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School of Literature, Language and Media

Wits Pride: Language, Sexuality and Space

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A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Art by Research in Linguistics.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation was conducted for degree of Master of Art by Research in Linguistics, at the University of the Witwatersrand. The copyright for this dissertation therefore belongs to the University of the Witwatersrand.

This dissertation is my own, unaided work and I hereby confirm that no plagiarism exists herein. This dissertation has not been submitted previously at another institution for degree purposes.

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Abstract

Wits Pride is an initiative spearheaded by the Transformation and Gender Equity Office, at the University of the Witwatersrand. Beginning in 2010, the event has been held annually and has grown from a week-long event to a two-week long event which focuses on "*creating a non-heterosexist, non-cissexist, non-homophobic and non-transphobic university environment*". Prior to 2010, it happened as part of the events of the campus LGBTQIA+ society Activate, and was not explicitly supported by the university as it is now, under the name "Wits Pride".

With the university's name attached to it, Wits Pride gained institutional support and that came with more visibility. Wits Pride was now able to advertise widely, producing posters for campus use, t-shirts to give freely to students, as well as issuing press releases to the general public. As a result, journalists came to campus to report on Wits Pride and these reports, along with the texts produced by the Wits Pride Office are the focus of this paper.

The paper analyses newspaper articles, posters and t-shirts, with the aim of explicating the discursive strategies used by Wits Pride and external media to represent Wits Pride. These representations are analysed diachronically, to see if and how they have changed over time, by espousing a Queer Linguistic approach which uses Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis to analyse the various texts.

Keywords: Wits Pride, MMCDA, Queer Linguistics, Sexuality, Space

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1. Introduction

In 2015, Wits Pride was essentially 5 years old. It began in 2008, without direct institutional support from the University of the Witwatersrand and in 2010, it gained this support. On the 27th of September, 2010, a joint statement against homophobia was released by the Student Representative Council, Student Societies, and Management. In the statement, the university constituencies expressed their support for LGBTI (sic) rights and pledged to take action against any homophobic attacks on campus. The acronym "LGBTI" represents Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex. This statement was accompanied by a statement from the Vice-Chancellor which summarised the statement as evidenced in the image below:



Statement from the Vice Chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand

Wits University is committed to confronting homophobia as is indicated in the statement released in Wits Pride 2010. (See attached). We wish to take this opportunity, in signing the letter to President Zuma, to:

1. Reiterate our commitment to upholding the South African Constitution and the values of equality and justice that it embraces;
2. Oppose attacks of any nature on the South African Constitution;
3. Demonstrate that the University is committed to ensuring the rights guaranteed by the Constitution to the LGBTI community.

Vice-Chancellor: Loyiso Nongxa

University of the Witwatersrand

Figure 1: Statement from university Vice-Chancellor.

As can be seen, the university relies on a human rights discourse to pledge its commitment to tackling homophobia on campus, appealing to the South African Constitution. These statements marked the beginning of Wits Pride, as an initiative of the Wits Transformation and Employment Equity Office (henceforth, Transformation Office). Wits Pride was created with aim of "*creating a non-heterosexist, non-cissexist, non-homophobic and non-transphobic university environment*" (http://www.wits.ac.za/safezones/18795/safezones.html). In its wording, this aim presupposes that the university is not any of these things, as indexed by the word "creating". In their aim to create this space, Wits Pride annually hosts events ranging

from film screenings to rugby matches and of course, the physical march, which has its roots in the wider South African Pride movement.

The first Gay and Lesbian Pride March in South Africa was held in 1990, organised by the Gay and Lesbian Organisation of the Witwatersrand (hereafter GLOW) organised the first. The theme of the march was “Unity in The Community” (De Waal and Manion, 2006: 13-14) and it focused on a political/legal goal: to have the illegality of same-sex relations removed. This would be achieved by the inclusion of a clause in the Constitution that would make discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation illegal. This first march was “a call to all south Africans who are committed to a non-racist non-sexist non-discriminatory democratic future” (De Waal & Manion, 2006: 15) and the manifesto created for the march mobilised a human rights discourse to achieve a political goal by showing that emancipation for a smaller group of people is part of the larger fight for human rights (see Milani, 2015 for an analysis of rights discourses of sexuality in relation to Johannesburg Pride).

Pride is held annually in South Africa and the same happens with Wits Pride, which continued to grow every year and in 2015, the organising committee decided to change Wits Pride to Varsity Pride. The rationale behind this was that Wits Pride needed to grow outside of the bounds of the university, so that it clearly reached other universities in Johannesburg. The Wits Pride organising committee recognised that “In South African higher education, student-led LGBTIAQ+ solidarity groups are typically leading campus pride events… These events do not typically ‘speak’ to those at other higher education institutions, which often means that collaborative attendance is not optimal at these pride celebrations” (TEEO SOGI, 2015: 2). As can be seen, the Wits Pride organising committee of 2015, uses a different acronym from the one that the university used in 2010: LGBTIAQ+. This dissertation uses this longer acronym, as LGBTQIA+ and this stands for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, Asexual and the plus sign represents other sexualities which are not represented in the acronym. The acronym has changed over time and this dissertation seeks to reflect this by using the acronym in the form that particular sources use it, and the longer form when the author discusses texts.

Just as the acronym grew and became more inclusive over time, Varsity Pride 2015 sought to be inclusive and was imagined as a collaborative event which would bring together different universities to “form one unified march on and outside Wits premises” (TEEO SOGI, 2015:2) thus diversifying the attendees of Wits Pride, increasing the outreach and impact of Wits Pride, now named Varsity Pride. In light of this growth of Wits Pride, Varsity Pride proposed a two-week long period in which various events would take place, in collaboration with stakeholders from other universities such as the University of Johannesburg Liberati. The programme plan

featured events which would use the university space in novel ways, thus making bigger-than-usual changes to the university's Linguistic Landscape.

In light of this involvement of external stakeholders and the "new" changes in Wits Pride, an interest in how Wits Pride had fared up to 2015 was sparked. Taking the goal of Wits Pride as political, it became interesting to see how Wits Pride would use the university space in 2015 to achieve this goal and how it had been doing so until 2015. The change in Wits Pride implied that something new was needed and as such, it was my interest to find out what the old ways were. Understanding Wits Pride as a public event, though limited to the university, I became interested in the representation of Wits Pride prior to 2015 as it seemed that new representations would be made in 2015.

Unfortunately, what was envisioned for Varsity Pride did not happen but my curiosity remained and I was interested in finding out how Wits Pride had changed, or not, over time. As such, this thesis seeks to find out what representations are made of Wits Pride. These representations are understood to take two forms: representations by the self and representation by others. Borrowing from Psychology, the self and other refer to positions that individuals take when relating to external elements (Harre and Moghaddam, 2003) and I use this notion to separate the representations that Wits Pride makes of itself and those made of Wits Pride by others, external to Wits Pride. These representations are mediated through language and this language use is the focus of this thesis.

Acknowledging Wits Pride as public, this thesis is interested in the discursive strategies used by Wits Pride and others, in their representations, thus it looks at texts that would be accessible to the public, namely t-shirts, posters and newspaper articles. The T-Shirts and posters are internally produced by the Wits Pride team and area form of self-representation while the newspaper reports are representations made of Wits Pride, from external (to Wits Pride) sources. To answer these queries, linguistic analysis of these texts is required but the texts created by Wits Pride do not exist in a vacuum.

These texts in particular, exist within the linguistic landscape of the university and as such form part of the goal that Wits Pride has, of making changes to the university spaces, if only temporarily. This goal is political and inherently imbricates sexuality because it seeks to change the heteronormative spaces at Wits. As such, this thesis looks at how sexuality, and gender, are used in the representations made as Wits Pride interacts with the university space.

As previously mentioned, Wits Pride has intertextual links to Pride globally and hence, I now turn to a brief Historical Overview of Pride, which contextualises Wits Pride.

1.1 Historical Overview

Pride is present in many parts of the world but has its roots in North America, as a result of the Stonewall riots. In 1969, Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in the Greenwich Village, was raided by the police and this led to multiple riots. These riots are viewed as a memorable, public beginning of the "gay liberation movement" (Armstrong and Crage, 2006; Duberman, 2013; Kissack, 1995). Armstong and Crage (2006) argue that even though Stonewall 1969 was not the first time that a clash of this nature happened, this event was used to commemorate the visibility of the gay liberation movement.

In 1970, the first Pride marches were held in San Francisco, to commemorate the resistance that defined Stonewall and to express Pride in one's sexuality (Clendinen and Nagourney, 2001) and this commemoration spread across America and the world. That first Pride march was characterised by politics and resistance and many Prides across the world began with the same "feel". Currently however, this is not the case: over time Pride has changed. In many countries across the world, Pride is at varying stages since it did not start at the same time: in South Africa, Pride began 20 years after the first Pride march in America. Even though Prides around the world are at varying stages, there is a view that Pride is no longer political.

This view was expressed as early as in 2005, in South Africa, when attendees at Pride indicated that Pride had changed: ""Now that we've won our rights, what are we marching for? … we're mardi gras-ing. It's the advent of money into Pride. What do you do at a mardi gras? You just have a jol… it's really only middle class people who can have access to their rights" (De Waal & Manion, 2006). This view has its roots in the way Pride in South Africa changed since it began in 1990, when the Gay and Lesbian Organisation of the Witwatersrand held the first Pride march (De Waal & Manion, 2006). The march was themed "Unity in the Community" and was organised to secure rights which would be enshrined in the Constitution, which the new government would write (Craven, 2011; Milani, 2015). Milani (2015) utilises Critical Discourse Analysis to show how the original manifesto utilised a human rights discourse to "achieve political change and social justice" (2015: 437), clearly illustrating the political nature of the march.

The goal of the march was achieved and subsequent additions were made, thus the marches appeared to be less goal-oriented and became parades (Craven, 2011; De Waal & Manion, 2006). Even though this happened over a period longer than Wits Pride has been around, it is important to note the trajectory of the external Pride and see if anything similar has happened internally. This is not the aim of the paper, however, it may be a factor in the way that the representations change, or not, over time.

Representation in all its forms is important and the location of Pride feeds into various aspects of representation: the location of Pride affects the way in which it can be marketed as well as who can access it. In 2002, the march moved from the Inner City to Zoo Lake, which is in Parkview: a suburb in the north of Johannesburg (http://www.jhbcityparks.com) and predominantly white. Craven (2011) makes note of this racial issue that faced Pride: the move to a more affluent area limits the access of people from townships through distance as well as monetary constraints. This socio-economic difference has an impact on: the Pride constituency; who sees and is seen at Pride; who partakes in Pride; whose needs/views are presented at Pride; and even who runs it. In 2012, the organisers of Pride were caught in a representational nightmare due to their response to a protest held by the One in Nine Campaign, at the 2012 Pride Parade.

The One in Nine Campaign staged a “die-in” in which they stopped the oncoming parade, by lying on the floor to have a moment of silence for people who had “been murdered because of their sexual orientation and gender expression” (McLean, 2013: 26). This request was not acquiesced to, instead Pride organisers threatened to drive over the protesters as well and violence ensued (McLean, 2013; Milani, 2015). A further discussion of these studies is discussed in the literature review however, at this point, Wits Pride was in its second year and had a somewhat provocative theme of “Stop Sexual Apartheid”.

As this brief overview indicates, globally, Pride has changed over time and it seems that Wits Pride itself may have changed as well. These changes (or lack thereof) are the focus of the diachronic analysis that this thesis undertakes. In the section that follows, I detail the organisation of this thesis.

1.2 Thesis Organisation

The thesis begins with an introduction which includes a brief historical overview and discusses the rationale of this study. It is followed by a Literature Review and Theoretical scaffolding and three analytical chapters.

The analytical chapters are organised “chronologically”, both broadly and internally. The first text people would encounter would be the posters which are used to advertise Wits Pride across campus. These posters would be the first contact point which would inform students of various things about Wits Pride such as dates and venues as well as the route. Besides the individual events, the March could be seen as “bigger” because it attracts many students and also moves across campus, making it more visible. Even if students did not know that it was happening, they would quite likely see it and encounter it.

The posters chapter is followed by a chapter about the t-shirts that Wits Pride distributed. These t-shirts were given out at the march and would be a second major contact point for the public. Let it be noted that the posters and t-shirts were not separate, discrete “events” but were continuous: while posters were present in the university space, t-shirts also entered the linguistic landscape

Finally, the analysis of the newspaper articles is last because these reports are usually printed *after* Wits Pride (or particular events) has taken place.

The three analytical chapters are followed by a discussion and Conclusion and the thesis is rounded up by references.

2. Literature Review

Pride events provide a rich data source for analysis, and as a result, research from many disciplines is available. The relevant literature for this study however is mostly found in the fields of human geography and tourism, rather than in Linguistics, where very little literature is available. The literature review begins with literature concerned with Pride, locally and globally, and closes with more theoretical literature specifically from Linguistics.

As seen in the historical overview, Pride in the Johannesburg context experienced a rupture in 2012. The subsequent reporting on the events of that day, and thus the various representations made are analysed differently by McLean (2013) and Milani (2015). McLean (2013) focuses on the online discussions that followed reports and argues that the online space allows for more in-depth discussions that may not be possible in person, and in smaller spaces such as newspaper articles, giving space to people whose "voices" would not have been heard outside of the online space.

Using a thematic analysis, McLean argues that conversations on issues such as racial division and the "depoliticisation of Pride" would not have been discussed for as long and as deeply as they were, online. Additionally, due to the online space, people were less careful in the way that they expressed their opinions, allowing them to be more expressive. The posts discussed in the paper range from those made by One-In-Nine and the Pride organisers, to comments made by the public in response to these posts. The One-In-Nine posts chosen discuss intersectionality and the racist nature of the actions of the Pride organisers, which are countered by posts made by the Pride organisers about the way in which One-In-Nine disrupted the march and created a safety hazard. McLean does not analyse the posts in their entirety but shows the depth of conversation made possible by online platforms.

In contrast, Milani (2015) uses Critical Discourse Analysis to analyse the ways in which the One-in-Nine members and Pride Organising Committee represent themselves. Utilising a queer perspective, Milani argues that the protest and the parade can be seen to be acts of "*sexual cityzenship*" (2015: 433, italics in original). Sexual citizenship is an established concept (Bell and Binnie, 2000) however Milani utilises a non-standard spelling as so to highlight the spatial aspect of this citizenship, as enacted by the two groups in a particular space.

In their representations, the Pride parade organisers use legal discourse to represent Pride as an orderly, law-abiding event, which was unlawfully disrupted by One-In-Nine. In contrast, One-In-Nine uses intertextual references to previous Pride events, to position themselves as politically entitled to the space which Pride organisers claim through being law-abiding. In their different representations however Milani (2015) argues that both events present acts of

practising sexual citizenship, however, they are in contrast because one is sanctioned and ordered while the other is disruptive.

In addition to the textual analysis, Milani provides an analysis of the embodiment of the One-In-Nine die-in. Milani argues that the die-in's embodiment had an affective effect, it produced shame. This shame is invoked by black bodies that lay "lifeless" on the ground with a black banner behind them which said "no cause for celebration". The shame can only be understood when spatiality is considered: the suburb of Rosebank is a white suburb where the black people that usually enter the space are either aspirational, going to the mall, or unthreatening, as in the case of beggars. The One-In-Nine however presented a different black body, a powerless, lifeless one which invokes intertextual links to other black bodies lying on the ground, as seen in images of the Sharpeville Massacre and Marikana. Additionally, the die-in embodied the idea of dead, black bodies which reflects a reality that Rosebank is not familiar with and would only interact with, in news reports.

This reading of the 2012 Pride rupture is an illustration of how "expanding the logocentric scope of discourse-based research on space and citizenship so as to encompass not only the visual but also and most importantly the corporeal" (Milani, 2015: 436) can provide a more nuanced understanding of meaning-making processes. This expansion is what allows for the reading of the 2012 Pride Parade to go beyond posters and pictures to actually discussing the bodily actions of participants who sought to claim space. The claiming of space is important to the Wits Pride project, as can be seen in their goal (see introduction), and this is because claiming space makes one visible. Pride marches occur in different settings but have the similar goal of using the space and making the LGBTQIA community visible in spaces that would be considered heteronormative because "Gay pride parades may queer streets, cities and nations…" (Johnston, 2005: 77) and often, this claiming of space is controlled, as shown by Sonnekus (2010) with regard to the Pink Loerie Mardi Gras (PLMG), which happens in Knysna.

Sonnekus argues that the PLMG is an example of how sexual orientation can be used to change a space, in this case the PLMG queers spaces that are heteronormative. Comparing Knysna to De Waterkant, Sonnekus states that Knysna does not have an established "queer" space and is marked by heteronormativity. As such, when the PLMG happens, it displaces heteronormativity momentarily and Sonnekus argues that the power exchange is actually not so straightforward.

In the time leading up to and during PLMG, various symbols (such as the colour pink and rainbow flags) are placed in the area. As such, non-normative sexuality becomes patently visible, where it was not present before, giving it momentary dominance. Sonnekus argues

that this dominance is negotiated *with* heteronormativity, meaning that heteronormativity dictates how this dominance is achieved. The first way that this is achieved is by controlling *where* queer bodies are visible during the PLMG: the PLMG follows a limited, predetermined route.

This route restricts the PLMG to a few areas, which are mostly sites of consumption such as bars and stores, preventing it from crossing the Main Street. Sonnekus (2010) indicates that this can be understood as an effect of the PLMG being marketed as a tourist event, where escapism and consumption are invoked.

Secondly, controlling *which* queer bodies are visible is achieved by the visual representation of the PLMG. The marketing of the PLMG does not feature black people in the way that is does white people — particularly men —, and in South Africa, this is problematic. In a country where the great majority of the population is black, one would expect visual representations to feature the majority group but this is not the case, and Sonnekus notes that "limiting the straight gaze's contact with black, female or sexually deviant queers… serves to re-inscribe the supremacy of whiteness, patriarchy and propriety, and heteronormative ideology therefore benefits from having some of its norms reiterated, despite having to make space for homosexuality" (2010: 200-201). Additionally, the corporate sponsors also utilise the white male as a representative, thus both the PLMG and its sponsors uphold the heteronormative norm of patriarchy, along with that of white supremacy.

It is noted that the reality of the PLMG is one that represents various races, bodies and sexual identities thus requiring heteronormativity to police these bodies by dictating where they can go. In light of this, Sonnekus questions the queerness of the PLMG, asking to "what extent can the festival legitimately or freely call itself 'queer'?" (2010: 192), and without providing an answer, he implicitly answers the question by showing that the question cannot in fact be answered. This is due to the way the festival queers the space around it while simultaneously reproducing heteronormativity, indicating that the PLMG is a site where power dynamics in social space are not clear-cut, it is a site of both reproduction and contestation.

Sonnekus' paper shows that this predetermined route serves as a controlling mechanism and this may or may not be the case with Wits Pride. Wits Pride uses a predetermined route, which changes occasionally but this route makes marchers visible in some spaces and not others and it will important to note where. This predetermined route is part of how Wits Pride represents itself in the university space, at the moment of the march, as it temporarily visually represents the university's LGBTQIA+ community as occupying various spaces within the university.

Regardless of the location of Pride, in a global perspective, the political nature of this event is not exclusive to South Africa: in 2000, World Pride was held in Rome with a view to "bring about improvements in the Roman and Italian gay and lesbian communities as well as to stimulate increased gay and lesbian tourism to Rome in order to sustain the momentum of change" (Luongo, 2002: 167).

Luongo (2002) states that the event was held in Rome that year particularly because the Vatican was hosting a Jubilee that commemorated 2000 years of Christianity, at the same time. This fuelled the hope that some kind of dialogue could be entered into with the Catholic Church, with the goal of getting them to change their anti-LGBT stance, which would then have a global impact. While Luongo discusses World Pride from the discipline of tourism and geography, a similar observation made by Craven (2011) and Sonnekus (2010) is present: there is a visible difference in the attendants of Pride, due to the issue of accessibility. At World Pride, there was a clear distinction between the American and European tourists who attended, and the attendees from the Global South. The former were mostly able to attend the event without financial assistance and were marked as tourists who were able to travel the world to "gay destinations as consumers of gay culture" (Luongo, 2002: 170); the latter received financial aid to attend. It is clear that globally, Pride spaces are marked by consumerism and the differences in accessibility, often due to economic circumstances.

The aid was offered because World Pride had another political goal: to gather as many attendees from around the world so that they may engage in dialogues that would allow them to return to their countries and be better activists.

While the politics of World Pride were important, the event was essentially a tourism event because it was marketed as such to the attendees from the north (who were the majority) but attendees from developing countries did not receive information about "promotional visits", they were offered financial assistance. This observation speaks to the power differential present at World Pride and at other Pride events: those with access to capital have access to things that others do not and in a (post)colonial context, this access to capital is inextricable from race.

The success of World Pride was based partly on the attendance of tourists, which would be an economical gain for Rome but the march also relies on a large number of tourists attending: the estimated three hundred thousand participants and spectators in the march account for a large number of tourists. Similarly to other Pride events, the march was quite large, it took five hours to complete and caused transport redirections. This kind of disruption temporarily queers a space and is an act of sexual citizenship, which is based in visibility.

Visibility is central to Pride, through the claiming of spaces by marching as well as symbolism that represents non-heterosexual identities. Non-heterosexual identities and queer bodies challenge heteronormativity in the public space due to their visibility (Johnston, 2005) and visibility can be controlled as literature shows but it can also be prevented. In 1996, New Zealand's Hero Parade, was moved from a main street in Auckland to a street called Ponsoby Road, which is considered to be in a gay area (Brickell, 2000).

Similar to the move of the South African Pride, this move affected access to the parade and who saw it. Brickell (2000) argues that the moving of the parade had an exclusionary effect, (of a different type to that in South Africa): the move to a gay area meant that the parade would only be seen by those that were usually in the area and that those who were not comfortable with going to a "gay" area would not be able to participate (as spectators or participants), thus limiting the reach of the parade. And importantly, the parade would not necessarily be challenging heteronormative spaces and this defeats the purpose of the parade. As such, the move of the Parade to a "gay" area reduced the visibility of queer bodies and space and served to keep these bodies contained, even away from the heteronormative gaze.

