysis I also whish to include some semiotics and linguistic tools of analysis. Charles Sanders Pierce and Ferdinand de Saussure are recognized as the founders of modern linguistic theories and semiotic studies. Pierce is known to be the first scientist using `semiotics' to explain signs in the written language. In his theories he developed three categories for signs; icon, index and symbol. Ferdinand de Saussure found that a word is consisting of two components; the signifier and the signified. The signifier is the specific shape of the word, how the letters are constructed together to form that word. The signified is the idea of what that word represents, or the concept which creates a meaning. The relationship between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary, which means that it is not a connection between the shape of the word and what that represents (Schwebs and Østbye.2001:149-152).

3.4 Teun A. van Dijk -meaning and ideologies.

Teun A van Dijk argues in his Racism and the Press (1991:176) that the concept of meaning within semiotic studies can be divided into two main arguments; the abstract conception of meaning, were the reader understand the meaning of a text based on the proposition of the text. If the arguments in a text correlate, a meaning is provided. The empirical concept of meaning focuses however on the *readers* ability to understand a text based on his/hers 'mental strategies' and how they assign a text meaning. van Dijk further the argument of the significance of semiotics on the grounds of 'local coherence':

(A text) is locally coherent if its propositions are about situations, events or actions that have specific relations among each other, for instance a temporal or causal relation (…) an analysis of the meanings and coherence relations in discourse allows us to infer the beliefs of the speaker or writer about causal or other relations in society, beliefs which in turn are based on general knowledge, attitudes and ideologies (van Dijk.1991:178-179).

In the same book, van Dijk draws the attention to some specific ways producers and journalists makes it possible to argue in favour of their own/or others agenda and point of view. Through denial, vagueness, presuppositions, perspectives and implicit meanings, the writers are able to forward a biased story or article (van Dijk.1991:190). Van Dijk's argument

can be correlated to the two dimensions pointed out by Duncan and Olorunnisola on media and its two positions towards public or national interest mentioned in the introduction chapter.

The theories accredited by van Dijk will be helpful for my analysis in detecting various aspects of a text and how they are being used to persuade the reader in one or the other direction. It will mostly help me put into word the type of concepts of meanings I am looking for in the Sunday Times articles

3.5 Roger Fowler – linguistics

Roger Fowler, was a Professor in linguistics at the University of east Anglia, and his work will benefit my thesis in many ways. Since this is a critical discourse analysis, I will however not look at the language in the same way as in linguistics, but it is of somewhat importance to draw the attention to how Fowler regards news in a social and historical context. As he states in *Language in the News* (1991:4);

News is a representation of the world in language; because language is a semiotic code, it imposes a structure of values, social and economic in origin, on whatever is represented; and so inevitably news, like very discourse, constructively patterns that of which it speaks. News is a representation in this sense of construction; it is not a value- free reflection of 'facts' (…) there are always different ways of saying the same thing, and they are not random, accidental alternatives. Differences in expression carry ideological distinctions, (and thus differences in representation).

Fowler can be helpful for my paper because he does not only look at the language or a text on the basis of symbols and signs; he includes the social and historical context as well. At the same time, he also argues that news, especially during the Thatcher era in Britain from 1979 to 1990 'theorized social and international relationships in terms of conflict' (Fowler.1991: 4). The conflict and consensus ideology according to Fowler, was established through a line of linguistic practises from the government through media, as a way to separate the threat 'them' from 'us'. He argues that under Thatcher, the goal was to create a conflicting position towards the threats and discarded elements from the outside, at the same time as they urged for national unity and consensus (Fowler.1991:6).

In a historical context, much of the same can be said about how the apartheid regime used mass media to engage people in their politics and way of thinking. In making a joint threat from the 'outside' one is able to persuade the people on the 'inside' (white, English- speaking elite) to justify their stand through consensus. The use of consensus to claim our own

'tolerance' or even right to act or believe as we do, at the same time as one is aggravating conflict toward someone else or other groups is expressed through semiotics, linguistics and is put into theory through conflict and consensus.

Fowler continues his debate on consensus in the press, and argues that while consensus is the motive of governments and businesses to create a collective acceptance towards status quo, it is vital for the press to establish both a consensus oriented line with the government *and* with the reader on the other side;

In so far as the Press is a business, it has commercial interests in fostering an agreement on a range of consumer-oriented values; in so far as its interests coincide with those of government, it has political motives for conveying approval of stable, familiar ideology (…) Consensus assumes, and in times of crisis actually *affirms*, that within the group, there is no difference or disunity in the interests and values of any of the population, or of any institution (Fowler.1991:49).

The main idea is that people sharing the same beliefs and norms, situated in one geographical area will move towards consensus, especially during crisis. However, this is not always so, and the argumentation put forward by the press in these situation may actually just be using a kind of language, persuading people to join together in the same beliefs in order to distance themselves from a treat or the 'others'. As Fowler choose to emphasize; "the point is that consensus is posited about a set of *beliefs* or *values*, not *facts* (Fowler.1991:59)".

The contradiction between conflict and consensus is what I am looking for in the articles from the Sunday Times, and therefore Fowler has been helpful during my process of analysis. As will be further explained and investigated in this chapter, the articles will be put into different discourse dimensions, with conflict and consensus always as an underlying context.

News is not a natural phenomenon emerging straight from `reality', but a product. It is produced by an industry, shaped by the bureaucratic and economic structure of that industry, by the relations with government and with other political organizations. From a broader perspective, it reflects, and in return shapes, the prevailing values of a society in a particular historic context (Fowler.1991:222).

3.6 Discourse as a theory.

Discourse has been on the field of research for decades, with an aim to understand language and texts. The term discourse has been defined, modified and made understandable in many

camps of theoretical work. Michel Foucault is however recognized as one of the founding fathers of the term and how to understand it.

Instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word 'discourse', I believe I have in fact added to its meanings; treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as individualize group of statements, and sometimes, as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements (Foucault,1972:80 cited in Mills.2004:6).

In this citation, Foucault gives three definitions on how to understand discourse. First, he recognizes that all statements, including all texts and forms of speech, can be considered a form of discourse. Secondly he sees discourse in the light of groups of utterances which are connected according to regulations or coherence. The third and last definition of discourse is a way of looking at the regulations of statements rather than the productions of the actual utterances (Mills.2004:6).

The definitions made by Foucault on how to understand discourse has been a theoretical first base, of other theorists and linguistics. Discourse theory has emerged into different wings of theory and method, and I will use the critical discourse theory, accounted for by Norman Fairclough and Teun A.van Dijk.

3.7 What is Critical Discourse Analysis?

Norman Fairclough is considered one of the founders of the critical discourse analysis. He is a linguist and furthered the notion that texts and language is a form of social practice, not only an individual activity determined by specific social situations:

Language is a part of society, and not somehow external to it. Second, that language is a social process. And thirdly, that language is a socially conditioned process, conditioned that this is by other (non- linguistic) parts of society (Fairclough.1989:22).

Language can not be separated from a social context, because language is depended on and developed in a social context, with social conditions and different forms of interpretations. On every level in a society, be it in an intimate conversation or in a global context, language is affiliated with social practices, and social practices are in turn dependent on language. Secondly, language is a process, which means that it can be either a text or a discourse. By text Fairclough means a product, be it a spoken or written text, and by discourse, he refers to the entire process of "social interaction of which a text is just a part". The discourse then

includes both the process of producing a text, as well as the process of interpretation (Fairclough.1989:24). Thirdly he emphasizes the notion that language is dependent on society on both a social and cognitive level;

Discourse, then, involves conditions, which can be specified as *social conditions of production*, and *social conditions of interpretations*. These social conditions, moreover, relate to three different `levels' of social organization: the level of the social situation, or the immediate social environment in which the discourse occurs; the level of the social institution which constitutes a wider matrix for the discourse; and the level of the society as a whole (Fairclough.1989:25).

The critical discourse analysis gives an opportunity to view a text in a dialectic relationship between the text itself and the social context it occurs in. In that way, the discourse constitutes social structures, represents and reproduces knowledge and identities at the same time as it is shaped and challenged by other social structures and social context (Jørgensen and Phillips.1999:77). With Fairclough's theoretical framework as my basic condition I will also use Teun A van Dijk and his form of method. The difference between their approach to discourse analysis will however be discussed more thoroughly in the following chapter, in which I will also explain how I see their method as important and useful for my assignment.

3.8 Critical Discourse Analysis

The tendency within theoretical and analytical work is to maintain as objective as possible during the analysis. The critical discourse analysis, seeks a biased position, where the aim is to recognize inequality and forms of dominance instead of reassuring an objective agenda. Dominance is here defined by Teun A. van Dijk (1993:250) as;

The exercise of social power by elites, institutions or group, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class ethnic, racial and gender inequality. This reproduction of process may involve such different 'modes' of discourse- power relations as the more or less direct or overt support, enactment, representation, legitimating, denial, mitigation or concealment of dominance.

van Dijk also provides a definition of power and show wow CDA are defined in the terms of control;

Groups have (more or less) power if they are able to (more or less) control the acts and minds of (members of) other groups. This ability presupposes a power base of (privileged access) scarce social resources, such as force,

money, status, fame, knowledge, information, `culture' or indeed various forms of public discourse and communication" (van Dijk: 2008:5).

The biased position gives a further notion of standing on the side of the 'week' or being concerned more about the top- down relations in society. In the case of South Africa, the situation is almost unique, because of the way that the power or dominance relations have shifted dramatically during the last fifteen years. CDA sees social inequality not only from a direct perspective, were one assume that direct orders and commands can lead to empowerment and dominance. It also explores the possibilities of a dialect relationship between speech (text) and dominance, where it is possible to have certain 'accepted' forms of dominance, for instance between teachers and students, parents and their children etc. The conditions therefore needs to be evaluated and regarded as socially accepted 'abuse' of power to create dominance and hence social inequality (van Dijk.1993:250).

What makes CDA so special in comparison to other discourse theories is that CDA first and foremost analyze the text within a social context, which gives it a deeper complexity and meaning. In that also lies the self- criticism toward the use of CDA as a theory and method, because the analyst can not possible be aware of the objective 'truth' (Mills.2004:141). The apparent aim for this thesis is to look at the exercise of power, in media, politics, sports and society as a whole. How it has shifted from a merely all white elite controlled country, to a nation with a growing black and colored bourgeois where ANC has no real contestants for the political power. I regard inequality as a form of basis for the nation- building process in South Africa. How the dominant group has shifted from a white- elite controlling the black and colored majority, towards a shift in both politics and social agenda.

When addressing the complex South African society, democracy is frequently mentioned as the salvation after apartheid. Democracy can be defined in many ways, but the eight criteria defined by Robert A. Dahl are widely recognized;

1. The right to vote ,
2. The right to be elected
3. The right of political leaders to compete for support and votes
4. Elections that are free and fair
5. Freedom of association
6. Freedom of expression
7. Alternative sources of information

8. Institutions for making public policies depend on votes, and other expressions of preference. (Lijphart.1999:48).

The choice of using CDA as my research method and theory is based upon the notion of how power abuse, and the acceptance of that abuse, can be created and persist in a society today. More than that, how it connects with historical factors, especially in a nation like South Africa. van Dijk creates an easy way to formulate the nature of dominance and power which I choose to explain how CDA connects with conflict and consensus, and hence, with my thesis on discourse and nation- building in South Africa;

First one needs to understand that access to resources, it be socially or economical resources that may create social power. With social power, one has the ability to control others. This does not necessarily need to involve violence or the ability to limit freedom of others, but the ability to influence their thought and choices. With the possibility to pressure or persuade the mind of others, you basically do it with the help of discourse, i.e. text or speech. This is where van Dijk recognizes the importance of discourse and CDA since *managing the mind of others is essentially a function of text and talk* (van Dijk.1993:254). One also need to consider that it is possible to manipulate and influence in so- called 'natural' settings (van Dijk.1993:254), were the need to be critical is essential. By recognizing the fact that there exist different kinds of power, CDA use 'dominance' as a term, to separate *legitimate power* from *power abuse*. The goal, as mentioned, for critical discourse analysts is to discover social inequality and thus power abuse. The abuse of power is not dominant until people actually accepts it, and stop fighting it.

