

and civilised, it nevertheless reinforces the West more than it does South Africa. South Africa's worth is being measured against Western norms⁶¹. South Africa is therefore *added* to the West in a way which reinforces the West and marginalises those forms of South African culture which are not Western. As *Socialist Review* (1994: p6) points out:

conceptual changes attempting to add the margin to the centre continue to valorise that centre and often end up 'adding' or 'including' in ways that reinscribe rather than dismantle existing power relations.

Although guests at the other lunch are to be served "traditional South African fare", including *umnggusho* (a Xhosa speciality) they are nevertheless at the *second* luncheon, not the *state* luncheon; they are the 'less important guests' who will not dine with President Mandela (rather they will be addressed by him on the Smuts lawn at 4.10pm). It is also interesting to note that no mention of wine is made in connection with the second luncheon which is significant, considering that it signifies elegance, sophistication and civility. Also, there is no string quartet there to entertain them while they are lunching (or at least no mention is made

⁶¹ It should be noted that the West has been constructed as sophisticated and civilised and therefore it is its cultural forms which have been represented as the objective indicators of these values. Although 'good food and wine' and 'string quartets' are localised/specific forms of what it means to be civilised, they have nevertheless been universalised due to Western hegemony. That is, Western cultural forms have become the 'universal' norm, even though there is no objective way of determining whether they are 'better'.

of one). On top of this, the general public ('the people', so to speak) are to be entertained, not by string quartets, but by local artists who play music of African/ Afro-American origin. Thus, although African cultural forms are mentioned they are only really done so in relation to 'the people' and, to a lesser extent, to the 'less important dignitaries'. Consequently, *The Star* constructs a *hierarchy of civility* within the New South Africa: at the top, Western cultural forms, and, as you go down, less Western. *The Star* therefore appears to privilege Western culture and identity over African culture and identity.

10 MAY 1994

The International Community as National Symbol

We're on top of the world. This was *The Star's* front page headline on the day of Mandela's inauguration (see Appendix D). It is an interesting headline in that it incorporates a number of consensual strategies⁶² which encourage the reader to identify positively with the New South Africa, or, to be more specific, with *The Star's* particular construction of the New South Africa. *The Star's* construction of the New South Africa is not definitive, it is rather a specific or local form of what the New South Africa

⁶² A consensual strategy is a discursive practice which fashions consensus around a particular proposition or, more specifically, around the values and beliefs contained within that proposition. Please note that I use the term strategy with a certain amount of reluctance as it implies intention. And, as I have mentioned earlier in this paper, we cannot assume intention.

means. However, the use of various consensual strategies creates the illusion that what is specific is actually general. That is, it leads us to believe that consensus actually exists around *The Star's* notion of what the New South Africa means.

The adoption of a conversational style is the first consensual strategy taken up by the above headline. It helps to manufacture consensus via suggestions of informality:

The reasons for adopting a conversational style have partly to do with the construction of an illusion of informality, familiarity, friendliness. But there is a more important ideological reason. The ideological function of conversation is to naturalise the terms in which reality is represented, and the categories those terms represent. Conversation implies co-operation, agreement, symmetry of power and knowledge between participants (contrast classroom discourse or textbook language). If you address someone in a conversational mode, you are assuming - unconsciously - agreement between the two of you concerning the basic reference points to which the conversation is anchored. Conversation implies a commonly held view of the world, a shared subjective reality that is taken for granted and does not have to be proved. (Fowler, 1991: p57)

And, as Berger and Luckmann (1976: p172ff) suggest, it is this 'taken for grantedness' which is the most significant function of conversational style:

The most important vehicle of reality-maintenance is conversation. One may view the individual's everyday life in terms of the working away of a conversational apparatus that ongoingly maintains, modifies and reconstructs his subjective reality.... It is important to stress, however, that the greater part of reality-maintenance in conversation is implicit, not explicit. Most conversation does not in so many words define the nature of the world. Rather, it takes place against the background of a world that is silently taken for granted....

An important aspect of conversational style is the oral mode. This is important because it serves to narrow the discursive gap that exists between print and speech. Print, as Fowler (1991: p59) points out, connotes "formality and authority" while speech connotes "informality and solidarity". Thus, in order to create the illusion of speech within print and therefore a sense of informality and solidarity (thereby narrowing the discursive gap), the oral mode is usually adopted.

There are a number of devices which signal the oral mode (see Fowler, 1991: pp62-65). However, for the purposes of our analysis I will only highlight three. Firstly, the use of informal or colloquial vocabulary: "Slang, idioms, clichés, proverbs and catch-words are all used to cue the illusion of oral mode" (Fowler, 1991: p63). Secondly, the use of syntactic

contractions such as 'he'll', 'shouldn't', etc. And, thirdly, indicators of person: "chiefly the personal pronouns, especially the ones which refer to speaker and addressee either separately 'I' and 'you' - or 'together' - one of the two meanings of 'we', the 'inclusive "we" " (Fowler, 1991: p63).

Now if we return to the headline: *We're on top of the world*, we can identify all of these cues of orality. 'On top of the world', being an idiomatic expression for happiness, satisfies the first cue. 'We're' satisfies the second and third cues: It is both a syntactic contraction (of we and are) and an indicator of person (the inclusive we). Consequently, the register of the headline is colloquial and informal, which, as discussed above, is useful in manufacturing consensus.

The use of 'we're' in the headline, as opposed to other indicators of person such as 'I'm' or 'you're', is also useful because it constructs consensus in another way. That is, by creating homogeneity out of difference. Fowler (1991: p49), using Britain as his reference point, elaborates:

Consensus assumes that, for a given grouping of people, it is a matter of fact that the interests of the whole population are undivided, held in common; and that the whole population acknowledges this 'fact' by subscribing to a certain set of beliefs: everyone agrees that *p* and that *q* and that *r*. The pronoun 'we' in the media, as in the mouths of politicians ('our economic recovery', 'our

health system', 'our nuclear deterrent'), generally refers to that English grouping; but the consensual image is taken through a variable lens, and 'we' sometimes narrows to southern England, sometimes broadens to refer to 'Britain and America' or 'Europe' or 'the west'. Sometimes the referents of 'we' are collected in moral or social, rather than geographical/political terms.... 'Consensus' assumes, and in times of crisis actually affirms, that within the group, there is no difference or disunity in the interests and values of any of the population, or of any institution."

