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2020

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Sekhonyane, Phumla (2020) A critical discourse analysis of rhetorical strategies used by South Africa's President, Cyril Ramaphosa:the case of the State of the Nation Addresses 2018 - 2019, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, <http://hdl.handle.net/10539/30052>

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A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF RHETORICAL STRATEGIES USED BY SOUTH AFRICA'S PRESIDENT, CYRIL RAMAPHOSA: THE CASE OF THE STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESSES 2018 – 2019.

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A research report submitted to the Wits School of Education, Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Education by combination of coursework and research.

Johannesburg, 2020

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.



Phumla Sekhonyane

15th day of September in the year 2020

DEDICATION

This research report is dedicated to my mother whose strength and resilience taught me self – reliance.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This journey has been long and ardours and I have so many people to thank for supporting me until I reached this point. First, I would like to thank Dr Ana Ferreira and Dr Grant Andrews who supervised this work and helped shape an ambitious and scary undertaking. Your patience and allowing me to dream whilst ensuring that I am focussed has helped me to reach the point of finality. I would also like to thank Professor Hilary Janks who sparked my interest in the field of discourse analysis and has been part of my academic journey over the years. I am also grateful for a circle of women whom I can happily call 'friends of my mind' who believe in true empowerment of women through education.

Juggling a busy work schedule and education at the same time has meant many hours away from my family. I would like to thank my husband, son, mother and my sisters for being my constant pillars of support.

Table of Contents

1.1 Introduction 1

1.1.1 Historical Context of the State of the Nation Address 3

1.1.2 The Background on Rhetoric of South African Presidents 4

1.2 Research Aim 9

1.3 Research Questions 10

1.4. Rationale 10

2. Literature Review 13

2.1. Theoretical Framework 14

2.1.1 Historical Underpinnings of Critical Language Studies and Discourse 14

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis 16

2.3 Rhetoric 22

2.3.1 Presidential Speech in Context – President Ramaphosa's State of the Nation Address as an Inaugural and Annual Address 24

2.3.4 State of the Nation Address as a Discursive Practice 27

2.3.5 Gaps in literature 30

3. Research Methodology 33

3.1 Research Data Set 33

3.2 Data Collection Method 33

3.3 Sampling Method 34

3.4 Research Design 34

3.5 Method of Analysis 34

3.5.1 Critical Discourse Analysis as a method of analysis 36

3.5.2 Fairclough's Model of Discourse Analysis 37

3.5.3 Rhetorical devices 45

3.5.4 Coding 45

4. Data Analysis 47

4.1 Conditions of Production 47

4.1.1 Institutional Context 47

4.1.2 Social Context 55

4.2 Process of Production and Consumption 58

4.2.1 Actors 58

4.2.2 Drawing from Existing Discourses 60

4.3 Text Analysis 68

4.3.1 Interpersonal Function: Language of Hope and Renewal 69

4.3.2 Ideational Function: Representation of Experience 73

4.3.3 Textual Function: Language of Structure and Cohesion 75

4.3.4 Rhetoric of Uniting the people of South Africa – Manufacturing Consent 77

5. DISCUSSION 80

6. CONCLUSION 85

REFERENCE LIST 89

ABSTRACT

This study provides an academic enquiry into presidential rhetoric and how it is employed in presidential speeches to reinforce and maintain power relations. It seeks to analyse how the President Cyril Ramaphosa constructs the reality he seeks to present to the people using rhetorical strategies during the State of the Nation Address (SONA). The study addresses a much-neglected aspect in the field of language, presidential speeches and the State of the Nation Address, particularly in South Africa – this involves how politicians draw from existing discourses to create text in order to shape social realities for the public. This is done through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as a method of analysis, in order to ascertain how language is deployed in order to shape social realities, to reinforce ideologies and maintain power. This study also illuminates how democracy is negotiated and projected through use of rhetorical language.

KEY WORDS: Critical Discourse Analysis, Rhetoric, Presidential Speeches, Language, Power, Ideology

Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

The critical role of language within political culture cannot be underestimated. Politicians across the political spectrum rely on the spoken or written word to both influence and to garner support from the public or constituent groups. As argued by Alo (2012), speeches by politicians are crafted with the desire to persuade the nation on their policies, plans and actions. Therefore, this study concerns itself with how presidents use rhetoric to construct citizens' 'reality' in order to legitimise their presidency and spur policy shifts. It particularly looks at how Presidents, by way of packaging their messages, mould the kind of society they want, using rhetoric, and in turn sell it back to us as citizens. This study is significantly grounded on the fundamental aspects which inform good political arguments explained by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) below:

> "All arguments have logical, rhetorical and dialectical aspects, and need to be analysed in logical, rhetorical and dialectical terms." (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p.12).

Therefore, this project will focus on arguments carried in political speeches which can be found in the Annual State of the Nation Address (SONA); it is particularly the rhetorical aspect which is the main interest of the study. The SONA is viewed as an important site of analysis as it provides a sitting president an opportunity to give his or her own assessment of the country's status and conditions, as well as reviewing progress made over the past year and plans for the year ahead. According to Daniel, Habib and Southall (2003) this occasion represents how Government wishes to present themselves to the people and is likely to be an overstated performance and hyperbolised performance. Africa Check, an intracontinental organisation, has been committed to verifying facts from fiction on successes presented by politicians in their speeches and statements, including the SONA speeches (Africa Check, 2018). The findings from their practice has affirmed the argument being made by this study, that rhetorical strategies, including language use, play a significant role in managing public perceptions about state capacity in order to maintain existing power relations.

This study selects three speeches delivered by South African President Cyril Ramaphosa in the early period of his Presidency. These are, the State of the Nation Addresses delivered on 16 February 2018, 07 February 2019, as well as 20 June 2019. These speeches are particularly important as they are delivered during a transitional period from the presidency of Mr Jacob Zuma (the former president of South Africa, from 2009 to 2018) to the Presidency of Mr Cyril Ramaphosa. They could be viewed as defining and setting the tone for Mr Ramaphosa's Presidency.

The State of the Nation Address on 16 February 2018 was delivered exactly two months after the 54th Conference of South Africa's Governing party, the African National Congress (ANC). At this conference, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa was elected as the President of the ANC. This is his first speech as the President of both the country and the ANC. It would therefore be expected that this speech would set the tone for a marked shift from the status quo and an interesting site for rhetorical analysis.

The second speech that is selected is the State of the Nation Address delivered on 7 February 2019. This is a year after Mr Ramaphosa had been in office and would have had the benefit of understanding what needed to be done and to determine policy direction.

The third speech was delivered on 20 June 2019, after the 6th Democratic Elections. This speech is important given that it is his maiden speech in the 6th Administration of Government. It could be construed as horizon setting just as an inaugural speech of the President in the 6th Term. It should provide valuable insight into how Ramaphosa plans to run the country, how he convinces people to trust his leadership and support his presidency.

Having selected the speeches that will be analysed, it is critical to explore and understand the importance given to the State of the Nation Address in South Africa's political system. The section below will briefly contextualise the SONA as a parliamentary practice in order locate its strategic fit as a site of analysis for this study.

1.1.1 Historical Context of the State of the Nation Address

Each year, the President of the Republic of South Africa calls a sitting of parliament to deliver a speech referred to as the State of the Nation Address (SONA). The SONA is delivered to a joint sitting of the two houses of parliament, that is, the National Assembly as well as the National Council of Provinces. The occasion also signifies the official opening of parliament and there is no Constitutional obligation for the delivery of the SONA. The Constitution does however empower a sitting President to call a joint sitting of parliament to deal with 'special business' (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). The Joint Rules of Parliament Chapter 2 (7) (1a) makes a specific refence to the delivery of an Annual Address (Parliament, 2009).

Rahman (2009) argues that the practice of the delivery of the SONA can be traced back to South Africa's adoption of certain traditions from the British Parliamentary system as a member of the Commonwealth. In the British System, the Queen delivers the State Opening, a speech prepared by the government of the day which outlines its policies, legislative proposals, and plans for the year ahead. Similarly, the South African Presidents in the democratic dispensation have used the State of the Nation Address to account on the past performance of government as well as to outline key priorities and areas of focus in the coming year.

The practice of the Address by the President to the Nation is not unique to the South African or British system, the equivalent of this in the United States of America, for example, is referred to as the State of the Union Address. The US Constitution obligates the President to, from time to time provide information to the Congress on the State of the Union (US Constitution, Article II, Section 3, Clause 1).

The importance given to the Annual Presidential Address, referred to as the SONA in the South African context, renders it into an interesting site for rhetorical analysis and critical discourse analysis. In the main, SONA's importance is drawn from its function of reporting government's delivery over the previous year and plans for the year ahead as explained by the Director General of the Government Communications Information Services (GCIS), Ms Pumla Williams who argued that:

> "It reflects what Government did in the past year and also highlights what the focus areas of the current administration will be" (More, 2019)

The above statement positions the SONA as a communications practice to inform citizens of state successes and plans. The State of the Nation Address can also be characterised as part of the Presidential communication. Presidential communication is an important part of modern systems of democracy. Many studies have been devoted to how Presidents communicate their message to the public (Medhurst, 1996; Ryfe, 2005 and Tulis, 1987). Early studies of presidential communication which are grounded in political science, have mainly focussed on two types of presidential communication, that is, the Public Presidency and the Rhetorical Presidency (Ryfe, 2005). Public Presidency came as a result of a move away from the Legislative focus in the Presidency "to going Public" (Ryfe, 2005, p.5). Rhetorical Presidency on the other hand places a focus on persuasion.