As can be seen, visibility is important to Pride, in the Wits Pride context, this is most obviously achieved through the t-shirts that are worn first, during Pride marches, later on during the years, as people get to keep the t-shirts. The T-shirt has been an object of study in various fields and began as an undershirt for soldiers in the military (Manan and Smith, 2014) but soon entered the mainstream and became a popular garment (Manan & Smith, 2014; Symes, 1989).

Symes (1989) discusses t-shirts as semiotic artefacts which have undergone resignification through the years. Using what he terms "an iconography of t-shirts", Symes shows that t-shirts are communicative tools which can be used to spread different messages. T-shirts can act as souvenirs from travels, share humour, announce one's political affiliations and so forth. All of this communication is done through language, through the text and images on the t-shirts, such that t-shirts can "speak without speech" (1989: 90). Taking up this view of t-shirts as communicative, Coupland (2012) discusses how t-shirts form part of a linguistic landscape in Wales, communicating the views of their creators on the language policy of Wales.

The t-shirts are created by a company in Wales called "cowbois" and they are available for sale online. The t-shirts express an opinion of the Welsh language policy which, calls for the creation of a truly bilingual country, along with the revitalisation of Welsh and enforces this through language policy. The National Assembly of Wales seeks to increase the number of Welsh speakers in the country and as such calls for the visibility of both English and Welsh in the public domain. As such, official signage, documentation features both English and Welsh,

and business is conducted in both languages so that people may choose to communicate as they wish.

Coupland (2012) finds that this policy is expressed in the linguistic landscape differently and distinguishes between five frames which express the policy. In the Non-Autonomous Welsh frame, signage in Welsh follows English conventions, such that street names follow the English convention and syllable boundaries are present in the signs (contrary to autonomous Welsh signs). This frame is followed by the Parallel text Bilingualism frame, in which signage is printed in both English and Welsh but the language order is not always consistent. Coupland shows signs which have English first and others which have Welsh first, with some being indicative of either language having been there first, so the other language was added later.

These frames show language policy is actualised differently and these instances are contrasted with the frame of Nationalist Resistance. In this frame, individuals express their personal stances and mostly advocate for the usage of Welsh, as opposed to the usage of Welsh and English. In this case, we see how people can resist discourses and hence have a hand in shaping linguistic landscapes. Following this encouragement to use Welsh, the frame of Welsh Exoticism illustrates how Welsh is used but exotically. In this frame, Welsh is exoticised as a language and usually for the consumption of tourists. In the final frame, the frame of Laconic Multicultural Celebration, Coupland discusses how cowbois' t-shirts are a different interpretation of the language policy.

Coupland analyses 12 t-shirts which make use of 5 different languages, including Welsh, and the text on the t-shirts generally features Welsh phrases and words which are historically significant. The design of the text on the t-shirts uses a typographical style in which Welsh script is fractured: letters and numbers are mixed as in "MRCH 8EC4" FOR "MERCHED BECA" and "C4L74GH8" for "CALZAGHE". This fracturing of Welsh can be likened to the fourth frame in that it slightly exoticises Welsh, and this is related to consumption as the t-shirts are for sale. Another technique is to use different languages to refer to Wales, such as in Spanish "NO SOY INGLES, SOY GALES" which means "I'm not English, I'm Welsh". All the t-shirts make reference to Wales in some way and they form part of the broader Welsh Linguistic Landscape.

Through their typographical choices, the t-shirts are an example of deviation from the language policy in that they represent Welsh is a fractured way. Coupland calls the stance of cowbois "laconic" because they espouse "a noninsistent orientation and a laidback tolerance of incomplete meaning-making" (2012:19). Undoubtedly, the t-shirt genre is not policed by institutional forces in the way that other signage is, but these t-shirts nonetheless defy the norm that Welsh should be represented as "fully autonomous" (Coupland, 2012:19), thus

adding to the linguistic landscape of Wales. The t-shirts being for sale adds a dimension of commodification which Johnstone (2009) discusses, in the American context, specifically looking at Pittsburghese.

Pittsburghese is a 'dialect' spoken in Pittsburgh and its "difference" from other ways of speaking English is enregistered and commodified by the commercial sale of t-shirts which feature Pittsburghese on them. Pittsburghese is enregistered as it becomes tied to the social idea of how a native Pittsburgh resident speaks. The words that are considered to form part of the authentic Pittsburghese are printed on t-shirts and then sold. The t-shirts that are printed on have a retail value that is approximately 50% less than that of a printed Pittsburghese t-shirt. This shows that this variety of English adds value to the t-shirt but the variety itself is commodified: people want to buy and consume it.

In terms of design, the various t-shirts make intertextual links with each other: even though they are created by different people they follow the same basic design. The t-shirts feature words such which are considered to be linguistic tokens which are native to Pittsburgh such as "jagoff" (jerk), and this usually comes in the form of a vocabulary list or speech bubbles emanating from the city skyline. This means that the t-shirts resonate linguistically but they also have intertextual links through chromatic choice: the t-shirts make use of black, gold and white (in multiple combinations), which are the city's colours. Thus the t-shirts use visuals and text to create a coherent representation of Pittsburghese.

Coupland (2012) and Johnstone (2009) discuss t-shirts which are for sale, which is different from the t-shirts of Wits Pride but they both highlight how t-shirts are communicative and to a lesser degree, mobile. This mobility is important in Wits Pride as it makes the t-shirt "travel" through the university campus, thus spreading the Wits Pride space.

Another form of visibility that is encompassed in Pride is the concept of "coming out": the process in which a non-heterosexual individual identifies themselves as not just non-heterosexual but as something particular. In the American context, this coming out process followed the historical Stonewall moment which emphasised the need to come out and led to the beginning of Pride marches (Enguix, 2009). Coming out formed an important part of Pride, with individuals being encouraged to be "gay and proud" and over time, this practice has been considered important to living as a non-heterosexual individual (Didomenico, 2015; Jones, 2015; McCormick, 2015; Rasmussen, 2004; Zimman, 2009). This process however has been problematized: Rasmussen (2004) and McCormick (2015) both argue against the necessity of coming out, in different ways.

Rasmussen (2004) discusses the idea of coming out in a pedagogical setting, in which teachers come out and also encourage others to do the same. Rasmussen argues that "There

is an imperative for lesbian and gay identified people to come out in educational settings" (2004: 146) and appeals to the politics that surround coming out, which cause it to not be imperative for some people. Notably, Rasmussen appeals to the idea of intersectionality as a reason to not come out: people have to consider the different aspects of their positionality such as race, gender, economic status and so forth, before coming to a decision. For example, a black immigrant single mother may lose the support of her very close-knit community if she chooses to come out as a lesbian. This alienation from her community will affect not only her but her child as well, as they will lose an integral part of their support system (Rasmussen, 2004). In the South African context, this consideration of positionality when coming out can be very crucial as identifying as a black lesbian, when living in a township for example, could be a life-threatening decision. As the one-in-nine campaign illustrated, gender non-conforming individuals were killed because of this, many of whom were black (Milani, 2015).

In contrast, McCormick (2015) argues against coming out from a queer theoretical perspective: the act of coming out is performative and reinforces the heterosexual/homosexual binary. Similarly to the rest of the world, coming out in the South African context is seen as positive, being couched in discourse of "progress, health and enlightenment" (2015: 327) and McCormick states that this positive, unquestioned view of coming out leads to the process seemingly being "immune" to critique.

When an individual comes out, they identify themselves within a particular category and this legitimises the category, thus leading to it being stabilised. McCormick argues against this process, noting similarly to Rasmussen (2004) that by coming out, individuals treat identity as stable rather than fluid, which is indicted in the essentialism that governs identity categories. Analysing three South African texts which valorise coming out, McCormick shows that these texts do not question the process of coming out but rather, use different strategies to argue for coming out, without problematizing it. The texts span a little over a decade, beginning in 1992 (two years after the first Pride) and ending in 2005. This choice of texts covers a time in which Pride and sexuality politics in the country were changing so it might be expected that views on coming out might change but they do not.

McCormick uses content analysis to show how the various texts use positive linguistic terms when describing coming out and simultaneously present it as a natural, necessary process while negative tokens are used for not coming out. By making coming out appear to be positive, natural and essential, the texts fail to interrogate the category homosexual. They fail to interrogate the norms and processes that ratify the category and by encouraging coming out, they contribute to the strengthening of the sexual binary.

Despite the turn in questioning coming out processes, the literature indicates that coming out is still an important part of Pride and this process is also present in Wits Pride. The different studies of Pride show that is it a contentious space which Browne (2007) would call “a party with politics” (2007: 67). Browne argues that the Pride space can be described as a party with politics due to the various interests of those who attend the event. Using both qualitative and quantitative methods, Browne analyses the responses of women who attend Pride events in Dublin and the UK. Women were chosen as a counter-move to the oft-seen trope of men as representatives of the LGBTQIA+ group, and to contribute to the academy in this regard. The women were given questionnaires which were followed by interviews and Browne used content analysis to analyse the longer responses and interview data.

Browne’s (2007) findings echo a global trend: the commercialisation of Pride signifies a depoliticisation process but simultaneously, it is a political act. The participants in the study varied in their perceptions of Pride as political and as a party but were largely opposed to what they saw as the commercialisation of Pride. This global trend of the depoliticisation of Pride, alongside its commercialisation is entangled with the less overtly political aspect of reclaiming space through visibility.

The various issues that are present at Pride, globally and in the South African context indicate that there is a trend in the way that Pride progresses and changes over time. These trends emerge from different disciplines, as the literature reflects, with a lot of it being in the Social Geography, Media and Tourism fields. This shows that the events can be read from different perspectives however, these various studies indicate something similar: Pride is a contentious space in which various social processes compete with and complement each other and regardless of the outcome, Pride is an important space for visibility and for the challenging of heteronormativity.

The spatial dimension of Pride can locate a study of it in Linguistic Landscapes, a sociolinguistic field which has origins in the term first used by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 23) to denote the “visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory”. Initial research in Linguistic Landscapes was focused on researching language attitudes and language policy (Shohamy and Gorter, 2008) and this history, Milani (2014) argues, is a possible reason for why the field has not incorporated gender and sexuality into the analysis and understanding of public space.

Milani (2013, 2014, 2015a) argues that this oversight cannot persist because without the inclusion of gender and sexuality, Linguistic Landscapes fails “to account for some important facets in which public spaces are structured, understood, negotiated and contested” (2014: 202). Milani argues extensively for “expanding the scenery” by including language and gender

into Linguistic Landscapes by using various case studies which do this. Milani (2013) is discussed in the following section, Theoretical Scaffolding, as the study is similar to this one, and provides an example of how to combine Queer Theory and Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis. The paper is set in the same context as this one, the University of the Witwatersrand and analyses content similar to that which will be analysed in this thesis.

Milani (2014) adopts a queer perspective to analyse three different linguistics landscapes: a magazine stand at an airport, t-shirts and a coffee shop. Milani terms the data analysed "banal sexed signs", which are signs that may be ignored and overlooked, possibly because they are expected or "normal" in certain spaces, but are involved in the way in which we understand and experience "gender, sexuality and subjectivity".

The magazine stand at Dulles Airport employed a gendered division of its magazines: magazines aimed at a female audience were separated from those aimed at a male audience. Milani shows that the types of magazines in each section are an example of the societal beliefs about gender roles: the magazines aimed at women were about topics such as gardening and cooking while those aimed at men were about topics like mechanics and science. Visually, there was a contrast between the men and women depicted on the covers of the magazines: the men were rugged, big and fit while the women were slim and small, further visually representing men and women as complementary opposites. Additionally, both genders had young models who were mostly white, mostly pictured with demand gazes. The demand gaze interpellates the viewer into a conversation which leads the viewer, in this case, to engage in consumption.

In terms of sexuality, the magazines and their content were patently heterosexual, however, the demand gaze of the model does not inherently dictate the sexuality of the person who will pick it up.

Similarly the t-shirts, seen in a Swedish storefront were an example of heteronormativity. The t-shirts were gendered materially by the style and size of the cut, and the men's cut t-shirt expressed affection for women while the women's cut t-shirt expressed affection for men. This was also encoded in the names of the t-shirts but was encoded visually in the typeface on the t-shirt's echoed gender differences: the print on the men's t-shirt was bigger, reminding the viewer that men are bigger than women.

The display of heteronormativity was disrupted once Milani *entered* the store: inside the store, there were men's cut t-shirts which expressed affection for men and women's cut t-shirts which expressed affection for women. Milani (2014) argues that the distinction between what was

seen outside and inside the shop is important as it is indicative of the presence the body in space and how this embodiment is involved in the interpretation and experience of space.
In terms of sexuality, the t-shirts did not feature any identity categories, only processes, which is a fluid expression in that it does not force individuals in a particular position.

Finally, Milani analyses *Love & Revolution* café in Melville, where embodiment was indexed once more. Using the café's online description, which indicates a political stance and which does not mention gender or sexuality. As such, this particular meaning is attached to the space until Milani enters it. The space is governed by rules, which include "no homophobes, no sexists" and even though the online description does not include gender or sexuality, these rules invoke these categories by prohibiting discrimination on the grounds. The choice to create a space that backgrounds identity categories is a deliberate one as explained to Milani by the co-owner, Ishtar. The interview with Ishtar indicates that she does not want to define herself by the category "lesbian" but rather by the multiple processes that she engages in and this "de-essentialising" is how she questions why people transfer her sexual identity to the space ("people assume that it's a gay and lesbian place simply because it's run by two lesbians" 2014: 219).
Ishtar rejects a sexual identity as part of the defining characteristic of *Love & Revolution* and further describes the spaces which are defined as such, by using an intersectional move in which sexual identity is linked to race.

By using three different linguistic landscapes, Milani show how gender and sexuality can be incorporated into an analysis of spaces that may even be glossed and ignored due to their banality. This argument for "expanding the scenery" is advanced from a different perspective in Milani (2015a): it is argued from the perspective of Language and Sexuality. Milani begins by providing an overview of the development of the field over twenty years.

Using Baker's (2013) corpus study of abstracts submitted from 1994 to 2012 for the annual Lavender Language and Linguistics Conference, Milani shows how identity has been a focal point in Language and Sexuality Research. Initially, research focused on "gay language" but gradually moved away from this notion to a more nuanced explanation of language use, which does not assume that people speak a particular variety due to their sexual identity. Identity held and still holds a central position in language and sexuality research however, this focus on identity was challenged by Deborah Cameron and Don Kulick in their seminal book *Language and Sexuality* (2003).

Cameron and Kulick (2003) call for a moratorium on identity in Language and Sexuality research, proposing a focus on desire instead. By showing that sexuality is about more than identity, Cameron and Kulick argue that identity alone is not sufficient for understanding how sexuality is constructed and experienced, through language. Additionally, because desire is transitive (it is for someone or something), a focus on desire makes it possible to problematize the subject as well as the object of desire. In sum, a focus on desire however, allows for a more nuanced investigation of gender, sexuality and other social categories. This focus is not incompatible with identity, because subjects and objects identify in particular ways, it rather provides a different entry point for understanding how sexuality and identity are intertwined.

Following this theoretical orientation, Milani (2015a) explores the relationship between same-sex desire and race, in a post-apartheid context. Using ethnographic methods, Milani shows how twelve, white, middle-class men espouse a disavowal of Blackness, in the context of desire. The men are what Milani calls "*men of social transformation*" (2015a: 412, italics in original) because they spent their childhood in apartheid but their adolescence and adulthood is based in a democratic South Africa. Additionally the men espouse liberal beliefs: they are not racist, do not make racist jokes and embrace the multiracial environment of South Africa. However, when discussing sexual desire, the men would generally not have sexual relations with black men. When they would, it was through the impetus of fetishisation.

Milani shows that even though the men are liberal, they identify the Black man as less than themselves as they are more educated, less violent, more advanced. In their discussion, race invokes other social categories which the men use to distinguish themselves from Black men, as better. Yet, the negative characteristics which mark the Black man as lesser are fetishized in the sexual context such that the Black man becomes an exotic object of desire, good for sex only. Milani argues that this response may not be surprising due to the end of apartheid being very recent, but it is seemingly incongruent with the men's liberalism and South African context where overt public racism is becoming increasingly unacceptable.

Notably, the men express disapproval of their utterances, which they may not make in other contexts however, this is why the focus on desire is important. In this case, the men's liberalism would prevent them from disavowing Blackness but once desire becomes the focus, it is possible to see that the racist, white supremacist sentiment is present but confined to the private domain.

Concluding that mapping desire – and other types of affect – and how it is semiotically expressed in particular spaces may be a possible way of creating a better understanding and possibly transforming social structures, Milani proceeds to argue for a "spatial semiotics of sexuality" (2015a: 414).

Reiterating the argument that sexuality is not present in the field of Linguistic Landscapes, Milani (2015a) mounts an argument for the inclusion of sexuality in spatial analysis which relies on three notions: (i) Lefebvre's (1970) notion that public spaces "both mirror and reproduce specific power relations" (2015a: 414); (ii) the feminist notion that the "private" is political; (iii) Gal's (2008) notion that the distinction between private and public space is debatable, the two are co-constitutive. With these three notions established, Milani reminds us of the historically gendered division of the domains of public and private, split between men and women respectively. With this in mind, it is clear then that sexuality can be incorporated into spatial analysis so as to question the public-private dichotomy and to provide a "deeper understanding of the ways in which modern power works, among other things, by hiding its own operations from the domain of the visible" (2015a: 415).

To illustrate this, Milani provides an alternative, spatially-driven reading of the events of the 2012 Johannesburg Pride rupture (see historical overview). Milani shows that the "disruption" can be understood differently when considering it in terms of it being held in "a *specific section* of the Johannesburg urban space" (2015a: 416). Using Deleuze and Guttari's concepts of smooth spaces and striated spaces, Milani shows that the Rosebank tarmac is a striated space which was momentarily made into a smooth space by the One-In-Nine.
The Rosebank tarmac is striated due to its history of being a white suburb, as per the apartheid Group Areas Act (1950), and the fact that still, most of the inhabitants of Rosebank are white. However, the local mall is a site of luxury where young South Africans gather, regardless of race. This site of luxury is contrasted with a nearby site of poverty, which is the intersection at the robots, where often Black men may offer to clean a window, in exchange for some change. As such, One-In-Nine's actions are a smoothing act which disrupts the striation of Rosebank, if only momentarily. The Black bodies that were lying on the road, blocking the parade were not the usual Black bodies seen in the space, they were not aspirational, stylish bodies seen in the mall or the poor black man at the traffic light. They were powerful, taking control of the small piece of road and transforming it momentarily.

In this argument, Milani shows how sexuality can be incorporated into spatial analysis and also shows how race, gender and embodiment can be used to understand the power relations that are (re)produced in a space. The One-In-Nine die-in can also be read differently, as Milani has done previously, without taking space into account. The first reading of the One-In-Nine die-in however, still forms part of Milani's general argument across these papers, the argument for "expanding the scenery".

Milani's overall argument is that current sociolinguistic research should incorporate multi-semioticity, the interplay between multiple semiotic modes, so as to understand meaning-making processes. This is initially achieved by expanding the meaning of "linguistic" such that it is not "logocentric" (2015a: 405) but rather addresses "the multi-layered nature of semiosis" (2015a:405). In acknowledging and seeking to address this multi-layeredness, it becomes clear that modes such as materiality, affect and spatiality can be incorporated into research. In this particular paper, Milani shows that in Linguistic Landscapes, this can be done by engaging with sexuality when analysing space and in Language and Sexuality it can be done by incorporating spatiality.

In these articles, Milani (2013, 2014, 2015a) argues for the expansion of the field from different aspects of study but it is largely a call that discusses sexuality and public spaces. In the current literature, scholars are beginning to take up this call. Hiramoto and Vitorio (forthcoming), expand the scenery by firstly agreeing with the idea of broadening the definition of language, noting that "multimodal resources are potent tools for semiosis" (forthcoming: 2). Hiramoto and Vitorio argue that space should be included in the expansion of the scenery and consequently in the concept of linguistic landscapes.

The study explicates the relation between physical space and films, by showing how various aspects such as content and theme are connected to physical space. Film then is a linguistic landscape because films are "resources which have their own spatial aspects" (forthcoming: 3) and Hiramoto and Vitorio argue for this understanding because viewing films as linguistic landscapes enables us to investigate social relations. Social relations that could be investigated are the construction of sexuality and gender.

In light of this, Hiramoto and Vitorio (forthcoming) investigate the intersection of language, gender and sexuality and Linguistic Landscapes in Chinese martial arts films. They argue that in the films analysed, space becomes indexical of masculinity and homosociality, but also of a particular kind of masculinity. In the films, the masculinity that is naturalised is considered the ideal Chinese masculinity which has its roots in Confucian ideology. This type of masculinity highly valorises intellectual pursuits and martial arts, connected to physical prowess. These aspects of masculinity are thought to require high levels of self-discipline and as a result the men in these films traditionally do not engage in romantic relationships. Additionally, the men in the films are bound by the social protocol of heroism within their different *jianghu* spaces (original emphasis). The *jianghu* is not a physical space but is similar to a concept such as "the business world", meaning that it is a recognised space that has its norms and principles and individuals can indicate their membership of this space.

In the analysis of *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* Hiramoto and Vitorio show how linguistic tokens in the form of place names index a particular linguistic landscape, one which the main character, Yu Jiaolong, does not occupy and thus becomes marked as an outsider. Yu Jiaolong is a female character who dresses as a man and while speaking to a group of martial artists, Yu Jiaolong makes mention of various place names and martial arts practitioners who are outside of the *jianghu* that the men she is speaking are part of. Yu Jiaolong projects a desire to be recognised as a good fighter, albeit a male one, while indicating that she is not a member of any particular *jianghu.* This point is highlighted by how she uses important place names, indicating that she would destroy these places. Additionally, she mocks the men by highlighting their lack of discipline, as they follow a non-vegetarian diet, when a vegetarian diet is the expected norm for martial artists. The place that Yu Jiaolong would destroy, namely Mt. Wudang, is a religious place representative of a place where male homosocial bonding is practiced, under a strict hierarchical structure.

These religious temples are asexual locales where the martial artists practice and train at the same time but the training is individual. Furthermore, they are all male and are led by a master who oversees their training while also providing guidance. Thus these temples are seen as places of worship which are masculine domains. In these spaces, there are also visual cues which show that the temples are masculine spaces, namely the Chinese character for Buddha (佛). The character is present in the various temples depicted in the films and usually with martial artists practising or fighting in the same frame. This visual link is reinforced linguistically as martial artists in the films use it in a greeting, which indicates their commitment to following the principles of the temple and shunning the outside world.