The 'we' in the headline refers to the national 'we'. Although it could possibly refer to the institutional 'we' of the newspaper, or a 'we' more limited or broader than the national 'we' this is obviously not the case, given the context in which it is used. The sub-headline: "SA becomes a beacon of hope as President Mandela takes oath of office", makes this clear.

The effect of these strategies within the headline is to promote identification with the sentiments expressed by the headline. 'On top of the world', as already discussed, suggests extreme happiness. Yet, who is extremely happy? 'We' are. That is, the national 'we'. Consequently, we (as South Africans) are ecstatic. And, since the 'we' is a national 'we', it is implied that the whole population feels the same way. Yet, what are we ecstatic at? The realisation that we are a new nation, with a new president. This is implied by the context of the article, as summarised by

the sub-headline: "SA becomes a beacon of hope as President Mandela takes oath of office". The headline thus 'reads' something like this: The whole of South Africa is united in the rejoicing of its new nationness.

Added to this, the conversational style of the headline encourages us to agree with the ideas expressed therein. To borrow from Berger and Luckmann (1976: pp 172ff), the reality-maintenance function of conversation means we take it for granted that: 1) there is great joy in the realisation of the New South Africa, and; 2) we, as a nation, share in that joy.

Consequently, we are able to imagine ourselves tied to the national community that is the New South Africa via this simultaneous, yet anonymous, activity of rejoicing. It is simultaneous because we imagine it to be so; we imagine the rest of the nation to also be rejoicing at the same time (as indicated by *we're*). And, although we will never actually know most of our fellow countrymen/women (thus it is an anonymous activity), we are nevertheless assured of their existence by the mere suggestion of our simultaneous activity (Anderson, 1983). To paraphrase Anderson (1983: p15), the image of our communion lives in our minds.

Although it refers to our collective joy at being a new nation, *We're on top of the world*, also has another possible meaning which refers to South Africa's new status as an elite nation. Here, the construction of the New South Africa's position relative to the rest of the world, as first

suggested by the title of the previous day's feature article ("The world at his feet"), is built upon. Indeed, the imagery created by this headline is remarkably similar to that suggested by "The world at his feet", reinforcing the general idea that the New South Africa, unlike the old one, is now one of the world's great nations. South Africa is represented as a nation that now enjoys great standing in the international community.

This notion of international approval is an important symbol in the mythology of the New South Africa. It has become the benchmark against which South Africa measures its value as a nation and, in so doing, it positions itself in binary opposition to the old South Africa. Acceptance into the international community (of nations) affirms the New South Africa while simultaneously negating the old South Africa.

This idea is further emphasised by a discursive strategy of juxtaposition. Take the following extract from *The Star's* lead story of that day as an example:

It is the climax of an incredible fortnight which has seen South Africa transformed from a violence-ridden nation in turmoil - and *an international pariah* - to what *the world perceives as a beacon of race reconciliation*. (my emphases)

In this extract, international approval of the New South Africa is juxtaposed with international disapproval of the old South Africa, thereby

throwing the former into sharp relief. The international disapproval of the old South Africa is constructed in negative terms ('pariah', as opposed to the more neutral 'isolation'), while the international approval of the New South Africa is constructed in positive terms. The use of 'beacon', suggesting a shining light (or even a lighthouse), connotes that the New South Africa is a point of reference for the international community, that it is showing the world where to go.

It is also interesting to note that the new South Africa is not now merely constructed as a non-pariah, as a 'normal, ordinary, everyday' member of the international community. Rather, it is represented as a leader in the international community in its own right. It is not just accepted, it is also admired, acclaimed and applauded.

The main picture on the front page supports this idea of South Africa being applauded. Although, it is a picture related to the previous days events in Cape Town. It shows Mandela and his two deputies, Mbeki and de Klerk, outside Parliament (where the new 400 member National assembly had just before gathered to choose Mandela as the new President) waving and acknowledging the crowds that had gathered there. However, when juxtaposed with the theme of International approval (outlined above and below) the picture takes on a slightly different meaning. In this context, it appears as if Mandela in particular (as the central focus of the picture) and his deputies (who flank him) are acknowledging the applause/approval of the international community,

rather than the Cape Town crowd. The picture's caption which reads; "Waves ... President Mandela, flanked by his deputies Thabo Mbeki and FW de Klerk, outside parliament yesterday" does little to disrupt this illusion either. It does not tell us who they are waving at, and therefore acknowledging. The objects (or recipients) of the waving are not clearly identified, thereby facilitating the suggestion that they are indeed acknowledging international approval.

This sense of approval is further captured by pictures (running across the top of the front page just below *The Star's* masthead) of a special series of South African stamps which were released by the Post Office to commemorate the inauguration. Featuring, from left to right, a 95 cent stamp depicting the new national flag, a R1,15 stamp of the Union Buildings, a 70 cents stamp of the first stanzas of the two national anthems (*Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* and *Die Stem*) and a 45 cents stamp of President Mandela, the pictures are captioned "Seal of approval". 'Seal', apart from being a play on the Afrikaans word 'seel' (pronounced the same) which means postage stamp, also suggests that such approval is official, that it is authentic and confirmed. And, added to this, the fact that stamps are used to send letters all over the world reinforces the link between approval and the international community.

The positive value of international approval, as opposed to the negative value of international pariah, therefore serves as a powerful validator of

the New South Africa⁶³. It therefore leaves the reader in little doubt as to the desirability of the New South Africa.