Adegoju (2012) argues that the upsurge of scholarly interest in the genre of presidential discourse, particularly how presidents exploit the interactive nature of Presidential Rhetoric to construct social reality, revolves around language and power. This study will use the method of Critical Discourse Analysis which "concerns itself with the way in which power relations produced by discourse are maintained and / or challenged through texts" (Locke, 2004, p.38).

Stucky quoted in Adegoju (2012, p. 68) argues that "Presidential Rhetoric and the symbols associated with presidential rhetoric matter. Presidents potentially possess an enormously important power over our national definitions. They help constitute us as nation through the symbolic performance of their office. Their rhetoric has instrumental effects on policy".

Since advent of democracy, there has been studies that have been conducted on the South Africa's former Presidents, which include, Sheckles (2001), Rahman (2009) and Thwala (2010). Below is a brief look at the rhetoric of some of South Africa's presidents in the post democratic dispensation.

1.1.2 The Background on Rhetoric of South African Presidents

President Nelson Mandela's Rhetoric

Mr Nelson Mandela became the President of South Africa after a long-drawn struggle for human rights and equality. South Africa held its first democratic elections on the 27th April 1994, where all eligible voters, in recognition of the universal suffrage, were given an opportunity to choose a leader of their choice to head the country. Prior to this, South Africa was characterised by a system of laws and social practices which promoted the superiority of

a white minority and the subjugation of a black majority. The system of a racial hierarchy and segregation was codified in the laws of the land. The Population Registration Act recognised three main racial classifications, that is, white, native and coloured, with whites being at the top of the hierarchy and natives (read as blacks) being at the lower end (Joyce, 2007).

During his inaugural address on 10 May 1994, Mr. Nelson Mandela, the first president of a democratic South Africa said:

> "Today all of us do, by our presence here, and by our celebrations in other parts of the country, confer glory and hope to new-born liberty. Out of the experience of an extraordinary human disaster that lasted too long, must be born a society of which all humanity will be proud…Never , never, and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world. Let freedom reign. The sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement" (MacArthur,1999, p. 498-499).

This clarion call for human solidarity and peaceful coexistence would characterise Mandela's speeches during his Presidency. Scheckles (2001) makes the same point that an analysis of 15 speeches delivered by Mandela, spanning his presidency, reveal that he increasingly used the language of commonality in his addresses. He also argues that Mr. Mandela dealt realistically with the problems facing South Africa and offered its people boundless optimism about a common destiny for the racially diverse nation that South Africa is.

Welsh (1970) makes the point that the multi-racial nature of the South African society has long presented a challenge to its political leaders. Whilst the apartheid government exploited its multi-racial nature to create a system of a racial hierarchy, the new democratically elected government sought to create a society based on freedom, equality and dignity for all (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). This quest for unity is evident in Mandela's use of the language of commonality as stated above.

Mandela remains acclaimed for his ability to have a message that had wide and cross-cultural appeal amongst South Africans. His presidency was also characterised by a sense of an inclusive national identity. It is also during this period that slogans such a 'the *rainbow nation*', coined by Bishop Desmond Tutu to denote an inclusive common humanity, gained popularity. Tshawane (2009) traces the notion of the Rainbow Nation in the thinking of Desmond Tutu to a combination of three doctrines, that is: Imago Dei, the creation of people in the image of God;

Inter-dependence, the African Spirit of Ubuntu; as well as Ecclesiology, which represents the kingdom of God on earth. Tshawane argues that by characterising South Africa as a Rainbow Nation, "Tutu sought a universal vision of inclusive humanity which transcends the barriers of race, class, tribe, religion, and other forms of sectarianism" (Tshawane, 2009, p. I). Mandela's vision of a non-racial and democratic South Africa goes on to dominate his rhetoric in the years leading to the first democratic elections and his presidency (Brockett, 2005).

Sheckles (2001) however says Mandela had a lot of Ethos to draw from in making his speeches. Ethos forms part of the 3 essential elements of an argument or persuasion as outlined by the classical rhetorician, Aristotle. Audiences make up their minds on the basis of the 3 elements, that is, *Ethos*, a term that denotes the good character and credibility of the speaker; *Pathos,* an appeal to the emotions of the audience; and *Logos*, the use of logic to persuade the audience (Lancaster, 2010). Whilst Mandela used language skilfully to persuade audiences of the commonalities amongst the human race, Sheckles argues that his character made his message acceptable to the audiences. The fact that he spent 27 years in prison for the ideals of freedom and equality for all made audiences more receptive to his message.

The Rhetoric of President Mbeki

President Thabo Mbeki succeeded President Nelson Mandela in 1999. An analysis of his selected speeches reveals that that his rhetorical technique relied more on *Logos* and P*athos*, with *Ethos* rarely being used compared to Mandela (Rahman, 2009). His focus was on redress for the past injustices and asserting African Identity, which he referred to as "the larger project of our self-definition" (Rahman, 2009, p. 24). Rahman (2009) quotes a passage in his inaugural speech as president where he talks about an unjust society that needs to be replaced. Mbeki describes the unjust system of apartheid, which he euphemistically refers to as society as brutish in the extreme, that has over centuries condemned millions of people to a catastrophic loss of identity and dignity.

The theme of redress and self-assertion, however, precedes his ascension to the Presidency and continues well into his first and second term. His speech of South Africa being 'two nations in one' demonstrates this point. The speech was delivered whilst he was the Deputy President, on the occasion of a debate in parliament on 'Reconciliation and Nation Building' on 29 May 1998 (Bloom, 2011). In this speech, Mbeki makes the assertion that South Africa is a country of two nations, one white and relatively prosperous, which has ready access to a developed economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructure. He argues that the

second, and larger nation of South Africa is black and poor, with the worst affected being women in rural areas and the black urban population. The speech earned the then deputy president a lot of criticism as it was viewed as a careful deconstruction of the *rainbow nation* (Bloom, 2011). Sithole (2014) underscores this point when he describes the 'Two Nations' speech as a digression from the myth of a *rainbow nation* and points out the fault lines of the racialised inequality.

Johnson (2019) describes Mbeki as being very much in the mould of African Independent thinkers such as Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, and Julius Nyerere. One of his most defining speeches with regard to the assertion of African identity is a speech he delivered on the occasion of the adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, aptly titled 'I am an African'. Bond and Filatova quoted in Singh (2006, p.164) however point out the contradictions in Mbeki's rhetoric of asserting African Independence whilst courting transnational corporate and multilateral forces such as the G8 countries. These authors also argue that Mbeki re-racialises South Africa's political economy and inverts the class structure through the legitimation of a new elite. Hence his recall as President of the country was objected to by the elite who could not accept his political successor Jacob Zuma.

President Jacob Zuma's Rhetoric

Mr Jacob Zuma's leadership was characterised by various forms of rhetoric at various periods during his term of office. His rhetoric moved from derogatory depictions of the elite to cultural appeals for ethnic mobilisation, and later on to the rhetoric on White Monopoly Capital. Mr Zuma used cultural symbols, language and history to legitimise his rhetoric in his efforts to mobilise support from the Zulu nationalists in KwaZulu–Natal (KZN).

Twala (2010) argues that through Zuma's cultural rhetoric, the ANC managed to infiltrate the province and consolidated support, using Zuma as an electioneering machine which brought undesirable results for the opposition Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in KZN. During the 2004 national polls, the ANC took power from the IFP through the ballot, and the cultural rhetoric employed by Zuma delivered the 68% ANC win in KZN (Twala, 2010).

The ethnic mobilisation efforts by Zuma dislodged the IFP hegemony in KZN and earned him support from Zulu King Zwelithini, who equally associated with both parties, which assisted in reducing the perception that the ANC was less Zulu (Ndletyana & Maaba, 2012).

These cultural rhetorical acts and speeches played a pivotal role in ensuring Zuma's ascension to ANC presidency and in attaining the highest votes in KZN since the founding of the party. As the State President, Zuma was not addressing the national and international audiences, therefore cultural rhetoric seemed to disguise anti-intellectualism, anti-elite sentiment and some subtle racism. His rhetoric was bordering on politics of hate and divisive leadership. In 2012, he referred to black intellectuals as "clever blacks" when he said; "Even some Africans, who become too clever, take a position, they become the most eloquent in criticising themselves about their own traditions and everything" (van Onselen, 2013).

He further perpetuated racial stereotypes when he made exclusionary remarks that taking care of dogs was un-African. He would make these assertions as though he was affirming blackness and promoting African culture, but his statements problematised being white and being a privileged black as reported in the media:

> "True, there is general reportage that alleged Zuma had argued spending money on a dog and taking it to the vet was 'unAfrican', but there is no actual quote from the President. The result of all this, is that an accompanying derogatory and racist sentiment from the President, about 'whiteness' and hair straightener, was largely overlooked" (van Onselen, 2013).