If the minds of the dominated can be influenced in such a way that they accept dominance, and act in the interest of the powerful out of their own free will, we use the term hegemony (Gramsci, 1971; Hall et al., 1977 cited in van Dijk.1993:255).With hegemony, the concept of consensus and conflict can be supplied to the analysis.

3.9 Criticism and problems

There are some problems concerning the use of CDA. One must regard the fact that often the critical discourse analyst separate the lead or headline of a text and then merely puts it into a contextual box. This is not sufficient, one still have to look at what is actually being

established. My thesis will hopefully discover what topics are being written about, instead of how the headlines are written. I will not be concentrating on the straight forward spelling and dictation of a single sentence. Although Fairclough has been regarded as the founding father of a complex system in with a text derives in, it is easy to get hung- up in single sentences, instead of looking at the certain articles as a whole, trying to establish exactly what they are trying to say.

It is also part of the analysis to regard what preconceptions the journalist might have, and we can not let the text and the productions alone simplify the meaning of its discourse. It is likely that the interpreter also has certain prejudices and thoughts of opinion which will in turn correspond with the meaning he gets from the article.

I will examine the articles as a critical discourse analyst, but hope to have focus on the subjects in hand, on how it emphasizes nation -building, how the power relations in South Africa shines through the text or how the use of mega- events are exporting the country internationally and domestically.

3.10 Conflict and Consensus theory

The consensus and conflict theory will both be used to explain how the social context in South Africa can be understood. In the social context lies Faiclough's social conditions of production and social conditions of interpretation. For my analysis I have chosen to divide his social context into a conflict and a consensus part.

Consent can be understood as the will of the individual to associate with others and, what is more, to approve their value system and be ready to share their fate, whatever that may be.
 (Moscovici&Doise.1994:3-4)

One of the basic terms of consensus theory are based on the presumption that there are three authorities able to cut through a disagreement and form an agreement that different fractions can accept; The first is tradition, which enables people to agree on the basis of norms and rules already accepted in the past. The second form of authority is science which provides facts and an objective point of views. The third and last solution is consensus; "*which explores various conflicting viewpoints and possibilities, focuses them, and directs them towards an entente that all acknowledge*" (Moscovici&Doise.1994:1)

Moscovici and Doise further argues that consensus is the leading and ultimate form of authority that makes people able to resolve disagreements and produce solutions. However they claim three ideas in which defines consensus and makes it possible, the ability to reach consensus through choice, trust and reason. Without a form of choice, consensus can not be reached. One seeks consensus in order to avoid danger, and with an open dialog where different options are reviewed one would be able to find consensus as the most agreeable for all parts, be it a decision without prejudice (Moscovici&Doise.1994).

In a methodological perspective, conflict and consensus will be the basis for my analytical project. A central question is whether these articles seek conflict or do they want the audience to reach a form of consensus in the topic? Will people regard one article as confliction because of their different traditions, historical and cultural heritage, race and gender, or will they nevertheless see it as a case where consensus is the most 'agreeable for all parts'? The discursive dimensions will lay in maybe both camps; they might be conflicted by it or just attempted towards consensus. For instance, politics is one of the main discursive domains in this paper, and it is also one of the most difficult to place. In the newspapers, many articles regarding the political leadership in South Africa are specifically criticized.
Through comic stripes, articles and comments, the ANC and government are being accused and criticized on the behalf of the population. However, which part of the population regard it as necessary critics and who believe it is the media who wants so set up the government, on perhaps, the assumption of the anti- apartheid era? In that case, are the media representing a national interest or are they using their freedom of speech?

At the same time as one regard the impact of media, it is also important to remember that the statements and opinions raised in the Sunday Times not necessarily reflects how 'the man on the street' perceive situations. South Africa is also a country with a high percentage of illiteracy and poverty. It is unlikely that people living in very poor circumstances will use their money on newspapers. However, many opinions and questions raised in the news are the same that is being raised in the townships.

There are so many conflicting lines in South Africa as a nation, that the articles I wish to analyze will all be interpreted from my point of view. As both Fairclough and van Dijk

explains, all analyst will take a side in the argument. I will never have a fully objective point of view, but I hope to be able to give a critical and fruitful analysis nevertheless.

3.11 Summary

This chapter seeks to explain how language and text is part of South Africa as a form of social practice, and how this gives meaning to how the Sunday Times uses the coming Football World Cup as a part of the nation building process. The critical discourse analysis can be helpful and provide answers to the questions regarding the relationship between text, society, power and nation building**.**

Chapter 4. Critical Discourse Analysis

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the most significant aspects of the critical discourse analysis relevant for my thesis. This chapter seeks to explain more thoroughly the difference between Norman Fairclough and Teun A. van Dijk's approaches to CDA and how I intend to use their methods. As two of the 'founding fathers' of CDA their theory and method is based on the same principles and ideas, I find however the work of van Dijk more comprehensible and suitable for my purpose.

When I started this thesis I wanted to understand how the use of mega- events could be used as a part of a nation- building process. I lived in South Africa for a year and during that time I was able to experience some of the diversities and see some of the challenges faced by South Africans in their everyday life. At the same time, I studied Southern African history and was intrigued by the fascinating history of South Africa. At the same time I was wondering how the people today experience the changes in their country, and especially how media and newspapers could provide information regarding this nation as a whole, not only representing some fractions of it. When realising that the case was that the media did not have the ability to represent everybody, I got interested to know who the elite was now and how they institutionalised their power, and how people *accepted* it. As van Dijk argues, the power elite is dominant because of their accessibility and the 'others' acceptance of their power.

Furthering this notion, the media and the power elites in South Africa are connected. However, this is linked towards other aspects like race, ethnicity. One of the most fundamental aspects of the South African society is inevitably the race card so shortly after the end of apartheid. The generation growing up today is perhaps not so influenced by the social cognition on a national level as the case might be in Norway.

As a base for my analytical approach I wish to look at the upcoming World Cup as a form of stimuli towards the South African society. Bringing the mega- event to their country, the South African governments whish to unify South Africa, 'Africanise' the continent and furthermore, proclaim the possibility of a brighter future; 'brought to you by the South African government and FIFA'.

Looking at the articles from the Sunday Times I whish to identify in which way the Football World Cup is portrayed. Are they focusing on the negative or positive aspects of the upcoming event? Is it possible to say that the Sunday Times are doing so in the name of the public or national interest? The conflict/consensus paradigm will here be an underlying focus as I try to detect power balances in a social and historical context. The Rugby World Cup in 1995 was unquestionable used as a nation- building event, seeking to forward the notion of the rainbow nation. However, it is now 15 years down the road, and one would expect that South Africa might not need to focus on nation- building in the same way. Since football is regarded a black sport, supported by the majority, one might think that the upcoming event would have enough fans and support from the population. But as I am trying to unveil, the South African society is in ever need of national unity and focus on reconciliation. This is mainly caused by the nature of South African politics and the social unrest and national problems faced by the population.

I wish to create a model, similar to that of Fairclough, but it will be modified and rearranged for my theme, which is to say that I will use his model of interpretation, production and text in a social context and assimilate my discourse dimensions with his. The model will then be used as an analytical tool for my newspaper articles and clarify the discursive dimensions I am looking for in the texts.

4.1 Structure of analysis

The first thing you see while reading a newspaper is the headline and the pictures. The headline will be the first part of an analysis; it gives the reader an assumption of the coming text as well as activating knowledge you would already have about the topic and gives certain connotations to the subject. The headline consist of the most important part of the information in the text, but it can at the same time be ambiguous or mystify the topic. This can give people different forms of interpretation, based on their knowledge of the subject and social 'habitus' (Bourdieu in van Dijk.1991: 50- 51).

The headline can be biased and will in one form or the other represent some of the views either linked to the journalist or the media house he/she represent. In that way, the producers or the journalist can 'upgrade' or 'downgrade' an article according to their own point of view and in the same way give it a negative or positive form. One must also be aware that it may not always be the journalist himself who dictate the headline, many media houses has their

own 'special editors' who knows what the public is attracted to, and how the headline can make people read that exact article (van Dijk.1991: 51- 52).

According to van Dijk, the headline and ingress will be the first and most important base of the article. However the topic is of course what matters in the article as a whole. Why journalists and news producers will write about *that* specific topic and choose to angle it in a positive or negative way has a lot to say of peoples understanding of news and their general world knowledge. To explain what an article consist of, van Dijk uses a semantic macro-structure which sees the article as a pyramid consisting of a lot of information. The general and basic information is in the bottom, while the information is summarized towards the top and finally in the lead and headline.

In a news report the top of the pyramid is usually expressed by the headline and the lead. In this way, only a few topics 'at the top' may summarize large amounts of information 'at the bottom' (van Dijk.1991: 72).

The topics are thus being constructed as a pyramid according to the importance of the information, not according to time or the chronology of events. As stated, the headline and lead will be biased, which naturally will include the topic as well. The way news producers and journalists inform the reader will have a great influence on how the news will be understood and remembered. Different forms of information we retrieve and remember will according to van Dijk, form a 'script' were we keep our information on the different topics. For instance, if a headline includes the word Springboks, we perceive the text according to our rugby- script or Springboks- script. This will also be subjective and the information will be dealt with, according to our system of beliefs, culture, history, ethnicity etc. The topics then dealt with by the media, how they are written, in a positive or negative way, emphasising a conservative or leftist point of view, will influence the reader. The readers then construct 'models' based on the representation they make of topics in their mind. So when reading another article concerning Springboks, the reader will understand and know a lot more than the specific articles informs because of their general knowledge on the topic (van Dijk.1991: 72- 74).

The nation- building process in South Africa has been claimed to be based on hosting mega-events, creating a form of consensus towards 'Africanism' and South Africa as a sportive nation. In order to give South Africans a shared belief of nationality, these mega- events has been thought to bring people together. As the idea is good, the circumstances around this

World Cup will never be the same as during the Rugby World Cup in 1995. The timing 15 years back was historic and one could probably never have a better icon fronting the rainbow nation than Nelson Mandela. In the situation today, as noted before, the belief of a sudden and better future is probably not as determined as it was in the mid 1990's.

One point I want to make of this is how the ANC today is fronted in terms of 'us' and 'them', distinctions Mandela tried to avoid. In creating a feeling of 'Africanism', Mbeki and now Jacob Zuma tries to justify inequality instead of fronting the so- called rainbow nation which meant to include everyone. The problem with the embrace of 'Africanism' and black empowerment is that is actually leaves out a group of the population. In order to reconcile, the black and coloured part of the population can not be empowered just because of their skin colour and roots. So one aspect of the Football World Cup is how football, not rugby or cricket, actually represents the black population. The problem is however that the situation is just perceived as reversed for some parts of the population.

One of the major points of van Dijk is that usually white dominant groups have been performing dominant and racist acts towards minorities, expressed in media through various forms of dominant discourses, not intentionally maybe, but nevertheless with the assumption of 'us' meaning for example white, western and men being better than the 'others' as black, coloured, minorities, women etc. His model explains this on three levels;

1) A white speaker perceives, interprets and represents the present communicative situation in a mental context model, including also representation of him/herself (as being white) and of the black addressee. 2) To do this, general attitudes about blacks will be activated. If these are negative, this will also show in the representation of lower status, for instance. 3) This 'biased' context model will monitor production and, all other things being equal (e.g. if there is no fear of retaliation, or there are no moral accusations), this may resulting the production of discourse structures that signal such underlying bias, e.g. specific impoliteness forms (van Dijk. 1993:262).

This essential point made by van Dijk exemplifies how the table might have been turned in South Africa, and how white South Africans now can feel the dominance executed by a black majority. One needs to understand that this form of dominance can be as easily performed unwillingly or without intention, it does not however justify it.

4.2. Norman Fairclough

Fairclough argues that a discourse first constitutes identities, secondly it constitutes social relationships between people and thirdly, it constitutes information which offers explanations

to social dimensions and realities. A fourth effect that Fairclough points out, is the possibility a text has to highlight and stress only parts of information which can be used specifically in power relations within the social structures. A discourse is a reflection of a social reality, at the same time as it is the source of that social reality (Fairclough.2008:18-19).