11 MAY 1994

In God's Country

The day following the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as president of South Africa saw *The Star* lead with a front page headline entitled **The rainbow covenant**. A larger than normal photograph, occupying the whole width of the front page and about a third of its length, sits underneath the headline (see Appendix E). The size of the photograph, together with its wide-angled perspective, immediately signals the importance and grandeur of the event. Foregrounded at the bottom of the photograph are thousands of people who had gathered on the Union Building lawns the previous day to watch the inauguration. Just beyond them, occupying the middle-ground, is a large stage (for the *Many Cultures - One Nation* concert), a giant-screen TV, marquees, and stepped gardens leading up to the Union Buildings themselves which are backgrounded at the top of the picture.

⁶³ However, it should also be pointed out that international approval is just one part of the system of binarity which operates to positively reinforce the New South Africa. As a cursory examination of *The Star's* front page (10 May 1994) reveals, a number of other binary values are similarly mobilised. For example: "a beacon of race reconciliation" vs. "a violence-ridden nation in turmoil"; hope/optimism/confidence vs. pessimism; national unity vs. division.

Although the people are foregrounded in the photograph, they are not its main focus. Rather, the Union Buildings, and in particular the amphitheatre, are its focus, despite the fact that they appear in the background. Although semiotic convention usually dictates that that which is foregrounded is more important, and that that which is backgrounded is less important, this is not always necessarily the case. After all, a primary rule of semiotics is that different elements of a text, including visual texts, cannot be analysed in isolation. They must rather always be analysed in relation to other elements of that text. Put another way, the elements of a text should always be placed in context (Hodge and Kress, 1988; Williams, 1991;). As Hodge and Kress (1988: pp52-59) point out, this is certainly the case with the spatial dimensions of texts. They argue that physical relationships in space are important signifiers of social meanings. However, they suggest that in spite of their apparently straightforward form they are often "surprisingly complex, ambiguous and open to a variety of other determinations" (Hodge and Kress, 1988: p52). Consequently, we continually have to be aware that spatial codes are "normally supplemented by a whole set of other signifiers which are understood as transformations of physical distance, and which act as comments on the implied meaning of the physical space" (Hodge and Kress, 1988: p55). So, what are the other elements (signifiers) of this photograph which modify the conventional meanings associated with foreground and background?

There is little doubt that the crowd is an important element of the photograph. Not only are they foregrounded but they are also framed by rows of trees on either side and by the stage in the mid-ground of the photograph⁶⁴. However, while the rows of trees do highlight the crowd, they also serve another important function in this particular text. Due to the perspective of the photograph (the closer things are the bigger they appear, the further away they are the smaller they appear) the two rows of trees, while they are parallel in reality, begin to converge in the photograph. That is, the distance between them narrows the further they get from the camera. As a result, the impression is created that the rows of trees are pointing towards the amphitheatre of the Union Buildings. In fact, if we were to draw an imaginary line through each row of trees and then extend them we would see that they would roughly meet in the amphitheatre, just above the podium, where the New South African flag is flying.

This focus on the amphitheatre is further enhanced by other textual cues. The symmetry of the picture helps to frame the amphitheatre. In particular, the two 'steeples' of the Union Buildings, the trees in the mid-ground and, also, the two large structures, presumably housing speakers and lights, on either side of the stage. In addition, the stepped Union gardens as well as the stage serve to frame the amphitheatre at the bottom. The trees immediately behind the stage further highlight the amphitheatre by pointing upwards towards it. Consequently, our attention is focused on the

⁶⁴ Framing is important in that it draws our attention to that which is framed.

amphitheatre⁶⁵, the actual site of the inauguration ceremony, the symbolic birthplace of the new nation. And, by being the most important element in the picture its symbolic significance is enhanced.

The large crowd in the foreground of the photograph signifies the people of the nation, the 'ordinary' citizens, the national public. The fact that they are close together has important implications for our understanding of their relations of solidarity (see Hodge and Kress, 1988: pp52-53). The distance between different elements in a text constitute a proxemic code⁶⁶ which carry a set of social meanings along with it. Closeness, as might be expected, connotes solidarity, love and intimacy, while non-closeness usually connotes indifference and alienation. The photograph therefore suggests solidarity and unity. It is implied that the people of the New South Africa are united, that they are one nation.

However, as Hodge and Kress (1988: pp52-53) point out, such codes are not always straightforward. Often they are ambiguous:

⁶⁵ Although it could be argued that it is the architecture and landscaping of the Union Buildings themselves which create this symmetry and therefore it is disingenuous for us to make the claim that it is the photograph-as-text which constructs these meanings, it should be pointed out that this is not necessarily the case. After all, had the picture been taken from a different angle the symmetry of the scene would be absent. The framing of the particular elements of the photograph, outlined above, would therefore also not have been possible. At least not in the same way.

⁶⁶ Derived from 'proximity', the term 'proxemics' was initiated by Edward Hall (1966) to refer to the different social meanings attributed to various spatial relationships by different cultures.

Closeness... signifies a strong relationship which can be either positive (love, intimacy) or negative (aggression, hostility). Closeness, on its own, thus carries a contradiction. It is a strongly ambiguous sign which is only disambiguated if there are other reasons or signs which control interpretation.

One of the signs which can aid us in disambiguating the proxemic code is the vertical code.. As mentioned earlier, vertical codes signify relations of power and thus, which when combined with proxemic codes, they help to clarify meaning. Hodge and Kress (1988: p53) elaborate:

proxemic codes, with their meanings about presence or absence of solidarity, cannot be taken in isolation, since relations of solidarity are intermixed with relations of power in any social formation, and these are commonly signalled through the dimension up-down (or higher-lower). The two axes of space act together to create ideological meanings.