The most striking observation on all rhetoric used by South Africa's past presidents is the fact that they sought to define the national identity or continental identity. Mandela embraced diversity and unity in the country. Mbeki asserted African excellence and development – he dispelled the notion of Africa as a dark continent. Zuma divided the country according to class and race; through his rhetoric he used depictions and name calling to demonise others such as white businessowners, calling them part of white monopoly capital, and referring to black intellectuals as "clever blacks". Therefore, the kind of rhetoric has shown the personal position of each president, as well as the political climate and the social context as which these speeches or statements are made.

Critical Discourse Analysis is a method that will be utilised in this study to analyse President Ramaphosa's rhetoric, in order to reflect on the context which frames the kind of rhetoric he uses. Whilst the language of persuasion in contemporary society is synonymous with pomposity and grandiloquence, this study will explore its use as a critical tool in leadership, that is, a tool of deliberation and decision making (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005). Chateris-

Black (2005) makes the assertion that the most important type of behaviour by which leaders mobilise their followers is through their linguistic performance.

This research will explore the linguistic performances of the current state President in contemporary South Africa during the SONA addresses. In addition, in line with CDA's focus on social justice, the study will explore the ways that these speeches are used to construct positions of power in South Africa, and how the speeches might reinforce hegemonic structures that feed into social inequalities. In addition to exploring rhetorical elements, the speeches will thus be critically assessed for their potential to bring about social change as well as their conditions of production and reception in order to offer recommendations about how SONA's can be more conscious of their role in shaping social discourse and addressing the needs of the marginalised and disempowered.

1.2 Research Aim

Language and Politics

This study seeks to establish how the South African President, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, uses persuasive techniques in the delivery of State of the Nation Addresses in order to influence public perception on the state capacity to deliver on the citizens' expectations and to project a favourable image in the eyes of the audiences. It starts from the premise that all texts including speeches are designed by making conscious and unconscious choices from available options in the language system (Halliday, 1973). The choices for persuasive techniques include: the skilful use of rhetorical devices, the selection and combination of languages (code-switching), para-linguistics (volume and intonation), syntactic and lexical combinations, and the ability to read and connect with audiences to achieve effective expression. This study examines how these techniques, which will be defined as rhetorical strategies, are used for persuasion.

The definition of rhetoric that is used in this research is the one offered by Herrick (2005) who argues that rhetoric is the ability to speak persuasively about the chosen topic of discussion.

The overarching theoretical framework used in this study is Critical Discourse Analysis, particularly Fairclough's model of Critical Discourse Analysis (1989, 1995) as a method of analysis, together with theories from van Dijk and Wodak as some of the leading theorists in the field. Classical rhetoric literature is utilised to define rhetoric, however, Liam (2008) assists in theorising and in distinguishing the types of rhetoric used in political speeches.

Three of President Cyril Ramaphosa's State of the Nation Address speeches are used as the units of analysis. The speeches are delivered during the joint sitting of the two parliamentary houses, that is, the National Assembly as well as the National Council of Provinces. As previously mentioned, the President presents the achievements of the previous year and the planned programs for the year ahead. This is followed by a debate where various political formations would express their interpretations of the current political and socio-economic state of the country. Therefore, through language and other forms of communication, the state, through the President presents its own version of where South Africa is and where it should be going. This study seeks to explore how the State's version is constructed using language and other forms of expression. This aim leads to the following research questions:

1.3 Research Questions

1. What rhetorical strategies were deployed by President Ramaphosa during the 2018 and 2019 State of the Nation Addresses?

2. What influences the content of the speeches?

3. How is language used to disguise unequal relations of power in the SONA speech?

4. How is language used to create, re-create and maintain social order through the state of the nation address?
5. How does the President use language to create or shape a national identity for South Africa?

1.4. Rationale

Language plays an important role in everyday political practice. Politicians spend a great deal of their time communicating messages to convince audiences of the strength or value of their ideas. These messages are delivered through, among other forms, political speeches, media interviews, parliamentary debates, and media releases. Chateris-Black (2005, p.1) underscores this point when he says, "In democratic frameworks it is primarily through language that leaders legitimise their leadership."

The mode and manner of delivery of political speeches has over time received a lot of attention in social sciences, particularly in the academic areas such as Political Rhetoric, Discourse Analysis, Political Communication, and Political Linguistics (McQuail in Hawkesworth, 2002, p.481). According to Atwater (2007), the Barack Obama phenomenon, which has become synonymous with eloquence and good political oratory skills, has also brought political rhetoric into sharp focus, and has been contrasted with Obama's successor, Donald Trump. His style of persuasion involves much more a language of fear and insults to achieve political ends (Gounari, 2018).

Modern politics has come to require not only good policies but also persuasive skills to communicate those policies, that is, a balance between the content and the form of communication. This becomes apparent in Windt's (1986) argument that presidents have three areas of power available to them, namely constitutional power as provided in the Constitution of the Republic, political power as head of his party and public opinion power. Windt defines the public opinion power as the power to persuade the audiences.
Stuckey (2010) explains that modern-day politics features a notion where presidents do not only have to use persuasion to convince their colleagues in parliament, but they have an opportunity to directly seek public support through persuasive language.

Several studies have been conducted into South Africa's Political rhetoric and discourse. Among previous works, two studies are worth mentioning because of their proximity to the research goals of this study. These are the study of political rhetoric and policy initiatives in South Africa from 1994 to 2000, by Van Audenhove (2003) and the study of conceptual metaphors in South African political speeches from 1994-2001, by Malan (2008). Van Audenhove's study focuses on the conceptualisation of the information society in political discourse, and contends that a study of political statements and speeches shows that the absence of a formal vision of the information society manifests itself in the fragmented nature of reference to the information society in political speeches and statements.

Malan's study, on the other hand, identifies key conceptual metaphors from political speeches given between 1994 and 2001. Looking at the speeches of the leaders of three major political parties, that is, the African National Congress, the New National Party, and the Democratic Alliance, he finds differences in the conceptualisations of racism, reconciliation, and democracy from the various parties. This is evident in the choice of metaphors used by these political parties in their speeches. Both of these studies focus on lexical choices in political speeches to determine rhetorical practices in South African politics.

This research seeks to build on the studies already conducted into South Africa's political discourse. It however seeks to broaden the scope of analysis beyond lexical choices expressed through metaphors and examine the use of rhetorical devices in recent presidential speeches to achieve effective expression. The study also seeks to apply CDA in order to explore the social effects of these speeches and how they might relate to issues of power and social change.

Chapter 2:

2. Literature Review

The State of the Nation Address (SONA) is considered to be one of the most momentous annual occurrences in South Africa's political calendar. This causes great anticipation on the part of the audience that often looks forward to hear what Government has achieved in the previous year and what will be its priorities for implementation for the following year. The SONA has rarely been scrutinised and rendered a site for rhetorical analysis. In South Africa today, speech analysis and critical discourse analysis remain understudied academic disciplines. As a consequence, a study which examines rhetorical strategies utilised by the President during the State of the Nation Address is met with complexities as far as theoretical grounding is concerned. This literature review therefore seeks to outline and discuss theories of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and rhetoric in relation to presidential speeches.

The literature review may also be viewed as a structured debate among the leading classical CDA literature of leading theorists as Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and Teun van Dijk who are positioned as renowned theorists in the field. The classical literature is paired up with contemporary literature to validate some claims and substantiate the debate. Moreover, contemporary literature is more significant for the recent and developing areas of discussion such as presidential speeches. This chapter is comprised of three inter-connected sections which critically examine and discuss existing literature to theoretically frame the study.

The first section starts by clarifying the connection between Critical Language Studies (CLS) and Discourse Analysis, which are usually considered to be the same. The section critically examines the work of Wodak (1995), who narrates the historic origins of CLS and considers it a precursor to the CDA. The literature on critical discourse analysis is then discussed with specific emphasis on locating the critical aspects of this discipline, which is centred on challenging power and ideology, thus positions CDA as social practice.

The following section deals with rhetoric and how it manifests in presidential speeches. The section defines rhetoric, provides a brief history of rhetoric and defines types of presidential rhetoric. Then finally, literature on presidential speeches is discussed to outline the context within which the speeches occur and the forms of presidential speeches. This assists in framing the debat

around the SONA given the fact that there are limited studies on state of the nation addresses as social practices and the role of language in managing perceptions.

2.1. Theoretical Framework

2.1.1 Historical Underpinnings of Critical Language Studies and Discourse

The critical perspective in language studies can be traced back to the 1960s and 70s in the classical work of Pêcheux as cited in Wodak's (1995) historical accounts of Critical Language Studies (CLS). Ruth Wodak considers this approach to have been rooted on the works of Bakhtin and Voloshinov, who had postulated an integration of language and social processes in the 1930s. Halliday (1973), began to build on the social view of the language system in asserting that the social was responsible for shaping the system of language. He argued that the state of language is a consequence of its social functions. He considered language to be the genesis of a socio-cultural resource, constituted by "a range of possibilities, an open-ended set of options in behaviour that are available to the individual in his existence as social man" (Halliday, 1973, p. 49).