In a critical discourse analysis Fairclough identifies four terms in which the text can be organized; vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and textual structure. He also recognizes the power of statements and the cohesion of texts. Together, these eight terms forms an analytical concept for a text analysis. The vocabulary refers to individual words, grammar refers to the connection between these individual words, and cohesion refers to how the sentences are combined. The structure of a text shows how the text is organized and its independent characteristics. The power of statements is connected to what kind of statements the words make. Are they promises, a lie, threats etc? All together these terms forms a set of analytical tools, and highlight the different meanings and levels of a text, its production and qualities (Fairclough.2008:32-33).

As an example, a headline from the Sunday Times September 7th 2008 stated; *Bok coach fumes at sex tape shock*. With an under title: Rugby plunges into turmoil over mystery blackmail attempt. Next to it is a picture of Peter de Villiers with a quote "I knew there were still people who do not want a black coach". There are two syntactical parts in the headline `Bok coach fumes' and `sex tape chock'. At first glance, the sentence will not provide any meaning unless you know that Bok is an abbreviation of Springboks, the national rugby team. The second part will further a set of negative connotation towards the Bok coach because of the words `sex tape'. In this lies allegations towards the coach and without reading any further one would probably have negative conclusions to what might have happened. The under title presents however another set of connotations and explanations to the story. `Mystery black mail attempt' can mean that someone else is either trying to weaken his reputation or ask for money (or other specific claims that is connected to `black mail'). Finally the picture of Peter de Villiers and his statement; *I knew there were still people who do not want a black coach*, raises a third possible angle or explanation to the case. With bringing in the race card, de Villiers claims his innocent at the same time as he puts the focus on the issue of race and ethnicity. This in turn gives a whole new meaning to the text, and one would probably connect this text with the historical place Springboks and rugby had in South Africa until the democratic election in 1994 and the Rugby World Cup in 1995.

The headline and picture in the Sunday Times provides a good example on how different people might understand one single sentence. As Fairclough stresses; *every sentence is multifunctional, with a combination of ideological, interpersonal and textual allusions* (Fairclough.2008:32).

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│ Scoial condictions of interpretations                       │
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│     ┌───────────────────────────────────────────┐          │
│     │ Process of interpretations                │          │
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│     │        │                          │       │          │
│     │        │          Text            │       │          │
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│     │ Process of production                     │          │
│     │                                           │          │
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│ Social condictions of production                            │
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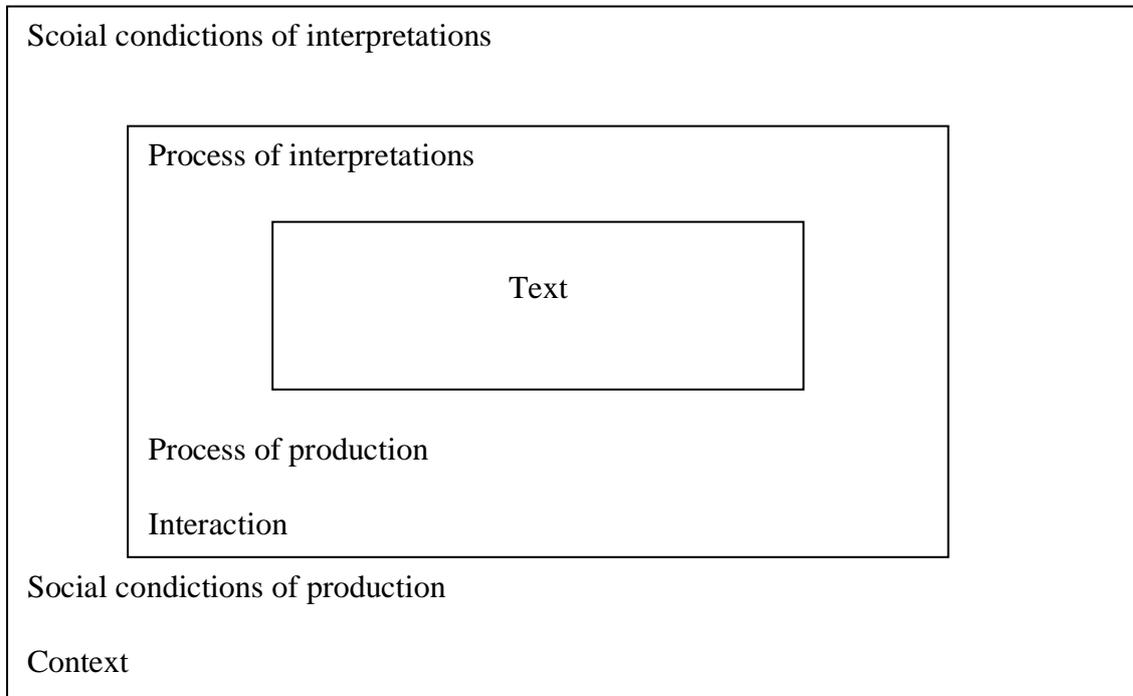
Fig. 4.1 Discourse as a text, interaction and context (Fairclough.1989:25).

The figure above shows Fairclough's theory of text as a part of a discourse, where one must look at a text on different levels, not isolated from the social context. In his form of critical discourse theory, he emphasizes that a text can only be analyzed in a view of its production or interpretation as well. For a text, the production and the interpretation are two sides of the same story. In this lies also the very understanding of how a text is constructed.

4.3 Teun A. van Dijk

As stated in the previous chapter, I will use Fairclough's model, but for the more practical part of the analysis, I prefer to use the theoretical approach used by van Dijk as a framework. Working with CDA, he summarizes the importance of critical discourse analysis as a multidisciplinary form of analysis which actively tries to explain discourse structures rather than describe them. He points out that the main theme for CDA is to focus "on the ways

discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce or challenge relations of *power* and *dominance* in society" (van Dijk:1998:2).

van Dijk constructs a theoretical and methodological perspective on power relations, and more importantly how they are produced and received. In his Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis (1993) he explains how CDA will benefit as a theory and method on questions regarding inequality, power, dominance and media. For the sake of my analysis, I regard his view as fruitful because it implements the power relations and 'symbolic power' (Bourdieu. 1982) most often represented by the power elite in society, hence providing a structure of the analysis not only concerning terminology.

4.4 The social context for South African discourse

With the Rugby World Cup in 1995, South Africa as a nation, managed to create an enormous enthusiasm around the sport event, as well as the coming changes one believed it would bring. The circumstances around the event led to a massive support for the new Mandela led government, and it was in 1995 possible to use the World Cup as an important part of the nation- building process in South Africa.

With the first ever democratic election, Mandela showed the world and his country, what reconciliation meant, also within sports. By embracing the Springboks and rugby, instead of using it against the white part of the population, ANC, Mandela and South Africa proved to be able to begin their fresh start. During the Rugby World Cup every opportunity was used to prove that change was possible. It was also very helpful that South Africa actually won the first rugby world cup they had attended and hosted. With this success, support was easy to find, and Springboks as a symbol for apartheid, easier to forgive.

It is now 2010 and ANC have been in government since the 1994 election. Mandela was only President for one period, and led Thabo Mbeki to the "throne", who reined the country until September 2008. Expectations from 1995 have not been fulfilled and South Africa still has large national issues to deal with. So the times have changed but the hopes for this World Cup might be the same as for the Rugby World Cup in 1995. What this assignment whish to find, is what the press uses the coming World Cup for. Are they using the 2010 Football World Cup to draw focus upon South Africa as a developing nation that uses billions on infrastructure and stadiums to make the country ready for visitors, or are they using it to hide the simple fact that South Africa is still in deep need of housing, electricity, food and clean

water for the poor. South Africa is the country in the world with the highest and fastest growing HIV/Aids rate in the world, and the last Mbeki led government did little to prevent it.

The social context of today's South Africa is a nation with large domestic problems. There has been only one major shift in power, from apartheid were a small white elite governed the rest of the population, to a mostly black governed country. The change in power has led to some difficulties especially when it comes to the newly shift concerning quotas, where especially white people have lost their jobs to black and coloureds. Instead of basing a job on qualified and skilled workers, the trend has simply shifted from giving only white people the skilled work, to only giving it to black labourers. This creates a problem when it comes to sharing information, knowledge and skills. If a white man has the education and trained skills for a job, it is likely that he does not want to share that information and train a black man, because when they both stand in office asking for the same job, he is mostly likely to get it.

Social Context

Football World Cup 2010

Process of interpretation and production

Conflict Theory

Text
The Sunday Times

Consensus Theory

Discursive dimensions:
- History and apartheid
- Politics and the ANC
- Health and crime
- Sport in South Africa; rugby vs. football
- South African media and the Sunday Times

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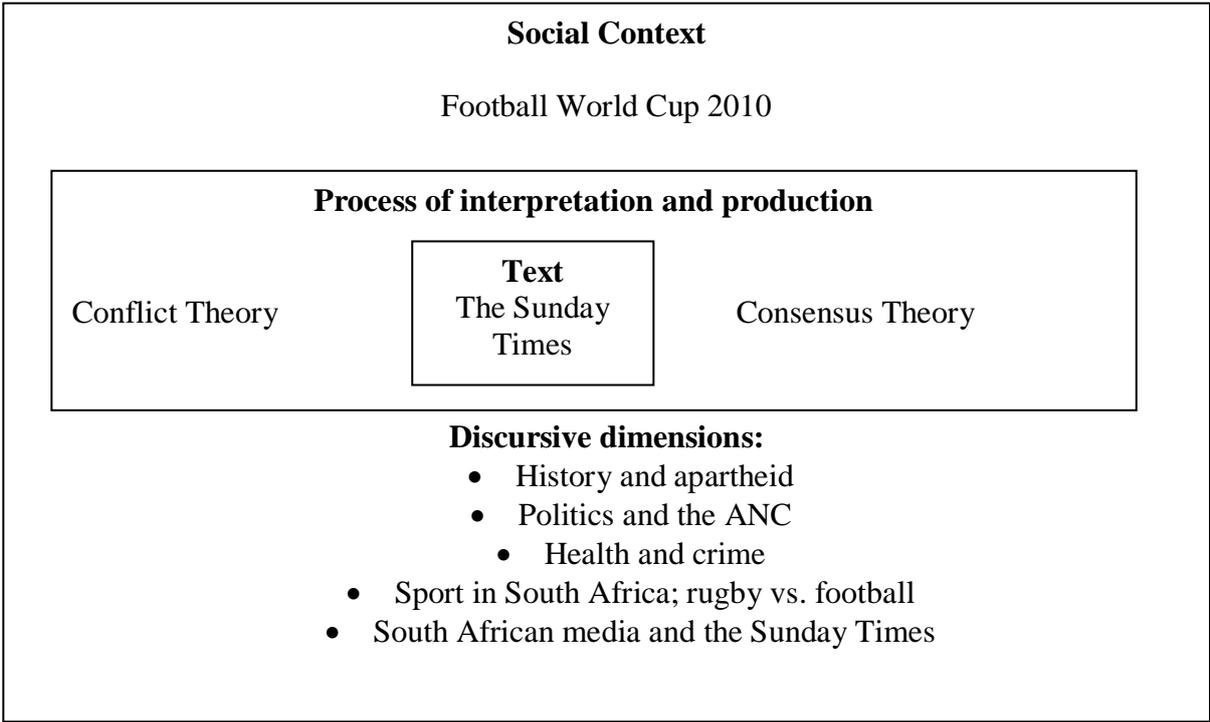
Figure 4.2. My South African model based on Norman Fairclough.

The model in figure 4.2 is based on Fairclough's model of production and interpretation. I have rearranged his model and filled in my own discursive dimensions which I believe to be of greater importance concerning the upcoming World Cup and its position in the nation-building process.

The social conditions and historical context has already been outlined in the introduction and background chapter, but I want to draw attention to the main subjects here as well.

First of all, it can be questioned if the social conditions in South Africa really are based on a thought of consensus as the consensus theory implies. The consensus theory implicitly recognizes a common culture and society based on the thought that everyone included in that society shares the same wish for consensus, even though they might differ in opinion. The problem with that theory is that in a country like South Africa, the culture is so diverse and one does not share the same language. There might actually be thousands and even millions of South African that would not be able to understand the language of their fellow South Africans because of the different languages and dialects. More than that, the language itself represents something other than pure vocabulary, speech and text. In South Africa, language is also part of defining who you are in the same way as skin color and ethnicity does, not to mention the high number of illiterate South Africans.