Since the people in the photograph occupy the same vertical plane their closeness can be disambiguated and interpreted in its positive sense. This positive interpretation is further encouraged by the symmetry of the picture (discussed above) which suggests order. It is therefore implied that South Africans are united, that they are in solidarity with one another and share a communal love. Occupation of the same vertical plane also

implies a relationship of equality. Thus, not only are the people united, they are also equal.

The spatial codes which govern the meaning of the relationship between the crowd and the Union Buildings are quite different from those that define the relationship between the people themselves. Although the distance between the crowd and the buildings does not appear that great, relative to the distance between other elements of the photograph, it is. The proxemic code is therefore one of distance (as opposed to closeness) which on its own suggests indifference or alienation. However, as suggested earlier, proxemic codes need to be analysed in conjunction with other textual signs in order to narrow its meaning. The vertical code appears to support this interpretation as it suggests a relationship of inequality (the Union Buildings are higher than the crowd). However, as the picture is taken from a position associated with the crowd - looking up at the buildings - and not from a position associated with the buildings - looking down on the crowd, a more positive interpretation of the relationship is encouraged. Looking up, with its connoted meaning of respect, rather than looking down, with its suggestion of patronisation and condescension, thus becomes the preferred reading (Barrat, 1986: pp114-116). Consequently, if anything, the vertical code actually modifies the proxemic code. The national public are therefore constructed as being in

respect and awe of what the Union Buildings represent, namely the birthplace of the New South Africa⁶⁷.

The proxemic code of distance is further modified by the presence of the big-screen TV, situated immediately in front of the crowd, showing live pictures of the inauguration ceremony itself. As a result, the space between the crowds and the Union Buildings/the inauguration is simultaneously distant and close. The fact that the live pictures on the TV are clearly visible in the photograph makes this reading possible. This has the effect of modifying the proxemic code of indifference and alienation that is usually associated with non-closeness. The crowd is close to the inauguration via the TV. Consequently, it is suggested that they feel an intense solidarity with the inauguration and therefore are intimately attached to the New South Africa. In addition, the fact that the TV is higher than the crowd reinforces the vertical code of respect and esteem which is already present.

Another interesting aspect of this photograph is the strong sense of spirituality and religiosity which it invokes. As already mentioned, the picture is taken from a position associated with the crowd. Yet, it is obviously not shot from within the crowd. Instead, it is taken from an elevated position, looking over the crowd up towards the Union Buildings. We, as the readers/viewers of the photograph, are therefore positioned

⁶⁷ Although the crowd might be in awe of the Union Buildings themselves (its size and beauty, for example) this is an unlikely reading. It is more likely that they are in awe of what it signifies.

above the crowd while still being of the crowd. We are invited into the photograph as part of the crowd, as fellow-members of the new nation. Yet, at the same time we are above the crowd. This has the effect of creating a sense of elation. It is almost as if we (and the crowd, as fellow-members of the nation) are elated at this experience, at this communal sharing of nationness (thereby building on the theme developed by *The Star's* headline of the previous day: ***We're on top of the world***). Indeed, there is also a suggestion of an out-of-body experience which connotes that it is a deeply spiritual, and even religious, event.

The religiosity and spirituality of the event is strengthened by a number of other elements in the photograph. The brightness of the sky at the top of the photograph suggests a halo while the steeples of the Union Buildings, together with the trees in the mid-ground of the picture, all point to the heavens, hinting at the presence of God. The implication therefore is that the nation is ordained by God, an idea that is reinforced by the main headline. Once again, it should be pointed out that such a constitution is most probably unintentional. It is improbable that the photographer took the photograph with the intention of creating such a meaning. Nevertheless, the meaning exists and as I will now show it is supplemented by the headline.

Although short, ***The rainbow covenant*** is a wonderful headline, bursting with symbolism. There are two main ideas incorporated in the headline.

The first is that of the rainbow, an intertextual reference⁶⁸ to 'the rainbow nation', a metaphor at the core of the mythology of the New South Africa. The rainbow is supposedly a symbol of that which is the New South Africa⁶⁹. It represents the myth of our 'unity in diversity' and the supposed promise and harmony of our multi-racial society after the darkness and the storm of the past. It expresses the idea that the coming together of different colours creates great beauty. Furthermore, such beauty is not man-made, it is natural and/or God-made. And, the promise of the New South Africa is implied with an associated metaphor, namely 'the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow'. The myth of the rainbow nation is therefore an *anti-narrative*⁷⁰ of Apartheid ideology. It turns the apartheid notion that the coming together of different colours is not desirable and definitely not natural on its head. Similarly, by constructing multi-racialism as natural and/or God-made, it highlights the man-made/ socially engineered character of apartheid and therefore constructs it as unnatural. And, as I will show shortly, this anti-apartheid-narrative nature of the rainbow paradigm serves an extremely important symbolic function when combined with the second main idea of the headline.

⁶⁸ Intertextuality is an important and extremely useful discursive strategy for it summons up a certain paradigm, and the whole set of values and ideas associated with it, in an economical way (Fowler, 1991: p118).

⁶⁹ As Archbishop Desmond Tutu (1994) is quoted in the beginning of his book, *The Rainbow People of God*; "and you remember the rainbow in the Bible is the sign of Peace. The rainbow is the sign of prosperity."

⁷⁰ For an elaboration of anti-narrative see Williams, 1991.

The second idea encapsulated by the headline, that of a covenant, is also significant for *The Star's* construction of the New South Africa. Although a covenant essentially means an agreement or promise, it is frequently endowed with a more symbolic significance, often referring to a special contract *with God*. This latter understanding is particularly apparent in nationalist myth, as evidenced by the cases of Jewish and Afrikaner nationalism. It is offered by nationalists as proof of their nation's status as 'chosen'.

The rainbow covenant therefore suggests that we, as the rainbow nation, have a special relationship with God and are therefore somehow 'chosen'⁷¹. Furthermore, the anti-apartheid-narrative connoted by the rainbow nation functions to reconstruct South African national identity in broader, more inclusive terms.