Halliday therefore shaped linguistic scholarship in the late 70s and Critical Linguistics (CL) began to emerge, notably in the seminal works of Kress & Hodge (1979). Kress and Hodge implied that there is a correlation between linguistic structure and social structure in asserting that discourse fails to exist in the absence of social meanings. Ultimately, this general approach has been refined, broadened, changed and re-applied by other linguists coming from very different traditions, many of whom believe that the relationship between language and the social, because of its complex and multifaceted character, requires interdisciplinary research (Wodak , 1995).

The early 80s saw critical linguistic theorists like Van Dijk identify the origins of the linguistic aspect of discourse beyond sentences and contextually embedded meanings (Wodak, 1995). Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) identifies the relevance of discourse in the study of language processing. The authors developed a cognitive model of discourse linking understanding in individuals and construction of meaning in society, which was based on Halliday's theory of connections between discourse and social meaning.

An overview of the theoretical, historical and the development accounts of critical language studies has arguably relied on Hallidayan linguistics, Bernsteinian sociolinguistics and on classical social philosophers such as Foucault, Habermas, Bakhtin and Voloshinov (Wodak 1996). Therefore, a diverse grouping of critical linguists identified the complexity of the relationship between society and language, as well as language's multifaceted nature, and therefore advocated for an interdisciplinary research method (Fairclough 1989; Fairclough 1995; Wodak 1995; Wiesh and Wodak 1995; Zienkowski, Ostman and Verschueren 2011). These critical linguists postulate Critical Discourse Analysis to be an extension of Hallidayan social-semiotic and grammatical work with an added interdisciplinary analytical methodical aspect (Blamaert and Bulcaen, 2000). Essentially, this suggests that Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis are the same, hence both terms are used interchangeably (Wodak and Meyer, 2001).

In the book *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, Wodak (2009) provides a comprehensive account of the historical origins of discourse analysis. She suggests that the theoretical underpinnings and methods of CDA emerged from a symposium, convened at the University of Amsterdam in January 1991. However, she also makes a strong implication that there is a CDA body of literature that precedes the symposium (Wodak and Meyer, 2001). She makes reference to the works of Van Dijk, in *Discourse and Society* (1990) together with *Language and Power* by Norman Fairclough (1989) in asserting her view that the symposium is not the birthplace of CDA.

Existence of earlier works of CDA can be further demonstrated in the fact that the theoretical origins of this analytical method are the Western Marxist theory of power which sees domination and exploitation as established and maintained culturally and ideologically in the common sense assumptions of everyday occurrences (Fairclough, 2001). The notion of power that Fairclough works with is that it is achieved by the workings of consent and sustained ideologically as conceived by Gramsci (1971). Blamaert and Bulcaen (2000) concur with the above statements and further consider CDA to be grounded on commitment towards social action and the integration of language analysis together with social theory.

They view this as the distinctive feature of CDA from other forms of language analysis. Similarly, Van Dijk considers the commitment toward social action as the role of CDA in arguing that "it is primarily interested and motivated by pressing social issues, which it hopes to better understand through discourse analysis" (Van Dijk,1993, p.252). This offers great potential for the current study, due to the fact that political rhetorical devices have been utilised

in crucial times in the history of South Africa to foster social unity and to work towards peaceful transitions, or to achieve the exact opposite of this, which demonstrates the social aspects in language use.

Michael Meyer, concurs with the above assertion in arguing that:

> "The differences between CDA and other sociolinguistic approaches may be most clearly established with regard to the general principles of CDA. First of all, the nature of the problems with which CDA is concerned with is different in principle from all those methods which do not determine their interest in advance. In general, CDA asks different research questions. CDA scholars play an advocatory role for groups who suffer from social discrimination" (Wodak & Meyer, 2011, p.15).

The historical accounts by Ruth Wodak has framed the relationship between critical linguistics and discourse. This has also been instrumental in exposing that the language and social dynamics in CDA are not new, but originate from CLS.

The purpose of the study is not to merely study the use of language but to understand how language is used in a political speech to disseminate ideology and to maintain power through the use of rhetoric. To achieve the purpose of this study, CLS would be less appropriate and would limit the study's potential, but CDA illuminates various aspects in power and ideology which shape social realities.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) implies that language plays a significant role in reflecting and reproducing social realities, therefore any attempts to understand social processes must take language into consideration (Fairclough 1993, Rogers et.al 2005, Van Dijk 1993 and Wodak 2006). Fairclough (2003) defines discourse as ways of acting, representing and being. Ruth Wodak contends that:

> "CDA can be defined as a problem-orientated interdisciplinary research programme, subsuming a variety of approaches, each with different theoretical models, research methods, and agendas" (Wodak, 2009, p.302)

The problem-orientation aspect of CDA is the distinctive feature which differentiates it from other forms of discourse analysis (Fairclough 1992; Blamaert and Bulcaen 2000; Janks 1997; Kamalu & Akagan 2011 and Roger et.al 2005). Van Dijk (1993) contends that CDA is differentiated from other discourse analysis approaches through its stance of not being aimed at making any contribution to a specific discipline or school of thought but embedded on social issues in pursuit of understanding them through analysis of discourse. Blamaert and Bulcaen (2000) describe this as the critical dimension of CDA which connects language and social structure.

CDA carries the typical critical language theoretical aspects which amplify societal tyrannies to influence human action, such as enlightenment or the realisation of freedoms (Wodak and Meyer 2011). In addition, they concede that this method goes beyond identifying and articulating issues, but also to illuminate the problematic aspects to impacted agents. Fairclough (1995) argues that CDA is utilised in pursuit of highlighting connections that could be possibly hidden from people, such as correlations between language, power and ideology. Therefore, Fairclough puts an emphasis on analysing the linguistic elements in texts, which plays a pivotal role in illuminating generally hidden determinants in the system of social relationships and further emphasises the effects they may exert on the system itself. Ideally, CDA scholars such as Fairclough, van Dijk and Wodak concede that both its critical and discursive nature is concerned with power, ideological and social practice aspects.

a) Power

The role of language in maintaining social power is imperative as stated in Weedon who argues that "language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organisation and their likely social and political consequences are contested" (Weedon,1997, p.21). Yet it is the place where our sense of selves, our subjectivity is constructed". The aspect of power in CDA relates to the Gramscian concept of hegemony where people in society generally have uniformity in views over a particular issue with no consideration of alternatives to the current standing (Fairclough 1989, Wodak 2009). Adrian Blackledge identifies the interest of CDA in analysing power in arguing that:

> "CDA is centrally interested in language and power because it is usually in language that discriminatory practices are enacted, in language that unequal relations of power are constituted and reproduced, and in language that social asymmetries may be challenged and transformed". (Blackledge, 2005,p.5)

Fairclough (1979) defines hegemony as leading to domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological strata in society. He identifies hegemony to be constituted through power over society in its entirety or power by one distinct group to dominate another group. Adrian Blackledge understands CDA to be related to the understanding that language is not powerful if it is operating in isolation, but it becomes powerful through its meanings and how it is used by powerful people. However, "A text is rarely the work of a single individual, but often shows traces of different discourses at play, each struggling for dominance over others" (Weiss and Wodak, 2003, p. 15). Van Dijk (1993) concurs in arguing that dominance is asserted in the exercise of social power by institutions and social groups which perpetuate inequalities. Wodak and Meyer (2011) gave credence to the above assertion in arguing that for CDA, language has an inability to be powerful in isolation of the people who use it within a discursive practice. They explain that CDA is often in solidarity with those who suffer, and critically analyses usage of language by the powerful, who perpetuate inequalities though they might be in a position to improve conditions for the oppressed. Windt (1986) identifies power in presidential speeches as 'power to persuade' which enables the leader to influence public opinion. This is the crux of this study, in terms analysing persuasive language used by President Cyril Ramaphosa to maintain power.

Fairclough (1997), considers mediated power in a democratic setting as hegemony which involves constructing alliances, and integrating rather than simply dominating subordinate classes, through concessions by using ideology to win their consent. He explains that hegemony occurs in various settings in society from large institutions to basic units such as families where power relations are clearly defined. Hegemony does not merely signify dominance, as it also occurs through democratic means in addition to coercion or force (Fairclough, 1997). Therefore, one example of mediated hegemony can be democratisation, commodification and technologisation of discursive texts (Blamaert and Bulcaen, 2000). On the other end, Fairclough (1979) has exemplified force through dominance to the sordid apartheid past of South Africa where arms of the state were utilised to dominate others along racial lines. Again, the apartheid regime exemplifies connections between power and ideology as the system was reproduced in ideological forms of address. It was communicated as a form of ideology where blacks were rendered into a subordinate class.

b) Ideology

In his elaborative work on ideology, van Dijk (2003) defines ideology as the basic values and beliefs shared by a group. He makes the argument that ideology presents a representative form

and consists of a number of widely accepted rules that allow social actors to quickly understand, or build, reject or modify widely accepted ideology (van Dijk, 2003). These categories include the membership criteria; typical activities; overall aims; norms and values; positions (with regard to relations amongst the groups); and resources (particularly access to group resources). It can therefore be deduced that members of a social group will accept, reject, or modify an ideology on the basis of these criteria and will use these criteria to define what it means to feel like a member of a group. Fairclough (1995) argues: "Ideology is located, then, both in structures which constitute the outcome of past events and the conditions for current events, and in events themselves as they reproduce and transform their conditioning structures" (Fairclough 1995, p.72). This implies that historical and current circumstances are bases formation and maintenance of ideological beliefs and ideology is usually presented as common sense.Bucholtz (2001) considers Critical Discourse Analysis as an approach which illuminates a certain ideology and depicts an explicit political agenda. This concurs with a belief held by Herbamas that language carries ideological aspects. For instance, metaphors in a discourse represent an ideology which shapes reality within that context based on personal perception (Sipra and Rashid, 2013).