So for all my main discursive dimensions, the consensus and conflict lines might not be as easy to clarify or divide, in a social context such as South Africa. It is however here the reason why I will use critical discourse analysis on these articles appears; as van Dijk argues, CDA tries to recognize and detect how and where dominant discourses (indirectly) influence society, and the shared knowledge referred to as social cognition (van Dijk. 1993: 258). The social cognition will thus be either supportive or negative towards the coming world cup depending on how they are indirectly influenced by dominance through media.

I must add here that people do not just simply take all information and believe it to be true or false, however social cognition is based on the thought of consensus, which bring us back again to the topic of acceptance of dominance and power.

4.5 Discursive Dimensions

The upcoming Football World Cup 2010 in South Africa can be evaluated on the following grounds;

1. Like the Rugby World Cup 1995, the Football World Cup will occur with ANC as the democratic elected government, but at the time of the Rugby World Cup one would celebrate the new democracy, during the Football World Cup, ANC needs to prove their right to still be in charge.

2. The Football World Cup is for the first time being held in an African country, thus representing the whole continent.

3. South Africa has one of the highest crime rates in the world, and in need of a significant makeover before the World Cup, to guarantee safe infrastructure and housing for the thousands of tourists and fans.

I will discuss the discourse dimensions within Fairclough's model of text interpretation and production in a social context. The next chapter will use his model more explicitly to show how I intent to use it 'as my own'. Here I will just give an outline of the dimensions; the main category in which to analyse the nation- building through mega- events. These main categories will be looked at in the light of other social dimensions in the South African nation, namely politics, media and sports. Hopefully I will be able to see the texts in the light of these dimensions and place them in a consensus or conflict oriented line.

The discourse dimensions are based upon what I regard as fruitful for the analysis and what I believe is the core of South African nation- building. From the introduction and the background chapter I hope to have painted a somewhat nuanced picture of the multicultural country and its many fascinations.

Chapter 5. Analysis

The upcoming Football World Cup in the Sunday Times

In my thesis, I have tried to create a picture of South Africa both historically and as a nation today. With this in mind, this chapter seeks to explore the questions raised through theory and method: is the upcoming Football World Cup 2010 used as a part of a nation- building process in South Africa? The main discourses I have found fruitful to analyse are politics, sports and media, all in the light of nation- building.

In the matter of mega- events, the questions is how such an event as the upcoming World Cup 2010 can contribute to or be used as a part of a nation- building process in South Africa. The Football World Cup is considered one of the world largest events, only contested by the Olympic Games. When hosting such events South Africa needs to create a safe environment for the tourists, the players and their own population. With one of the highest crime rates in the world, South Africa must prove to the world that Africa is ready for the globalization of sports and the responsibilities that follow.

As mentioned, I assumed before writing this thesis that South Africa probably would try to use the upcoming event in the same way as they used the Rugby World Cup in 1995. I believed football in nation- building process would be even more satisfactory then in 1995, precisely because it is known to be a 'black sport'. This analysis, may however lead to a different conclusion.

First of all I have sport and mega events as the first discursive dimension, followed by politics- included the ANC and the conflicts concerning the way of rule in South Africa. Furthermore I will analyze the media, especially the print media as a dimension of power and how they portray the upcoming World Cup. All of these discourses will be looked upon in the light of history and social context which is so typical for the critical discourse analysis.

My analyses will first and foremost concentrate on the articles sampled from the Sunday Times, where issues on the coming world cup as well as the role of sports as a nation- builder is the main subject. Collecting articles based upon the notion that sport is actively used in South Africa within a nation- building discourse, one will realise that sport as a discourse also

entails other dimensions, politics in particular. Within the political discourse one might detect other discourses connected to sport, society and nation- building, and in this way, the model of production and interpretation takes form. Because South Africa is such a diverse country, with a troubled history, the Football World Cup 2010 can not be understood as a nation-builder without analysing the intricate context its part of.

5.1 The sportive discourse

For the South African nation, sport has been used actively in the reconciliation and nation-building process. This has been exemplified in this thesis with the outline of the Rugby World Cup in 1995 and the essence of its symbolism. How brief the effect of the Rugby World Cup might have been, there is no argument against the intention for using that event as a nation-builder and as a promoter for the 'rainbow nation'. However, the newspapers I received was from the period August 24th to September 14th and as this analysis tries to explain, South Africa still has many challenges to overcome order to succeed with promoting the upcoming Football World Cup as a nation- builder.

As some of the coming examples from the Sunday Times will show, the implementation of ethnical affairs in sports is still being used in South Africa. Still sometimes sports are represented in the traditional way; rugby indicating the white elite, and football the black and coloured majority.

5.1.1 Sport and ethnic affairs - the question of race quotas.
The Sunday Times 31.08.2008:

'Win, don't entertain'

Watching the Test against the wallabies last weekend I realised what a mistake Saru made by releasing Jake White. White, the Rugby World Cup- winning coach, took squad from the Rudolf Straeuli era and the disaster that was the 2003 RWC and Kamp Staaldraad, and built a team. The key word is *team*. He won the Tri. Nations 2004 and our second world championship before his contract was "expired" to make way for a "quota system," to kick in (…) We are picking too many players with not enough experience to fill a "quota". We have changed the team into an affirmative action company. What's next? Peter de Villiers should pack away the PlaySation, stick the strategies that won us two RWC's and stop dancing to Saru's tune (…) A country should be proud of a rugby team that won two world cups, not be embarrassed by it. Don't make me out to be a racist. I support the Bokke nonetheless. I just don't believe everything in this country should be played on racial grounds.

This is the R500 letter printed in the Sunday Times on the 31st of August 2008 as one of many responses to the quota system in South African sports. After the transition towards democracy, the ANC government has actively worked to establish rugby as a sport for the whole nation, trying to include the majority of the black and coloured population. As rugby symbolized white elite power during apartheid, the post- 1994 South Africa aimed to make rugby represent the diversities within the nation, as exemplified during the Rugby World Cup in 1995.

The quota system has not only been regarded as a problem within sports, but also in the area of education and employment. As sport has been actively used as a part of the nation- building process in South Africa, the view on pushing black and coloureds into a position just based on colour, might send contradictory messages into what one conceive as nation- building. Are white people being fronted in football in the same way as people of colour are in rugby and cricket?

The Sunday Times 31.08.2008:
'Quotas caused SA's Olympic belly- flop'

I think David Isaacson was mistaken about his reasons for our humiliating performance at the Olympic Games. The real reason is the quota system in our sports and the constant pressure on team selectors to include players in their teams simply because of their colour (…) This direct insult to white competitors because it conveys the message that they are not regarded as South Africans who are worthy of representing their country- because they are white and, politicians want blacks (…) Black players are inserted in teams without the necessary skill and ability, and the able white players are kept out. This is racist and contrary to the spirit of the rainbow nation, which is supposed to be open to everyone.

The article above, written by Tshwane Labuschange is a response to an article written by Davis Isaackson in The Sunday Times 24.08.08. Isaackson's article discuss the reasons for the South African flop in the Summer Olympics 2008 in Beijing were they only managed one silver medal;
'To get ahead at the Olympics, we need to plunge in at the deep end'.
Beijing's the worst we've done for more than 50 years, writes David Isaackson. It's time for a fresh start.

Figuring out the problem isn't rocket science. Quite simply, South Africa has yet to develop an Olympic programme with clearly defined targets (…) The lack of medals in Beijing wasn't simply the poor preparation

over the past four years, it was because of the poor planning over the past 12, maybe 16 years (…) Sport sponsorship alone exceeded R5- billion last year, although about half of that was spent on advertising. Even so, barley a sausage went to Olympic sports, with soccer, rugby and cricket getting the biggest share (…) South Africa needs to find an event, maybe two, on which to concentrate and become world leaders.

As Isaackson argues, the problem for South Africa in the Olympics lied in poor preparations, low budget and a lack of support to sports outside the traditional rugby, cricket and football arena. In the latter three, and typically in rugby, South Africa is marked as favourite with two World Cup victories and both sponsors and supportive audience contributes on the economical level. The two articles points to widely different reasons for the failure in the 2008 Olympic Games. One, pointing to the economy and support for the Olympic sports, the other argues that the problem lies within the quota system, not giving white athletes the opportunity to compete because of their skin colour.

If one uses the model by Fairclough on production and interpretation, the two texts can clearly be regarded in a more historical context where both economy and race/ethnicity are major discourses. Furthermore, the race- card is inevitably connected to the South African past, as well as dominant in the political sphere with the implementation of the quota system. Calling on the now 'racist behaviour' in South African sports, Labuschange seems to place the sportive discourse within the historical dimension and the blame for the failure on the political decision- making, regarding sport. The focus on racism and ethnicity are remainders of the ongoing struggle where South Africa in a post- apartheid light still tries to reconcile in spite of colour, language and tradition.

5.1.2 Sport as a nation- builder.

In the name of nation- building, sport has been used actively in South Africa especially during the transition period and towards the Rugby World Cup in 1995. Like Nelson Mandela and the Springboks together functioned as symbols for the new rainbow nation, one now questions whether football can work in the same way.

To start with the historical context, rugby and Springboks made some specific changes in order to represent South Africa as a new nation in the preface of the Rugby World Cup 1995. By changing the Springboks flag, making the team learn the national anthem in Xhosa and using a black rugby player, Springboks could be used to show improvement and willingness to change. But it would have been difficult without the support of ANC and Mandela. As

Alberth Grundlingh quotes from a British journalist in his article *From Redemption to Recidivism? Rugby and Change in South Africa During the 1995 Rugby World Cup and its Aftermath* (1998:78):

Mandela had… pulled the political magician's trick of all times; to have allowed his rivals the most precious of prizes they could ever whish for and- swish. With one sweep of his the cloak represented the prize unchanged, yet suddenly belonging not to the minority but to the majority.

The point made by Grundlingh is the fact that Mandela managed first to become a symbol of reconciliation together with F.W. de Klerk, and then manage to symbolise 'a new South Africa' for *South Africans* in the immediate aftermath of 1994. This year South Africa will be fronted by the same ANC government but without Mandela in front, and as a nation- builder football has always represented the majority. In that case, is there any need to make football symbolize the rest of the nation?

In the articles from the Sunday Times one can detect some of the tension linked to sports as a representative for ethnicity, race and colour. It is also evident that the quota system has often been looked upon as a mere adjustment made by the politicians to please 'everybody' instead of buying players based on their skills. As this part now will look at some examples, sport as a nation- builder will be questioned.

The Sunday Times 31.08.2008:
'Four- try Jongi Nokwe and Beast Mtawarira get biggest cheers.'

As the fans went off singing into the night, it felt good to be a rugby fan again. We can have crime and corruption and never- do- good politicians, but when the Springboks are winning it somehow seems like everything is right with the world.

The Sunday Times 07.09.2008:
'Bafana: Out of Africa'
South Africa played well, but lost on a day when the result was all that mattered.

Bafana Bafana are not going to Angola 2010. Yesterday they fought bravely, but capitulated to Nigeria, thus failing to qualify for the African Cup of Nations for the first time since 1994.
"It's a huge disappointment, even a disaster," said McCarthy." But maybe it could be a blessing in disguise. We might have gone to the Nations Cup, and won it, and then lost in the first round of the World Cup. Who knows?"

(…) I am so proud of myself and the players. We can only get better. By 2010 we will be ready, and we will make the people proud."

The two examples above refer to the national teams in both rugby and football. In a sport discourse both text can be understood in a broader context of nationalism. If we first look at the first text, rugby is portrayed as some sort of saviour, where it does not matter with crime and corruption as long as the Springboks win. The text is however written in a moment of victory and it is obvious that the writer is showing many feelings writing this text. So in the 'spur of the moment' rugby and the Springboks may seem more important and overshadowing other 'real concerns' as politics and social inequality.

In the latter text the focus lies in the disappointment of the national football team Bafana bafana who failed to qualify for the African Cup of Nations. As a pretext for the upcoming World Cup, Bafana not qualifying could mean less support to the national team and towards hosting the upcoming event. One of the major contributions to the effect of the Rugby World Cup in 1995 was that the national team actually managed to win every game. As sport is known to create unity, especially during celebrations, it is of somewhat relevance that the South African team does well in the Upcoming World Cup. As McCarthy express; *By 2010 we will be ready, and we will make the people proud.* In his statement it is evident that Bafana feel the pressure of succeeding in order to gain the support from South Africans.