In the context of South African history the idea of a covenant was associated exclusively with Afrikaner nationalism⁷². However, the use of rainbow, as an anti-narrative of apartheid (and therefore, by implication, of

⁷¹ This idea is also strongly captured in the title of Archbishop Desmond Tutu's book: *The Rainbow People of God*.

⁷² Indeed, at the core of Afrikaner nationalism lay the myth that the Afrikaners entered into a covenant with God at the Battle of Blood River which enabled them to defeat the Zulus. This victory was then mobilised symbolically as proof that they indeed were chosen by God to occupy the promised land that was South Africa (see Adam and Gillmore, 1979; and Moodie, 1975). Consequently, South Africa was seen as belonging to the Afrikaners. The fact that this supposed covenant with God was commemorated as a 'national' public holiday (*Geloofedag* or *Day of the Covenant/Vow*) indicates the extent to which South African identity was limited to white and particularly Afrikaner identity.

an exclusive white, Afrikaner-based South African nationalism) thus functions to *reappropriate* the idea of a national covenant with God, so that this time the covenant is with all of South Africa's people. Thus, all South Africans are seen as God's (specially) chosen people.

Consequently, the photograph and headline function together to construct the idea that the inauguration, and therefore the New South Africa, are blessed by God. Yet, more than just being blessed by God, the New South Africa is constructed as chosen by God. Thus, it is suggested that all of us, black and white (as implied by 'rainbow'), share a common destiny. It allows us to imagine ourselves as members of the same nation, linked to each other via a 'community of destiny' (Smith, 1986 : p175).

CONCLUSION

From *The Star's* coverage of the presidential inauguration we can see that its construction of the New South Africa revolves around two main symbols, namely God and the international community. They are mobilised in ways which give religious and international sanction to the New South Africa. They are therefore significant in that they validate the New South Africa. They give it a wider legitimacy and as such they can be seen as legitimacy symbols.

Indeed, insofar as the New South Africa is constructed as 'God-approved' (as being chosen by God and existing in God's presence) such legitimacy is invested in the ultimate authority. That is, the legitimacy (and the importance) of the New South Africa is given to be indisputable.

As in the *Sowetan*, *The Star* also mobilises the international community as an external and 'objective' validator of the New South Africa. However, in *The Star* the idea of the international community and international approval is mobilised to a much greater degree, so much so that it becomes the benchmark against which the New South Africa is measured.

Both of these constructions are significant when we consider the identity and readership of *The Star*.

Unlike the *Sowetan*, *The Star's* readership is largely white. And, since this sector of the South African population is likely to have been apprehensive about the arrival of the New South Africa (fearing that they might be adversely affected, that their standards of living might drop and their 'Western values' compromised), the mobilisation of these legitimacy symbols is significant.

Firstly, if the New South Africa is given the ultimate approval (God), then it can be expected that white apprehensions will be calmed. Similarly, the

extent to which international approval is mobilised by *The Star* (relative to the *Sowetan*), is also likely to have a similar effect.

Secondly, if the international community is used as the norm then, as *Socialist Review* (1995) points out, it affirms the West (given that the international community is dominated by the West and that Western norms have become hegemonic in the international community). Consequently, it allays or contains white apprehensions and fears that they might lose their Western identity in the face of majority rule (which the New South Africa represents). It therefore reassures them that they will not be excluded in the new dispensation.

International approval is also an important motivator for white South Africans given the fact that although they may have benefited under apartheid they were nevertheless ostracised and seen as 'baddies'. International approval signifies that they are no longer 'the baddies'. And, therefore, as long as they buy into the New South Africa their psychological needs (particularly the need for self-esteem) are catered for⁷³.

The Star also constructs the New South Africa in terms of a rainbow nationalism. This too functions to alleviate white fears about the New

⁷³ The symbol of the international community is also significant when we consider the identity or 'position' of *The Star*. That is, a white, liberal newspaper. By stressing the link between the New South Africa and the international community, *The Star* sends out a message that accords with neo-liberalism, or at least makes the idea of economic nationalism seem inappropriate.

South Africa. It suggests that the New South Africa is a nation where all of its people's identities are celebrated (as suggested by the image of the rainbow) and therefore that no one need feel excluded. And, the fact that this rainbow nation is constructed as being sanctioned by God suggests that different races co-existing in a unitary state is natural. It implies that all of South Africa's people share a common destiny.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter is to examine the implications of this study's findings for our understanding of nationalism and national identity.

Using the Inauguration as a symbolic indicator of the New South Africa, this study has found that *The Star* and *Sowetan* construct the New South Africa along different lines. That is, although they both look at the same event, they choose to report or highlight different aspects of it. This in turn has important implications for the ways in which their respective readers are encouraged to imagine the New South Africa.

As we have seen, the *Sowetan* constructs the New South Africa in a way which privileges African identity. It encourages the reader to think about or imagine the New South Africa as essentially African. Thus, rather than accommodating difference, the *Sowetan* negates it. The *Sowetan's* construction therefore represents a specific or local form of New South African national identity. That is, it does not apply to all those who claim to be South African.

The Star, on the other hand, constructs the New South Africa in much broader, more universal terms than the *Sowetan*. Yet paradoxically, as this thesis has attempted to show, this broader 'less specific' construction is nevertheless still specific. This is true not only because it is *The Star*, but also because it privileges a specific sector of the South African population. On one level, *The Star* associates the New South Africa with a rainbow nationalism, yet on another level it privileges Western identity. Thus, although it claims to include all South Africans, *The Star* actually excludes or marginalises those who are not Western 'in character'. While it appears to accommodate difference, it too ultimately negates it.

These findings reveal that there is no single, coherent construction of the New South Africa. Rather, there are different constructions which are specific in nature and defined by the respective histories of *The Star* and *Sowetan*. It therefore leads us to conclude that there is no consensus as to what the New South Africa means, or what it is, how it is constituted, and so on.