In this analysis, Hiramoto and Vitorio (forthcoming) show how films constitute linguistic landscapes and highlight how the visual and verbal are used to index gender and sexuality. This sexuality is based on the principles of the spaces that characters occupy, both physical (temples) and abstract (*jianghu*). This study is an example of expanding the scenery, particularly taking sexuality and space into account.

Another study which discusses sexuality and public space is VanderStouwe's (2015) discussion of the creation of safe spaces, in a university context. Responding to the notion that gay spaces are no longer needed, VanderStouwe argues that those who are privileged can espouse this view because they have access to spaces that marginalised individuals do not. As a result, these spaces are still required and VanderStouwe attempted to conduct an ethnography to investigate this. The ethnography failed because the group that he was working with, Queer Alliance, eventually denied him access: he initially thought he would be an insider due to being a gay man, however, he was considered an outsider due to the

prevailing campus politics on campus. On the campus where he was situated, particular expressions of sexual identity are valued over others: those who can move through campus "without being obviously seen as gay" (VanderStouwe, 2015: 278) are safer than those who cannot "pass".

This prevailing attitude on campus means that non-normative individuals are at risk and thus, safe spaces are needed. These safe spaces are created and maintained through language, in VanderStouwe's study. Using the example of a queer wedding, he shows how language temporarily turned a heteronormative space into a safe space. The queer wedding happens in a public space in the university and many people attend and get "married". The university's Vice Chancellor uses inclusive language, by referring to attendees as "partners" rather than "spouse, husband or wife", to make a public space a safe space. Additionally, there were different types of "unions" happening on the day thus making non-normative unions visible. Even though language is used to create a safe space, it is not clearly defined. Rather, it is marked by particular patterns of language use, which may be regulated.

VanderStouwe (2015) uses the response from a Queer Alliance leader to highlight the importance of language in signalling a safe space but also how one might be admonished for using language which is not inclusive, regardless of the speaker's position. Here VanderStouwe highlights how an individual may want to refer to their partner using the available gendered terms but this is frowned upon and not considered inclusive, thus also framing these safe spaces as being slightly contentious. However, the point is to have a "regulated space of some sort to safely express oneself and to have that expression properly recognized by everyone present" (2015: 281-282).

This understanding of language as a tool for creating and defining spaces, which are not necessarily physical, highlights the performative nature of language. Through language, spaces that are heteronormative can be momentarily changed and spaces can be seen to be constructed and mediated through language.

In light of this theoretical argument, this study follows this thinking by incorporating spatiality into understanding sexuality. As literature shows, sexuality interacts with space and can change it, as per Wits Pride's goal (see introduction), and incorporating space into an analysis provides a better understanding of the meanings created in the space.

3. Theoretical Scaffolding

The corpus for analysis by this study is made up of texts that combine written code with images and colour, thus making them multimodal texts. As a result, Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MMCDA) is the main toolkit used to analyse these texts. The main text *How To Do Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis* (Machin and Mayr, 2012) relies on Kress and Van Leeuwen's ideas for visual analysis as seen in *A Grammar of Visual Design* (2006) and these two texts are used extensively in the thesis. Due to sexuality being imbricated in these texts, a queer perspective is taken when analysing them, allowing one to make a distinction between practices and identities. A queer perspective allows for a critical discussion of sexuality and sexual identity, which CDA does not, while keeping in mind that identities are negotiated in relation to the hegemonic norms within society.

3.1 Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis

As the name indicates, Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MMCDA) is a stream of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and an understanding of CDA is a good starting point for understanding MMCDA.

CDA, as used in this thesis is an analytic method which recognises that the way that language is used is meaningful and as such, CDA views "language as social practice" (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 5). Discourse can be understood as both the language used within a text, and ideas that are used to understand the world. Due to this duality of discourse, CDA is concerned chiefly with analysing semiotic (meaning-making) data to uncover ideologies and power relations that underpin this data. CDA is not necessarily concerned with analysing a specific linguistic unit but rather with analysing the discourse mobilised by those various linguistic units (Wodak & Meyer, 2009; Machin and Mayr, 2012).

It does, however, provide tools for analysing linguistic elements of a text, quite finely: it allows us to analyse the structure of a sentence, to interrogate how various people are represented through language and to use this finer analysis to understand how a representation is shaped by language. This means that using CDA, one can uncover the choices utilised by producers of texts, in meaning-making, and how these choices may influence consumers of these texts to think in a certain manner (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Texts are not solely made up of linguistic devices: they often contain images and various typographical marks to create a coherent, multimodal text. Multimodality then, refers to the usage of multiple semiotic modes for the purpose of communication (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). As a result, MMCDA combines multimodal analysis and critical discourse analysis to

make it possible to critically analyse both the visual and the verbal elements of signs, which constitute a text. This combination of multimodality and CDA is important because images can communicate, just as language does.

Language, according to Halliday's (1978) theory of social semiotics, performs three functions: an ideational, textual and interpersonal function (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2002). The ideational function refers to the ability to express an idea or abstract thought; the textual function refers to the ability to create a coherent unit or message and the interpersonal function refers to the ability to create relationships with a real or imaginary interlocutor. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), images are able to perform these three functions. I will illustrate this with the help of the classic example of the World War I Uncle Sam poster. In the iconic image (below), Uncle Sam points a finger and beneath him is the text "I WANT YOU FOR US ARMY".



Figure 3.1: Uncle Sam poster

The ideational function is performed by the colours of the poster along with the band of stars on Uncle Sam's top hat which indexes a specific polity – the Unites States – but also symbolizes the more abstract idea of American nationhood. Additionally, the text "US ARMY" linguistically indexes the country. As such, the text and the visual cues of the colour and stars work together to perform the ideational function.

The personal pronoun "I" can be said to be visually represented by Uncle Sam, who points his finger at the viewer, thus creating a link between the word "YOU" and the image. If the viewer is the "you" referred to in the text, Uncle Sam is the "I" and therefore he represents the country America, which is the entity that requires recruits for the army. Furthermore, the link between America and Uncle Sam is represented by Uncle's Sam's attire which features the colours and stars of the American flag. As such, the text and the image, together, perform the interpersonal function by interpellating the viewer into an imaginary conversation, by using a pronoun referring to the viewer.

Finally, the textual function is performed by the complementary nature of the image and the text. The image and text can be used to understand each element such that they are not contradictory but rather, reflective of each other, and are read as one unit. Additionally, the poster was created when recruits were required for the army, which means that the advert was well-timed and relevant to its context. This contextual aspect affects the meaning of the poster: if it had been released at a different time, it would have a different meaning. Thus, these elements produce a text that can be seen to "cohere internally" and "coheres with its relevant environment" (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006: 15).

As illustrated, images and text have different affordances but are both able to perform the same communicative functions, and this is why multimodality is important. However, the analysis of this poster would end here, without a queer theoretical approach. When taking a queer perspective, the analysis would then include the fact that personification of America as a man and the name "Uncle Sam" index a male figure, who is visually represented as an old, white man. Even though this does not tell us anything about sexuality, it is a visual cue that communicates that American nationalism at that time was associated with gender, it was associated with men rather than women, and also indexes race.

This analysis using a queer perspective and MMCDA allows us to say more about the text and to also comment on the context that the poster is created in. Inherently, Wits Pride inherently involves sexuality and gender and as a result, a queer perspective will be important for analysing the texts in the corpus under analysis. I will now provide a brief overview of Queer Theory before turning to the analytical concepts used in this dissertation.

3.2 Queer Theory

Queer theory is not easily defined as Jagose (1996: 96) says "queer itself can have neither a foundational logic nor a consistent set of characteristics". Even though queer theory can't be defined exactly, it provides "a mediated approach to categories of identification" (Johnston, 2005: 4), allowing the challenging of naturalised categories. It provides an approach with which to challenge the "normative" status of heterosexuality and certain representations of homosexuality, which is based on the conflation of biological sex and gender (Milani, 2014; Jagose, 1996). It is critical of identity categories, of any kind, and questions their naturalisation: drawing on Judith Butler's idea of performativity, queer theory highlights the fact that identity is not a stable construct. Queer Theory additionally distinguishes between sexual practices and sexual identities, and it is resistant to the conflation of the two.

This resistance is due to the way in which Queer Theory came into being. Prior to Queer Theory becoming an academic theory, the word "queer" was used as pejorative term for homosexuals but it was eventually re-appropriated and used as a term of self-identification (Jagose, 1996). This reappropriation was driven by a failure of the prevailing identity politics at the time, found in gay liberationist movements and feminist theory, which posited an inherently stable identity. This singular gay and lesbian identity was used to legitimise same-sex sexual practices. These identity categories (lesbian and gay) were also committed to being defined by the choice of a sexual partner: a gay man is a man enamoured with a man and a lesbian is woman who is enamoured with a woman and does not engage in sexual relations with a man.

These identity categories however, had a marginalising effect as they excluded those who did not fit neatly into them, those who did not adhere to the normative standards. Activists opposing the dominant, exclusionary identity politics adopted "queer" as a signifier of their resistance to the available categories. This became particularly relevant in the face of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, as the available discourses relied on sexual identities to speak about the spread of the virus and consequentially, campaigns around educating people. The prevailing identity politics was problematic because it conflated sexual practices with sexual identity and trends and advice were issued on the basis of identity.

However, HIV/AIDS has no link to identity but rather to sexual practices, thus advice given based on identity fell short and did not reach people who did not subscribe to particular identities. An example of this is that if an HIV/AIDS campaign targets gay men, because they engage in sexual activities with other men, it fails to "speak" to men who occasionally have sex with men but do not identify as gay. This inadequacy of the prevailing identity politics at the time paved the way for Queer Theory.

Following the radical questioning of identity politics, “queer” entered academia as a way of questioning various sexual categories, and the word “theory” was attached. Here, Queer Theory as academic practice entails the usage of a questioning perspective. In this sense, Queer Theory “problematizes normative consolidations of sex, gender and sexuality – and that, consequently, is critical of all those versions of identity, community and politics that are believed to evolve ‘naturally’ from such consolidations” (Jagose, 1996: 99). Put simply, Queer Theory reminds us: to not conflate practices with identities; to stay critical of sexual identity categories and how they may be normative; to question how this normativity comes about, especially relative to heteronormativity.

Queer theory has been quite popular in the humanities but is not without critics. The word “queer” was re-appropriated and there are those who cannot take it as a self-identifying term, arguing that it has not completely lost its pejorative nature (Jagose, 1996). Additionally, queer theory is seen as exclusive: it is the domain of homosexual, middle-class, white academics and is seen to fail to engage with the work of Black scholars. Even though these are valid critiques, queer theory has its place as it allows us to critique “the natural, the obvious, and the taken-for-granted” (Jagose, 1996: 102), and therefore has the potential to uncover the subtle ways identity categories – gender, sexual, racial and so forth – are mobilised (or not) for specific purposes in everyday texts.

It is of particular importance to this study because of its critical stance towards identity categories: it provides a lens through which one can view a text and explicate the particular discourse related to sexuality, normativity and power. Without the use of queer theory, these aspects cannot be explained thoroughly, as seen in the brief analysis of the Uncle Sam poster above.

A study similar to the one this thesis undertakes was conducted by Tommaso Milani (2013). Milani (2013) combines Queer Theory and MMCDA to analyse texts more closely, in terms of sexuality. The combination of the two allows for the explication of the “meaning-making in *sexed signs*” (Milani, 2013: 210, italics in original), signs related to sexuality and gender, as it enables an analysis to go beyond merely identifying aspects of a text: a thorough discussion of multimodality, sexual identity and affect. Using Queer Theory to analyse texts that are related to sexuality makes it easier to explain mobilisation of identities, as seen in Milani (2013).

Milani (2013) analyses the Safe Zone signs displayed at the University of the Witwatersrand, arguing that the signs changed university spaces. The signs analysed were a sticker on a door and posters that were displayed on university noticeboards and walls, thus contributing to the

space. The sticker on the door is shown to create a “safe zone”: a space in which students can find information about LGBTI issues as well as support, if they need it.

Linguistically, the sticker featured obvious text “this is a safe zone” that marked the office as such but the imagery on the sticker related it directly to the LGBTI movement and safety by using the rainbow flag, placed inside armour. In this example, Milani (2013) shows how linguistic and visual tokens are marshalled together to create a coherent message: “this is a safe zone”.

The various posters displayed were also analysed using multimodality by discussing the significance of the colours and the text in each poster: ranging from the usage of sexual identity categories to anti-homophobic statements. What is most important is the conclusion about *how* these sign contribute to the changes in space: the signs invoked strong feelings in readers (through the usage of specific words and colours) and displayed a characteristically anti-homophobic message, thus changing a space one might take for granted into a positively non-homophobic one. This analysis could not have been so strong if it did not take all the semiotics of the sign into account: the visual effects, the induced affect and the text itself. Additionally, without the application of Queer Theory, certain phrases in the text could not be thoroughly made sense of, such as the difference between “some people are gay” to “bros that like to date their bros are still bros, bro”, and the move itself cannot be explained effectively.

The colour aspect of the analysis relies on the “highly theoretical reflections” (Milani, 2013: 226) of Kandinsky to explicate the usage of colour and musical theory is also applied to the text itself. This is somewhat context-dependant as colour theory is a debated field particularly because of the subjective and culturally-influenced experience of colour, though the usage is justified in the text. Notably, Milani (2013) includes the reflections of the creator of the signs, adding to the richness of the analysis. This application of different theories, as well as the subjective experience of the designer, to a single body of text allows for a more nuanced and layered reading of sexed signs.

Milani’s (2013) work provides an example for how this study could be conducted, but it is not a template or paint-by-numbers work. It demonstrates how a queer perspective can be utilised effectively with MMCDA to analyse texts.

As such a queer perspective is important for analysing the texts that are produced by Wits Pride and the media that reports on Wits Pride. The multimodal nature of these texts demands the use of MMCDA concepts but only a few are relevant to this dissertation and these concepts are discussed in the section that follows.

3.3 Analytical Concepts

Any semiotic artefact that includes written language and images needs to be read as a single cohesive text due to the fact that the two modes have different affordances but work together to deliver a particular message. As a result of this, the analysis of multimodal texts happens on three different axes: the compositional, the visual and the linguistic. This demarcation does not define how a text is read – since it is a single unit – but rather how one can try to simplify an analysis of a multimodal text.

The compositional axis refers to how the various elements are positioned in the semiotic artefact, relative to each other, regardless of whether they are images or text. The visual axis looks at the colours and images used while the linguistic looks at the words used in the texts. The complexity of these three aspects means that there are many concepts that are related to each, however not all of these concepts are utilised at once and thus this section details only the concepts that are used in the analysis in this thesis.

3.3.1 The Compositional Axis

In the composition of a multimodal text, there are two relevant "systems" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 177): information value and salience. Information value refers to the meaning an element has, based on its position within the text, according to the top-bottom and centre-margin "zones".

In a composition which places elements across the vertical plane, the top section is considered to be the domain of the ideal whilst the bottom is the domain of the real. What is placed at the top "is presented as the idealized or generalized essence of the information" and the bottom-most elements are "more specific information" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 186-7). Elements can also be organised according to the centre-margin zone so that it is clear that there is an element in the middle of the composition, alone or surrounded by other elements. When an element is placed in the centre zone, "it is presented as the nucleus of the information" (2006: 196) with all the other elements acting as secondary to the centred element.

It *is* possible to create a composition which combines the two zones such that an element is centred, while other elements occupy the margins, as illustrated in the two figures below. In the first, the various placements show how centre and margin can interact in a composition, while the second provides an illustration of this composition from an advertisement. The advert for Joburg Pride 2012 places an idealized statement in the top part of the composition and more generalised information in the bottom section, while using the image in the centre as a

nucleus for the adverts. The advert illustrates another possible combination of the centre-margin zone with the top-bottom zone, what results is a triptych. A triptych is a composition which can clearly be divided into three parts such that the element in the centre is the nucleus of the composition, whilst also being a mediator between the elements that occupy the margins.

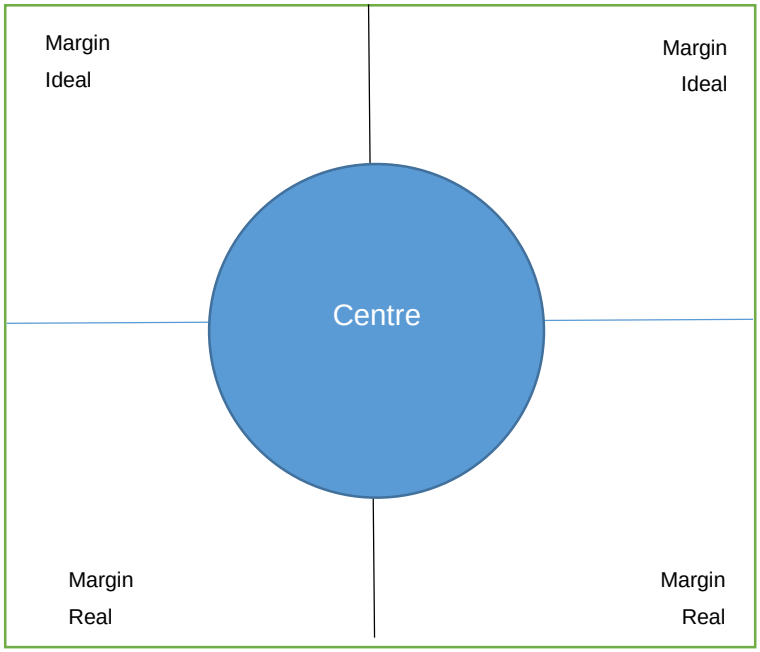


Figure 3.2: Amended diagram of the dimensions of visual space

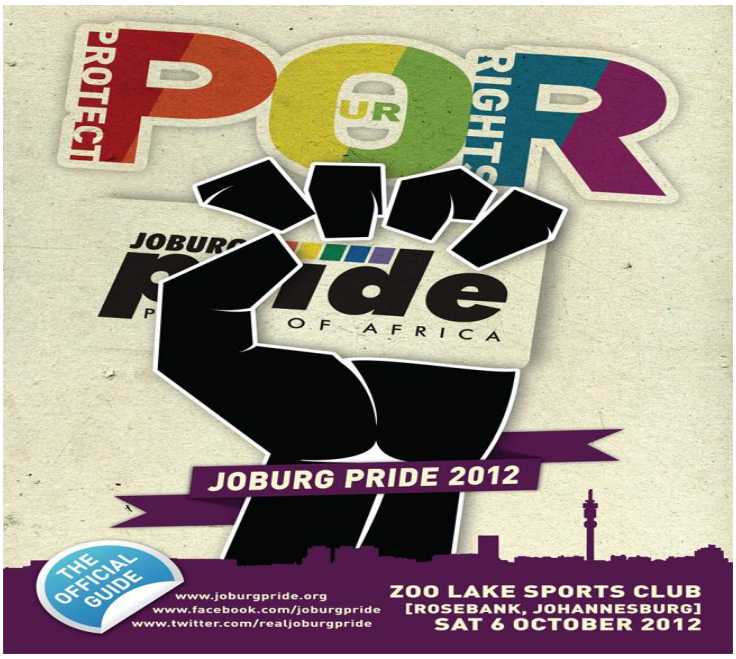


Figure 3.3: Joburg Pride 2012 Poster

The mediator in a composition usually “holds together” the two ideas that exist in the margins, as they are often (but not always) opposing concepts. This advert places the event “Joburg Pride 2012” in the centre so that it mediates between the ideal concept (Protect Our Rights) at the top and the reality (details) at the bottom. This composition implies that the ideal at the top can be achieved by participating in the event which in the centre, while noting where this is done by referring to the information in the bottom section. This would mean that an individual would be able to “Protect Our Rights” by attending Joburg Pride 2012. The details of where it will be held are provided at the bottom, along with useful links, which is the more practical information.

The information value that the positioning of elements provides, interacts with how these elements look, which is where salience is factored in. Salience affects the “visibility” of elements and can be constituted by the size, focus, colour and saturation of an element, either through one or a combination of these factors. Notably, salience creates a visual hierarchy of elements within a composition, regardless of where the element is placed, because highly salient elements draw the eye. In the adverts above salience is created by using different hues within the colour palette as well as printing images and text a particular size. It must be noted that salience is not something that can objectively be determined, however, the way that the elements are designed and interact can draw attention to some elements more than others.

3.3.2 The Visual Axis

On the visual axis lie all of the visual cues that are not contained in composition. This refers to what is actually on paper: all the different colours and icons that may be used within the composition. These elements possess inherent meaning, regardless of where they are placed or how they look but as previously discussed, their informational value is dependent on the composition of the image.

This meaning that is inherent in the elements that make up an image is processed on the visual axis. If the compositional axis answers the question “how is the text organised?” then the visual axis answers the question “what is in the text?”

In the example below, the poster can be analysed on the compositional and linguistic axes, which allow us to analyse where various elements are placed and what this means, and what is actually said on the post, respectively. The understanding of the meaning of the colours however, lies in the visual axis.

In this poster, text is printed in rainbow colours and this has many different meanings, depending on what rainbow colours mean to the viewer, which invokes the concept of intertextuality. In the context of these particular posters, the true meaning of the rainbow colours is understood as a visual intertextual reference to the rainbow flag, otherwise they would simply form a salient part of the image (compositional axis) and will be analysed linguistically (linguistic axis).



Figure 3.4: Wits Pride and Wits Pride March 2010 posters

The above point speaks of intertextuality, which is an important concept, first coined by Julia Kristeva in the 1960s, which she used to discuss how texts are related and can be understood relative to each other (Martin, 2011) and can be understood as "a constituent element of literature: no text can be written independently from what has already been written (Turell, 2008:268). Simply put, texts are not produced in a vacuum, they are linked to other texts and as such any individual text can be understood relative to another text.

This relational view of texts is often dependent on the consumer's knowledge, even if the primary text being consumed explicitly references the texts it uses. Intertextuality, as used in this thesis, refers to the various ideas that a text may invoke whether through composition (typographical and chromatic choices included) or through usage of particular phrases. A very popular intertextual link in the LGBTQIA+ community is the metonymic relationship between the colour pink and gay men. The colour pink is an intertextual reference to the pink triangle which homosexual men were forced to wear in Nazi concentration camps (Chesler and Zúñiga, 1991). This colour was reappropriated and became linked to gay men.