The Sunday times 07.09.2008:
 'The Green and Gold in black and white'

The recent successes of black Boks have only uncovered the hypocrisy that has always hidden behind rugby's 'merit' badge (…) There was a time when the righteous rugby brigade usurped hundreds of newspapers column centimetres complaining about players of colour being drafted into our national squad for all the wrong reasons- to fill in the racial quotas (…) The opposing side, of course, averred that rugby, like the rest of society has to be transformed- not only at an administrative level- and players of colour had to be given an opportunity to prove that they deserved to don the green and gold (…) Those waving the 'merit' card like a talisman should be celebrating that, at last, we are attracting black players to the sport on merit. Alas, this past week's events tells me that the chorus about merit was but a green smoke. Our sister newspaper, The Times, reported on Tuesday that rugby fans who sat in the north stand at Ellis Park called Talk Radio 702 to tell about a group of spectators who shouted "kaffirs" every time Bok hero Jongi Nokwe scored a try. If this doesn't tell you enough about the state of mind of some of our rugby followers, then consider an incident at the same game. Ziningi Shibamo, 30, had been sitting in the stands for the duration of the first half. She told The Times: "I walked off during half-

time to the ladies', and on my way back one of the guys bumped into me. When I confronted him he said: 'You bloody kaffirs, you took over what was the only exclusively white sport in South Africa" (…) "You have also taken our fathers land"(…) Maybe, in our naivety as progressive South Africans, we always assume that everyone is moving in the same pace as us, in the same direction, to the appointed destination of a true, shared, egalitarian and non-racial nationhood.

The above text inhabits many connotations on the troubled past of South Africa and the 'former' symbolism of rugby in a national context. Especially interesting is this article and the way it refers to some of the rugby supporters. In a critical discourse analysis it would be productive to look at through the field of research of van Dijk. In his *Racism and the Press* (1991:176-182), van Dijk exemplifies 'meanings and ideologies' in the British press, which I will use as a model for my interpretation of this text.

First the headline 'The Green and Gold in black and white' gives connotations to the race issue in South Africa pointing further to the apartheid past in a historical context. The 'green and gold' refers to the colours of the Springboks, and 'black and white' to the definite division of the population based on skin colour. '*The recent successes of black Boks have only uncovered the hypocrisy that has always hidden behind rugby's merit badge'*. As the text starts, one immediately understands the negative presupposition towards rugby as a sport and what rugby means in ethnic affairs. The above line suggests that there has never been any real improvement in rugby when it comes to race and sports. One of the interesting parts in this text is how it first suggests that rugby and rugby supporters never gave black players a chance in the sport. This sentiment is followed by the incident in Ellis Park were one of South Africa's most famous black rugby players were victimized by racial slogans by the rugby fans. However, in the conclusive lines, the article portray the rugby fans as' the others and lesser', by saying;

Maybe, in our naivety as progressive South Africans, we always assume that everyone is moving in the same pace as us, in the same direction, to the appointed destination of a true, shared, egalitarian and non- racial nationhood (Sunday Times 07.09.2008).

The author then gives the reader an explanation as to why the rugby fans were acting in such a discarding and racist manner, namely because 'they' were not moving towards the same goal as 'us'. Without using any racist or derogatory words, the author manages to sell a 'positive self- presentation' (van Dijk.1991:177) of himself and his kind (or supporters). It is no wonder the writer feels in need to express himself in such a manner, and it is not difficult to

understand how the author would seem or really be the better- man. However, by contextualizing the rugby fans as racist and himself or 'us' as enlightened and non- racist, the text actually put rugby fans in general in a racist box. By stressing the notion of some rugby fans being racist, the text approves of a majority discarding of a minority.

5.1.3 Sport and the economical concerns of the upcoming World Cup.

During the bidding campaign to host the 2010 Football World Cup, South Africa focused on the possibilities entailed in hosting such an event, especially regarding increased tourism, urban development and economic 'spin- offs' for the hosting cities (Pillay and Bass.2008:331). The following text will show some aspects of the economical impact and social concerns towards the 2010 Football World Cup.

The Sunday Times 31.08.2008:

'World Cup a timely fillip for jobs'

2010 Deadline imperative boosts construction and transport, writes Kea' Modimoeng.

The helter- skelter rush to make the 2010 deadline for the World Cup, along with the government's speeded- up infrastructure plans, has pushed construction and transport into the top three sectors in creating jobs (…) the joblessness rate was at 23.1% of the labour force in the second quarter of this years from 23.5% in the first quarter, the new quarterly report showed. The total number of unemployed people was 4.1 million (…)The business community seems optimistic about the growth patterns, especially towards 2010, Brent added. "We feel that there will be some business growth in the second half of 2009 once the electricity crisis is under control".

The Sunday Times 14.09.2008:

'Hunt for steel price riggers'

South African steel producers raked in billions of rands by colluding to fix prices and share commercially sensitive information (…)In the affidavit, the commission revealed that the National Treasury and the 2010 World Cup host cities had raised concerns about the impact of steel prices on the construction of stadiums for the soccer tournament. The government last month announced that cost related to building 2010 stadiums had shot up by more than R2- billion- partly as a result of high steel prices.

The Sunday times: 07.09.2008

'Free education is a basic right'

I believe that public schools should be 100% free (…) It's so ironic that the ANC, an organization which came to power on the strength of its socialist and communist thinking, has turned South Africa into a place where you

pay through your teeth for everything (…) Spending R30- billion on pieces of metal and tin to make useless ships and submarines, and another R30- billion on unnecessary stadiums only to have citizens loose their homes because they don't have money to send their kids to school, is not the way to go. How do you make a country great when kids can't even get an education?

The three examples give a somewhat nuanced picture of some aspects concerning South Africa as a host nation for the upcoming World Cup. There are many aspects of hosting one of the world's largest events, but The Sunday Times reflected on these issues. First of all, the costs regarding the construction and building of stadiums and especially the effect that has on high unemployment rate has been in focus. Secondly, the long- lasting effect of potent increased tourism as well as reshaping the infrastructure. As Pillay and Bass(2008: 331) argues;

Mega- events are often used as 'spectacles' that can best be understood as either instruments of hegemonic power, or displays of urban 'boosterism' by economic elites wed to a particularly narrow-minded pro- growth vision of the city. As such, these events are often seen as no more than public relations ventures far removed from the realities of urban problems and challenges. 'Welfarist' and equity- based considerations tend to be conspicuously absent.

Continuing on Pillay and Brass's arguments, it becomes evident through the articles from the Sunday Times as well, that even though the World Cup may create new jobs and better infrastructure, it is doing so on behalf of other public interest as education and welfare.

The first text comment on how the preparations towards the upcoming event will decrease the unemployment rate. This is however just connected to the preface of the World Cup, and might not have a long- lasting effect on the millions of unemployed South Africans. In a longer timeframe, the economic boost that South Africa might experience now and during the World Cup is not necessarily going to continue after the event. As this paper will exemplify later, South Africa will be dependent on hosting other large event in the future to compensate for the new stadiums. In order to achieve a tourist boost in the aftermath of the tournament, South Africa is also dependent on a World Cup free of crime and violence.

5.1.4 Practical challenges towards the coming Football World Cup
The Sunday Times 07.09.2008:

'Durban may bid for 2020 Games'
Coastal city flexes its sporting muscles.

Durban is positioning itself to bid for the 2020 Olympics. (…) "we have a '2010 and beyond' strategy that involves looking at potential events, whether they be Commonwealth Games or Olympics, coming to what we believe is a world- class African City", said (Durban's city manager, Mike) Sutcliffe this week.

(…) For all its iconic status, the Moses Mabhida Stadium is costing taxpayers R2.6 billion and the city will be desperate to use it regularly after 2010. Although a World Cup seating capacity of 70 000will be downgraded to 54 000, it will need to do more than host the Sharks or the occasional Premier Soccer League derby between Orlando Pirates and the Kaizer Chief's to pay its way. Impressive cantilever arch or not, there is a possibility the stadium will become a white elephant; it might be a good- looking elephant, but it will be white nonetheless.

As mentioned in the above paragraph, the Sunday Times points out some of the economical as well as practical challenges towards the upcoming World Cup. In the text from the Sunday Times 07.07.2008, Mike Sutcliffe argues that the new stadium might have a negative economic effect for the South African population. In the preparations towards 2010, Durban has been one of the cities making some heavy facelifts, including the new Moses Mabhida stadium. In the context of South African nation- building, one could look at the 2010 World Cup as a promoter for other global sports events such as the Olympics. Through the Sunday Times article, one might suggest that South Africa intends to use mega- events regularly first to gain the economical and international boost and then in a post- 2010 view, to contain a, economic flow to the host cities.

The Sunday Times 31.08.2008:

'Universities will save the day for World Cup visitors'

Universities, technical colleges and boarding schools will play a key role in providing alternatives to more traditional forms of accommodation such as hotels and guesthouses during the 2010 World Cup (…) Match, Fifa's accommodation and ticketing partner, estimates that 55 000 rooms are needed for 2010. According to Delia Fischer, Fifa's media officers 30 000 rooms have been contracted by Match, 10 000 of these in 'non- hotel establishments', which leaves a shortfall of roughly 25 000 rooms

5.1.5 Bafana bafana and their role in the upcoming World Cup

The Sunday Times 14.09.2008:

'Joel at sea as Sepp jets into Bafana mess.'

Confed Cup the only tournament before 2010.

FIFA President Sepp Blatter arrives in South Africa today- with local football in crisis, as it was during his last visit. Blatter, who will meet both President Thabo Mbeki and ANC President Jacob Zuma, comes at a time of

underachievement and confusion for the national football side (…) Central to all this is the future of national coach Joel Santana. He was a possibly over- hasty choice when it became apparent that his predecessor, Carlos Alberto Parreira, was unable to continue in the job (…) Stadiums and their readiness are no longer the problem for a successful hosting of the World Cup (…) The problem is the performance of the national side in those stadiums. In 2006, Germany hosted a memorable World Cup partly because the national team, who played in the competition opener against Costa Rica and in the last game but, won against Portugal in the third- place layoff (…) The performance of Euro 2008 co- hosts Austria and Switzerland was indifferent, with neither making the second round. The flavour of the tournaments suffered as a result. The moral is clear.

One of the main themes on thesundaytimes.co.za the last year has been the situation regarding the coaches of Bafana bafana. Without going into detail about the shifts made in thenational team, it is sufficient to say that Alberto Parreira chose to leave the post as coach for the national team, followed by Joel Santana. However, Santana quit after failing to qualify Bafana bafana for the African Cup of Nations in Angola 2010. These shifts evidently led to the return of Parreira.

5.2 The 2010 World Cup in a political discourse

I wish to redraw some of the main lines from the themes circulating in the Sunday Times, well over a year ago. First of all, one needs to remember the tension between the two main characters in the ANC; Jacob Zuma and Thabo Mbeki. Mbeki was governing President when I received my newspapers, and he inherited the throne after Mandela in 1998. Reigning as President in his second term, Mbeki made some shifts towards 'Africanism' and black empowerment in his policies. Some of his new tendencies were heavily criticized, especially his strong political relationship with Robert Mugabe, still President of Zimbabwe and regarded by many as one of the worst dictators in our day.

The matter of Zimbabwe is relevant for my analysis mainly because of the relationship between Mugabe and Mbeki, and the contextual importance is has for South Africa, being its neighbouring country and allied in some international and continental affairs. Last year, South Africa experienced some very violent xenophobia attacks towards the refugees in South Africa, mainly people coming from Zimbabwe.
Another aspect of the close link between the neighbouring countries is the fear felt by many white South Africans after the 1994 transition to ANC rule. In Zimbabwe, Mugabe launched the so called ' Third Chimurenga' in 2000 where he took the land away from the white

landowners with the intent to give it back to the black population. However few knew how to run a farm, and the land was often given to the 'war veterans' or others with a connection to the Mugabe lead government. These disastrous decisions lead a whole country into desperate food shortage and an inflation rate reaching unimaginable heights. The process caused the loss of lives and many were forced to leave the country. Thus resulting in a shortage of skilled labour and creating an even more difficult economic situation. The Third Chimurenga were also felt by the white South Africans, and the close connection between the two Presidents can be seen as acceptance by Mbeki to the cruelty and wrong doings in Zimbabwe (Ranger.2004).