While it is conceded that *The Star* and *Sowetan* both construct the New South Africa in ways which are likely to encourage their respective readers to identify with the New South Africa, thus ultimately contributing to the promotion of the New South Africa, they nevertheless differ in the content they give to the idea of the New South Africa. That is, although they both promote the New South Africa, the ways in which they construct

the idea of the New South Africa differs. The idea of the New South Africa is therefore neither given nor fixed and stable.

Furthermore, as I have suggested, these particular constructions, while they might reflect the relative positions of *The Star* and *Sowetan* and those of their respective readers, are not necessarily intentional. The point is that language or communication is never neutral, it always encodes an ideological position or point of view.

Communication is dependent on signs to work, and signs have social meaning. However, communication also involves choice. We choose one sign rather than another to denote the same referent and we then choose how to put these choices together. However, the reasons for choosing one set of signs over another may vary from situation to situation. Therefore, even though they may signify a particular meaning, we cannot assume that the motive for choosing a set of signs corresponds with the meaning produced. The New South Africa relies on signs for its construction. And, therefore, it is possible that it can exist outside of intentionality and motive.

Both of these points have important implications for our understanding of nationalism in general, and indeed for any socially constructed identity. Firstly, it means that we can no longer treat nationalism and national identity as coherent and unified. Instead, it suggests that we should view them as being constituted by specificity and difference.

And, secondly, it questions the view that national identities are intentionally constructed in the ways they are in order to serve particular interests. And, although these constructions may indeed reflect the interests and positions of certain social actors, it does not mean that such constructions are necessarily intentional. Nations and nationalism depend on signs for their construction and reconstruction. And, since signification occurs outside of both motive and intention, it suggests that we should perhaps pay more attention to the unintentional aspects of nationalism.

FRONT PAGE - SOWETAN - TUESDAY, MAY 10, 1994

**Sowetan
Learner**See pages
12 & 13**Sowetan**
Building the NationMay 10
1994
Late
FinalAll prices B0c
(incl VAT)

The world at Mandela's feet

By Tyrone August and Sowetan Correspondent



President-elect
Nelson
Mandela
enters
Parliament
chambers
accompanied
by former
President FW
de Klerk and
Deputy-
President-elect
Thabo Mbeki.
PIC/AP

TODAY will see the climax of a breathtaking two days in the history of South Africa. Nelson Mandela, elected by Parliament in Cape Town yesterday as South Africa's new president, will be inaugurated in the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

His election yesterday was an event filled with joy and emotion. It started with outgoing President FW de Klerk leading Mandela into the chamber of Parliament.

They continued to enthusiastic applause from newly elected MPs and guests in the public gallery.

Mandela also embraced Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthe when he saw him walking towards him.

The land of conflict was seeing a momentous event unfolding every few minutes.

At 12.12pm, Mrs Albertina Sisulu rose to nominate Mandela as president. Exactly three minutes later, Mandela was elected president.

Today's inauguration will mark yet another memory that will always be treasured. It will be attended by a galaxy of the world's leaders and members of royalty.

Representatives of 122 countries and inter-governmental organisations will be at the inauguration. Special tickets were also made available to 150 000 members of the public.

Millions more will follow the event live on TV. The SABC, BBC, CNN and Sky Television will flash the inauguration around the world.

At 11am, Mandela will take the oath of office. His vice-presidents, Thabo Mbeki and FW de Klerk, will be sworn in as well. At 11.45am, Mandela will give a 20 minute address from a dais on the lawn in front of the Union Buildings.

After the inauguration, there will be an inauguration luncheon for 1 250 invited guests.

During the luncheon, dining quarters from schools in the Pretoria and Verwoerdburg areas will be entertaining.

Another 5 000 guests will be attending a second luncheon on the lawn to the west of the Union Buildings.

Accented - dubbed "Many cultures One Nation" - will take place on the lawn as well.

It will feature some of South Africa's most popular musicians. Among these will be former exiles Miriam Makeba, Abdullah Ibrahim and Jonas Gwangwa.

They will be joined by the likes of Johnny Clegg, Mango Groove, Skopville Khumalo and Luthando.

Black Mambazo Dance company will also perform. Mandela will then fly to Johannesburg to watch a part of a soccer match between South Africa and Zambia at Ellis Park.

And so will come to an end one of the most momentous days in the life of the reborn South Africa.



INAUGURATION SPECIAL

To celebrate the crowning of Nelson Mandela as State President, we bring you a special souvenir edition that includes:

- The history of the Union Buildings where the events will take place.
- The profile of the Judge who will install Mandela.
- The African connection at the ceremony.
- The list of guests who are attending.
- The menu and galleries of the day.

- The history of the struggle that today's events culminate.
- The cabinet as it stands today, and their biographies.
- Profiles on the two deputy presidents and messages from all over the world.

See pages 22 to 42

Appendix B

FRONT PAGE - SOWETAN - WEDNESDAY, MAY 11, 1994

ASCENSION DAY

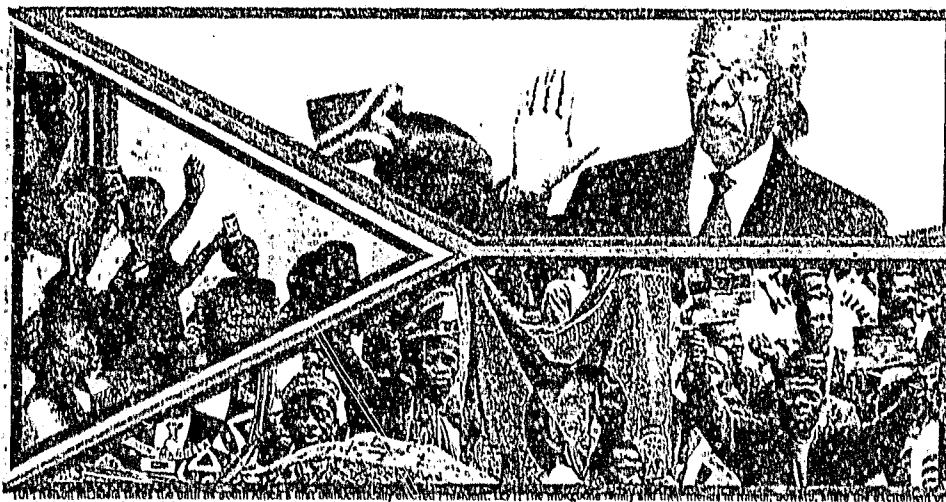
Sowetan will not be on sale tomorrow, Ascension Day. Your favourite news paper will be back on Friday with its normal wide range of news, features, columns, all the weekend sports previews and the Sowetan Learner. Don't miss your Sowetan on Friday.