Pink however has other meanings, as shown by Koller (2008). Koller (2008) investigates the social meaning of pink, in the British context, by conducting a pilot survey and by doing a multimodal analysis of public texts such as adverts. The survey serves to find out what associations people may make with the colour pink and Koller found that respondents mostly associated pink with femininity and romance but on the lower end, they associated it with childhood and gentleness. Respondents differentiated between these qualities based on the shade of pink, relative to working-class femininity: the brighter and more saturated shades of pink were associated with sexuality and lighter shades were associated with innocence.

The respondents were given an option to say more beyond the survey questions, by being given a category of "other" in which they could share associations that were not in the questionnaire. The responses to this open-ended section of the questionnaire further indicated that overall, pink was seen associated with femininity, sexuality and sexual identity.

From these associations, Koller (2008) proceeds to analyse how pink is used in visual communication, initially showing how pink is used to gender products. Due to its link to femininity, pink is used on products that are targeted at women but notably, the usage of pink becomes extensive when a product is considered less feminine, traditionally. Using the example of a car and a cellphone, Koller shows how pink is used in the product colour as well as in the text, to gender the product. The adverts also rely on intertextual links to reinforce the gendered nature of the product: "'Most phones are from Mars' (in grey) and 'This one's from Venus' (in pink)" and "Shrinking violet, never really was our thing" (Koller, 2008: 410) for the phone and car respectively. The cellphone plays on the title of a popular book *Men are from*

Mars, Women are from Venus, while the car plays on the metaphor of women as flowers. As such, the adverts use the colour and text to create a cohesive unit which genders the product.

Koller then discusses how pink is used to attract the attention of consumers so that they might purchase products. Products such as televisions are made available in pink and this attracts attention but the more interesting product discussed is low-fat cheese. “Heartfelt” is a cheese that uses a dark pink to attract the attention of women but also uses the visual of a woman measuring her waistline, to gender the product. The packing uses verbal means to mark femininity as well by using “5% fat” to signal health and dieting, what Koller calls “feminine’ semantic fields” (2008: 412). Once more, gendering is achieved through verbal and visual means, marshalled together into a coherent unit.

Pink is also used in a non-commercial context for the above purposes when it used for advertising Breast Cancer awareness information and charities that support women. Koller notes that pink is used to draw attention to the most important information on the pamphlets and websites but additionally, femininity is highlighted by both the visual, in the form of images of woman and child, and the verbal, by using the word “woman/women”.

Another function of pink is to be a marker of sexuality and sexual identity. In this instance, the shade of pink is important with a dark pink being associated with feminine sexuality. The darker pink is used by Victoria’s Secret (Lingerie brand) packaging, as well as by women’s sex shops, alongside purple. Additionally, a site which provides erotica for heterosexual women makes use of this colour code while sites which aimed at lesbians and heterosexual men and women use pink with black. Sites with gay male erotica however, do not use pink as often as might be expected, considering the link between gay men and pink.

While pink is linked to sexuality, it is also indicated in sexual identity, as shown through texts aimed at lesbian and gay men. Koller (2008) discusses gay magazines which use pink in different ways. *Out NorthWest* uses pink to mark femininity, alongside blue but also juxtaposes this with a cover featuring a pink triangle, which discusses Holocaust Memorial Day. Similarly, *Curve* uses pink for femininity and juxtaposes this with images of female masculinity and this usage of pink, Koller argues, indicates that gay subculture is influenced by the dominant culture.

Finally, Koller discusses pink as part of a new femininity, a “post-feminist pink”. Using *Cosmopolitan* magazines term, she argues that pink is a marker of the “fun, fearless female”, who has attained some form of social and economic power and is self-confident. Additionally, she has achieved success without “conforming to masculine norms” (2008: 416) and such uses pink as a marker of her femininity. In visual communication, Koller uses the example of Sheila’s Wheels, a company that offers car insurance to women (think First for Women, in the

South African context). In their adverts, the company plays on the idea of the independent woman being a “fun fearless female”, and in a print advert, highlight economic independence. The advert uses pink text, pink-clad women and the token “ladies” to mark femininity but indexes independence by referring to “ladies who insure their cars”. Here, women are represented linguistically as being agentive, as per post-feminism, while simultaneously indicating their financial independence.

As such, Koller (2008) shows not only how pink is a marker of gender, sexuality and sexual identity, but also as a marker of a specific kind of femininity. Additionally, Koller (2008) illustrates how the visual and verbal (text) work together to form a cohesive, coherent unit which communicates a message. Having discussed the visual I now turn to the “verbal” aspect of multimodal texts.

3.3.3 The Linguistic Axis

The linguistic elements of a multimodal text are analysed on this axis, regardless of their visual representation. Language is a set of resources that allows individuals to make various representations through their utterances, depending on how they structure those utterances.

Linguistic elements can initially be analysed according to the form and then according to their content. The form refers to whether a sentence is passive or active, other structural features and the content can be analysed according to the representations made *within* the sentence. The content markers may be how people are described, figures of speech, quoting verbs, transitivity, as well as concealment techniques.

The form that an utterance takes on the structure it uses: passive voice relies on shuffling the basic subject-verb-object structure of English sentences, which is the form of the active voice, and inverting it. “Thabo kicked the ball” clearly shows that Thabo is the subject of the sentence, performing an action on an object thus being an agent in this sentence. In contrast, “The ball was kicked by Thabo” does not immediately indicate who the agent of the action is, also making it possible to conceal the agent, by dropping the subject: “The ball was kicked”. In cases where accountability is important, the form that sentence takes is even more notable as the active voice indicates *who* does *wha*t to *whom*, while the passive voice makes it possible to *not* state who performed an action.

Who performs an action can be represented in many ways and there are many ways to describe a single actor in a sentence, according to various aspects of that person’s being. In some instances, individuals may be represented according to their names, in which case they are said to have been personalised: “Koki Kapa was asked to comment on the event”. This representation can be taken further by functionalising the individual as well according to what they do: “Koki Kapa, the organiser, was asked to comment on the event” and if the identity of the individual is not important, they may solely be functionalised “The organiser was asked to comment on the event”. These three representations may be used according to the point that the speaker is trying to make: to indicate a personal touch, to add authority to a comment and to merely report, respectively.

In a longer piece of text, such as the newspaper reports analysed in this thesis, these representational strategies are used to varying effects and are combined with quoting verbs when providing quotes from various social actors. Quoting verbs are the verbs that directly precede or follow a quote with “said” being an oft-used verb, which indicates a quote “without evaluating it explicitly” and is a “neutral structuring verb” (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 59). As such, verbs which are not considered to be “neutral” contain a judgement of the utterance and examples of this are metapropositional and descriptive verbs, which provide more information

about the utterance according to the author's interpretation and the manner of the quote, respectively. For example, consider the following quote: "Attendance was poor" and these three possibilities "Koki remarked; Koki complained; Koki shouted". Each possibility frames the quote differently: the assertive metapropositional presents the speaker as observant, the expressive metapropositional presents them as less assertive and the descriptive provides the prosodic nature of the utterance. The choice of quoting verb in a text can be used to represent a speaker as knowledgeable, authoritative or as the opposite of this, depending on the stance of the report.

The stance of a report or text can also be reflected in the transitivity choices made within it, as transitivity is closely linked to the form of a sentence but not only tells us who does what to whom, it tells us *how.* Transitivity choices in a text depict certain individual as acting, or not, and affect the perception of the consumer of the representation by describing actors according to processes which may be material, mental or behavioural. Material processes describe 'concrete' actions that have a material effect and can have various forms, usually with an actor and a goal in the sentence. This is illustrated by "Judith destroyed his defence", where Judith is the actor and the goal is "his defence" but it is possible to not have a goal in a sentence such as "Judith ran away". The material process is indicated by the type of verb used in the sentence so it is possible to have a material process that does not have an actor, by using the passive form: "His defence was demolished". Note that the actor is similar to the thematic role of the agent, the individual that performs an action.

Mental processes in contrast, are processes related to sensing things, they describe situations in which an individual is engaged in cognition, affection or perception. These types of processes are used to allow the reader into the mental process of a participant such that in the sentence "Matome understands the consequences of his actions but his brother worries that it may be too little too late", Matome is engaged in the cognition process while his brother is engaged in an affection process. These cognitive processes can be used to encourage a reader to empathise with a particular actor in a text, or to emulate what they are doing as in "Bystanders wondered if the marchers were contradicting the theme by singing that song": here the bystanders are engaged in a mental process of cognition, and the reader is subtly encouraged to follow suit.

It is also possible to embed meaning in a statement, without stating it explicitly as seen in "What kind of chocolate did your boyfriend get you for Valentine's Day?" In this sentence, there are two presuppositions: you have a boyfriend and that boyfriend gave you chocolate. While seemingly banal, this sentence has the potential to be problematic when placed in a context such as in conversation with a colleague that one does not know very well.

This colleague assumes that their interlocutor has a boyfriend, thus assuming that they are heterosexual, and this is problematic as it perpetuates heteronormative ideas. This concept of presupposition is what underlies the call to use more inclusive language, as utterances may make assumptions about people's gender and sexuality. Another banal utterance is the standard greeting "Dear Sir or Madam" which casually genders the reader of the letter by presupposing that they are either a woman or a man. This presupposition fails to recognise that people may not identify with the gender binary. As evidenced above, a presupposition is a way to "imply meanings without overtly stating them" (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 137) or to position certain information as assumed and true, even though it can be contested.

The representation above is quite simple, so consider the following quote: "*So, you see, that is a mistake, it doesn't matter that you made a mistake about that and you mustn't be afraid to tell us about other mistakes*" (Aldridge and Luchjenbroers, 2007: 96). This quote is taken from the beginning of a cross-examination in a rape trial and the lawyer uses a presupposition to undermine the witness: by saying "you mustn't be afraid to tell us about other mistakes", the lawyer presupposes that the witness has made other mistakes in her testimony and as a result, she implicitly becomes unreliable. In this case, the lawyer has not said "she is unreliable" but has used a presupposition to imply that she is. This example shows how presuppositions can be used to represent people in particular ways, without directly describing them as such.

These representational strategies can be combined to report on an event or to represent people and it is through analysing the various strategies chosen in a text that we can see what image or perception the representations create. This critical analysis is important because as will be shown later, even in a report that appears to be neutral, it is possible to discern the underlying tone of the article and comment on the representation that is presented by the "neutral" article.

3.4 Methodology

Qualitative research is defined as “any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:17), and this thesis is firmly rooted in the qualitative research arena as it seeks to understand how representations are created. This is done by analysing a sample of data produced from 2010 – 2015 to see what representations of Wits Pride have been made.

3.4.1 Data Gathering

The data was gathered over a period of approximately four months, from July 2015 to November 2015. As a result of the support of the Transformation Office, access to archives was provided and Tish White, then project co-ordinator, provided the t-shirts and posters for years prior to 2015. In addition, some policy documents and newspaper articles were provided by White. An archival search for newspaper articles about Pride was conducted using Sabinet (sabinet.co.za) and the Google search engine. The two together were important as some articles that were found using Google could not be found on Sabinet. Data for the year of 2015 was collected by the researcher, who attended the various events during Varsity Pride 2015 and took pictures of public events. As a result, a large corpus of over 150 items was built by the end of November 2015.

3.4.2 Data Selection

Due to the large size of the corpus and focus of the project, only certain texts were selected for analysis: posters, t-shirts and newspaper extracts. The table below lists the data for each type of artefact

Table 1: Number of tokens per artefact

Type of artefact	Number in corpus	Number analysed
Newspaper extract	30	7
Poster	14	8
T-shirt	5	5

Firstly, the selection of the three types of texts is based on the aim of the research, which is to investigate representations of Wits Pride. The t-shirts and posters were chosen because they were accessible and visible within the university space. The posters were used to advertise Wits Pride activities across campus and were accessible to students while the t-shirts were made available to people who attended the march. These two texts are texts that

Wits Pride uses to represent itself and can be juxtaposed with the newspaper reports which are an example of a representation which is not created or controlled by Wits Pride.

As can be seen from the table above, the final corpus was significantly smaller than the original corpus, and the analysed texts are not all of the texts in the corpus. All the t-shirts were analysed but the newspaper extracts were not. A large number of the extracts, upon being read, were in fact mere repetitions of the Press Release sent out by the university to inform the public that Wits Pride was happening hence the articles analysed are articles which report on Wits Pride event, rather than announcing them. Additionally, some of the newspaper extracts were simply pictures without text. A few of the newspaper extracts, which were articles, were not about Wits Pride but made mention of it and as such, were added into the corpus.

In the case of the posters, the six excluded posters were posters for other events such as film screenings and did not make an interesting representation. For example, the poster for the film screening stated the movies screened and featured a camera, as such, this poster and others like it were excluded from the analysis. The posters analysed were posters which advertise Wits Pride and the March, as many posters were created for individual events thus increasing the number of posters. Additionally, the posters were released internally only and were not released online, or digitally archived, thus not all posters produced were available.

The final data was analysed using the techniques detailed in the previous sections, which discussed theoretical underpinnings and analytical tools used in this thesis. This chapter has discussed the theoretical grounding of the analysis, while explicating the use of a queer theoretical approach. It has briefly discussed the research design of the project and is followed by the analytical chapters which utilise the theory and method described above.

4. Posters

As part of the advertising for Wits Pride, the Transformation Office has produced posters every year. These posters have been placed across the university campus and have also been distributed digitally — some exclusively so — with the aim of informing as many people as possible about Wits Pride, as well as the various events that took place.
Posters are important for advertising in the university space as they can unofficially be placed anywhere but they also have designated areas: there are multiple noticeboards across campus specifically so that posters may be displayed and, because of their accessibility, taken by interested students.

The Wits Pride posters are particularly eye-catching, often featuring appealing multimodal arrangements, and it is this arrangement that is the focus of this chapter. Posters are usually short, whether they are for academic or advertising purposes, and combining "text and graphics within a limited space to convey a visual message requires detailed organisation" (Matthews, 1990: 231). This attention to detail suggests that posters are complex, constructed semiotic artefacts, the design of which requires that choices be made thoughtfully, with brevity in mind. The designer must also make typographical, chromatic and image choices which convey a particular message along with the text. These semiotic choices are what this chapter seeks to analyse, and it will do so for eight posters. The rationale for this is as follows.

Over the five years during which Wits Pride has been held, a multitude of posters have been created for the event itself and the various events associated with it. These posters are not consistent: their contents and format differ every year. Notably, over the 2010 – 2013 period (Kotze and White, 2013): the march consistently had more participants than any other event during Wits Pride. As such, the march can be considered to be the main event. The march is advertised as an event of the Wits Pride initiative, so one might expect an advert announcing that Wits Pride is happening, which is the case, inconsistently.
As a result, this chapter focuses on the posters which advertise Wits Pride and the Wits Pride March.
Unfortunately, these events are not always advertised separately and sometimes the posters are very similar, thus this chapter is organised (chronologically) according to these aspects, as explicated below.

4.1 Chapter organisation

This discussion of the posters generally separates the analyses of the Wits Pride and Wits Pride March posters, but maintaining separate discussions for each year is not always possible due to the inconsistent advertising and similarity between posters.

There are three posters which clearly advertise Wits Pride and the Wits Pride March as individual events, produced in 2010, 2013 and 2015. In 2010, the posters were extremely similar, and as such are presented and discussed jointly.

In 2011, there was no poster for Wits Pride, only one for the march and in 2012 neither of the events was advertised separately as there was only one poster. This poster was an advert for the week's programme. The discussion of the 2011 march poster is followed by discussions of the subsequent march posters. Due to the simplicity of the 2013 Wits Pride poster, which does not contain many elements, it is referred to in the discussion of the Wits Pride March poster of that year. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the 2015 Varsity Pride poster.

4.2 2010 Wits Pride and Wits Pride March posters

In 2010, the posters created for the march and for pride were stylistically the same, with minor textual differences. The posters are dominated by black, grey and white as background colours, which are also used for some textual elements.



Figure 4.1: 2010 Wits Pride and Wits Pride March posters

As can be seen in the figure above, the three colours each occupy a particular part of the poster, creating three relatively clear partitions and thus, a triptych. In Kress and van

Leeuwen's *Grammar of Visual Design*, a triptych is considered to be a way of "combining Given and New with Centre and Margin" (2006:197), which means that information has value according to it being positioned in the centre or in the margins. Thus a triptych can be horizontal or vertical; in these posters, it is horizontal.

A horizontal triptych indicates a design in which the central element acts as a "mediator" between the ideal, above it, and the real, beneath it. The mediator in each poster is the title of the event and it is "presented as the nucleus of the information" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006:196), indicating that this is the point of the poster but that it also "holds the margins together" (Jewitt and van Leeuwen, 2012: 20), which are occupied by different types of information in different colours. This grey centre appears to be made up of multiple overlapping streaks, which reach into the black and white portions slightly, thus connecting them to each other, but closer inspection reveals something more. The image below shows that these streaks are actually lines of grey text which state "*stand against homophobia*" and "*homophobic prejudice*" on the march and the pride poster respectively. These phrases act as the centre of the poster, along with the event title, telling us what the poster is about while also "connecting" the top margin and the bottom margin, indicating that they have a shared purpose.

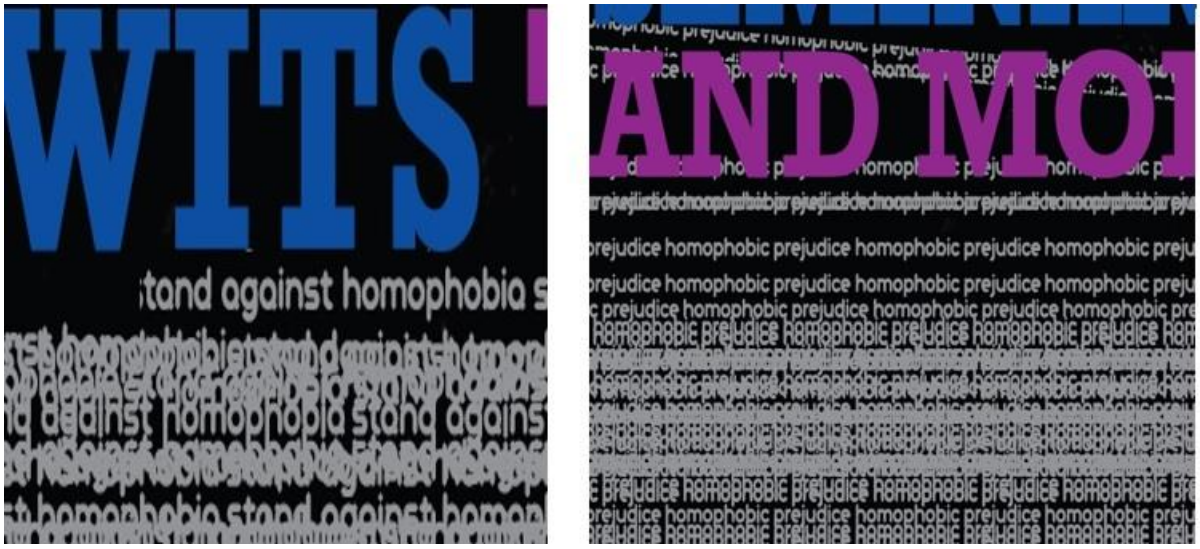


Figure 4.2: Zoomed In grey area of both posters

The top margin is a highly saturated black, which contains different text in each poster, and is contrasted with the stark, white bottom third, which contains the Wits Pride logo alongside the logos of the various stakeholders in Wits Pride at the time. This stark contrast of colours seems to indicate that salience is the organising principle of this poster. Salience refers to how clear

something is – in terms of size, clarity and even colour saturation – and as such, “can create a hierarchy of importance” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006:201) for the various elements in a composition. In these posters, the top margin is the most salient and chromatically enticing, due to saturation of the background as well as the colours that are used for the text that is placed here. This indicates that this part of the poster contains important information, which the eye is drawn to due to the chromatic choices, placing it literally and theoretically at the top of the hierarchy of these posters.

The hierarchy of the poster tells the viewer what to look at first, but the relation of what is real and what is ideal as the principle for giving informational value still applies, due to the nature of the information placed in these parts of the posters. The top margin would be the “ideal”, which in both posters is occupied by more “generalized essence of the information” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006:187) such as dates, times and types of event, while the logos at the bottom may be considered to be “real” as they represent the stakeholders who are engaged in the practical aspects of Wits Pride such as fundraising, planning and so forth. Additionally, the domain of what is real usually contains information that is more practical in nature, such as instructions, and this is exactly what is present in both posters, above the logos.

In the Wits Pride poster, the instruction is short — “Stamp out Homophobic prejudice” — and echoes the sentiments of the grey text in the centre. This statement is in the imperative mood, which is achieved by omitting the subject from the sentence and beginning it with a verb. Omitting the subject, which would be the personal pronoun “you”, gives the instruction without indexing a particular person specifically, thus appealing to anyone who may see the poster. This omission of a personal pronoun is not utilised in the Pride March poster, which makes use of the possessive pronoun “your”, but in a slightly different way.

The instruction on the Pride March poster can be seen below:



Figure 4.3: Bottom text of 2010 Wits Pride March poster

In this instruction, “your” is used in the first declarative sentence, directly indexing the reader, thus singling them out, along with their possession of “solidarity”, which is “important”. The use of the present tense verb “is” is important as it indicates the immediacy and gravity of the declaration, which is reinforced by the use of the exclamation mark.

The imperative on the following line continues the sense of immediacy created by the preceding sentence by using a series of short utterances joined together by a conjunction and prepositions to suggest a series of actions. The verb “join” issues an instruction, whose purpose is then stated by the rest of the sentence, due to the conjunction “and”. The purpose of the instruction “join” is to “take a stand against homophobia” and the way in which this is done is through the prepositional phrase “by being there”. Additionally, the purpose of the march contains a presupposition that homophobia is a problem, and this is achieved by the preposition “against”. As a preposition of place, “against” indicates that the reader is opposed to homophobia.

This text can also be imagined as a conversation, with the viewer as the interlocutor, in which the first statement is answered with a “so?” and the second offers responses to the questions “why” and “how” consecutively. As such, this short sample of text uses the word “your” to directly instruct the reader, particularly on how and why to use their “solidarity”, while the where is presented in the top margin of the poster.
As such, the two posters are complementary: the Wits Pride poster appeals to anyone who reads it, informing them of events, while the march poster is a call to action, which speaks directly to the reader’s sense of solidarity.