In South Africa, the transition from apartheid happened relatively "peacefully" and the elections can be regarded as free and fair, even though there are no actual opponents. With ANC being the one and only alternative, some similarities to Zimbabwe can be identified. How the relationship with Mugabe has been perceived in South Africa and how that effects the notion of identity building in the 'African' framework, are two of the reasons why I whish to focus more on the South African- Zimbabwean relationship.

5.2.1 Health and development in the context of nation- building

Continuing with Mbeki and his political strategy, the question of health, and especially HIV/Aids has been a strong issue. Not only does South Africa struggle with many other forms of medical challenges like tuberculoses, but they are ranked on top of the list of the worlds most affected countries by HIV/Aids. Many felt that the growing pandemic was not taken very seriously when President Mbkei and his health minister Manto Tshabalala- Msimang claimed that precautions towards HIV/Aids could simply be made by eating citrus and garlic. Their statements were perceived as outrageous and with the lack of government will to treat South Africans with anti retroviral medicine (ARV's) and not taking the pandemic seriously, Mbeki now risks being sued for genocide.

'Malema defends Mbeki'

Threatens 'parting of ways' over calls to charge ex- president with genocide.

ANC Youth League leader Julius Malema last night defended former President Thabo Mbeki's handling of the HIV/Aids epidemic and said the campaign to have him charged with genocide will never happen. Malema was responding to the call made two weeks ago by Young Communist League leader Buti Manamela for Mbeki to be

prosecuted for his government's failure to provide thousands of South African Aids sufferers with life-saving anti-retroviral drugs (Thetimes.co.za 17.11.09).

If we first look at the headline and the ingress of the mentioned article, it would first seem as though Malema and Mbkei usually were on the same side. Well they are both part of the ANC, put as I have made clear, there are some fractions within the ANC and Julius Malema is the President of the ANCYL (African National Congress National Youth League), which is best known for their wide support of Jacob Zuma, Mbeki's potent enemy within own ranks. The question is then, why is he (Malema) supporting Mbeki, the very man he has strived to fight. Well, at first look, one would think that Malema believes Mbeki is innocent, and that Mbeki did act with the best interest at heart in the situation regarding HIV/Aids. Reading further, it is however evident that it is not the case:

"Mbeki might have made statements ... but you must never be tempted to charge [him] with genocide. That will never happen. If there are those harbouring those interests then you must know that we are going to part ways. You will never touch one of our own," he (Malema) said (Thetimes.co.za 17.11.09).

"If we allow that to happen with Mbeki, they will then do the same with Mugabe and Zuma," he said (Thetimes.co.za 17.11.09).

The discussion in this news article further explains the two sides of the story, where Malema is on one side, acting, not against a right or wrong handling of the HIV/Aids issue, but actually against the prosecution against *any* ANC leader. What makes this announcement by Malema so intriguing is that he does not try to hide his belief that some people should just not be prosecuted. On the other side, Manamela argues in favour of prosecution against the former President, pressing the notion that one can not halt investigations because they are black or African leaders (Thetimes.co.za.17.11.09).

The health discourse is vital for all countries, but South Africa does have one of the worlds worst number to work with, when it comes to fighting HIV/Aids. The Sunday Times wrote about the government's mismanagement towards an international grant aiming to fight HIV/Aids;

'State sloth halts Aids funding'

NGOs miss out on millions after health department fails to meet basic requirements of donor body. The Global Fund to Fight Aids, one of the world's biggest funders, has pulled the plug on more than R80- million in grants for local projects because the South African government is not ready to administer the money (Sunday Times.31.08.08).

This is the headline and lead, in a longer text where Sunday Times explains how the government has missed out on millions, and further reports that:

In order to qualify for the second instalment of R80- million- which should have been paid out by early July- the department was required to appoint a grant management team of six dedicated staff members by March 16 this year, and meet a few other minor conditions (Sunday Times. 31.08.08).

These lines suggest a very negative presupposition towards the south African government and implies for instance by saying' and meet a few other *minor* conditions' that the government is not able to take care of their health issues, especially concerning the HIV/Aids issue. Moreover, this article also spins off on the notion that the government has never actually taken the situation of HIV/Aids seriously, and in that, failed to protect their people.

In their own national study of HIV and Aids prevalence, South Africa has unfortunately gone the wrong way, and the increasing number of affected South Africans is overwhelming. It is very difficult to know the actual number of people living with or affected by the virus, but what is certain is that the rates has in some cases doubled and even tripled, and for that, the government is to blame (www.avert.org).

All of the statements made above tell us several things about the South African political environment and its domestic disputes. To show the extent of the division in ANC, I will draw some examples from the political articles and debates in the Sunday Times circulating in the newsroom well over a year ago. The complexity in the political sphere is what makes the quest for national unity so difficult, and even though their aim might be to include all South Africans, I find that the news points in the other direction.

The Sunday Times 31.08.2008:
'Job equity needs a lot of work'
'A fundamental m!sunderstanding of employment equity and affirmative action has resulted in practices that do a profound disservice to black and white South Africans, writes **Mamphela Ramphele.'**

The conflation of employment equity and affirmative action has bedevilled our public discourse on how to transform our inequitable socioeconomic legacy into the prosperous non-racial, non- sexist and more equitable society envisaged in our constitution. There seems to be widespread misunderstandings of the intentions of the 1998 Employment Equity Act on both sides of the divide on this issue (…) the goal is not to replace white people with black people, or men with women. Success should be measured by greater participation by all South Africans in growing our economy and sharing the benefits of growth equitably (…) South Africa has lost invaluable skills as many white South Africans felt rejected by their own country and went on to seek greener pastures (…) The replacement of competent white people with unqualified and incompetent black people is not only unjust to both parties, but it is exceedingly costly for society.

In her article, Mamphela Ramphele, one of South Africa's famous anti- apartheid activists and former Managing Director of the World Bank and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town (www.oecd.org), focus on the ongoing debate on quotas in the South African society. As Ramphele constitutes a great position in the South African society, her point of view will probably be noticed, and her arguments followed. In a social and historical context, any debate on ethnic affairs is sensitive in South Africa.

This text can be regarded as opposition to the quota system in sports, discussed earlier in this chapter of analysis. When white and black are perceived in sport, one would think of the traditional and classic division with rugby and football. In other areas of South African society, the quota system has been questioned as a tool towards an equal society. As Ramphele argues; *the goal is not to replace white people with black people,* but it may be conceived that way by the population, thus resulting in shortage of skilled labour and a resistance to teach newcomers. In a post- apartheid context the Mbeki government vision of black empowerment could lead to conclusion of a whish for black dominance on the behalf of the white population. In another way, the former white minority rule and its apartheid politics sent South Arica into economic disaster by believing they could only use black and coloured people as labour force. As Ramphele further argues, it would be unwise to replace competence with incompetence just because of skin colour and in a way continuing in the footsteps already marked by the apartheid government.

The Sunday Times.24.08.2008:

'SA' leaders live worlds apart from the people'

The elite and the masses hold sharply different views on basic values survey finds.

When it comes to basic values, South Africa's elite are worlds apart from the public (…) this has emerged from research done by the University of Stellenbosch's Center for International and Comparative Politics.(…) "High levels of commitments to democracy and constitutionalism have not been the hallmarks of the last 10 years. The elite have been complicit in closing down all sorts of democratic processes" Chipkin (professor Ivor Chpikin, chief research special) aid. "The question is what do people mean with democracy? (Robert) Mugabe will also tell you he is committed to democracy.

Sunday Times 07.09.2008:

'Trevor's bold plan to salvage Bafana'
Hero worship isn't limited to 10- year olds.

I spent an afternoon this week at the SAB Yesterday's Heroes Lunch, the annual gathering of former SA sports stars from the worlds of rugby, soccer, cricket and hockey (…) Trevor Phillips, the straight talking former head of the PSL, was the guest speaker (…)Two things Phillips spoke about drew the biggest reaction. The first was the "stunning degree of negativity" he encountered around 2010 during a recent two- month jaunt through Europe. Phillips is an honorary South African, so the opinions hit him hard. But what most surprises him is the lack of action to combat these sentiments. If government, the LOC and SA Tourism have a plan to repel the negativity, or to pump out positive, feel- good stories, they're doing a good job of keeping it to themselves. Plans are being booked, but the international picture is broadly, Afro- pessimistic (…) whatever they do, they must know this: a Bafana humiliation in 2010 would be a humiliation for us all.

5.2.2 Crime in South Africa

One of the main concerns from both the international society as well as in South Africa is the high crime and violence rates. International media has focused on the safety issue, as will be discussed in detail in this part of the thesis.

The Sunday times: 31.08.2008:

'We're a nation sadly at peace with crime.'

We have made peace with crime. We shrug it off as an inevitable part of our social make- up. Only in a sick society can an ordinary person reach such levels of despair and denial of crime. It doesn't help that those who are in power, who should be sensitising us about madness, are themselves steeped in denial (…)We knew there would be many hurdles that we would have to conquer on our long journey to the promised land. But not in many years did we imagine that crime would reach such horrific levels, and that those in power would assume such a lackadaisical attitude towards this problem.

There are two main events I would like to focus on, trying to explain the recent increased focus on crime and safety:

On October 21.2009 thetimes.co.za quoted BaySecur's Guenter Schnelle, saying that the German national football team would be in need of bullet proof west's during their stay in South Africa if they were to go outside the hotel area. BaySecur is the German national team's security firm, and the statements made by Schnell did not seem less provocative after he further stated that they would probably not use the local South African security guards, instead bring their own from the German federal police force (thetimes.co.za.21.10.09).

The next day, thetimes.co.za published another statement; this time made by the German football federation DFB's media director, that there had been no such arguments and that: *"We are aware of the reaction in South Africa, and immediately made it clear that we are not considering equipping the players with bullet- proof vests" (thetimes.co.za.2.10.09).*

The statement made by BaySecur can be linked directly towards what van Dijk would call presupposition related to the 'western elite' and their view on the South African capability to host such a mega- event. Even though the statement was withdrawn and falsified the next day, the point was already made, and both South Africans and Europeans would make up their minds. By raising the question of safety in such a matter, the German security company forced people to actually relate to the issue of crime in South Africa. For South Africans, the statement made by Schnelle could be interpreted on different levels, and in totally different directions based on social cognition. To use Fairclough's model, this statement would be the text and ways of interpretation would depend on the different levels of social and historical context.

As an example, a South African friend of mine, an Afrikaner and white male, remarked that the football players may be in need of the bullet proof vests. Himself working abroad and to a large extent fears the high crime rates when back in Cape Town. I will obviously not make any assumptions based upon his feeling of insecurity in his country, with his fellow countrymen, but I do think many, and especially white Afrikaners might concur with his line of thought and support the idea of bullet proof vests. If not for being actually afraid of their lives, then to make a point to the South African government that there are things to improve.

The statement made by Schnell can also be understood in a racial perspective, where South Africans might feel judged and subject of racism by a dominant European elite. As van Dijk elaborates in his *Principles of critical discourse analysis* (1993:255):

Discourse, communication and (other) forms of action and interaction are monitored by social cognition (…) Social cognitions are social because they are shared and presupposed by group members, monitor social action and interaction, and because they underlie the social and cultural organization of society as a whole.

If we look at the coming World Cup 2010 from a global point of view, crime and the political discourse connected to host this event is one of the main concerns on the international arena. South Africa as a host is being questioned on their ability to manage the violence and possible criminals in order to succeed as hosts during the Football World Cup. In order to promote the upcoming sports- event they (South Africa) are dependent on a positive 'socially shared representation' (van Dijk.1993:255) of South Africa, and in need of persuading their own population of the same belief.

Thesundaytimes.co.za 27.11.2009:

Cele promises a safe World Cup

Next year's soccer world cup is safe in the hands of South Africa's law enforcement agencies, national police commissioner Bheki Cele said.