Sowetan

Building the Nation

Wednesday
May 11
1994
Late
Final

All areas 80c
(incl VAT)



THE NEW PRESIDENT OF SOUTH AFRICA, NELSON MANDELA, IS SEEN IN THE FOREGROUND AT THE INauguration CEREMONIES. TO HIS RIGHT, THE NEW VICE PRESIDENT, FREDDY MAMABAZO, IS SEEN. THE DAY IN FRONT OF THEIR TV SET. RIGHT: Soccer fans at the South Africa-Zambia match refused to be robbed of the inauguration celebrations.

KOHINOOR WORLD OF MUSIC
LATEST TAPES \$1.00

DEA DEE THIN REBECCA Limey Wam	Lazarus Kpepeli, Love is a Dangerous Game John Chibadura, Mkhosi Government Ngwenya Dima, Nyamuzo Z.G.N., Mkhosi Udo Mkhazima, Yet In Nkosi Tawere Tawere, Tawere Tawere Dance Z.G.N., Mkhosi Thika, Chocolate Tampo Tshola, The Village Pope Ntobeko, Ntobeko Derrick Ndumbe, Bompomp Jaza I Ntobeko Ivangelist Loxolo, Ghanawake Mzwakhe Mbuli, Afrika Vol. 20, Klamazone Vol 4 Phuzikhemali, Intibizo Elias Daloyi, Xosrovos Amadodana Ase Wesile, Mzila Ngondo Zulu Barokoa Comedee, Inkundoko Johnny Mkhosi, O Manki Wame Barokoi E Morena, Mkhosi Pela Teanet, U Thikhi Thakisa Thomas Chauke, Chumatsatza No. 13 Soul Brothers, Vain Umkhosi Leonard Dumbo, Kinyisa Mzimba Dzuliso, Mkhosi Mkhosi, Mkhosi Conny Chauke, Dukoza Umkhosi, Ukhosi Umkhosi, Ukhosi Dystney, Boko Moko Section 224 Mob City The Club Masters Various, Groove City Vol 3 Peter Mokaba & The ANC Youth, Wozu Nkukheli Boko Dance Band, Tama C1 Joy L.A. Beat 3, The Real Thing Peter Mlungwane, Mingo Lendzi Nyoka	AL NOEMA Cinema Umo Zulu BLASH Why? L.B. MAMBAZO Ukhosi
--	---	---

HAWKERS WEI COME! - MORE THAN 60 000 TITLES TO CHOOSE FROM

Madiba reigns

By Josiah Charlie

MANDELA'S INauguration ceremony, the first of the African National Congress, was seen in at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday as the first black President of South Africa.

Africa 11 was a moving ceremony attended by heads of state from around the world and by thousands of South Africans and watched by millions on television. Apartheid died with the transfer of power from National Party leader Mr F.W. de Klerk to Mandela and the world danced.

After taking the oath of office at about 12.30pm, Mandela, fondly called by his clan name Madiba, pledged the new government of national unity to liberating all people from the continuing bondage of poverty, deprivation and suffering.

He also paid tribute to the Klerk and praised the security forces for their role in helping to deliver the new South Africa. Mandela called it a "miracle" that the time for the change had come.

come "The time to build is upon us."

He said South Africa had not lost its "rich cultural emancipation".

"We commit ourselves to the construction of a complete, just and lasting peace," Mandela said.

As a token of its commitment to the new country, the new Government of National Unity would urgently address the issue of amnesty for various categories of persons who are currently serving jail terms.

Mandela also called for national reconciliation, nation building and for the birth of a new world.

"Let there be peace for all. Let there be peace for all. Let there be work, bread, water and salt for all. Let each know that for each the body, the mind and the soul have been freed to fulfil themselves," Mandela said.

He concluded: "Never, never, never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another nation. It is the mind-givers of being the shock of the world."

"Let us all join together in the struggle for a new South Africa."

INSIDE

What the President said

See page 8

All the colour and the fashion

See page 9

FRONT PAGE - THE STAR - TUESDAY, MAY 10, 1994

INSIDE

Who'll be our First Lady?

The Star

TUESDAY MAY 10 1994

SPORT

Doctor gets his orders

95c

15c

70c

Seal of approval

This is a special stamp to be used by the Post Office to seal the new President's official seal. It is a commemorative stamp featuring the new President's official seal and the words 'Seal of approval'.

SA becomes a beacon of hope as President Mandela takes oath of office

We're on top of the world

SA becomes a beacon of hope as President Mandela takes oath of office

In the presence of those assembled here and in the presence of the people of South Africa, I, Nelson Mandela, President of the Republic of South Africa, do hereby take the oath of office and assume the duties of the office of President of the Republic of South Africa.

I, Nelson Mandela, President of the Republic of South Africa, do hereby take the oath of office and assume the duties of the office of President of the Republic of South Africa.

I, Nelson Mandela, President of the Republic of South Africa, do hereby take the oath of office and assume the duties of the office of President of the Republic of South Africa.

Mandela and FW express optimism

President Nelson Mandela and President F.W. de Klerk, both smiling, are seen in a group photo after the inauguration ceremony. They are surrounded by other officials and family members.