This sense of solidarity is not based on the viewer’s sexual identity but rather on the understanding that homophobia is a problem and needs to be opposed. Both posters invite the viewer to do something, with the march poster being more direct, and they do not make any mention of sexual identity, but they *do* index it. This indexing is achieved by the text which is in rainbow colours, in the same order as the rainbow flag, thus visually indexing the LGBTQIA+ community without using the acronym. This indexing of the LGBTQIA+ community is contrasted with the words “Homophobia” and “homophobic” which index homosexuality, thus referring to the “L” and “G” segments of the whole community. The poster does not make mention of biphobia or transphobia, for example, which would index other segments of the community. This means that the campaign foregrounds the struggle faced by a one segment of a large community, which is problematic due to its exclusion of the rest of the community.

4.3 March Posters

The 2011 march poster is similar to the 2010 poster in that the logos of the various stakeholders appear at the bottom against a white background, but it departs drastically from the somewhat monochrome look of the 2010 poster. This poster makes use of rainbow colours in the background and in the fists arranged above the logos. There is also a very small black "strip" at the bottom, which has some jagged edges — reminiscent of a city skyline.



Figure 4.4: 2011 Wits Pride March poster

This black strip may be read as a visual clue of the location of the university, in the city of Johannesburg. Thus, the march can be read as being for everyone who is within the university space but also for the larger society, due to the influence and image that the university has in the broader Johannesburg and South African context

Against this black strip is a group of raised fists ("raised" due to part of the forearm being visible) of several different colours, some of which are holding placards. The colour of the fists is interesting due to the fact that there are multiple colours, including white, but there is no

black fist. One may note that a black fist would not be visible against the black background strip but the icon of a raised, black fist is linked to race and other political struggles.
The icon of a raised black fist has strong intertextual links to images of black people raising their fists in protest and can be seen in images of black icons such as the Black Panthers in the American context (Doss, 1998; Phu, 2008) and locally by apartheid struggle icons such as Chris Hani, Nelson Mandela and Winnie Madikizela-Mandela. As a result, it is an icon that is directly linked to Black Power (Goodnow, 2006; Henderson, 2010) and using it would visually index this social struggle. The usage of fists indicates the protest nature of the 2011 march, and this intertextual link may be a way of indicating that the LGBTQIA+ struggle is part of the Black struggle.

The rainbow-colouring of the fists is not only a link to the Wits Pride logo, it is a visual index of the rainbow flag, which as noted above is an icon of the LGBTQIA+ Community. As such, in this group of fists, the rainbow-coloured ones could be read as individuals who *identify* with the community and the rest are people who support the fight against homophobic prejudice. Some of these rainbow-coloured fists are holding placards, two of which have visible text printed on them. The grey fist on the right holds a placard which features “Wits Pride” and the theme of the year, “It’s for all of us”, which are also printed on the poster in bold, black capital letters. Placing this specific placard in the grey fist, instead of the rainbow-coloured fists, may be a way of emphasising how the march is for everyone, regardless of their sexual identification. The colour grey is not present in the rainbow flag and this fist could be read as a person who does not necessarily identify with the LGBTQIA+ community but I would posit that they may not identify with everyone else either, due to the idea of the “grey area”. A grey area is any situation that is not clearly defined and this fist could represent an individual who is in-between, who does not fit into the categories created in the LGBTQIA+ community and those in a heteronormative society.

The placard on the left of the poster, which is held by an orange hand and features the Wits Pride logo on it, appears to be the source of the slightly opaque white streaks that are spread across the poster. These streaks could be read as visual markers which emphasise the loudness of the message of the vuvuzela, which is “anti-homophobia project”.

This “anti-homophobia project” title contradicts the visual choices which index the entire LGBTQIA+ community, due to the previously discussed exclusionary meaning of “homophobia”. As such, this poster shares the same problem as the 2010 poster. This division exists alongside the unifying effect of the white fists, which make the whole group of fists a visual representation of the theme of the year “It’s for all of us”. The pronominal expression

“all of us” can be understood to refer to an “imagined community” (Anderson, 1991) which consists of the entire Wits population, regardless of their identification.

The idea of sexual identification/identity was erased in the 2013 march poster, which was quite sparse, as was the Wits Pride poster. The Wits Pride poster had a beige background, which is the colour of the background of the map on the March poster (this is not reflected clearly as the two pictures are from different sources). These posters were designed under the theme “Being Me” and do not feature any linguistic or chromatic indexing of the LGBTQIA+ community, instead being dominated by the theme and a section of a map of Wits, respectively. The poster for the march features more elements than the Pride poster. The Pride poster is dominated by the theme, which is the case for the 2013 t-shirt, therefore the in-depth analysis of this composition is discussed in the next chapter.



Figure 4.5: 2013 Posters

The march appears to be the focus of its poster, due to the size of map on which the route of the march is marked, in pink. The decision to foreground the map may have been made in response to feedback on previous Pride marches: “*there had been requests to move Pride out*

of the East Campus space" (Kotze and White, 2013: 12-13). The march previously stayed on the East Campus of the university, thus occupying a limited amount of space and having limited visibility. In 2012, the march route was changed and this choice to use the route as a focal point in 2013 may be a visual reminder that Wits Pride was now inclusive of West Campus. Interestingly, the march can be read as not connecting the two campuses distinctly as it begins and ends on the East Campus, which still grounds the march in this campus. The route is marked distinctly in pink and nonetheless highlights the way that the march traverses the two campuses.

This dark shade of pink is also used for the star on the "I" in "being and the "ME", in the theme. Pink is a colour which indexes femininity and gay men but dark pink indexes an "economically independent, hedonistic femininity" (Koller, 2008: 418) and is also used in visuals to attract the gaze of women. If the goal was to attract women, it would be expected that it would be used more widely, but it was not; as a result, it would seem that the usage of pink was due to habit rather than intent. The shade, however, may have been intentional: the colours used in the poster are dark, save for the beige of the map, and a dark pink suits the colour scheme while also being visible.

Sexual identity markers are not visible on the poster but identity is expressed linguistically by the pronoun "me" and visually by the fingerprint watermark which is visible in the top section of the poster, as well as in the symbol for disability. This symbol is also present on the Pride poster, although slightly larger, and seems to a visual clue to the inclusivity of Wits Pride. Disability is an oft-forgotten aspect of identity and in 2013, Wits Pride was focused on celebrating one's identity, whatever that may be, and this inclusion of the symbol embraces that. Interestingly, even though this symbol features on both posters, it does not appear on the Wits Pride t-shirt of 2013 (see next chapter).

The idea of inclusivity is short-lived, as the symbol is missing on the 2014 poster but the dominance of the map is maintained. This poster did double-duty as it advertised the march *and* Wits Pride, resulting in it having many elements, but it is clear that the march is the focus due to the size of the map, as well as the colours used. The part of the poster which is used to advertise the march is in a bright shade of green and takes up most of the poster, thus making it the most salient part. The salience of this section of the poster is increased by the repeated sequence of the rainbow flag colours at the top of the poster, above the map.

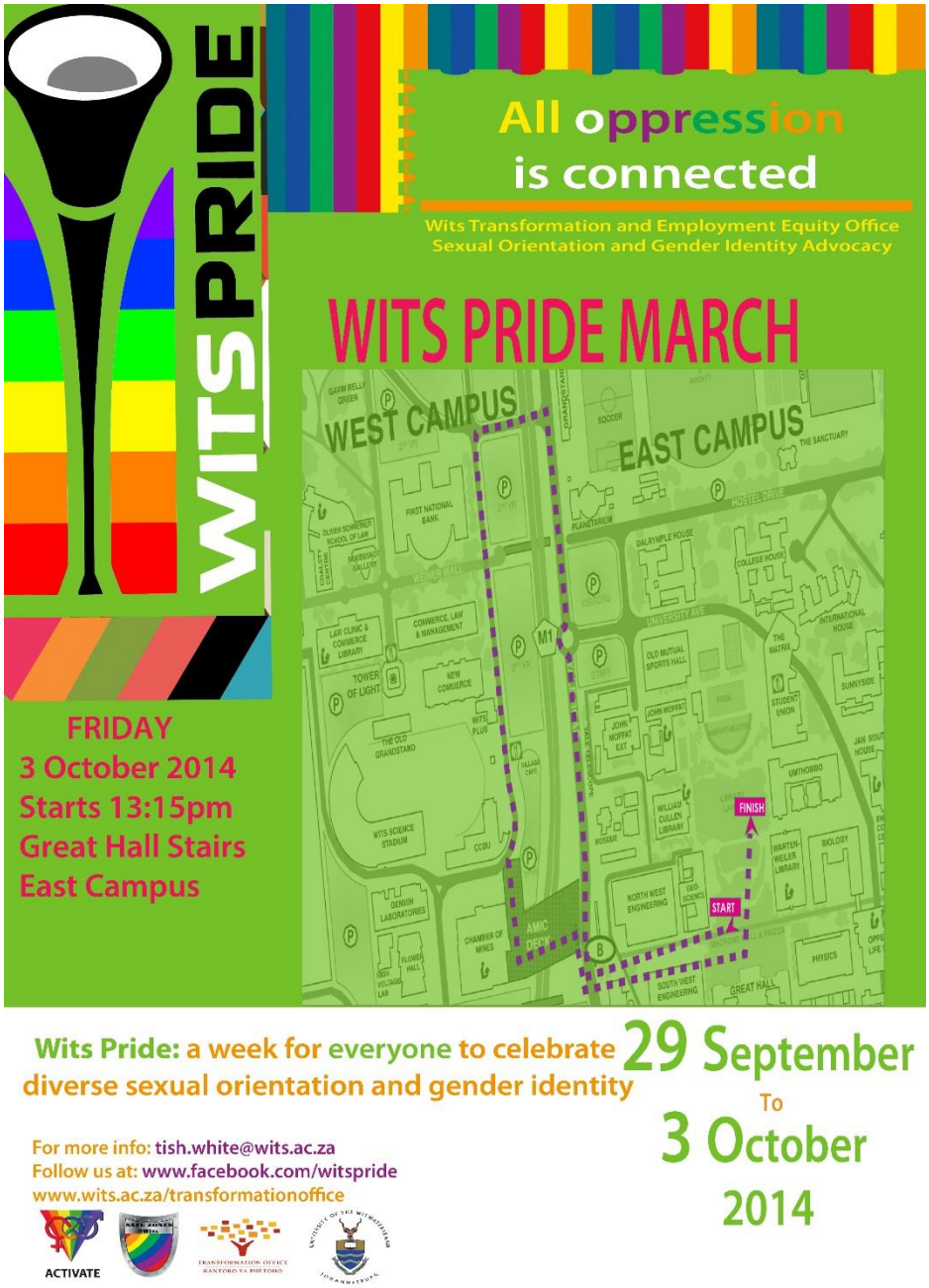


Figure 4.6: 2014 Poster

Once again, this rainbow flag "banner" is a visual symbol of the LGBTQIA+ community, thus indexing sexuality and sexual identity, which is in contrast to the 2013 poster. Underneath this "banner" is the theme of the year, "*All Oppression is connected*", printed in white and three colours from the rainbow flag. The theme appeals to the concept of intersectionality — which was originally conceived to understand how race and gender intersect in the lives of black women (Crenshaw, 1991) — in the sense that it expresses the notion that different systems of oppression intersect, but the usage of rainbow colours in the theme highlights the oppression of the LGBTQIA+ community.

The understanding of the oppression of the LGBTQIA+ community can be understood by using intersectionality as this theoretical approach makes it possible to tease out how gender, sexual identity, race and other social categories may impact individuals, but it is also important for understanding how oppression within the community happens. This idea of oppression occurring across different social categories, as a systematic concept, is reflected in the design of the t-shirt of the year, which I analyse in the next chapter.

A further link to the theme is represented by the multi-coloured strip, on the left of the poster, which is reminiscent of the multi-coloured speech bubble which is present on the Wits Pride for that year. In contrast to the t-shirt however, the Wits Pride logo is foregrounded on the left side of the poster: it is quite large, having been rotated one quarter turn, counter-clockwise to accommodate the map. On this map, the route is marked in purple, while the start and finish boxes remain pink, which appears to be brighter against the green background. This bright pink is ideal as it clearly shows that the start and finish points have changed from the previous year, even though the major route has not, and this may be why the route colour was changed.

In keeping with the general design of the posters, the logos of various stakeholders are at the bottom of the poster against a white background, but they are smaller than in previous years to accommodate the text which accompanies the advertising of Wits Pride. The text states "*Wits Pride: a week for everyone to celebrate diverse sexual orientation and gender identity*" and is notably printed in two colours, with the three words "Wits Pride" and "everyone" printed in one colour, and the rest in another. This chromatic choice indicates that Wits Pride is for everyone, thus reinforcing the 2014 theme, while foregrounding the oppression of the LGBTQIA+ community. These semiotic choices indicate a repositioning of the Wits Pride project, in which it now appeals to the wider Wits population, on the basis of experiencing and being concerned about oppression, but revisits the focus on sexuality. In looking at sexuality, it also broadens its view by no longer referring to a particular gender and sexual orientation (indexed by "anti-homophobia") but rather a "diverse" spectrum of these.

The focus on sexual orientation and gender identity is reflected in the 2015 poster, which was more of a flyer and only available online.



Figure 4.7: 2015 March Flyer

The image was posted on the Wits Pride Facebook page and also distributed on the project's Twitter account. This flyer appears to be a photograph of a rainbow flag, seemingly blowing in the wind, against which the details of the march are printed, along with the obligatory stakeholder logos, at the bottom on a white strip. This poster is seemingly unremarkable as it is similar to all the other posters in that it contains rainbow colours in the title "Varsity Pride" and in the flag itself. However, it is different from the previous posters in that the year's theme is missing and it is not of the same general design as the others. The previous posters (for both Wits Pride and the march) appear to have been designed in a program such as Photoshop and have a "constructed" feel to them. In contrast, this poster is more "real" in that is looks like a photo rather than a constructed image.

This poster is more like the 2013 poster in that it does not have any mention of sexual identities but it is similar to all the others in the way that it uses rainbow colours to index the LGBTQIA+ community.

Read together, these posters show how the positioning of the Wits Pride March has changed over the course of 5 years. Initially, the march was an event in which everyone could show their solidarity against homophobic prejudice by participating, but this solidarity was backgrounded in the following year. The March was then a political protest against homophobia, led by members of the LGBTQIA+ community with the support of others,

regardless of their sexual identity. Two years later, the march became a celebration focused on one's selfhood rather than on any particular identity category, but with a view of being inclusive to those with disabilities. A year later, the march was repositioned in the broader transformation project, reminding us that we cannot forget about sexuality and gender orientation, because oppression based on these grounds is connected to all oppression, as a system.

4.4 Varsity Pride Poster

In 2015, Wits Pride was renamed "Varsity Pride", due to the planned inclusion of stakeholders from other universities (White, 2015). The pride poster for this year was the only one made available in print, while all other posters were made available online, and was also distributed as an A5 Flyer.



Figure 4.8: 2015 Varsity Pride poster

Similarly to the flyer for the March, this poster uses a photograph over which details are superimposed. The photograph used is aptly titled “Reflections of the Concrete Jungle”, due to the setting and is visibly credited to Lanice Jegels (in black text, on the left side of the poster). The photograph is set on Commissioner Street in the Johannesburg Central Business District (CBD) and features a person who is looking at a paint-splashed building. The person appears to be feminine due to the clothing (shorts, a tank top and a visible bra strap) and shoulder-length hair, and they are foregrounded but have their back to the viewer. This positioning is important because “images can be seen by viewers as referencing actual acts of interaction in talk” (Machin & Mayr, 2012), and when the subject of an image is not looking directly at the viewer, the image is an offer image. An offer image makes the viewer “an invisible onlooker” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006), offering information for them to look at and analyse.

In this poster, the image that we are looking at is in two parts: it is the person themselves, as well as what that person is looking at, which is a building. The building is partially painted pink and this pink paint is also present on the person’s body, particularly in the hair and on the legs and buttocks. This amount of colour, and particularly the bright pink shade, is not usually present in this part of the CBD, and the way in which the person is dressed is also not typical of this area, due to the level of harassment and even violence which women experience here. Considering the apparel of the person in the picture (shorts, a tank top and a visible bra strap) and the setting of the picture, I will henceforth refer to this body as a woman.

The woman is facing Shakespeare House, which first opened in 1938 (Brown, 2015). This building, along with several others, is a protest site: in 2014, over a period of approximately three months, artists painted historic buildings in the CBD pink, to highlight and protest against the decay of the buildings (Brown 2015; Liston, 2014; Roets, 2014). In the late ’80s, as apartheid was coming to an end, many inner-city buildings were abandoned. These buildings are currently not being maintained and as a result, they have become susceptible to “hijacking”: a process in which people take over the building and force other people to pay rent, even though the building is not cared for. Some buildings are not hijacked but are used as accommodation, illegally, by “squatters”. The artist collective called “Beware of Colour” is against the neglect of the buildings by government and private owners, who let the buildings decay when they could be rejuvenated and used properly for accommodation, and chose to highlight this point by bringing attention to the buildings again. This was done by painting a few buildings (and some surrounding structures such as stairs) a bright shade of pink. The artists have said that the paint is washable. However, as of March 2017, these buildings remain pink.

In painting the building, the artists took an active role in changing the physical environment and as a result, they changed the inner-city space. This agentive behaviour is echoed by the pink paint on the woman in the poster. The woman is dressed in a style which is atypical to the setting she is in, an idea that is informed by rape culture. Rape culture is defined as "a set of values and beliefs that provide an environment conducive to rape" (Boswell and Spade, 1996: 133) such that victims of rape are blamed and advice on how to avoid being raped is based on one's appearance and persona (Herman, 1988; MacMahon, 2010). In line with rape culture, the advice for the woman in the image would be "don't wear shorts in town" or something similar, but this vulnerability is used to create a synthetic relationship with the viewer, due to the foregrounding of the woman's body.

The woman is quite close to the viewer and this is important because in images "distance signifies social relations" (Machin & Mayr, 2012). This short distance places the viewer within what Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006:124) call "close personal distance", which is the distance at which people may be able to touch each other easily, especially if they are "intimate" with each other (not necessarily romantically). This distance is achieved by the chosen camera angle, which is slightly low and produces a medium long-shot. A medium long-shot usually shows the viewer the full figure (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006) but in this poster, the lower part of the figure (from the calf downwards) is obscured by text. Low angles are used to make a figure appear larger (as opposed to high angles which make figures appear smaller), but in this image, the angle does not make the woman look bigger; it makes the viewer lower than the woman. To have the view of the woman, presented in the poster, one would have to be shorter or further away from her, hence the image simulates the experience of looking up at the woman. This view is not explicitly created by the shot because when the poster is at eye-level, it is not immediately clear that she is above the viewer. A closer analysis of the image reveals that, and this composition indicates that the woman may be doing something worth looking up to, something worthy of notice.

While the viewer is slightly looking up at the woman, they would be able to touch her, and if they were hostile, they would be able to attack her, particularly because her back is turned. As such, the combination of the close personal distance, the turned back of the woman and the attire she is wearing, work together to draw the viewer in as, at best, a friend. This relationship with the viewer is further supported by the fact that if an individual who was not a friend came this close, it would be understood as an intrusion and even "an act of aggression" (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006: 124).

This seemingly non-threatening relationship with the viewer allows them to be very close to the woman who appears to have made a change in the contentious space that she finds herself in, as she also looks at what she has done. The close proximity may also be read as

threatening as it gives the viewer the opportunity to attack her as well, which could be considered when taking note of the paint splashes on her buttocks and the back of her legs.

The paint splashes on this woman's body, when read with the pink paint on the building, seem to imply that she may have played a role in painting the building, maybe even using her hair. However, when these splashes are read with those on the rest of her body, it appears that somebody painted her. In this way, her body is co-extensive with the building. As such, her body, like the building, is a site of protest. Just as the building is painted in protest of government's neglect, the woman's body may be painted in protest of heteronormative society, which is indexed by the space that her body is currently inhabiting in the image (the city centre).

If this is the case, the viewer is looking at a person who is looking at the change that they have made, namely painting the building pink, while also looking at a woman who has been changed within the space. The shade of pink used on her body, the building and text on the poster, is a slightly dark pink which has been shown to represent an independent, fun and daring femininity (Koller, 2008), and when read in conjunction with the female form, it emphasises the agentive nature of the woman in the poster, as well as the theme of Varsity Pride, "People Change Spaces", thus creating a link between the text and the visual.

The visual offers the viewer a realisation of the theme of the year "*People Change Spaces*", thus making the poster a coherent text in which the different elements work to communicate the message. Additionally, the use of a real body, rather than a cartoon or abstract construction, provides a visual representation of the word "people". This declarative message, however, may actually be read as "*LGBTQIA*+ People Change Spaces", due to the arrangement of the text on the right side of the poster. Here, the theme is printed vertically, and beneath it is the acronym "LGBTQIA+" which is horizontal. In the western system, reading follows a left-to-right path and in most texts, this is the prescribed path, although deviations may occur (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). In this poster, the event title, information link and logos are all printed close to the bottom of the poster, horizontally. Above this is the acronym and the vertical logo, which are grouped closer to each other, rather than to the other horizontal elements, thus implying that they could be read together. As such, the reading path would begin with the image, followed by the horizontal information and concluding with the vertical information.

The "spaces" referred to in the themes may not be limited to physical space but rather extend to cyberspace, as linguistically represented on the poster by the Facebook link, which provided access to the Varsity Pride programme. Space need not be physical and research shows that online forums, websites and so forth constitute "spaces", which are defined by various

interactional norms (Cicognani, 1998; Hunter, 2003; Ryan, 2000). This idea of having an effect online may be part of the reason why the programme was only available online, along with other constraints such as time and budget.

This Pride poster is by far the most provocative and embodied poster, due to the apparel of the woman as well as the fact that there is an actual physical body in the poster, rather than abstract or digital constructions. The body of the woman merges with the building in the image, but the body carries particular meanings due to it being gendered and inhabiting a particular space in the image. This usage of a woman's body visually indexes gender while the usage of the LGBTIA+ acronym on the poster linguistically indexes sexual identities. The indexing of gender and sexuality is a departure from previous posters, which did not index gender at all and used chromatic choices to index sexual identity. The choice to index this aspects of identity seems to echo the 2014 poster's appeal to intersectionality but in a more concrete way in 2015. By explicitly indexing these categories, the poster may encourage the viewer to consider how gender, sexuality and space interact and affect each other: what does it mean for a woman to inhabit a specific space, especially as a person who may be a member of the LGBTQIA+ community?