Speaking at the unveiling of the Western Cape police's new "war room" in Cape Town, he said there was no reason for doubt (…)"This is one area... where I sleep like a baby, when it comes to 2010," he said (…) "Let's be clear on it, 2010 is safe in the hands of South Africans. And let's stop this thing of focusing on security. Let's focus on the beautiful game." (…)Police Minister Nathi Mthethwa said the "showpiece" should be about soccer, not security (…) "Our people must go all out and ensure that they enjoy the beautiful game whilst the law enforcement agencies will do what they're supposed to do."

In the articles from both the Sunday Times and thetimes.co.za, it is evident that in the coverage of the upcoming World Cup, South Africa is being depicted as a nation divided, both in their role as a host and from a domestic point of view, where the politics often overshadow the game.

The third example I want to forward in a criminal discourse is the recent shootings done by the South African police during police operations. Allegedly the National police chief Bheki Cele, supported by President Jacob Zuma, said that police should not hesitate to use guns, and

not keep the guns in their pockets but 'Shoot to kill criminals'. Jacob Zuma has supported the police chief and stated in a rally in Limpopo:

"*My view, which I'm going to canvass to everybody, is that once a criminal takes out a gun the intention is simple: it is not to warn you. It is to shoot you*" (Thetimes.co.za 25.10.09 and thetimes.co.za 4.11.09).

The statements made by both Zuma and the police chief Cele has been confronted in the same thetimes articles, as to have lead police shooting innocent or unarmed people.

On Saturday, Kgothatso Ndobe, 21, was shot dead allegedly by a police officer, at his home in Atteridgeville, west of Pretoria. The Sowetan newspaper reported on Monday that Ndobe's family and friends said he panicked when he saw the police when he was smoking dagga (Thetimes.co.za 4.11.09).

Two off- duty Pretoria policemen were arrested for allegedly shooting dead a street vendor after refusing to pay him in the early hour of Sunday (Thetimes.co.za 4.11.09).

These texts show how the police and the government are depicted in the news and suggest that the law enforcement in South Africa is unreliable and violent.

5.3 Media discourse

One would probably never really argue against the notion that media inhabits an overwhelming power in the fields of agenda setting and process of meaning. However, media's ability to form and influence peoples opinion has been disputed for decades and many has believed in the power of media and its possibilities to dominate discourses. In the school of critical discourse analysis, one assume that media recipients are 'active, and up to point independent, information users' not only influenced by the media and its coverage of news and topics, they are also predisposed by other cultural and social discourses. van Dijk states that when it comes to ethnic affairs;

The role of the media in these various processes are crucial in the sense that it is both ideological and structural (…)The *overall* influence of the media, particularly the news media, on the structures and contents of social cognition of groups is considerable. In other words, for specific types of social and political events, including those in the field of ethnic relations, the news media are the main source of information and beliefs used to form the interpretation framework for such events (van Dijk. 1993: 242).

In sum, we assume that the media play a central role in the reproduction of racism, both because of their relation to other elite institutions and because of their structural influence in shaping and changing the social mind we suggest that media power is especially prominent in ethnic affairs because of the fact that large segments of the white public have little or no alternative information sources on ethnic affairs (van Dijk. 1993: 243).

By using van Dijk's definition of the role of media in power relations, I can identify how South African elite discourse is functioning in the press and how their views and opinions are 'legitimating and manufacturing ethnic consensus' (van Dijk. 1993: 234). In the case of South Africa, the point is also to see if the elite and ethnic consensus has changed from an all- white perspective, to an 'Africanism' and a black empowerment perspective. In the case of the latter, one could argue that the nation building process may have decreased, and that the coming world cup 2010 might actually lead to the opposite, where the 'black empowerment and Africanism' is in focus rather than enhancing the differences in their culture, in fact the very foundation of the once celebrated 'rainbow nation'.

When South Africa once again was allowed to compete on the international sports arena, it did not take long until the new South African government understood the importance of not only competing but also *hosting* such events. Without going too far into detail about the bidding process, it is of somewhat relevance to mention their campaign to host the 2006 World Cup.

As stated earlier in this thesis, I have chosen to see how they are fronting the coming World Cup 2010, in the light of their use of the Rugby World Cup in 1995. The spectacle around the unification towards a 'rainbow nation' was persistent through the whole Rugby World Cup. But the unification of the South African people would prove to be notwithstanding and with that in mind, the South African government started to work towards the 2006 World Cup.

As Alegi (2002:4) states;

Because the 'ideological goal' after the 1995 Rugby World Cup did not prove to maintain the notion of a rainbow nation, South Africa emphasized black empowerment and ' Africanism' instead in the 2006 bidding process. In a very calculated ceremony, the South African bidding process were to be launched on the Day of Reconciliation February 23rd 1998.

The focus on black empowerment and a more united Africa would also be one of the trademarks of Thabo Mbeki. During his presidency, it became clear that South Africa would lead towards a symbol of an emerging 'Africa' with the leaders from the apartheid struggle at the very front.

5.3.1 Media, power and ethnic affairs

van Dijk has done a lot of research on the power of media and its connection with racism and ethnic affairs. The articles I have gathered would in many cases fit into his theory of media playing the messenger for the ethnic elite. In his theory, this is usually applied by the white elite, and were he seeks to uncover white dominance, I find in my papers sort of the same thing, only with a twist. The social elite in South Africa still consist of a mainly white middle and upper class. Mostly, their lives has not been impoverished, (not in the same way as in Zimbabwe anyway), but there seems to be a very harsh environment for social debate, and even though I believe white South Africans still is part of the top part of their society, with the highest income and so forth, their ways of expression has become indigent.

If we follow van Dijk's argumentation on ethnic affairs in news media, he first of all points out that media overall has the structural ability to form racist views, because, as he says;

large segments of the white public have little or no alternative information sources on ethnic affairs (…) most white people have few everyday contacts, and hence few immediate experiences, with minority group members or immigrants (van Dijk.1993:243).

There is little doubt that the point made by van Dijk was persistent in South Africa during apartheid, and one would probably not believe otherwise either, with an authoritarian regime and strict censorship. However, fifteen years down the line, after a transition to democracy and 'freedom of all' South Africa actually has shifted towards a notion were one do not forward qualities but instead striving towards a black elite

5.3.2 Media and the African context.

With the coming world cup 2010, the focus has been shifted from 'the rainbow nation' used as a major slogan during the Rugby World Cup 1995, to a world cup 'for africa'. In this lies many connotations and I would first like to give an example on how the Sunday Times has described the situation in Zimbabwe and Africa with the headline

'*Remove a cockroach and a rat comes to take its place*' (Sunday Times, 31.08.08).

The first time I read this headline, chills came down my back, because it instantly reminded me about the slogans from the Rwandan Genocide in 1994. The term 'cockroach' was used by the Hutu rebellions, especially broadcasted by radio, to send a message to the Hutu's to kill all Tutsi's. I will not go further into detail about the horrible tragedy in Rwanda during those 100 days, but for those who knows the story, cockroach, may still forward the same connotations I got.

The article starts;

Nothing coming out of Zimbabwe makes sense. The country is now a certified 'coconut republic', where common sense has been butchered and arrogant insanity rampages with impunity (…)The rate of inflation is over three million percent- whatever that means. African villagers laughed off the June 27 coconut runoff, in which President Robert Mugabe, the sole candidate, won a 'landslide victory'. Zimbabwe is a despicable disgrace to Africa and reinforces the racist notion that black Africans are incapable of ruling themselves (The Sunday Times.31.8.08).

These are the first lines in this article, and there is little doubt that cockroach refers to a lesser form of individuals, not meaning the same thing as they did in Rwanda, but still generates negative assumptions about the Zimbabwean people, because they are portrayed as incapable of getting themselves out of a desperate situation. With the coconut runoff', the writer refers to the former election, which was for the most part condemned by the international society as not anywhere near a 'free and fair' election.

In the continuing text, the article forms itself with some explanatory arguments to the situation, not only in Zimbabwe, but in the rest of conflicted Africa as well. Defining at the end, the real point; *As Africans often say: "We struggle very hard to remove one cockroach from power and the next rat comes to do the same thing" (The Sunday Times.31.08.08).*

According to van Dijk, a news article consists of information structured as a pyramid, where the top of the pyramid represent the most interesting or important facts (van Dijk.1991:72). In the article above, the story is first and foremost built upon preconception of black Africans as well as it depicts a picture connected to African historical events as the genocide in Rwanda. So by only reading the first column or lines, the readers will position themselves as pro or against the notion of Zimbabwe as a 'coconut' state. These presumptions will be possessed on the social and historical background the reader has.

Reading the whole article, one will probably shift toward a more neutral position towards the text, because it (the text) later tries to calm down the ingress by referring to other African states as well, and condemning the African leaders, instead of the general public, which the author in the beginning accused of being 'incapable of ruling themselves' (Sunday Times.31.08.08).

5.4 The Football World Cup 2010 as a nation- builder.

When South Africa won the bidding campaign to host the coming Football World Cup, they also laid the grounds for large transformations in society, especially with the building of new stadiums and improvement of infrastructure.

The 2010 World Cup is among those projects and events that can define the nation, inspire current and future generations (…) This should be more than just a dream! During the 2010 World Cup, South Africa should invite the Ceo's who run the world's Fortune 500 companies for a visit. A well- packaged and organised tour of the country and other parts of the continent(…) The moral of this story is that the World Cup should be used to maximum effect as a window into South Africa and Africa (Professor Mthuli Ncube in Sunday Times 31.08.08).

Mr Ncubes statements are exactly what I expected to find in my newspapers, statements that would support the notion of the coming World Cup as a part of the nation building process. The fact is though, that my newspapers in fact show to a lot lesser degree these kinds of articles, supporting the mega- event as a positive contribution to both the South African economy as well as society.

The typical contradiction to Ncubes text is the fixation on mega events as too expensive for the domestic economy, as well as an undermining of the real concerns in South Africa, such as health, crime, education, unemployment and housing.

For all its iconic status, the Moses Mabhida Stadium is costing taxpayers R2.6 billion and
the city will be desperate to use it regularly after 2010 (…) Impressive cantilever arch or not, there is a possibility the stadium will become a white elephant; it might be a good- looking elephant, but it will be white nonetheless (The Sunday Times. 07.09.08).

With the World Cup, responsibilities concerning safety, for both players and fans are required, and with that in mind, the crime rates have been an issue. South Africa is known to have one of the highest crime rates in the world, with Johannesburg as the main villain.

5.5 Summary

The critical discourse analysis of the upcoming Football World Cup has been based on newspapers from the Sunday Times and some contributing texts from thetimes.co za. In the original sources from the Sunday Times, the media focused often on the quota system connected to both sports and in society in general. During my analysis I have tried to see the upcoming World Cup in a social and historical context and analyse the articles with the objective to find different power relations in the main discourses and how the articles through them is used as a part of the nation- building process in South Africa.

6.0 Chapter. Conclusion

South Africa has been through great changes since the transition to democracy in the beginning of the 1990's. As the apartheid government, last governed by F.W. de Klerk, realised the apartheid era was over and started to communicate with the opponent ANC and Nelson Mandela, South Africa has been looked upon as a new democracy.

With Mandela fronting the new rainbow nation, South Africa was to become one of the sunshine stories from the troubled African continent and finally a democratic majority rule would be put in place. One of the major concerns in the new South Africa was how to reconcile and start over after decades of injustice and apartheid. The ANC had however seen the possibilities in sports as a political tool and with the international ban on South Africa removed; they hosted the Rugby World Cup in 1995. This thesis has tried to use the 1995 Rugby World Cup to show how the event was contributing in the nation- building process as a historical context for my own hypothesis.

One of the reasons why the Rugby World Cup was perceived as a success and a major contributor to the reconciliation and nation- building process in South Africa, was how Mandela fronted the event as well as how the national rugby team, the Springboks, managed to represent the new rainbow nation, at least during the World Cup. The long lasting effects of the Rugby World Cup has been contested and even though there is little doubt that the event had some immediate effect, the problems and challenges in everyday life soon kicked in.

Now South Africa will host one of the world largest events, and my presumption was that they would try to use this upcoming Football World Cup in an even greater nation- building process. I believed that to be the case because football has traditionally been a black sport, thus representing the majority of the population.