Gore's night at the Market

President Bill Clinton and Vice President Al Gore are seen at a night event at the Market. They are surrounded by a large crowd of people and are seen interacting with them.

Duty to be here - Castro

President Fidel Castro is seen at a night event. He is surrounded by a large crowd of people and is seen interacting with them.

Appendix E

FRONT PAGE - THE STAR - WEDNESDAY, MAY 11, 1994

INSIDE TONIGHT Theatre whiz kid set to charm SA

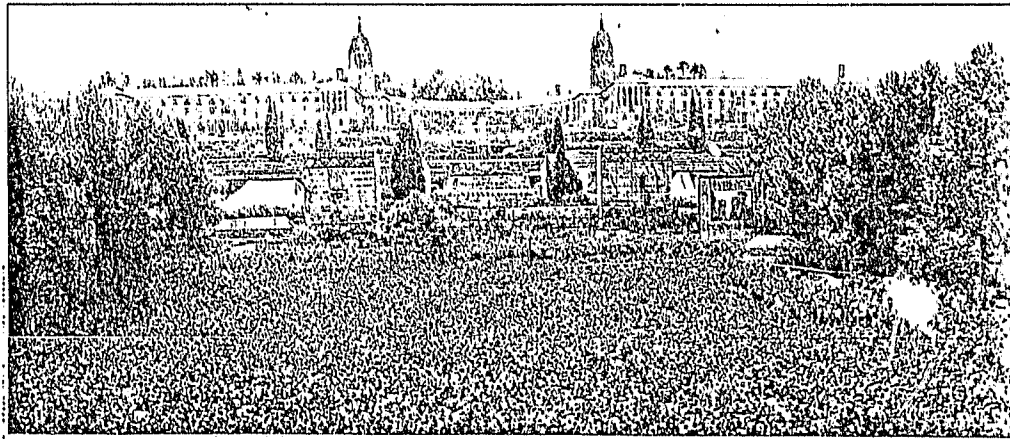
SPORT England geared up for SA tour

The Star WEDNESDAY MAY 11 1994

R1 10 PWV (R1 40 ELSEWHERE)

We enter into a covenant that we shall build a society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity — a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world.

The rainbow covenant



BY JACQUES GONZALEZ
SAIZIA MYATONISA and
GERT WITTEKAMP

President Nelson Mandela officially announced the highest order in the land yesterday and some 100,000 people gathered to witness the ceremony. The president, who was sworn in as the first black president of the new South Africa, was seen in a powerful, dignified manner as he addressed the crowd. He spoke of the challenges ahead and the need for unity and reconciliation. The ceremony took place in a large, open field, with the crowd stretching far into the distance. The atmosphere was one of solemnity and hope.



Top: Tens of thousands gather on the grounds of the Union Buildings to witness Nelson Mandela being sworn in as president. Above: Deputy President F.W. de Klerk and Thabo Mbeki flank Mandela yesterday.

Freedom is their reward
In a fitting symbol for reconciliation, the president said "This day for the healing of the wounds has come. The moment to help the chosen that divide us has come. This time to build is now."

beautiful country as are the famous jacaranda trees of Pretoria and the misty hills of the bushveld.

"Each time one of us touches the soil of this land, we feel a sense of personal renewal. Many moments during the extraordinary day underscored the

More reports, pictures
— Pages 2, 3, 8, 10,
11, 14 and 15

Full text of Mandela's
speech — Page 15

Complete by phone service
— Pages 25 to 31

restitutionary nature of the
changes that have occurred in
South Africa since 1990.

It was when the country
was young and just getting
started, when Mandela was
arrested by the white
minority government and spent
27 years in prison. He was
a man of peace and
reconciliation. He was a
man who believed in the
power of love and
forgiveness. He was a
man who believed in the
power of the people. He
was a man who believed
in the power of the
rainbow.

The military capitalises on
the day for decades against
Mandela's ANC and the
President's office were now
described as his home.

to Page 3

Great day for local soccer and Tshwete

BEYER REPORTERS
South Africa's national soccer team, the Bafana Bafana, had a great day yesterday as they played a friendly match against the national team of Zimbabwe. The match was held at the FNB Stadium in Johannesburg and was a highly anticipated event. The Bafana Bafana, led by captain Tshwete, put up a strong performance and won the match 2-1. The victory was a significant boost for the team and the fans. The match was a testament to the skill and determination of the players and the support of the fans.

New lessons in harmony

**BY JACQUES GONZALEZ
SAIZIA MYATONISA and
GERT WITTEKAMP**
A row of people stood respectfully in the streets of Johannesburg yesterday, watching the parade of the new South African flag. The flag, which is a symbol of unity and reconciliation, was carried by a group of young people, representing the future of the country. The parade was a significant event, marking the beginning of a new era in South African history. The people watched the parade with pride and hope, knowing that this was a day of great importance for the nation.

INSURING BY PHONE THE WAY TO GO

Undoubtedly insuring your motor vehicles and household by phone, as pioneered by Auto & General, is the way to go. The immediacy, flexibility in terms of changes to policies and speedy processing of claims is undisputed.

Complete by phone service over 40 years of age as well as for civil servants and pensioners.

Policyholder says it all. Here's what civil servant Mr D.S. Green of Pretoria has to say:

"I couldn't help but notice your advertisement offering special rates for civil servants. I phoned Auto & General's hotline and gave my details over the phone. I was given a quotation there and then and was amazed at how low a rate I qualified for, certainly much less than I was paying of had been quoted by other insurance companies."

I am very impressed with the service and found the telephone consultant most helpful. I'm sorry I didn't insure with Auto & General sooner."

Doing it by phone. So, if you're thinking of switching your motor and household insurance, by doing it by phone. You can phone Auto & General and obtain a quotation in a few minutes. It's as easy as that. Should you take out a policy or subsequently need to amend it, you do it by phone too.

Special Rates. Auto & General also offer special rates for persons.

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