This "physicality" of the poster could be read as a more concrete representation of Pride: whereas in 2014, the subject was oppression, this poster depicts an individual who is the subject of many types of oppression, and shows her as an agent of change, thus countering the oppressive narrative. Additionally, by using a woman's body, the poster challenges the trope of gay men as representatives par excellence of the LGBTQIA+ community and may also echo the current social situation where feminism is widely visible in popular culture.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the posters that Wits Pride produced as part of their marketing campaign for Wits Pride and the Wits Pride March. It has shown that different semiotic choices were made each year, with some posters being similar while also being reflective of their year's particular theme.

There is a gradual shift in the focus of the posters which initially seek solidarity against homophobia, thereby indexing sexual identity. Sexual identity is erased as celebration of self is indicated as a focus, until finally protest is foregrounded. The stylistic choices made in these posters are used to communicate these changes, moving from more digital constructions to a bold, embodied poster.

5. T-Shirts

In 2011 the Transformation Office distributed free printed t-shirts to participants of the Wits Pride March. This was an important decision in terms of visibility and as a result, t-shirts were distributed every year thereafter. The t-shirts t formed part of the marketing of Wits Pride, especially of the march, as they were worn *during* marches "to create awareness" (Kotze and White, 2013: 20). Additionally, the t-shirts are markers of a person's participation in the march because they were usually distributed immediately before the march: one generally had to be at the march to get one. These t-shirts were designed according to the theme of each year. This chapter will analyse the composition and discursive strategies employed on the t-shirts.

5.1 2011: It's For All of Us



Figure 5.1: 2011 Decal

The first T-shirt to be distributed was black in colour and featured the text "Shhhh, nobody knows I'm gay" in white, above the Wits Pride emblem, as well as the Wits University emblem, which are all white. This arrangement is printed very close to the top of the t-shirt and dominates it, with the text and the Wits Pride emblem being larger than the Wits University

logo. This indicates a desire to foreground the movement while indicating that the university supports it.

The text itself is bold, large and fully capitalised. In texting and emailing etiquette, writing a word or message in all capitals symbolises emphasis, speaking loudly or shouting (Thompson and Lloyd, 2002). This seemingly loud statement is contained in quotation marks which indicate a clear speech act and when coupled with the word “SHHHH”, invite the viewer into a conversation as either an interlocutor or an observer. Notably, this design of the utterance appears to be stencilled onto the t-shirt, which is reminiscent of spray-paint and a protest aesthetic.

The sign “SHHHH” implores the viewer to lower their voice or remain quiet, to keep the secret which is “nobody knows I’m gay”. This simple statement activates affect as it is laden with emotion: it signals silence about one’s sexuality, which may cause one to feel shame due to the taboo nature of talk about sex and sexuality as well as the non-normative nature of the identification. Additionally, it may be an expression of fear: fear of being known to be gay and the fear of the violence perpetrated against sexually non-normative individuals.

This subtle, seemingly reluctant declaration is actually a performative speech act in which the speaker “comes out” to the audience and also contains a presupposition: that the interlocutor knows that the speaker is gay. Directly beneath this “secret” is the Wits emblem which is made up of lips blowing a vuvuzela, a very loud South African horn. The vuvuzela is a national symbol and is very popular at sporting events, often blown by supporters when their team wins, indicating joy and pride in their team. The use of the vuvuzela as part of the Wits Pride emblem is an intertextual reference signalling the pride of the “anti-homophobia project” while also indicating that this pride is loud.

The typographical design, the vuvuzela and the statement create a stark contrast through the opposing affects and auditory cues, which is further echoed by the colour choice of black and white, two colours which are understood to be opposite to each other. Scientifically, colour is electromagnetic radiation of variable wavelengths, but symbolically, black is associated with evil, death, mourning and silence while white is associated with goodness, purity and innocence. It is important to note that these associations are culturally and socially determined: for example, in Ghana, among the Akan, white is worn as a colour of mourning for people who died in particular ways such as suicide and accidents (Forster, 2013). White is also historically used for mourning in East Asia while blue is associated with death in Iran (Aslam, 2006). Black is the main colour of the shirt and symbolises the silence that is associated with sexuality, particularly non-normative sexuality, while white is used to break this silence. Additionally, black may be understood to be used to symbolise mourning for the multitudes of gender non-

conforming and non-heterosexual individuals who were killed in previous years. This silence(ing) and mourning is contrasted with the white colour which brightly affirms the pride of the anti-homophobia project, but it must be noted that the secret that was shared refers to a specific sexual identity: gay.

This usage of “gay” is an example of metonymy in which “gay” is used as representative of the LGBTQIA+ community, which is a seemingly banal word choice but is not. This choice is not new, particularly in the Wits context, as Milani (2013) notes that the same choice was made in the Wits Safe Zones campaign. The “gay” individual however reveals their secret on their back: the decal was placed on the back rather than on the front of the t-shirt which is a further contrast. It would be expected that in a pride movement, this somewhat reluctant disclosure would be on the front of the t-shirt, worn with pride but the placement on the back cements the idea of an open secret. This idea of an “open secret” may be supported by the march itself: if observers of the march are facing the marchers, they don’t see the back and cannot know for sure whether a person is gay or not — unless they turn around — and if they are behind the marchers, they see the text without seeing the face of the wearer.

This placement on the back and the contrasting nature of the design of the t-shirt are important when read in conjunction with the theme, which is the declarative statement “It’s for all of us”. The statement contains the pronominal phrase “all of us”, which refers to the Wits community but the quantifier *all* emphasizes the totality of “us”. Without “all”, “us” could be read as “people who identify as gay or homosexual”, which is indexed by the word “homophobia”, hence the theme indicates that this march is for everyone at the university whether they are openly “gay” or not. This inclusivity in the t-shirt is resonant with the poster for this year, which featured rainbow-coloured fists amongst grey fists, as discussed in the previous chapter.

5.2 2012: Stop Sexual Apartheid



Figure 5.2: 2012 Decal

In 2012, the t-shirt was printed only on the back again, with white text and curiously, the Wits University emblem is nowhere to be found on the t-shirt — not even on the sleeves. This may be because this is the second and the University's support is clear due to the project being called "Wits Pride". At first glance, the t-shirt appears to be more playful due to the connotations attached to the colour pink, but a closer look shows that this is not the case: the fully capitalised text below the Wits Pride logo states "STOP SEXUAL APARTHEID", which was also the theme for the year.

"Apartheid" is Afrikaans for "separation", but it is a highly emotional word in South Africa. It refers to the previous national regime, which was defined by racial segregation and designed to subjugate non-white people, with black people suffering the most. In 1994, this system was replaced with democracy and as such, South Africa is often described as "post-apartheid" and this t-shirt contradicts and subtly critiques the usage of this label. The verb "stop" presupposes that a process or activity is ongoing and needs to be brought to an end. The process that needs to be brought to an end is "apartheid", which is in direct conflict with the notion that apartheid is over. Moreover, in conjunction with the modifier "sexual", it singles out a particular aspect of apartheid that needs to be ended. What remains unclear is what "sexual apartheid" refers to exactly; it could refer to the division between oppressed homosexuality and privileged heterosexuality, or it could refer to racial divisions within the LGBTQIA+ community.

The text “Stop Sexual Apartheid” can be seen under the Wits Pride emblem, in contrast to 2011’s arrangement where the text was at the top. Additionally, the entire arrangement is smaller and much closer to the top of the t-shirt, having been printed in the upper two-thirds of the t-shirt. There is a discernibly large space between the emblem and the theme, creating a slight top and bottom division, giving the text “informational value” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: 177). Text placed at the top is representative of the ideal while text at the bottom represents what is real and on this t-shirt, the words “Pride” and “anti-homophobia” occupy the ideal area, while “Apartheid” occupies the area representative of what is real. This arrangement could be read to mean that sexual and racial segregation persist but if this situation can be remedied, the ideal state of sexual equality along with acceptance of it may be achieved.

Once again, metonymy is used on the t-shirt: the colour pink is socially and historically linked to gay men. The colour pink is an intertextual reference to the pink triangle which homosexual men were forced to wear in Nazi concentration camps (Chesler and Zúñiga, 1991). The discrimination against homosexual men, encoded in the colour pink, may be an intertextual link to the discrimination and violence encoded in the word “apartheid”. Notably, the pink triangle was later re-appropriated (similarly to the word queer) as a symbol of homosexual struggle, together with the rainbow flag, and is often noted as a marker of the performance of male femininity. In addition, Wits Pride was in its third year, past a point where we could say that it was “testing the waters”, and this colour choice may be a strategic move seeking to (appear to) identify strongly with the history of the LGBTQIA+ movement. The choice, however, once again gives visibility to the “G” in LGBTQIA+, and privileges gay men as representative of the whole community.

5.3 2013: Being Me



Figure 5.3: 2013 T-shirt



Figure 5.4: 2013 Decal

Breaking the pattern of the previous t-shirts, the 2013 featured a design on the front rather than on the back. Similarly to the 2012 t-shirt, the Wits University emblem is not present. It is more compositionally complex than its predecessors: it the first to feature the year, is multi-coloured and includes more details than before.

The text “WITS PRIDE” appears twice on the t-shirt, at the top of the design and at the bottom. At the top, “WITS PRIDE 2013” is printed in bold, white capital letters, but this time it is superimposed over a solid black circle, which is surrounded by a thinner black circle. The zero in “2013” is substituted by a fingerprint and under this arrangement is the Wits Pride emblem. Underneath this, as part of the Wits Pride emblem, “WITS” is printed in white and “PRIDE” is printed in black. The Wits Pride emblem is still a white horizontal vuvuzela but it is now horizontally flanked by a rainbow flag and is notably missing the title “anti-homophobia project”. In between these two elements, obliquely printed, in the year’s theme, “Being me”, which also partially crosses the bottom of the circular arrangement.

The choice of the circular arrangement, once again, is similar to a choice made in the Wits Safe Zones campaign (Milani, 2013), and this is of significance as Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) indicate that circular shapes are associated with the organic natural world, while Dondis (1973:44) notes that they connote “endlessness, warmth, and protection”. With this in mind, the solid circle could reflect a safe space, while the additional circle could be symbolic of a fence or some other fortification, thus symbolising that Wits Pride 2013 was a safe space, where one could feel protected and be free to be oneself.

This theme of being oneself is further represented by the fingerprint which replaces the zero in “2013”, within the circle. Fingerprints are unique, with no two being the same, hence they can be and are used to identify people, as seen in South Africa when one obtains an identity-related document such as a passport. The fingerprint is symbolic of one’s personhood and is linguistically represented by the first-person personal pronoun “me”, which is capitalised and noticeably emboldened on the t-shirt. Individuality is further signified by the choice of the handwriting-style font of the word “being”, with the dot above the “i” replaced with a star, indicating a personal touch.

The linguistic and visual elements on the t-shirt all point to identity and individuality, but there are no linguistic markers of sexuality present, unlike the previous t-shirts — “gay” in 2011 and “sexual” in 2012. This t-shirt hints at sexuality due to the rainbow flag, which indexes the LGBTQIA+ movement, as well as the inclination of the text “Being me”. Colloquially, "straight" is a synonym for “heterosexual”, and the angled text implies a sense of selfhood that is not heterosexual, not straight.

The lack of linguistic markers of sexual identity is congruous to the goal of the project team which was to encourage university members to "explore what it meant to be themselves in the *context of gender and sexuality*" (Kotze & White, 2013: 2, emphasis added). By not specifying any sexual identities, the project team left it open to interpretation so that people could express any aspect of their identity that they wished to.

This idea of exploration and movement is linguistically and typographically represented by the verb “being” and supported by the yellow symbol “>” to the right of “me”. The verb “being”, which is in the continuous present tense, and the symbol, which is a marker of forward movement, work together to create a visual dynamism, thus implying that identity and the exploration of it, the performance of it, is continuous.

This positive view of sexual and gender identity is reflected in the colour choice: orange symbolises warmth and relates to social communication. This view is echoed by Ella Kotze, the 2013 Wits Pride coordinator: “I did not want to use any colour that was symbolic of any *specific* part of ‘LGBTI’. I knew that orange was symbolic of optimism and rejuvenation, so I thought that would be a good choice on a symbolic level” (Personal communication, emphasis added).

5.4 2014: All Oppression Is Connected



Figure 5.6: T-shirt front and sleeves



Figure 5.7: T-shirt back

The 2014 t-shirt is quite unique in that it was not designed entirely by the Wits Pride project team; it was the result of a collaboration with a student. Wits Pride held a competition in which students were encouraged to design a t-shirt around the theme “Being Me” and the winning design — by an architecture student — titled “Me and Everything I am”, was chosen as the design for 2014. This t-shirt is the first one to be printed on both the front and the back, and the first to feature the emblem of the Wits Transformation Office.

The front of the t-shirt features the fully capitalised text “ALL OPPRESSION IS CONNECTED”, similarly to previous years, printed uniformly in white but with each word in a different font.

The text is printed inside a multi-coloured speech bubble, seemingly coming from the wearer, which is set against a white background. The designer explained, in an interview, that the rectangular shape of the bubble is inspired by the rainbow flag, while the colours are not particular to the LGBTQIA+ community but are expressive of people being proud of "whoever they choose to be recognised as" (Rowland, 2013).

In previous years, the Wits Pride emblem was clearly printed either on the front or the back of the t-shirt but in this year, the emblem shrank in size and was moved to the sleeves of the t-shirt. The theme is the focus of the front of the t-shirt, with a very small white emblem in the bottom right corner of the coloured block, on an orange chevron. This shrinking in size, the continued absence of the lack of the "anti-homophobia project" title and the movement of the Wits Pride emblem are backgrounding semiotic choices which may indicate a repositioning of Wits Pride in the transformative project of the university. Wits Pride is the main event concerned with addressing sexual transformation at Wits and moving the emblem away from the front of the shirt signifies that Wits Pride is no longer focused on sexuality but on a more comprehensive transformative project, thus appealing to anyone who is opposed to any and all discrimination.

"All oppression is connected" is a declarative statement that makes use of the universal quantifier "all", which indicates the extent of connectedness and does not make a limited selection, which would be the case if the quantifier chosen was "some", for example. This totality is typographically represented on the t-shirt by the emboldened font used for the word "ALL" and also by the various fonts used for the text itself. Furthermore, a visual representation of this totality is made by the multi-coloured nature of the rectangular speech bubble, which can be seen to be made up of multiple smaller rectangular blocks stacked on top of each other, with a three-dimensional design. This layered structure seems to echo the structure upon which discrimination works: a layered, complex system of oppression.

The complexity of oppression is partly due to its institutionalisation, and the Transformation Office is at the forefront of redressing this social imbalance within the university space. As such, its emblem is clearly present on the back of this t-shirt, along with the Wits University emblem and the text "#WitsPride", all in black. The Wits Transformation Office's emblem is bilingual, featuring the Sesotho equivalent "Kantoro Ya Petoho" along with the English text, in adherence to the university's language policy. In 2003, Wits adopted a policy in which it "commits itself to multilingualism and the phased development of Sesotho as a language that can be used as a medium of instruction together with English" (University of the Witwatersrand, 2003: 5) and the Wits Transformation emblem reflects this policy, which is rare in the university's landscape. The previous t-shirts did not feature a language other than

English, and “the presence or absence of specific language items…sends direct and indirect messages with regard to the centrality versus the marginality of certain languages in society” (Shohamy, 2006: 110). This exclusivity of English exemplifies the Transformation Office’s complicity in maintaining the privilege that English holds in the university’s landscape, and to a point, South Africa. The Transformation Office appears to be embracing the language policy, which may be an indication of their commitment to all aspects of transformation, but the placement of the Sesotho text beneath the English text shows that English is given priority at Wits.

In 2013, Wits Pride established a stronger online presence through advertising on websites such as Facebook and Twitter (Kotze & White, 2013). The hash sign in the text “#WitsPride” is a signifier of the usage of social media, particularly Twitter, which popularised the style of placing a hash sign before an important phrase, thus creating a “hash tag”. This t-shirt was worn during the march and the hash tag alerts people watching or participating that they can tweet about the Pride March and events using the specific hash tag #WitsPride. This indicates an awareness of the need to be on social media, and possibly of the fact that online platforms constitute a particular kind of social space.

This idea of expanding the focus of the transformative project and moving into online space may have influenced the choice of colour for the t-shirt that year: white. As previously discussed, white is associated with openness and this is an idea central to 2014’s Pride. It appears to be a more neutral choice, in contrast to the bright orange of 2013, which is not a signifier of any particular sexual identity but is in fact present on the rainbow flag.

5.5 2015: People Change Spaces



Figure 5.8: Front of t-shirt



Figure 5.9: Back of t-shirt

In 2015, the continued the style of the 2014 t-shirt by having printing on both the back and the front, but it is different in that it does not have printing on the sleeves. As can be seen in the figures above, the front bears a multi-coloured decal while the back has the different emblems of the stakeholders involved in Varsity Pride 2015.

Similarly to the 2011 t-shirt, the 2015 shirt is black. The decal printed on the front of the t-shirt features the theme of the year, “People Change Spaces”, in six colours, which echo the rainbow flag, particularly the word “Change”. This text is laid over a background which is in fact also the border of the Varsity Pride poster of the year, and this was a purposeful act on the part of the designer, Tish White (Personal communication, 2015).

The theme is a declarative phrase, in the active voice rather than the passive, and it is an example of a material process, in which “people” would be the actor and “spaces” is the goal (Machin & Mayr, 2012). The combination of the active voice and a material process works to create a feeling of “power”: the phrase implies that people are agentive and can have an effect on a space. This is linked directly to the projects goal, which is to create a specific space, and this t-shirt implies that the space can be created by people, particularly in the Wits community.

In terms of colour, the word “Change” has four colours: orange, yellow, green and purple; these are all present on the rainbow flag, and their use visually indexes the LGBTQIA+ community. This is important because the Wits Pride emblem is not visible on the front of the t-shirt, not even as a tiny stamp in a corner of the decal. In 2014, this backgrounding move was not as prominent but was used to foreground the idea that everyone should be involved in protesting against oppression. In 2015, this move is escalated by the complete erasure of the emblem, thus involving the whole “community”, but the LGBTQIA+ focus is indexed by the usage of the rainbow colours. Additionally, the usage of the rainbow colours on the word “change” rather than any of the other words is important when we consider that in 2015 the programme was meant to be “ground-breaking” in the Wits context due to the new events that were planned. In conjunction with this “change” to the usual programme, the university’s decision to introduce (or not) gender-neutral toilets was brought back into the spotlight and in 2016; the decision was made in favour of these bathrooms.

The choice of the noun “people” rather than the personal pronoun “we” is notable, and I argue that it is strategic due to the dichotomous relationship between “we” and “they”. “They” is a word that indexes “the other”, that which is separate from the self as well as from one’s in-group, and this word is collocated with the word “we”. Additionally, “we” is subjective as it indexes an in-group, while “people” is more general thus creating a more objective and general connotation.

If the t-shirt read “We Change Spaces”, it would give rise to the question “Who is this *we?*”, and the answer that would come to mind would be the LGBTQIA+ community. This singling out of the community is counterproductive to the goal of involving everyone in contributing to making Wits a safer, more inclusive space. Hence, the use of the inclusive, uncontentious noun “people” works to continue the 2014 theme and goals.

The backgrounding of the Wits Pride emblem is interesting, as the emblem appears – alongside many others – on the back of the t-shirt with a new slogan, “All Oppression is Connected”. Previously, the slogan was “Anti-Homophobia Project”, and this adoption of a new slogan seems to imply that Wits Pride is now committed to an intersectional approach. Once more, there is a hashtag on the back of the t-shirt: #PeopleChangeSpaces, which

indexes the project's presence in the online space. This is linked to the way in which Varsity Pride was marketed: there was a stronger online presence in that the programme was largely available on the project's Facebook page and there were posters that were only available online, as discussed in the previous chapter. What is rather peculiar about the back of this shirt is what is missing: the Transformation Office's emblem.

This might be considered another backgrounding choice: instead of having the University and Transformation Office emblem, only the former is present, which may index the broadening of the agenda. Not only is Wits Pride now about an intersectional approach to oppression, it is also now under the auspices of the university at large rather than the Transformation Office alone.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the t-shirts that Wits Pride produced as part of their marketing campaign and has shown that different semiotic choices were made each year, analogous to the theme of that year. A clear shift in focus is present in these semiotic choices: initially, the focus was on the marginalization of a particular sexual identity and gender but as time moved on, the indexing of sexuality and gender was erased. A more socially aware approach was adopted, and eventually intersectionality became the focus.

These T-shirts may be thought of as embodiments of Wits Pride and its considerable evolution over the years. Wits Pride begins as a young gay man who reluctantly comes out and then becomes more camp, performing masculinity, while protesting the oppression and racial segregation within his community and the broader society that he lives in. As he learns more about himself and sexuality, he proudly celebrates his identity and in the process realizes that his struggle is connected to the struggles of others. He realizes the significance of Audre Lorde's words, "we do not live single-issue lives" (1997: 138), and becomes an intersectional activist who sees that all oppression is connected regardless of sexual and gender identity. In his activism, he realizes that there is still a need to protest against the marginalization of non-normative sexualities but believes that people themselves can affect the changes needed to create a safe space.

6. Newspaper Articles

In 2010, when the university began to endorse Pride activities, Wits Pride became a project of the Transformation Office and as a result gained access to the public relations office. This office issues press releases inviting the media to attend (and subsequently report on) the events that are held on the university campus during Wits Pride.

The media report on Wits Pride in different ways and this chapter will discuss the reports made by print media, particularly newspapers. The chapter seeks to analyse the relevant news articles to determine the way in which they present Wits Pride and its participants through the usage of quoting verbs, presuppositions and transitivity, and the way in which social actors in the articles are classified. The articles in this chapter come from some of the most popular Johannesburg newspapers such as *City Press*, *Mail and Guardian* and *The Sowetan*. The reports by Wits University's newspaper, *Vuvuzela*, are included as well because this is the paper students would have the easiest access to, especially because it is free. The articles to be presented here were selected according to the way in which they reported on Wits Pride: articles that merely reworked the press statement sent out by the university or served to notify readers that Pride events had taken place have been excluded.