Through critical discourse analysis I have tried to establish how and if they are using the coming World Cup, through articles from the Sunday Times. I have mainly used Norman Fairclough and Teun A. van Dijk method to illustrate how the coming World Cup can not be seen outside a social and historical context. Through politics, sports and media as my main discourses, this thesis has searched for different meaning in the texts relating to the upcoming World Cup. Especially the political discourse has been in focus, mainly because it is all

encompassing in the South African society. Without understanding the historical context, one can not understand the place of politics and ANC in South Africa, and how a World Cup can be used in a nation- building process.

My main focus has been on politics, media and sports, and the different texts have been analyzed in order to detect how these three discourses would affect hosting such an event. I have also tried to focus on how South African views the upcoming event as well as the international community response to challenges like crime and health issues. It has also been important to emphasize how South Africa has moved from a focus on reconciliation between South Africans, to a focus on the African continent. Especially the Mbeki led government underlined the notion of African Renaissance and black empowerment, thus actually moving away from the famous notion of a *rainbow nation*.

There are some major challenges facing South Africa come June 2010, as mentioned crime is one of them. The international society has been critical to South Africa's capability to host such a large event, exemplified through the German press in chapter 5. However, nation-building is a process for South Africans, and it is therefore crucial that it is able to represent the whole nation. As mentioned, I believed the coming event would first of all focus on reconciliation and nationhood in the same way as the Rugby World Cup in 1995, but through this analysis I have come to believe that the event is an event for the tourists, the black majority and for Africa. Not necessarily South Africans. It will be exciting to see though, how the Football World Cup will represent South Africa, both domestically and internationally, and finally, if Bafana bafana will be able to gather South Africans as one nation through victories.

Appendix 1

The chronological history of South Africa.

110,000+   Earliest evidence to date of Homo sapiens in South Africa.

1652   Dutch East India Company establishes settlements at Cape Town.

1658   Slaves from Angola and West Africa arrive at Cape.

1795   First British occupation of the Cape.

1806   Second British occupation of the Cape.

1807   Britain bans slave trading.

1834- 38   Emancipation of slaves in Cape Colony.

1835   beginning of the Great Trek as Dutch farmers known as *voortekkers* leave eastern Cape in search of more land.

1839   *Voortrekker* Republic of Natal established.

1843   British annex Natalia as colony of Natal.

1852   Britain recognizes independence of the South African Republic.

1854   Britain recognizes independence of the Orange Free State.

1860   First indentured Indian workers arrive in Natal.

1869   Diamond rush begins near present- day Kimberley.

1872   Pass laws introduced in Kimberley to control African labour in the diamond mines.

1886   Gold discovered on Witwaterstrand near present- day Johannesburg.

1899- 1902   South African War.

1903- 05   South African Native Affairs Commision (SANAC) supports segregation.

1904- 07   Chinese workers imported into South Africa to work in gold mines.

1906   Bambatha Rebellion. Gandhi begins passive resistance campaign against application of pass laws to Indians.

1910   Union of South Africa

1911   Mines and Works Act restricts skilled jobs in mines and railways to whites.

1912   South African Native National Congress (SANNC) founded.

1913   Natives' Land Act limits African ownership of land to 7 per cent of the . country, designated African Reserves.

1914	National Party (NP) formed by J.B.M. Hertzog .
1918	Formation of Afrikaner Broederbond (AB).
1919	Jan Smuts becomes prime minister, Clements Kadalie establishes Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU).
1920	Native Affairs Act creates separate 'tribal'- based administrative structures for Africans in Reserves. 20,000 African mineworkers strike.
1922	Rand Revolt, white workers strike in support of workplace segregation.
1923	Natives (Urban Areas) Act establishes segregated living areas in cities. SANNC changes name African National Congress (ANC).
1924	Hertzog's National Party forms government in alliance with the Labour Party. Hertzog becomes prime minister (until 1939).
1924	Industrial Conciliation Act exludes Africans from definition 'employee'.
1927	Native Administration Act consolidates all policies dealing with Africans unde one government department (Native Affairs, later renamed Bantu Affairs).
1929	Hertzog's National Party wins national election. Formation of Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Organizations (FAK).
1934	Hertzog and Smuts ally National and United parties to form 'Fusion' government . D.F. Malan breaks away from National Party and establishes Purified National Party (GNP).
1936	Representation of Natives Act abolishes Cape African franchise and limits Africans to voting for white representatives.
1936	African land ownership extended in theory to 13 per cent of South Africa.
1938	Centenary of Great Trek. Formation of Ossewabrandwag (OB, Ox- wagon sentinel).
1939	Hertzog resigns over South African entry into the second World War on the side of the British. Jan Smuts becomes prime minister. Hertzog joins with Malan in Reunited National Party (HNP).
1941	Formation of African Mineworkers' Union.
1944	Formation of ANC Youth League.
1946	Strike by 100,000+ African mineworkers, crushed by police.
1948	HNP wins election and Malan becomes prime minister. HNP renamed as National Party (NP).
1949	Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act. ANC Youth League successfully proposes Programme of Action for ANC.

1950	Population Restriction Act, Immortality Act, Group Areas Act and Suppression of Communism Act.
1951	Separate Representation of Voters Act.
1952	Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co- ordination of Documents) Act. ANC launches Defianec Campaign. ANC membership rises from 7,000 to 100,000.
1953	Reservation of Separate Amenities Act and Bantu Education Act.
1953- 61	Nelson Mandel banned from speaking in public.
1954	Dutch Reformed Church declares biblical justification exists for apartheid.
1954	J.G. Strijdom succeeds Malan as prime minister. Bantu Resettlement Act.
1955	Sophiatown removals of Africans to Soweto. Freedom Charter adoptet at the Congress of the people.
1956	Tomlinson Commision report recommends establishments of Bantustans. Federation of South African Women march on Union building in Pretoria.
1957-61	Treason Trial of 156 signatories of Freedom Charter.
1958	Hendrik Verwoerd becomes prime minister.
1959	Promotion of Bantu Self- Government Act and Extension of University Education Act. Pan- Africanist Congress (PAC) formed by Robert Sobukwe.
1960	21 March, Shootings at Sharpeville by police demonstrators supporting a PAC-organized protest against the pass laws. ANC and PAC banned. Albert Luthuli, president of the ANC, receives Nobel Peace Prize.
1961	South African becomes a republic and leaves the Commonwealth. ANC and PAC begins armed struggle. Mandela goes underground to organize sabotage and resistance.
1962	Mandela arrested and sentenced to five years' imprisonment for inciting unrest.
1963	Ninety- Day Act (General Laws Amendment Act).
1963-64	Riviona Trial. Eight ANC leaders, including Mandela, sentenced to life imprisonment for treason.
1966	Prime Minister Verwoerd assassinated in parliament. B:J Vorster becomes prime minister. Botswana and Lesotho declared independent states by Britain. United Nations deems apartheid "a crime against humanity".
1968	Swaziland declared independent by Britain.
1969	South African Students' Organization (SASO) founded by Steve Biko. Establishment of Bureu of State Security (BOSS). Sobukwe released after nine

years in prison but prohibited from leaving the country and subjected to internal banning.

1972	Establishment of State Security Council (SSC).
1972- 73	Wawe of wildcat strike by African dock workers in Durban.
1973	Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB, Afrikaner Resistance Movement) founded by Eugene Terreblanche. Biko banned.
1974	Military coup overthrows Portuguese dictatorship.
1975	Angola and Mosambique declared independence with Marxists governments. South Africa invades Angola. SASO banned.
1976	16.June, schoolchildren in Soweto protest inferior education. Hundreds killed by police. Government declares Transkei the first 'independent' Bantustan, followed by Bophuthatswana in 1977, Venda in 1979, Ciskei in 1981 and KwaNdebele in 1984.
1977	Biko killed in police detention. Seventeen anti- apartheid organizations banned. United Nations establishes mandatory international embargo on trade in arms to South Africa.
1978	Sobukwe dies in Kimberley while still under banning order. 'Infogate' scandal. Vorster resigns and P.W. Botha becomes prime minister.
1979	Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act. Formation of Koevoet (Crowbar). Vlakplaas established.
1980	Zimbabwe declared independent.
1982	Ruth First assassinated in Mozambique by letter bomb sent by South African government agents. Right- wing Conservative Party (CP) formed by Andries Treurnicht after his expulsion from the NP.
1983	White referendum approves new constitution to include separate parliamentary representation for Coloureds and Asians, but to exclude Africans. Untied Democratic Front (UDF) formed as a multiracial opposition to the new constitution.
1984	New constitution comes into force. International business and banks begin divesting from South Africa. Bishop Desmund Tutu awarded Nobel Peace Prize.
1985	Congress of South Africa Trade Unions (COSATU) formed. Government declares State of Emergency in 36 magisterial districts.

1986	Mandela meets secretly with the minister of justice. Repeal of Pass Laws and Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act. State of Emergency extended to entire country. South Africa launches military aids into Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. US Congress passes Comprehensive Anti- Apartheid Act imposing mandatory sanctions on trade with South Africa. Dutch Reformed Church declares apartheid an error.
1987	Three- week strike by 250,000 Africans. Government covertly bombs headquarters of COSATU. Establishment of Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB).
1988	government covertly bombs headquarters of South African Council of Churches. South Africa withdraws military forces from Angola in anticipation of defeat by Cuban troops. COSATU and UDF banned.
1989	Botha suffers stroke, later meets privately with Mandela. F.W. de Klerk succeeds Botha as leader of the NP and later as State President.
1990	Namibia declared independent. February ANC, PAC, SACP and 31other anti-apartheid organizations unbanned. Mandela and other political prisoners released from jail. NP renounces apartheid. Sebokeng massacre.
1990- 91	Repeal of Natives' Land Act, Population Registration Act, Separate Amenities Act, Group Areas Act.
1991	ANC declares end of armed struggle. Beginning of formal negotiations through the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) to establish a multiracial government.
1992	National referendumof white voters supports de Klerk's political initiatives. Boipatong massacre. Goldstone Commision concludes that the government used cover forces against its enemies. De Klerk and Mandela agree on 1994 as the date of the first national election.
1993	Assasination of Chris Hanai, leader of Umkhonto we Sizwe, by a white right-wing politician. Death of Oliver Tambo. Killing of Amy Biehl by black extremists. De Klerk, Mandela and leaders of most other political parties endorse an interim constitution. De Klerk and Mandela awarded jointly the Nobel Peace Prize.
1994	March, failure of AWB invasion of Bophutswana. April, ANC wins first non-racial election. Mandela sworn in as President and forms Government of National Security with de Klerk as one of his deputy presidents.

1996	First public hearing of Truth and Reconciliation Commision (TRC). National Party withdraws from government giving equal rights to all people irrespective of race, gender, sexual orientation, etc.
1999	Nelson Mandela retires. Second dramatic election is won by the ANC with increased majority. Thabo Mbeki becomes President.
2003	South Africa has more HIV positive individuals than any other country in the world.

(Clark & Worger.2004:x-xiii)

2008-09-22   Thabo Mbeki resign as State President, giving Jacob Zuma his presidency.
(http://blogs.thetimes.co.za/hartley/2008/09/21/mbeki-resignation-speech-the-full-text/)

Appendix 2

Abbreviations

AAC	All African Convention
ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
AWB	Afrikaner Weerstands Beweging
AFV	Afrikaner Volksfront
AP	Afrikaner Party
BC	Black Consciousness
BPC	Black People's Convention
Codesa	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
COSAG	Concerned South Africans Group
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CP	Conservative Party
CPSA	Communist Party of South Africa
CYL	Communist Youth League
DP	Democratic Party
EPG	Eminent Persons Group (Commonwealth)
FA	Freedom Alliance
FF	Freedom Front
HNP	Herstige Nasionale Party
ICU	Industrial and Commercial (workers') Union
IDASA	Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IRR	South African Institute of Race Realations
MDM	Mass Democratic Movement
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe (ANC's armed wing)
NCP	National Conservative Party
NF	National Forum
NNC	Native National Congress
NP	National Party
NRC	Native Representative Council
NRP	New Republican Party

OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OFS	Orange Free State
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PFP	Progressive Federal Party
PP	Progressive Party
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADF	South African Defence Force
SASO	South African Student Organisation
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commision
UDF	United Democratic Front
UNIA	United Negro Improvement Association
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union

(From Barber. 1999:xi).

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