In their seminal work, Sipra and Rashid (2013) demonstrated this through Martin Luther King's metaphoric use of language which reflected his ideology in that specific socio-political background. They illuminated some of the metaphors used by Martin Luther King to depict the conditions of black folks in America. Thy highlight some words from the first paragraph such as 'flames of withering injustice' to refer to the unjust and cruelty by whites on black people. King also made use of words such as flame to refer to fire and withering meant the gloomy and desolate picture of the black people.

King criticized the American government for not fulfilling democratic mandate as espoused in the constitution. Black people were not provided with freedom, equal rights and economic equality which were their constitutional rights (Sipra & Rashid, 2013). Thus, it is clear how political players can utilise discourses and linguistic features which reinforce the ideologies that serve their interests, and these aspects will be explored in presidential speeches in this study.

The central focus of this study is analysing presidential speeches an approach which is given credence by Sipra & Rashid (2013) who argue that speech has certain textual and stylistic

devices which are utilised to achieve some specific ideological purposes. Therefore, they imply that we should anticipate textual and stylistic elements which must be carried in speech to propagate the ideology in a sophisticated manner. Ultimately, the schematic nature of ideology manifests itself in the social practice referred to as discourse. Van Dijk (2003) posits that language is one of the social practices influenced by ideology and discourse.

c) Social Practice

The historical accounts of CDA as discussed in the first section make a strong contribution on this study by locating the relationship between social life and language. The relationship continues to exist in the contemporary language studies as argued below:

> "CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of 'social practice. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it: The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects– that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people". (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258)

The above statement implies that Critical Discourse Analysis concerns itself with how language figures as an element in social processes and how it relates with other social processes (Fairclough, 2001). In addition, Fairclough (1993) describes the social practice in CDA as a mode of action, and that it is socially and historically constructed in a dialectical relationship with other facets of the social sphere. Fairclough continues to assert that language has a dialectical relationship with social life, that is, it shapes and is in turn shaped by social life. As discussed in the previous section, CDA concerns itself with ideology as represented through language in use and a systematic exploration of the 'opaque' and 'dialectical' relationship

between texts and the processes and conditions of their production and reception (Fairclough, 1989). Van Dijk (1993b, p.131) warns that Critical Discourse Analysis is not a homogenous model but a shared perspective on doing linguistics. This means that approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis are multifaceted.

Fairclough's exploration of "how language figures in social processes" provides a useful lens for this study (Fairclough, 2001, p.229). His work is largely concerned with the relationship between language and other elements of social life. He defines social practices as stabilised forms of social activity which have elements such as productive activity, means of production, social relations, social identities, cultural values, consciousness and semiosis. These practices internalise one another without being reducible to one another, hence the dialectical relationship between semiosis (the process of meaning making, including language) and other social practices.

Similarly, the purposes of this study is aligned to Fairclough (2001)'s assertion that part of governing a country involves using language in a particular way is particularly useful. Presidential speeches could form these types of speech acts with social effects, and understanding the dynamics of these speeches could illuminate how power is encoded in the language used.

The 'social practice' dimension encompasses issues of concern in social analysis such as the institutional and organisational issues of the discursive event and how that shapes the nature of the discursive practice, and the constitutive/ constructive effects of discourse alluded to in previous sections (Fairclough, 1993). The social practice in rhetorical kinds of presidential speeches falls under the administrative arm of the State, addressed by the Head of State to the immediate audience being members of parliament and secondary audiences receiving the address through media platforms (Reisigl, 2003). He further alludes that media plays a central role in disseminating information and shaping how it will be received by the secondary audiences. He had that, "the occasion of a speech and the audience which is being addressed – both the immediate audience and the one reached by the mass media – consider- ably influence the content, structure and form of a political speech" (Reisigl, 2003,p.259). These elements of CDA demonstrate that presidential speeches and the State of the Nation Addresses might also have constitutive power in social conditions or affect the way that a political party is able to connect with the people. Examining the elements of presidential speeches and the devices they employ could shed light on these issues.

2.3 Rhetoric

In studying persuasive language and the discourses present in President Cyril Ramaphosa's speeches, this study is cognisant of the fact that the use of rhetoric is an old practice in politics dating back to ancient Greece. It gained prominence during the transition from aristocracy to democracy (Herrick, 2005). Herrick implies that during a period which saw major political reforms, the key factor to public influence was no longer the social status of an individual but the skill of persuasion. The epoch marked a departure from the previous political system as the Greeks came to reject the idea that human destiny is shaped by Gods, but that human deliberation and action are responsible for human destinies (Jarratt & Ong, in Lunsford ed.1995, p.12). The authors believed that deliberation and action can be shaped by speech and polity came to be managed through oratory and debate.

Teachers of rhetoric, known as Sophists, defined it as an artistic undertaking which concerns itself with the how, when, and what of an expression, and understanding the why or the purpose of the expression (Poulakos,1983, p.36). Gorgias, one of the leading Sophists, contended that rhetorical art is about words, adding that if a speech is to be persuasive it must be written with art (Poulakos, 1983). The Sophists' concern with style and mastery of oral expression earned them some opponents. Most notably, Plato, Socrates' teacher, who also adopted an anti-rhetoric position, spoke of rhetoric as a trick to praise and seduce the auditorium, a strategic tool to influence ignorant audiences by decorative use of language (Moreno, 2008). Antiphon, a Greek philosopher at the time, argued that "It is as unfair that a bad choice of words should cause a man of good behaviour to be put to death as it is that a good choice of words should lead to the acquittal of a criminal" (Poulakos, 1983,p.7).

Plato and Socrates believed that rhetoric needed to be based on seeking the truth through philosophical means (Harrick, 2005). They were opposed to the Sophistic belief that truth emerged from a clash of arguments. They condemned rhetoric as "a knack of flattering with words" (Herrick, 2005, p.37). This anti-rhetoric sentiment, which viewed rhetoric as a manipulative tool that is delinked from what is considered to be the truth, has continued from the time of Plato and Socrates to the present day.

However, if viewed from its primary conception, rhetoric served the dual function of deliberation and decision making (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005). As Herrick (2005) also indicates, the Greeks took their decisions by persuasion and debates. Hence, rhetoric came to be viewed as the art of persuasion. There are indications that Aristotle himself, the great critic

of rhetoric, acknowledged that "the way a thing is said affects its intelligibility. It is not sufficient to know what one ought to say, but it is also necessary to know how one ought to say it" (Poulakos, 1983, p.37). Thus Poulakos states that the anti-rhetoric philosopher accepted that the style of the delivery of speeches is an inescapable element, and its superiority or inferiority to content is a secondary issue.

The tradition of skilful oratory continues in modern politics. It has been argued that some of the most accomplished politicians are those who have demonstrated a unique grasp and skilful use of language in political argumentation. Winston Churchill, one of the most influential British Prime Ministers, once declared that,

> "Of all the talents bestowed upon men, none is so precious as the gift of oratory. He who enjoys it wields a power more durable than that of a great king. He is an independent force in the world. Abandoned by his party, betrayed by his friends, stripped of his offices, whoever can command this power is still formidable. Many have watched its effects. A meeting of grave citizens, protected by all the cynicism of these prosaic days, is unable to resist its influence. From unresponsive silence they advance to grudging approval and thence to complete agreement with the speaker" (Churchill, W.S. November 1897,p.1)

Chateris-Black (2005) in a sample of speeches of North American and British politicians, mentions Winston Churchill, Martin Luther King Jnr, Margaret Thatcher, Bill Clinton, and Tony Blair as some of the politicians who have demonstrated an ability to use language to persuade audiences.

Utilising the State of the Nation debate as a rhetorical site, this research will explore rhetorical strategies used by South Africa's sitting president, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, to support and legitimise his ideas and to ostensibly enact particular social effects such as national unity, hope and faith in government. This research will pay specific attention to the use of language to shape arguments. In line with the Hallidayan approach to language and the idea of 'design', the language use of the selected speeches will be viewed as "constitutive rather than ornamental" (Johnstone & Eisenhart, 2008,p.7), that is, as shaping rather than carrying the message.