6.1 2011

In 2011, the second year of Wits Pride, Wits Vuvuzela ran a story titled "Pink sheep in the family" (Staff Reporter, 2011) which was also available online. The title is a play on the metaphorical notion of the "black sheep": an individual who is negatively viewed as being different from the family, at best. And at worst, may be considered a reckless reprobate. As such, the negative connotation of "black sheep" is maintained, even though the title substitutes black for pink, which is a colour historically linked to the gay segment of the LGBTQIA+ community. The article continues this use of colour:

> *This year's Wits Pride march was anything but just plain pink. A growth in support was reflected in the variety of students and staff members who tread the Wits campus in solidarity for freedom of sexuality.*
>
> *The march was a colourful start to the week's events to make people aware of the acceptance and not just mere tolerance of each other's sexual preferences.*

This paragraph is visually represented in the article's accompanying image, below, which features a seemingly male figure in a pink shirt and an androgynous figure holding a rainbow-coloured umbrella.



Figure 6.1: Pink Sheep in the family (Article Title)

The individual in the pink t-shirt is an example of the visibility of the G in LGBTQIA+, whether they are a supporter or identify as such. The visual representation invokes the discourse of men as representative of the LGBTQIA+ group but it also challenges an aspect of it: the discourse often invokes images of white men, but in this image the individual is *not* white. This is an example of the simultaneous contestation and reproduction of a stereotype.

The second visible person is reflective of the statement "anything but just plain pink" due to the colourful nature of the umbrella. In this case, umbrella can be seen to be representative of the LGBTQIA+ community, which is "anything but just plain pink" due the multiple colours of the rainbow flag. This, however, is still a stereotypical representation due to the repeated visual cues which are indexical of the LGBTQIA+. Additionally, due to the race of the individual, the discourse around race in the LGBTQIA+ group is invoked. The individual depicted here is white and in a country where the majority of the population is black, one might expect the individuals used in images to be reflective of the demographics of the country.

Linguistically, the description "anything but just plain pink*"* contains a presupposition that this was the expectation for the march. This expectation may have been based on the previous march, during which marchers wore t-shirts stating "*Shhhh nobody knows I'm gay*", as analysed in the previous chapter. The foregrounding of gay men, when read through the intertextual link between them and colour pink, may be why this presupposition is created, as it implies that the previous march *was* "just plain pink". This reading is supported by the next

sentence which indicates that the 2011 march was larger than the 2010 one due to “the growth in support” and the quotes in the rest of the article that indicate that the march was not attended by “gay” people only. As a result, “plain pink” does not directly refer to the colour but rather, to the actual participants of the march, especially when read with the description of “a variety of students and staff members”. As such, one would expect the chosen image for this article to represent this growth but it does not; the image reflects the insistence on stereotyping the LGBTQIA+ group as colourful, as can be seen in the article’s use of colour terminology, when describing the march.

The march is described as a “colourful start to the week’s events” and in terms of transitivity, this description indicates that the “week’s events” are the beneficiary of the march. This implies that the events are slightly more important than the march itself as the march is an introduction to the events. The events also appear to be highlighted as their existence has a goal “to conscientise people” rather than a beneficiary, and this sentence structure slightly backgrounds the march by making it seem to be less important than the events.

The march itself is not discussed further by the article but is rather represented through quotes from marchers. The marchers are represented as diverse, beginning with the description in the introductory paragraph and continuing with a quote from a participant:

> “It’s awesome. People who aren’t gay are also marching in Pride… I came to march at Wits because I believe homosexual people are the same everywhere and we should support across campuses”.

This quote supports the introductory description as it is the speech of a participant and is similar to the “plain pink” reference in that it seemingly references only two segments of the LGBTQIA+ group by making usage of the word “homosexual”. Homosexual indexes the “L” and “G” segments of the community, thus excluding the rest of the community.

The marchers are described as having “vehemently sung” “Who run the world? Gays”, and the adverb “vehemently” indicates that the marchers were passionate in their singing, but the article notes that:

> An implied contradiction was raised when a song stating “I don’t know what you’ve been told but being straight is soooo old” was sung while marking in west campus. This song has a few bystanders questioning whether the marchers were not contradicting their main theme of “acceptance” across all sexual preferences.

In this quote, the bystanders are engaged in the mental process of questioning, thus inviting the reader to do the same, whilst also implying that this questioning does not originate from the article itself.

The article continues by asking if the song "*eroded the pride march theme*" and quotes a response from Cameron Jacobs, who is functionalised as "a member of the Wits Pride week organising team". By functionalising him according to his official capacity as an organising member, his response is given authority. Jacobs does not give a clear yes or no answer but provides a possible reason for why the song was sung, one which presents one side of what the song could mean. This meaning is about the singers' frustration in the face of discrimination, but the article does not present the other possibility: the song may have been an encouragement to non-heterosexual people to "come out".

To "come out" refers to the process in which a non-heterosexual individual identifies themselves as not just non-heterosexual but (often) as something more particular. In the American context, this coming out process followed the historical Stonewall Riots which emphasised the need to come out and led to the beginning of Pride marches (Enguix, 2009). Coming out formed an important part of Pride, with individuals being encouraged to be "gay and proud", and over time this practice has come to be considered important to living as a non-heterosexual individual (Didomenico, 2015; Jones, 2015; McCormick, 2015; Rasmussen, 2004; Zimman, 2009), though it has also been problematized (see Rasmussen, 2004 and McCormick, 2015).

Additionally, the song may also be understood as a call to be more open and to embrace more varied sexuality. In the song, being "straight" (heterosexual) is described as (extremely) old, which presupposes that there something new. This new way of being may be more inclusive and accepting, embracing various sexualities.

This reading of the song encouraging individuals to come out is supported by the fact that Pride was in its second year and one of the messages displayed on that year's t-shirt was the idea of openly saying that one is gay (elaborated on in the previous chapter), and this "coming out" is in fact aligned with the theme of acceptance: not only of people's "sexual preferences" but of one's own preferences.

The article then describes an exhibition at the Great Hall in memory of "*people killed due to homosexual hate crimes*". This description is in the passive form, which suppresses the agents of the killing. In this construction, it is not clear who was doing the killing and who exactly was killed: the victims are aggregated as "people". The exhibition is described as a memorial that "*plastered coffins and a noose stand to commemorate the lives lost due to increased violence against people in the LGBTIA community"*, and the verb "plastered" implies that there were numerous coffins in the space. Additionally, the passive form of the rest of the sentence may be a respectful way of referring to the victims of hate crimes, but it simplifies the deaths by describing them as "lives lost" and also diminishes the brutality of the hate crimes.

This article appears to be a neutral report of the Pride march; however, in its linguistic choices it has represented the march as a minor event while representing the marchers as slightly negative due to them singing a song contrary to the march's theme. In addition, it uses language that perpetuates stereotypes and presents gay men, through the colour pink, as representative of the LGBTQIA+ group. By using "polite" language, it has erased the brutality of hate crimes, and hence the reality of how non-heterosexual people may be discriminated against and even killed.

6.2 2012

In 2012, the theme was "Stop Sexual Apartheid", and the *Citizen* ran an article with the title "Wits Pride is the essence of democracy'" (Nosarka, 2012), quoting a statement by the then Dean of Humanities, Professor Tawana Kupe.

The headline has an intertextual link to the very first Pride March in South Africa forged by the word "democracy". GLOW mobilized a human rights discourse for the inclusion of same-sex rights in the new Constitution of the democratic South Africa, and this description of Wits Pride is reminiscent of that period in time.

The opening sentence of the article places Pride events in an agentive position:

> Pride events eradicate the invisibility and silence of homosexuality, forcing the public to deal with the reality of its existence. This is what the Gay flag ambassador, Genevieve Le Coq, said yesterday at the official opening of Wits Pride Week. The march aimed to allow Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex and Asexual (LGBTIA) students and their supporters the opportunity to show their pride in who they are.

In terms of transitivity, these are material processes which indicate that the Pride events have the power to create a change. This description is attributed to Genevieve Le Coq, who is functionalized as "the Gay flag ambassador", but the previous point is not attributed to them by means of a quotation, rather the neutral quoting verb "said" is used. Because of the lack of direct speech, it is unclear what Le Coq actually said at the opening of the march and this is not elaborated on further.

The description of the march contains the presupposition that this group of people is denied the chance to do show their pride, due to the verb "allow". This is followed by a series of quotes from participants in the march, two of whom are identified according to their institutions (Central Johannesburg College and University of Johannesburg) and names while another two are identified by name only. This creates the impression that the two students who do not

have an institution in their identification may be Wits students themselves, but this is not certain.

The one person who is described as being from Wits is Professor Tawana Kupe, who is not only personalized but functionalized according to his position at the time: Dean of Humanities. The title of the article is attributed to him, not by a quote but by reported speech and the verb "said":

> Kupe said that Pride Week was the essence of democracy. "It is part of diversity and being part of a rainbow nation," he said.

This quote from Professor Kupe (along with the title of the article) mobilises a "rainbow nation discourse", to explain the importance of Wits Pride. The rainbow nation discourse is one of uniting South Africans in a post-apartheid nation, but this discourse is problematic: as Erasmus and Pieterse (1999:172) note, it assumes that "'we are one nation' and *equal*…Any matter that may divide or create conflict among us needs to be avoided to ensure that the aesthetic of the rainbow kaleidoscope remains intact". It does not take power relations into account and as a result does not work well, as the current political climate in the country shows.

This "rainbow nation" discourse is reflected in the choice of image for the article, which is of "supporters at the Wits Pride March" (part of the caption of the image); it features a white female and a black male, thus representing (some) racial diversity.



Figure 6.2: Accompanying image of article

This representation is problematic however, due to the composition and framing of the image: when the image is divided vertically into three parts, it becomes clear that the white female is

the centre of the image and thus, the focus. In a country where white people are statistically a minority, at 8.9% of the population (Census, 2011), it is problematic to use them as representative of the country, particularly when taking the history of the country into account and using this image under the word “democracy”.

It could be argued that the layering within the image foregrounds the black man, due to his darker skin, which draws the eye, and the flag that he is holding overlapping the female. These factors however, are secondary to the framing of the image, which places him at the margin. When this marginalization is read through Kress and van Leeuwen’s (2006) visual grammar, the black man can be considered an “ancillary, dependent element”.

The sex of the two figures in the image is important, as the choice of a female as the focus of the image is more representative of the population, due to the fact that women outnumber men (Census, 2011), but is also positive due to gender relations in the country and globally. The erroneous, neat mapping of sex onto gender has led to the binary of men (males) and women (females), which excludes and marginalises not only those who do not fit into those categories but also those who do not fit the “ideal” of that category (Barrett, 2014; Coates, 2013). In terms of gender relations, men have a higher social standing due to the patriarchal nature of many societies, especially Westernised ones, hence having a woman as representative of “democracy” is a positive representation.

Additionally, the white woman represents a challenge to the trope of white men as representative of the LGBTQIA+ community. Even though this image is of supporters, due to it being a Pride march, the image invokes this discourse and challenges it in terms of gender but not of race. Again, the presence of the black man strengthens the challenge to the trope but is also a reminder of the 1-in-9 moment at the Johannesburg Pride in the same year.



Figure 6.3 Partial section of accompanying image

An additional, debatable reading of the image finds that in the background behind the white female, there are two black hands holding a poster and a banner, and these hands are directly beneath the headlining words “is the essence”, thus creating a vector from the image to the text above. The positioning may be read as positive as it implies that racial diversity “is the essence of democracy” but also as negative due to the foregrounding of the white figure’s body, against the backgrounded disembodied hands. Here, the whiteness is the focus while the Black people are not and this is problematic once more due to race relations in South Africa. Additionally, the Black male figure is positioned beneath “democracy”, creating an implied link between maleness and the institution of democracy. These two vectors, when read through gender, are representative of the dichotomous relationship between men and women in which women are representative of that which is ethereal while men represent the more rational aspects of humanity.

This image attempts to represent democracy by capturing the rainbow nation idea of racial diversity; however, it also represents other aspects of South African society. It reminds us that intersectionality is an important concept for understanding the social space, as race and gender (and other aspects of identity) intersect to create different positionalities. It shows us that white people, even as a minority in the country, are still used as representative while black people, as a majority, are still backgrounded.

This picture and the article overall represent Wits Pride as a positive space which is racially diverse and may be a good example of democracy. The article is able to create this positive representation due to its reliance on multiple quotes, as well as a few lines quoted from the university’s press release. It is, however, problematic in the way that it refers to the LGBTQIA+ community as it excludes the “Q” and “+” part of the community, but this may be due to a lack of knowledge on the part of the publication about the acronym.

6.3 2013

In 2013, The *Vuvuzela* featured two articles titled “No pride at Wits” (Sethusa and Mjwara, 2013) and “Queers rough it up in an all-fun rugby match” (Singh, 2013), with the latter being found in the sports section of the newspaper. The former article was analytically responded to by the then Head of the Linguistics Department, Tommaso Milani, and both the article and response are available online.

The title “No pride at Wits” can be read in two ways, due to the lower case “p” in pride: either Pride did not happen at Wits or, as noted by Milani, the LGBTQIA+ community at Wits “[did] not care about Pride” (Milani, 2013). However, due to the fact that Pride *did* happen, the latter reasoning is subtly advanced by this title.

The article begins by using absolute terms in its descriptions of the events:

> *Empty lecture rooms where talks were planned, no information tent and an exhibition with no pull are some of the things that contributed to the dark cloud that hung over this year's Wits Pride celebrations.*

This creates the sense that nothing was happening, rather than something small, which would have been achieved if moderate terms were used. A moderate term is used twice in the article in the form "a/the lack of" and this description contains the presupposition that something was present but in a small quantity, as seen in "lack of noticeable fanfare" and "the lack of visible advertising". This negative impression is increased by the opening quote from a student, "I had no idea that it's Pride Week. I think they haven't advertised it enough," as well as similar reported speech from another student, which is used to close the article: "she would have liked to have gone to Wits Pride events, had she known about them".

The quote and reported speech from the students support the article by indicating that this is the experience of a student on campus, rather than a generalization. What is of interest is that the students are described according to their level and field of study, which is seemingly negligible but is actually a strategy of justification for the article. The two students are on different levels and are studying different courses — Engineering and Science, respectively — which technically locates them on different parts of the campus (West and East). This selection of students functions so that the reader, who is familiar with the way that the campus is divided, will get the sense that this is the experience of students regardless of which campus they are on, thus creating the sense that there is general agreement across campus that Pride was not sufficiently advertised.

This "lack of visible advertising" is explained by Ella Kotze, who is functionalized according to their job as a programme officer of the Transformation Office, using a direct quote. The quote is introduced with a description of Kotze, stating that they "defended the promotion of Wits Pride on campus" but the quoting verb used after the quote is "said". The article makes a strategic discursive choice by using the verb "defended": it frames Kotze as being responsible for the problem at hand, while also implying that there is a need for justification around the advertising.

By using an expressive metapropositional verb "defend" rather than an assertive metapropositional verb such as "explain" or "remark", culpability and emotion are implied on Kotze's part, thus making the quote a defence. This type of verb is used when Kotze "agrees" with the article's point that events were poorly attended and is in contrast to the neutral verbs that are used afterwards: even though Kotze agrees with the poor attendance at some events, they counter by saying that other events were well-attended, but the verb chosen for this is "said".

The lack of visibility of Pride is further reinforced by a quote from a student who describes Pride as “very, very, very necessary”. The severity of the quote is underscored by the fact that the source is functionalized as an organizing committee member *and* a student of the university. This quote serves to emphasize the impact of not having Pride on campus, as the student is then described as engaging in the mental process of *believing* that “the overriding culture on campus was still very heteronormative”. This mental process of “believing” encourages the reader to engage in their own mental process of considering the student’s point of view. The student is a member of the university population and as such has a sense of university space, which may be heightened by their position as an organising committee member.

Further negative consequences of not having Pride be visible are embedded in the last few paragraphs of the article:

> Many students at Wits start out as homophobic but their perspective changes. Sam Allan, 2nd year BSc said that she was ignorant of gay rights before she had gay friends. “I couldn’t stand gay people before,” she said. It was only after spending time with gay people that did she begin to accept them for who they are.
>
> Allan said she would have liked to have gone to Wits Pride events, had she known about them.

The article implies that the lack of visibility of Pride is detrimental to helping change the views of homophobic students. By quoting a formerly homophobic student who began to accept gay people “after spending time” with them, the article implies that people, especially homophobes, miss out on the opportunity to interact with “gay people” when they miss Pride. It embeds this missed opportunity in the idea that people’s perspectives can be changed by Wits Pride. All of this ideological work is done implicitly by the introductory text and by the quote from the student.

This representation of Wits Pride as a utopic space that can change people’s perspective is problematic because it perpetuates the popular belief that the oppressed should educate the oppressor whilst also implying that Wits Pride is the only space in which students can receive education about sexual minorities. Additionally, it implies that Wits Pride is there for students to interact with “gay people”, rather than as a space for the university population to show support for and celebrate various sexual orientations and identities.

This reductive tone in the article is also seen in the expectation that people would be “dressed in rainbow colours”, indicating that participants would be visibly identifiable is, as noted by Milani in his response, “an example of othering, a form of stereotyping that positions sexual minorities as necessarily visibly different”.

This theme of othering is also present in the second article, whose title, “Queers rough it out in all-fun rugby game”, contains a collectivization “queers” which is used to refer to the queer rugby team Wham!. This singling out of a particular identity category rather than referring to the team according to their name is a subtle form of othering, which is present in the rest of the article. The collectivization is extended in the first line of the article:

> The Queers of Wits Pride 2013 and members of Wits Sport went head-to-head in an entertaining game of rugby, on Wednesday night at the Wits Rugby Club. Wham! an amateur mixed-gender, queer social rugby club, and the Wits All Stars, played a fun and exuberant game with the Wits All Stars winning 26-24.

“Queers of Wits Pride 2013” is used to refer to the Wham! team members and is in contrast with the way in which the Wits All Stars are referred to: they are described as “members of Wits Sport”.

This initial description of Wham! is problematic in a few ways: it implies that Wham! was put together for this match due to Wits Pride 2013, but Wham! is a team that gathers outside of the Wits Pride schedule, and it reduces the Wham! team members to one aspect of their identities. This error is later corrected (slightly) by providing a better description of Wham! as “an amateur mixed-gender, queer social rugby club” (sic) which was created as “an alternative space for queer, which includes LGBTIA, people to meet in a healthy social environment”. This additional description of Wham! begins fairly then becomes problematic due to the adjunct “which includes LGBTIA”, which causes the description to become based on sexual identity, when Wham! uses “queer” to refer to “non-normative”, as can be seen on their Facebook page. This confusion that the article contains may be due to the lack of quotes from any of the Wham! team members, who would have been able to explain Wham! better.

The only quote that is available about Wham! comes from Ella Kotze, who is functionalized according to their job as the Transformation Office programme manager, thus giving the quote value, and is at slight odds with the description in the article as it states that Wham! members identify “as queer in some way”. This confusion aside, Wham! is described positively when it comes to their sporting abilities as they are “fast and headstrong competitors”.

In the title, the rugby match is described as “all-fun” which is a compound adjective: it is created by using the universal quantifier “all” to modify the word “fun”, and this modification creates the presupposition that there was nothing serious about the match. The usage of “all” encompasses the entire game so that is only “fun”, rather than having other qualities, as can be considered if the word “fun” had not been modified.

The “fun” theme of the game is supported by the picture which shows Wits All Stars and Wham members clapping “to celebrate a game well played”, as per the image’s caption.



Figure 6.4: "Queers rough it out"

The image above is strange for an article about a rugby match as the usual images that accompany such reports are of players in action, whether they are clashing or scoring; this is confirmed by a quick Google search of the word "rugby", and when a general image search is done, the same type of images appear, as can be seen below. However, when the tone of the article is taken into account, the image fits.

The players look relaxed and happy, with the players of both teams standing together, on one side. They reflect the article as they seem to have played a fun match, that didn't cause any injuries or stains, as usually seen in depictions of rugby matches. This speaks to the "all-fun" match that is not to be taken seriously. The arrangement of players in the image is contrary to the images usually seen the media, in which teams stand on opposite sides, facing each other, and thus it is a challenge to the norm, but the tone of the article undermines this idea.



Figure 6.5: Image results of "rugby" Google search

The "fun" description of the game continues in the article which later states that the game was "fun and exuberant" and "all in fun", once again indicating the lack of seriousness in the game. This description of the game, however, is at odds with its aims which are stated in the article as "to tackle prejudices" and "to integrate people of queer identity with the rest of society". These aims are quite serious and the second is stated in a particularly problematic manner: it contains the presupposition that "people of queer identity" are not part of society and as such need to be integrated, making this description an othering of queer people. Queer theorists indicate that using "queer" as an identity category is problematic: "queer is less an identity category than a *critique* of identity" (Jagose, 1996: 131). In this sense, queer is not a stable identity category and deploying it as such makes it susceptible to the critique that queer theory makes of identity categories. Additionally, the aims of the game are merely stated and it is not explained *how* the game achieves them.

These two articles are similar in their usage of othering tactics but are different in that the first one implies that the LGBTQIA+ community (along with the organisers of Wits Pride) do not care about Wits Pride while the second implies that the rugby game, which is part of Wits Pride, is not to be taken seriously. Additionally, both articles focus on the sexual orientation of participants with the first highlighting "gay people" and the second highlighting the "queer" aspect of participants' identity. The two articles both rely on a binary-laden narrative to report on Wits Pride, where the march is attended by gay and not gay people and a game is played by queer people and people who are not queer.

6.4 2014

In 2014, the *Mail and Guardian* ran an article, which is available online, titled "Queer sport comes out of left field", with the subtitle "Stigma still discourages gay athletes from being open about their sexuality, but pride is on the rise". The article reports on a rugby match and South African sports stars disclosing their sexuality; however, this analysis focuses on the rugby game which happened as part of Wits Pride: Wham! Once again played against the All Stars, as they are referred to in the article.