2.3.1 Presidential Speech in Context – President Ramaphosa's State of the Nation Address as an Inaugural and Annual Address

The critical analysis of the state of the nation address (SONA) in its speech form remains an underdeveloped area of study in South Africa. Political analysts mainly discuss the SONA from a policy perspective. A notable study by Habib (2010) discussed the state of the nation from a policy and public service perspective as well as with policy analytical lenses. This study will analyse three speeches delivered by President Cyril Ramaphosa, the State of the Nation Address delivered in February 2018, his second SONA delivered in February 2019, and the third delivered in June 2019. As a consequence, this study will view the state of the nation addresses by Ramaphosa as being inaugural speeches, though they are usually categorised under annual presidential speeches. Arguably, all three of President Ramaphosa's annual national addresses in 2018 and 2019 may be considered inaugural in nature as the first was his maiden as a caretaker president, the second was the first year anniversary as president of the Republic and his first speech that had to reflect on his tenure, and the third one was his inaugural address post general elections. Lim (2008) describes the inaugural address as being an annual speech that forms part of an archetypically deliberative genre where prolific argumentation may be located.

Martin Reisigl (2003) has made an attempt to locate political speeches within the theoretical framework of classical rhetoric, and found that that they are associated with the deliberative genre which is concerned with differing opinions on a political decision in public sphere and with the epideictic genre which deals with articulating political values. Therefore, SONA forms part of the first group of political speeches which occurs in the context of differing opinions about political decisions in parliament and in the public sphere (Reisigl, 2008). SONA is the precursor to an open debate, and Klein (2000) observes that the majority of parliamentary debate speeches are aimed at legitimising a certain policy, to articulate one's political position and to deliberately delegitimise political opponents. This nature of framing SONA within debate with political opponents places the speech as something inherently open to great scrutiny and as having to anticipate possible counter positions.

The scrutiny of political speeches in parliamentary debates are categorised along linguistic action patterns in which howling or other regular interruptions may occur, according to Burkhardt (2004). These are duly accepted as normal reactions and that there are no insults to be reprimanded by the presiding chairperson of the session (Reisigl,2008).

According to Reisigl (2008) the speaker can spontaneously respond to the howling and permit applause.These reactions from the primary audience are at times get transmitted through to secondary audience through media coverage which may range from acclamations, objections or even disruptions (Reisigil, 2008). In various instances, media reports on speeches would specifically cover those aspect of the address which received responses from the primary audience (Reisigl, 2003).

Reisigl (2003) further outlines features of the inaugural address which are similar to SONA, such as being presided by the head of the government, in this case the President in South Africa, and their primary audience mainly being members of parliament. Volmert (2005) identifies the secondary audience as members of the public together with government counterparts from foreign states. The speeches serve a purpose of articulating government's policy programme and to highlight policy imperatives for the next parliamentary term (Reisigl, 2003), though in the case of SONA it addresses policy issues for a year-long period.

Campbell and Jamieson (1985) outline further functional linguistic and rhetorical aspects in presidential addresses, which include uniting people, rehearsing shared values from the past, setting political values to govern the administration, illustrating the President's acknowledgements of requirements and limitations in his role as well as to achieve all his interests by using an epideictic address.

Although the South African State of the Nation Address has been rarely studied and analysed in literature, it displays distinct similarities with other forms of presidential addresses presented in the literature above. These features will be explored through the lens of CDA in order to analyse the conditions of production, the rhetorical devices employed and the social effects that these might have.

2.3.2 Rhetoric in Presidential Speeches

This study is centred on identifying the rhetorical devices used in the SONA speech by the president. The academic enquiry into presidential rhetoric is largely a study of presidential public persuasion as it shapes the president's ability to exercise power, and this informs how presidents attain, maintain, or lose support (Windt, 1986). What's similar between presidential rhetoric and other forms of critical language studies is the assumption that the language of power ought to be deliberative (Stucky, 2010). Lim adds that rhetoric in this context needs to

address policy, and to do so in specific terms. According to Lim (2008), fear has been expressed that the more popular rhetorical phrases become, the more conversational it becomes, and the less content it will convey.

However, Cohen (1995) has expressed a global view that the public is generally politically disengaged. Therefore, this implies that when the president seeks to bring attention to an issue, it needs to be postured as an imperative policy challenge through the use of specific language terms (Windt, 1986). Cohen (1995) argues that when a president articulates policy issues, it raises awareness or concerns to the public. Hence, it is advisable for the president to clearly articulate his reasons for concluding on a certain position and provide relevant information to support the imperative nature of the policy position (Windt, 1986). In modern democracies, it is imperative for a leader to capture the imaginations of the people through his or her policies, and the role played by rhetoric should not be ignored (Alo, 2012). Capturing the imaginations of the audience by the president may build trust and legitimise his power.

Azari et al. (2012) provides a comprehensive argument that rhetoric contains aspects which represent messages across two rhetorical dimensions which are pivotal to presidential-government communication, namely political tone and policy substance. They further assert that the first two categories of presidential messages are mandate rhetoric and multi - partisan appeals. They consider such messages to be crafted in pursuit of attaining support from legislators who should adopt the president's initiative for reasons linked to public interests. The second two categories involve signalling volume and agency input, which draws attention to the amount of emphasis placed on policy issues and the substantive skills involved in the crafting of bills under consideration. Lim (2008) has listed five forms of rhetoric in presidential speeches:

a) Anti-Intellectual Rhetoric

The modern day political culture has been categorised with a rapid de-intellectualisation of presidential rhetoric, which is explained through "an increased tendency to avoid references to cognitive and evaluative processes and states as well as to substitute formal word choices for informal phrases" (Lim, 2008, p.7). He further asserts that this is illustrated in the notion that presidents scarcely substantiate their arguments to garner public opinion.

b) Abstract Rhetoric

Lim (2008) argues that anti-intellectualism found in presidential rhetoric is accompanied by an abstraction in text which renders rhetoric into some form of religious, poetic, and idealistic

form of communication in nature. Therefore, he considers abstract rhetoric to have been preferred for its political value and its ability to draw on elemental ideas and concepts to tap into feelings of the audience and facilitate a sense of belonging or a common ideological bond. Vale and Maseko (1998) have exemplified former President Thabo Mbeki's "I am an African" speech to have been a striking example of an abstract speech, in its efforts to unite South Africa with the rest of the continent.

c) Assertive Rhetoric

Modern day politics are characterised with a much more assertive presidential rhetoric which adopts an activist, "realist," and more confident speech form (Lim 2008).

d) Democratic Rhetoric

Lim further quotes Ellis (1998, 13, p.14) in saying that, "the story of the rhetorical presidency is also the story of the democratisation of the presidency". He has observed that presidential rhetoric has evolved into a rhetoric that honours the people, and is inclusive, emotive in nature and egalitarian. In its people-centric nature, he argues that presidential rhetoric carries emotional appeals, or pathos, and thus transforming power relations from one of authority to comradeship. Additionally, Windt (1996) explains that presidential rhetoric in a democracy may position power as a shared aspect amongst the people and not within the president. Onwumechili et al. (2015) have illuminated this form of rhetoric in their analysis of two of Mandela's speeches, the Rivonia trial speech and the inaugural speech, which both make mention of "South Africa belongs to all who live in it". Therefore, both these speeches locate power in the hands of the people, especially those who were previously marginalised.

e) Conversational Rhetoric

Lim (2008) considers presidential rhetoric to be more conversational and more intimate as it places specific emphasis on the trustworthiness of the leader, and it has evolved into being more anecdotal in nature. This implies that rhetoric becomes more self-referential, and it plays a pivotal role in shaping the audience's perception of the leader's trustworthiness. The ethos is positioned to aid in amplifying the leader's efforts to convey his trustworthiness.

2.3.4 State of the Nation Address as a Discursive Practice

Fairclough (1993) argues that discourse and its analysis are three-dimensional, encompassing text, discursive practice and social practice. Therefore, this section focusses on the SONA as a discursive practice which is concerned with the production, distribution and consumption of

text as clarified in Fairclough (1993). Michel Foucault centres discursive practices around knowledge formation and his focal point is how specific knowledge functions and the work that this knowledge does. He clarified his argument in stating that;

> "This group of elements, formed in a regular manner by a discursive practice, and which are indispensable to the constitution of a science, although they are not necessarily destined to give rise to one, can be called knowledge. Knowledge is that of which one can speak in a discursive practice ... there is no knowledge without a particular discursive practice; and any discursive practice may be defined by the knowledge that it forms" (Foucault ,1969, pp.182-183).

In consideration of text production aspects as defined by Fairclough above, with regards to SONA as a discursive practice, Klein (2000) explains that production of presidential addresses is an administrative function of the politician. She further asserts that its main function is to shape public attitudes, opinions and actions. Therefore, discursive practices should be accepted as a process of structuring and structured actions where the production of the text is in pursuit of structuring the conditions that make texts possible and the structuring is centred on production of text

The process of production for the State of the Nation Address as a rhetorical speech is subdivided into five consecutive stages; (1) finding of topics , (2) arrangement of topics , (3)linguistic development of the arranged topics , (4) memory and (5) delivery (Reisigl, 2008). The finding of topics within the process of production has evolved from collecting information on constitutional principles of the country to collecting information on the unspoken desires of the people by holding out a vision for their fulfilment – in order to form the speech (Windt, 1986). Then topics are arranged from rhetorical topics of public virtue and public vice such as "ask not what your country can do for you"? or public vice; "ask what you can do for your country"? public virtue to point out fundamental principles a President wants to invoke in the public (Windt, 1986) . Windt (1986) considers another grouping of topics to include policy concerns which constitute values, desires, and visions of the future. Windt (1986) also considers linguistic development to be shaped by nature of contemporary political language and the emergence of phrases interms of affecting our perceptions of issues and politicians. The fourth stage invokes memory and seeks to utilise psycho-social means to manufacture consent by the commemoration of a past political event considered to be relevant for the current political conditions and future which invokes feelings of unity (Reisigl,2008). The delivery has been discussed extensively in previous sections and also forms part of the distribution of text, however the state of the nation is delivered to members of parliament as primary audience and

public secondary audience (Reisigl, 2008). Media is considered by (Windt, 2008) to have dramatically altered the rhetoric used by Presidents and how they deliver their speeches and distribute text.

On distribution of the text, Reisgl (2008) considers addresses as the SONA to be highly ritualised events which involve text with elaborated and conventionally scripted orality, rich in metaphors. The president may perform deviations from the written text, which are usually carefully considered and prepared by speech writers. The deviations do contribute to the multimodality of the text. In addition, literature in previous sections (Wodak 1995; Sipra and Rashid 2013) has shown that use of language in any discursive event must be within context. Therefore, within the South African context, characterised with a colonial history and multi-culturalism, text distribution during SONA must carry certain aspects of speech acts that define the cultural aspects of the society such as salutations in various languages or using current popular culture trends (Kumar, 2000).

On the actual address of a speech and the audience which the speech is delivered to includes both the primary audience and the one reached through media (Reisgl,2008). Volmert (2005) concurs in arguing that the primary consumers for SONA are members of parliament and the secondary consumers are international political players, media and the public, respectively. Another imperative consideration on the consumption aspects of the SONA is that the primary audience may disrupt the speech (Burkhardt 2004) and that the president may respond when incited to do so (Reisigl, 2008). Kumar (2000) argues that as a discursive practice, SONA needs to be collaborative, and the president must be familiar with strategies of communication such as setting the tone and setting answer sequences (Kumar, 2000). Reisigl (2008) considers media to influence the content, structure and form of a political speech. Kühn (1992) alludes to the challenge faced by numerous politicians of multiple addressing, which involves speaking to different political groups with different challenges, interests and political affiliations on the same speech. In turn these speeches will carry some deliberate use of conflicting ideas, of contradictions which are hidden in euphemisms, allusions, paraphrases, and ambivalent expressions (Reisigl, 2008).

Media undeniable plays a pivotal role in consumption of the speech by the public, however it distributes selected speech fragments on radio, TV and internet platforms (Reisigl, 2008). Attempts from government communicators to influenced reception of the speech usually ends up turning it into fragments of interrelated "textual chains" or dialogically connected discursive practice (Reisigl, 2008). Ideally, Reisigl (2008) argues that the reception of the speech is

shaped by the journalists intentional selection or quotation of single speech passages, more so by exaggerating and forming their own interpretations of speech passages. Though this study does not analyse the reception of the speech but this part sought to provide an overview of how the speech in received. Therefore, discursive practice mostly includes articulation of certain rhetoric as action, does not reduce discourse to be a mere activity and acknowledges the limitations in language (Lemon, 2004).

Wodak and Meyer (2001, p.67) outlined a triangulation approach to clarify the concept of `context' which considers the following levels in a discursive practice, the triangulatory approach considers language used and text ; the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses; the extralinguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific `context of situation' (middle range theories); the broader socio-political and historical contexts, which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to (`grand' theories).

In this section I can conclusively summarise a SONA speech as a discursive practise which "deals with how authors of texts draw on already existing discourses and genres to create texts and how receivers of texts also apply available discourses and genres in the consumption and interpretation of texts" (Jørgensen et al., 2002,p. 69). Fairclough's explanation of this dimension is that it is the process in which producers and consumers of texts draw from social orders or situational contexts and interactional history or context to create and consume texts (Fairclough, 1992). Fairclough asserts that this dimension concerns itself with what the activity is; the players; power relations; and the role of language in the process. Thus, discussing SONA as a discursive practice has played a pivotal role in locating all principles of Critical Discourse Analysis and its relevance in this study. In utilising this approach, this research project will consider the players involved in a SONA, what their relations are, and the rules of engagement between those who are involved in the debate.

2.3.5 Gaps in literature

The study has multidisciplinary dimensions, and the literature discussed above has explored theories on critical discourse analysis, rhetoric and the SONA presidential speech. Not only is this study ambitious in dealing with the three aforementioned dimensions, but there is a limited body

of literature or academic inquiries on the areas of interest in South Africa. This is more apparent for the state of the nation address which has been rarely studied and analysed as a speech.

A notable study on the state of the nation has been conducted by Adam Habib in 2010, but it focusses on policies, economic conditions and on the state of public service in the country. In the study, Habib (2010) makes no reference to the state of the nation speech but the article bears reference to various issues which are ordinarily part of the content within the speech. Ideally, the paper reviews public policies and the state's capacity to carry out its public mandate. Arguably, this is what the state seeks to achieve through the SONA – in providing its own account on policies and by demonstrating state capacity in delivering public services. However, Habib (2010) has made no refence to the state of the nation address as a speech which employs the persuasive powers of the president, and the study also does not cover communicative aspects of the speech which are carried through language. On the other hand, the paper does refer to Zuma and Mbeki's presidency in utilising rhetoric in referring to the country as a developmental state. Though insignificant to this paper, what was apparent was the role of rhetoric in managing public perception around policy issues.

Rhetoric on presidential speeches is an area of study which is steadily developing in the country. Notable studies and rhetorical analysis have been conducted on speeches of all democratically elected presidents in the country. Onwumechili et al. (2015) have analysed President Mandela's rhetoric on two speeches, one being the Rivonia trial speech of 1964 and the inaugural speech of 1994. The study found similarities on the all-inclusive type of rhetoric utilised in both epochs. Vale and Maseko (1998) have found President Mbeki's rhetoric on African Renaissance to be more about addressing renewal and revival of the continent. Then Govender (2015) on the other hand analysed President Zuma's rhetoric on climate change, which she finds to be evasive. Not only is President Ramaphosa a newly elected President, but two months since his election the public was agitated with the slow response or lack of urgency in addressing public issues, which is discussed in an article by Judith February in the Daily Maverick (2019). Therefore, a theoretically grounded analysis of President Ramaphosa's rhetoric is necessary to display his persuasive abilities to retain power through text. An analytical tool which critically addresses power dynamics is critical discourse analysis.

This study will utilise Critical Discourse Analysis, a method which concerns itself with how power relations are produced, maintained and challenged through text. This is a discipline which is still developing in the country and within the continent. Adegoju (2012) studied rhetoric of President Jonathan of Nigeria, against other African Presidents, which clearly

signifies steady growth of the analytical method. However, locally this is an emerging field, in particular on language studies which interrogate use of language to create of maintain power. The current study seeks to address these gaps in research with particular focus on SONA speeches.

Chapter 3:

3. Research Methodology

3.1 Research Data Set

The research site for this study are the three State of the Nation Addresses as delivered by the president of the Republic of South Africa, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, from his term as caretaker president and after he was elected as the president in May 2019. The data set are the SONA speeches in 2018 and 2019 respectively.

3.2 Data Collection Method

As mentioned above, the data to be analysed are President Ramaphosa's SONA speeches; this data is readily available from the unit that records proceedings of parliament and online which are accessible to members of the public at no cost. The three speeches analysed in this research report were obtained online. The State of The Nation Address delivered on 16 February 2008 was obtained from Sabinet on www.sabinet.co.za. whilst The State of The Nation Address delivered on 7 February 2019 was obtained from www.thepresidency.gov.za and the third one delivered on 20 June 2019 was also obtained from www.thepresidency.gov.za.

As far as CDA is concerned, there is no typical CDA method of collecting data. This implies that distinguishing between data collection and analysis does not necessarily mean that these are two separate steps (Meyer, 2011). CDA concerns itself with the ethos and principles of Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), where data collection is not a single phase that must precede and be completed before analysis may resume, but might be an ongoing process.

This procedure implies that data collection is never completely concluded during the analysis of data, but new questions always arise which need to be addressed by new data, and these data need to be collected or earlier data need to be re-evaluated (Strauss, 1987, p. 56). Therefore, in this particular study, further information for providing context was sourced from other sources such as the media in addition to the actual speeches. However, the actual item of investigation is language use in SONA speeches, which inform the sampling method.

3.3 Sampling Method

The sampling method that is used in this research is purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is permissible when used to select particular types of cases for in-depth investigation (Neuman, 2003). According to Neuman, the purpose of this sampling method is not to generalise but rather to gain a deeper understanding of the issue being investigated. This research will focus on the rhetoric used by the President during his State of the Nation Addresses in 2018 and 2019, respectively.