The headline of the article features the compound noun "queer sport", which is created by modifying the noun "sport" with the adjective "queer", and contains the presupposition that there is a difference between "sport" and "queer sport" which necessitated the need for the word "queer". "Queer sport" is the subject of the title and is said to come out of "left field", and in doing so, it is an example of a behavioural process. A behavioural process does not indicate explicit agency and there is no goal or beneficiary for the action (Machin & Mayr, 2012) but rather indicates an action that does not have a particular goal. The headline also makes use of two colloquial terms, "come out" and "left field", with the former referring to the process in which a non-heterosexual person comes to terms with their sexual and/or gender orientation and discloses it (Rasmussen, 2004); the latter refers to an unexpectedness or strangeness, but is also an official baseball term. In American baseball, left field is the outfield position which is to the far left of the home plate, and when this definition is understood in combination with the colloquial usage of the term, the headline becomes a pun.

One reading of the title would be that a particular kind of sport (queer) was played unexpectedly, but the other reading would be that non-normative sport has come out of the closet of the "left field". This pun is problematic due to trouble with coming out — *why* should people come out in the first place? — and the fact that it implies that "queer sport" is different from sport and that this type of sport is unexpected or unusual. This headline, however, may

draw readers in due to the fact they may want to find out what was so “left field” about the sport.

The subtitle makes use of the sexual identity category “gay” to describe athletes, which implies that the article is solely about men, which it is not, and this is an example of the metonymic relationship between LGBTQIA+ and the “G” portion of the group. As mentioned before, gay men have historically been more visible than other non-heterosexual people and have become representative of the LGBTQIA+ community and as result, they are afforded high visibility. There is a use of nominalisation in which the verb process of being stigmatized is used in its noun form “stigma”, thus backgrounding who the agent of the stigmatization is. This usage of the noun form as the impersonal agent of the sentence discourages the reader from thinking about *who* stigmatizes the “gay athletes”. This statement is negated by the conjunction “but”, which introduces the existential process of pride being on the rise, thus indicating that this negative process of discouragement is being counteracted.

The article describes the match as “*more unusual*”, and this statement contains a presupposition that there *are* unusual matches but this one is extremely so, due to the use of the comparative determiner “more”.

The match is further described as “*light-hearted and innocent*”:

> “As the game went on — and on —so its structure broke down and the barefooted teams went in for a touch-rugby like romp. It was light-hearted and innocent and although Bok coach Heyneke Meyer missed little in not being there to celebrate the festivities, the evening achieved its objective of reminding us that sport is not only the domain of the buff, the straight and the heterosexual, but a utopia for all”.

The match is said to have gone *“on – and on – so its structure broke down”*, and this description is negative, as noted by the Wham! team which responded to this article in a letter to the editor. The description represents the match as playful and not serious at all — which is at odds with the general idea of a rugby match — and time-consuming, particularly due to the punctuation used: the phrase “and on” is housed between two dashes. The dashes indicate that there is a slight pause before this additional description: note the reading difference between the chosen punctuation and use of none (“went on and on”) or the use of a comma (“went on, and on”).

The frivolous representation of the game is further indicated by it being described as a “romp” and as something that then-Springbok Coach Heyneke Meyer could stand to miss. Of note

here is that Meyer is not described as missing a match but rather "*the festivities*", which undermines the serious nature of the rugby match. Furthermore, the description of sport as a "utopia for all" is an odd one which the article proceeds to contradict. In the second half of the article, there is a discussion of how sport is *not* a utopia due to being intolerant of non-heterosexual athletes. As a result, these athletes do not feel safe enough to disclose their sexual identities. This state of affairs is in opposition to the concept of a utopia, which indicates that things would be better than they currently are, with near perfect conditions "for all".

The match in fact highlighted how sport is *not* a utopia for all, as this article demonstrates in its reporting of the match: non-heterosexual individuals are singled out according to their sexual identity when they disclose it, as they participate in sports.

Finally, the article concludes that *any* match between the Wham! team and the Wits All Stars would be "*frolicsome*" by using the indefinite article "a" in its description:

> "Even though a match between Wham! and the Wits All Stars is frolicsome fun, White and those involved in the festival match acknowledge that the proof of others' tolerance is to take games like this last week's one out of Wits' zones of comfort and dip instead into the frequently hostile waters of straight sport".

This negative representation of the game extends to the players, particularly the Wham! players, and the fans:

> "On one side was Wham! — a loose coalition of gays and lesbians — who took on the All Stars, a team of considerably larger and more experienced players.

In terms of transitivity, the Wham! players are represented as agentive, through the material process in which they "*took on the All Stars*" and are described as a "loose coalition of gays and lesbians" — erroneously, as Wham! is a queer rugby team in which "many of the players do *not* identify as gay or lesbian" (Wham! Team, 2014, emphasis added). The term "loose coalition" implies that they are not a team that plays well together due to the adjective "loose". In terms of relationships and teams, the word "loose" carries a negative connotation as it implies that the team is not cohesive and "tight", as would be desired for a well-functioning team.

This description of the team as "loose" is subtly visually represented in the image below, in which the team is sitting on the grass with quite a lot of space between each player. The subtlety is due to the caption, "Loosening Up", which states that Wham! is preparing for the match, thus indicating that the image is not necessarily a direct representation of the term "loose coalition". However, the previous description cannot be separated from the image and

the seating arrangement, especially when the caption also calls Wham! a “gay and lesbian team”



Figure 6.6: Wham! Team “loosening up”

The article’s repeated use of the description “gay and lesbian” is reflected in the image of two people kissing, below. The article assumes that the people sharing an intimate moment identify as gay or lesbian, along with the implicit expectation that they are “out of the closet”. This is problematic because, as the Wham! Team states in its letter that “this photograph was taken without their consent”. This is insensitive due to the fact that this match was a safe space, which means that people could rely on the space being open to them and allowing them to express themselves, even if they are not open about their sexuality elsewhere. By publishing images of attendees without their permission, the newspaper may “out” them, thus possibly placing them at risk. This image has been blacked out as this dissertation respects the individuals’ right to privacy and will not reproduce the discourses around representations, which it argues against.



Figure 6.7: Unauthorised photo of couple kissing (blacked out added)

The repeated erroneous description of the players as “gays and lesbians” imposes sexual identities on them, and is possibly due the article’s use of the word “queer” as a synonym for “gay and lesbian”, which is part of the historical understanding of the word (Jagose, 1996). This use, however, is in contrast to Wham’s usage of “queer” to mean “non-normative” (Wham! Facebook page).

In addition, the Wham! players are further undermined by the description of their supporters:

> The All Stars gamely put themselves up for possible humiliation… the All Stars needn’t have worried. They received a greater pummelling from Wham’s mouthy supporters than they did from the team, as they ran out worthy 25-20 winners. Had the match lasted any longer, you fancy that Wham!’s abusive but good-natured crew might have worn the big lads of the All Stars down so completely that they’d have no alternative but to throw in the towel.

This paragraph states that the All Stars might have been worried about losing to Wham! but that worry was unnecessary because the Wham! supporters were superior to Wham!. The paragraph states the verbal assault of the Wham! supporters was of a higher level than the

actual physical performance of the Wham! team, to the extent that the All Stars might have given up if the match had gone on longer. This description undermines Wham! because it places verbal assertions as superior to the physical efforts of Wham!, which would be the focus of the match, such that even if Wham kept playing, they would not be able to beat the All Stars.

The supporters are further described as a “tiny” crowd which is “mouthy” and “abusive but good-natured”, and this description is problematic due to its reproduction of stereotypes (Wham! Team, 2014) about the LGBTQIA+ community. The description of the supporters is represented in the images below, which are in the header of the article and depict a Wham! Member with a few people around them, a lone viewer next to the Wits Pride banner, and finally six viewers, two of whom appear to be gesticulating.



Figure 6.8: Article header

In addition to this, the supporters are quoted but the verbs that are used are not neutral: they are descriptive, prosodic verbs such as “screamed” and “shouted”, which tell us about the sound of the speech (Machin & Mayr, 2012). The fan who “screamed” is also described as “slightly hysterical”, while the only fan who is quoted with the neutral verb “said” is described as a “bright spark”, thus representing the fans as dim-witted, as well as “snide and bitchy” due to the quoted speech used in the article (Wham! Team, 2014).

In contrast to the Wham! players, the All Stars are described as “considerably larger and more experienced players”, thus implying that they are superior to the Wham! team. This comparison is interesting because the article does not directly make any mention of the size of the Wham! players, but rather uses the mention of the All Stars’ size to imply that the Wham! team is made up of small players. Notably, even though they are more experienced, they “gamely put themselves up for possible humiliation”, and through this material process they are represented as agentive and positive due to their “game” willingness to be humiliated. This seems counter-intuitive, because if these players are bigger and more experienced, then the likelihood that they will lose is low.

The representations in this article are mostly negative: the article clearly does not take the game seriously, and it seems that the teams were not interviewed about the game. In addition,

the article is an example of the struggle around the meaning of the word “queer”, as the rest of the article indicates that it is being used as a synonym for “gay and lesbian”. This usage, however, could have been discussed, if Wham! had been consulted.

6.5 2015

In 2015, The *Northcliff Melville Times* ran an article which was published both online and in the print version of the paper. The online version was published first, on the 30th of August, with the print version being published a week later on the 8th of September. The articles are essentially the same but have different headlines, and the print version has minor edits, with only one notable edit in a description. This article reports on a GALA discussion forum which was held in the first week of the Varsity Pride events and was titled “Trans* inclusivity in Pride Movements” (Nkhwashu, 2015).

The online headline was “Wits Pride highlights challenges faced by transgenders in SA”, with the subtitle “Transgenders face challenges” while the print headline was “Wits Pride highlights diversity”. The headline for the print version may have been changed due to the problematic nature of the online version which collectivises transgender people as “transgenders”:

> Challenges faced by transgenders were discussed at Wits University on 27 August. The Wits Pride event was attended by transgenders, lesbians, gays, bisexuals and interested individuals.

The collectivisation of transgender people as “transgenders” subtly refers to them like objects and persists in the description of attendees of the forum discussion, which contains the presupposition that people who attended identified themselves according to those quoted sexual identities. This singling out of sexual identity categories is odd as the forum was open to “interested individuals”, and additionally the article does not state clearly that it is reporting on a forum discussion that happened during Varsity Pride. The forum space at Wits is a particular setting which is for all those who are interested, but particularly offers a safe space for people to discuss topics such as sexuality and sexual practices.

The forum was attended by various people, one of them being Anastacia Tomson, who is functionalised according to their occupation as a transgender activist, author and medical doctor. Tomson is described as the source of a point, which comments on the incongruence between legislation and its practical application in society: “despite liberal laws… society still lacks space for lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgenders”. This has been noted in previous research (Cock, 2003; Gontek, 2009; Milani, 2015; Nel and Judge, 2008). This is not a direct

quote, and as such implies that previously stated presupposition may be a result of assumption, due to the repeated identity categories “lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgenders” which form the first four letters of the LGBTQIA+ acronym.

This repeated erasure of the queer, intersex and other gender and sexual identities (QIA+) part of the acronym, as well as the fact that Tomson is an activist and as such would be expected to know the acronym, implies that the presupposition is not based on those present actually identifying themselves according to those identity categories.

This suspicion that the article makes assumptions is further supported by the way in which Tish White is referred to in the article: White is functionalised according to their job as the Transformation and Gender Equity Project administrator, and is referred to using the pronoun “she”. This is problematic because White’s pronouns are “they, them and their”, and the article does not use these, indicating that the article assumes that White is “she”. White, whose talks and workshops I have attended, usually opens formal discussions with a request that participants respect each other’s pronouns. As a result, White states their pronouns and requests that participants state their pronouns so that others may use the correct pronouns. Having attended numerous talks hosted by White, in various settings, it is my view that White would have told the reporter about their pronouns if they had had a conversation.

White is then stated to have said that “*the programme contributes to the campus climate that is safe and accepting for all members of the university community*”. This statement, however, is not presented as a quote, but rather as reported speech, and it contains a presupposition that Wits is already a safe space, due to the use of the of the definite article “the”, and this is highly questionable.

Elsewhere in the article, statements are attributed to three other people: Anastacia Tomson, Carla de Bouchet and Katherine White, but only the first two are quoted. All three attended the forum and all three are functionalized according to their occupations, but Katherine White is not described as an activist, only as a software developer. This is in contrast to the caption of the accompanying image (below), which describes all three as activists.



Transgender activists Anastacia Tomson, Catherine White and Carla da Bouchet at Wits discuss the future of transgender.

Figure 6.9 Accompanying image and caption

The fact that the article does *not* describe White as an activist may possibly be why White is never quoted, but what is even more interesting is that their speech is edited in the print version of the paper. In the online article, White is stated to have said (in reported speech) that "they get ridiculed in a public space and sidelined because of transgender, but she learned to stay firm…" and the adjunct "because of transgender" (sic) is removed in the print version, with it being unclear why this was done. What is also notable in this excerpt is the inconsistency in the usage of pronouns: White is referred to as "they" and then as "she", indicating that there may have been an error during the editing of the article.

This article represents Varsity Pride, through the reporting of the forum, as an informative space, but makes some odd assumptions about the space in terms of who occupies it and who gets to speak in it. The article is quite short but indicates that there may have been confusion in the understanding of the importance of pronouns as well as the members of the LGBTQIA+ community. Additionally, the article seems to place value on the speech of the activists as opposed to those who do not identify as such.

6.6 Conclusion

Taken overall, these articles represent Wits Pride as a positive space and an important event, but make problematic representations as well. The reporting on Wits Pride shows a superficial move from stereotypically using gay men as representatives of the LGBTQIA+ community to being more inclusive; however, erasure is always present, to varying degrees. This progression indicates that there was a change in how people referred to the LGBTQIA+ community, as the acronym grew along with its visibility.

These articles make use of various identity categories, but the way in which they are used is not simply descriptive. These categories are used to create a binary description of social actors in the articles: people are represented as “gay” or not, “queer” or not, “straight” or “not straight”. The way in which these categories are used further entrenches the idea that there is an essential difference between heterosexuals and non-heterosexuals. These articles show a strong preference for using “gay”, “homosexual” and “lesbian and gay” as representative of the entire LGBTQIA+ community, and the invocation of these categories serves to further privilege them at the expense of all the other categories.

In addition, this analysis shows how particular linguistic choices are used to create various effects in the articles, even if they are seemingly just reporting on an event. The representation of different social actors in the articles works to support the general premise of the articles and to advance the point that the articles are trying to make.

It is also evident that important concepts such as individuals’ preferred pronouns and the word “queer” are not fully understood, and even when LGBTQIA+ *is* explained, there is an insistence on relying on “gay and lesbian” (mostly “gay”) as representative of the entire community. As a result, these reports perpetuate stereotypes as well as using problematic discourses to advance their points. Nevertheless, it is important to note that even as the articles use and perpetuate stereotypes, they also challenge them in small ways, and any contestation of a norm can be used to destabilize it.

The newspaper reports in this chapter are from sources that are both internal and external to the university, yet they share many similarities, indicating that the university is in some ways a microcosm of the country: the university is a reflection of the larger society in which it exists.

7. Conclusion

In popular culture today, there appears to be a call for diversity in the media because people have vocally taken note of how important representation is, *especially* in the media. The general argument is that representations in the media need to be diverse and reflective of the society that they exist in. I adopt this stance, in relation to Wits Pride. Representation matters extensively because the way in which Wits Pride represents itself impacts on the way it is viewed by the larger university community, while the representations made by others are reflective of the prevailing social understandings.

In this thesis, I would argue that Wits Pride's representation of itself evolves over time while that made by the available media is slightly more static. The use of MMCDA has made it possible to make sense of the data and understand how visuals and text work together to create coherent messages, the two work together, as seen in the visual analysis in this thesis. Additionally, using MMCDA, particularly when looking at the newspaper reports, makes it possible to understand how sentence structure and word choice can be used to convey multiple, layered meanings. As previously stated, transitivity choices are extremely important as understanding them unveils how a text that is seemingly neutral, actually takes a stance on a particular topic. The topic of sexuality was best unveiled using Queer Theory, which proved beneficial as it made it possible to question the usage of sexuality in the analysed texts. Arguably, MMCDA could have been used alone but it does not provide the theoretical impetus to problematize and interrogate sexual and gender identity categories.

In this regard, I begin with the overall findings of how Wits Pride is represented by others.

The articles that were analysed seemed to oscillate between positive and negative representations but they highlight why it is important to do textual analysis. Particularly in the case of an article that appears to be neutral, investigating transitivity choices can provide more information about the article. In the articles, the representation of Wits Pride is slightly dismissive of the march but in the following year, the Wits Pride space is presented in a positive manner, relative to the general politics of the country. In this instance, the article relies on a rainbow nation discourse to represent Wits Pride as the "essence of democracy" and attempts to represent this rainbow nation compliance in an image. The image used, however, is problematic as it is not reflective of the country demographics, which implicate race. Simultaneously, the image is a progressive one in terms of gender. As such, we see that there is a duality in representation and sometimes things are not clearly defined.

This positive problematic representation is then followed by a negative representation of an aspect of Wits Pride, namely the rugby match that was played in 2013 and 2014. Both articles make light of the match, while simultaneously highlighting the importance of the

match. These reports reinforced stereotypes about the LGBTQIA+ community and failed to take the match seriously. Visually, the articles used visuals which were not particularly typical of sports reporting, reinforcing the stance the article. Once more, the representation is not clear-cut but while it is dismissive, it ironically illustrates why the matches are important. In terms of sexuality, what stands out is how sexuality is ascribed to individuals and various identities are covered under the term “gays and lesbians”. On one hand, this reading seems to imply that the writer did not take note of the individuals’ identities but on the other, it highlights how understandings of the word “queer” differ.

This mostly negative representation is finally rounded out by one that is positive in the way that it describes Wits Pride but problematic in the way that it refers to people. This article is similar to the previous to articles in that it expresses how terminology that is banal to those who are comfortable with and knowledgeable about the LGBTQIA+ community, is not necessarily understood by the wider society. The article is additionally problematic in the way that it seems to valorise the opinions and speech of activists over that of others, thus engaging in a subtle form of othering within the article.

Overall, the articles rely on similar discursive strategies such as functionalization to lend authority to quotes, while relying heavily on transitivity choices to do the bulk of the work of creating the representations.

These representations are juxtaposed to Wits Pride’s self-representation which changes over time. The t-shirts and posters were reflective of the same representation but the way in which it is achieved is different, as can be expected when taking the two different media into account. The t-shirts were reflective of the theme each year and went from espousing a coming out discourse, which indexed a gender (men) and sexual identity category through the linguistic token “gay” to dropping the identity the following year. This was not done entirely as it was only dropped linguistically but the chromatic choice of the year’s t-shirt, pink, indexed gay men through intertextuality. 2013 saw a departure from sexuality and gender to the beginning of a more inclusive Wits Pride, which foregrounded individuality and a celebration of self-hood. This celebration was short-lived but inclusivity was maintained through the idea that “All Oppression is connected”. This was a call to embrace intertextuality and understand that oppression is a multi-layered system in which different types of oppression are linked to each other.

In 2015, the t-shirt carried the theme “people change spaces” and was reflective of the change in Wits Pride, by indicating that various stakeholders on the back of the t-shirt. The t-shirt was continuous with the 2015 poster in that it features the same typeface and uses the same colours. The change was reflected typographically on t-shirt through changing the

orientation of letters on the t-shirt. Chromatically, the t-shirt was black, repeating the colour of the 2011 t-shirt. This colour may have been reflective of the same situation in 2011 but additionally, it is strongly linking to the idea of mourning because a die-in was staged at the end of the march.

As Coupland (2012), Johnstone (2009) and Symes (1989) illustrates, t-shirts are communicative objects, which are mobile and can be used to different ends. The t-shirts are important because t- shirts "can speak without speech" (Symes, 1989: 90) and when these t-shirts "speak", they tell a story about how Wits Pride represents itself every year. But when they are read together, they tell us about "contemporary culture, about the contradictions which exist in that culture, about our aspirations and fears. As such, it is a garment whose seriousness and non-seriousness demands to be taken seriously" (Symes, 1989: 98).

The t-shirts are closely related to the posters but the posters seem to have more elements and use their space differently. The 2011 poster is similar to the t-shirt in that it indexes sexuality and gender linguistically, but it is more indirect as it does not name the two explicitly. The poster relies on the reader's understanding of homophobia indexing homosexuality and thus indexing individuals who identify as homosexual. This is a marginalising move which is contrasted with the visual chromatic indexing of the LGBTQIA+ community.

In 2013, similarly to the t-shirt, we see the poster as being reflective of an inclusive Wits Pride which has now become inclusive of individuals who are disabled. This is indexed visually by the inclusion of the disability symbol on the poster, which then disappears in 2014. This move seems odd, considering the embracing of intersectionality, which includes oppression around ability. Similar to some previous posters, this poster indexes the LGBTQIA+ community through the usage of rainbow colours, and no linguistic tokens of sexual identity or gender. This embrace of intersectionality culminates in a call to action in 2015.

In 2015, the posters were more embodied and re-centred gender and sexuality by using a woman's body as the focus of the image and by linguistically indexing the LGBTQIA+ community, using the acronym on the poster. This poster was more provocative due to its "realistic" design but also through its content. It indexes protests by using the city centre, which was the site of a particular protest, and merges the body of the woman with the building, using visual cues to represent the body as a site of protest.

Overall the posters also represent Wits Pride as changing, becoming more inclusive and intersectional. However, in terms of space, the two artefacts work together to make changes to the Linguistic Landscape of the university. The posters were static representations of

Pride which were placed across all the campuses of the university, while the t-shirts were mobile representations, worn by students.

These artefacts represent Pride as actively occupying space in the university, while also queering it and changing it by making non-normative sexuality visible within the university. This claim to space was also instantiated by the decision to have the march move out of East campus and onto West Campus. Gradually, Wits Pride claimed more space as in 2015, Varsity Pride had information tents at the Education Campus and Medical School, which are remote campuses. In this regard, Wits Pride expanded its reach within the Linguistic Landscape and queered the spaces that it entered.

In conclusion, it is clear that different discursive strategies have been employed in representing Wits Pride but these representations are not clear-cut. They can be read differently and are made up of positive and negative aspects. This thesis has shown that these representations are realised through language in different ways and relative to the field, it shows that Queer theory can be applied to the study of language, gender and sexuality. It has shown that Wits Pride has changed the way that it represents itself, expanding its reach within the Linguistic Landscape while media reports have oscillated in their representations. As of 2016, Wits Pride did not take place, due to the Fees Must Fall protests.

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