This research will select three SONA speeches delivered by Ramaphosa in parliament for analysis. The focus of the analysis will be mainly on what the President says and how he says it. The selection of the speeches includes his maiden speech after being appointed as a caretaker president, his second SONA speech to begin 2019 and his third speech which was after he was elected as President of the State. These speeches are expected to illuminate the positionality of the President in terms of his own status socially or economically and the context or political climate with which the speech is presented. These are expected to inform the kind of language the President uses to connect with the audiences and how he paints the picture on areas of concern which affects the audience. Though there may be no immediate responses from secondary audiences, primary audiences are expected to respond through howling, applause or other forms of reaction to statements in the speeches.

3.4 Research Design

This research will use linguistic methods of discourse analysis to understand the rhetorical workings of political discourse in South Africa. The study will use President Ramaphosa's State of the Nation Addresses as the rhetorical site for a close analysis of why particular utterances take the particular shape they do.

3.5 Method of Analysis

The study of rhetorical strategies used on the selected parliamentary speech for the purpose of this research will be located within in the social constructivist paradigm. Social constructivism holds the view that versions of social reality are fundamentally constituted in language and thus this paradigm concerns itself with broader patterns of social meaning encoded in language (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999). Fairclough further elaborates that this position "does not

reduce social life to language but rather that language is an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life" Fairclough (2003, p. 2).
Content analysis is one of the widely used methods to trace the constructive effect of language in society. It involves a detailed systematic examination of language used in a chosen context to identify themes, patterns and biases (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010). It is also concerned with studying textual elements which link particular representations from data to context (Betrand and Hughes, 2005). Content analysis as a methodology has been largely used in communication research. According to Krippendorf (2004), Content Analysis is mainly used to collect, code, and transcribe textual data which would then be statistically analysed and its results presented as evidence. Computer aided text analysis has since become the most commonly used quantitative method in content analysis (Krippendorff, 2004). Content analysis has however evolved beyond word frequency to qualitative methods that include Discourse Analysis, Political Discourse Analysis, and Critical Discourse Analysis.

Studies in political rhetoric have tended to rely on metaphoric analysis (Charteris-Black, 2005; Moreno, 2008; Malan, 2008; Garcia, 2009). This approach to language analysis is largely influenced by the work of Reddy (1979) and Lakoff & Johnson (1980). These theorists argue that metaphors are an indispensable part of our conventional way of conceptualising the world. From this perspective, metaphors are seen as a structuring device of human thought and thus metaphoric analysis is used to investigate how certain concepts are understood (Malan, 2008). Some scholars who follow this method of analysis even go further to argue that metaphors have become a major linguistic device in framing political debates (Garcia, 2009).

This study will however use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as its framework for analysis. Drawing on Fairclough's (1989) model of CDA as well as traditional analytical tools of rhetoric, his study will demonstrate how the conscious or unconscious choices of the speaker or writer are used to persuade.

The combination of these two lenses of analysis, that is, CDA and traditional analytic tools of rhetoric, have been selected because of their methodological flexibility. The researcher is of the view that the combination of these methods will bridge the gap between the thinking about the opaque workings of ideology analysed through discourse analysis and rhetoric's interest in the rhetor's (speaker or author's) agency in composition. Ultimately, the mixed methods have

been selected in order to examine the triangulation principles which validate research findings, allowing for further scrutiny and comparison of conclusions between both methods.

Ruth Wodak advocates for a methodical triangulation by utilising multi-methodical designs on the basis of a variety of empirical data as well as background information. Her claim is that it validates the data against possible bias from the researcher. Ron Scollon concurs in arguing that "[b]ecause of the involvement of the researcher as participant-observer clear triangulation procedures are essential in drawing inferences about observations and in producing interpretations" (Scollon, 2011, p. 181). Though I am not formally a participant observer in this study, but as a government official involved in the process of developing a State of the Province Address, as a researcher I need to remain mindful – hence triangulation is imperative. Therefore, triangulation mitigates researcher bias.

3.5.1 Critical Discourse Analysis as a method of analysis

Chapter 2, which constitutes the literature review has conceptually grounded this study around CDA being a socio-linguistic theory. The previous section alluded to the fact that CDA is not regarded as a mere form of academic analysis but it seeks to stand with those who suffer from linguistic-discursive forms of domination and exploitation of some kind (Fairclough, 1995). Therefore, CDA stands to contribute to the development and spread of a critical awareness of language as a major contributor for domination. To find the language structures of domination, this study will further utilise CDA as a method of analysis.

Ideally, CDA should never be regarded as a single method but rather as an approach which constitutes itself at different levels, and this implies that the methodical approach will be refined throughout the process of analysis (Meyer, 2011). This is also centred around the assumption of CDA that discourses have history and their contextual elements shape how they are to be understood. Another imperative characteristic is that CDA scholars play an advocacy role in which they stand to represent the needs of those who suffer from social dominance. Michael Meyer (201, p.15) defines the analytical method and argues that:

> "CDA refers to such extralinguistic factors as culture, society, and ideology. In any case, the notion of context is crucial for CDA, since this explicitly includes social-psychological, political and ideological components and thereby postulates an interdisciplinary procedure. From the notion of context, a further difference emerges

concerning the assumption about the relationship between language and society. CDA does not take this relationship to be simply deterministic but invokes an idea of mediation. CDA scholars play an advocatory role for groups who suffer from social discrimination".

The above argument by Meyer (2011) justifies this study's selection of CDA as a method of analysis, given its ability to operationalise the theoretical concept. This is primarily concerned with the capacity of CDA methods in translating their theoretical positions into instruments and methods of analysis.

As broadly stated above, this research seeks to examine the linguistic strategies used by the South African president during the State of the Nation Addresses, thus making a case for the critical role of language in leadership. Fairclough's exploration of "How language figures in social processes" provides useful lenses for this study (Fairclough, 2001, p.229). His work largely concerns itself with the relationship between language and other elements of social life.

This is informed by his view of "discourse as an element of social practices dialectically linked to other elements" (Fairclough, 2001, p.229). He defines social practices as stabilised forms of social activity which have elements such as productive activity, means of production, social relations, social identities, cultural values, consciousness and semiosis. These practices internalise one another without being reducible to one another, hence the dialectical relationship between semiosis (the process of meaning making, including language) and other social practices. In the case of this research it will demonstrate that part of governing a country involves using language in a particular way.

3.5.2 Fairclough's Model of Discourse Analysis

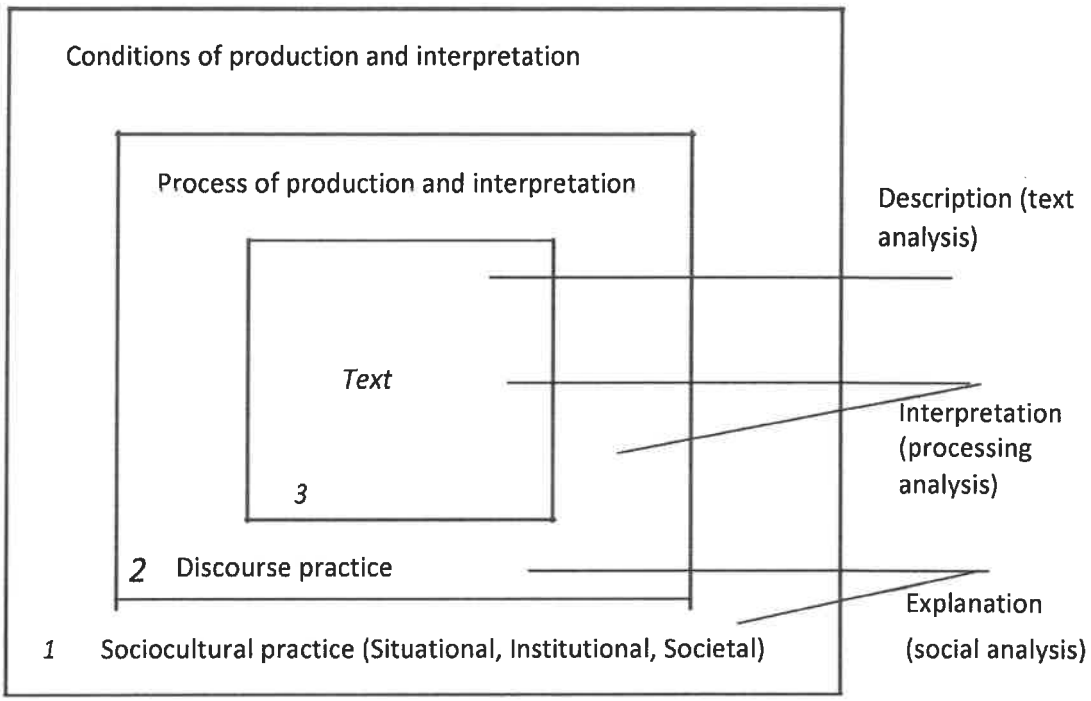
Fairclough (1995) presents 3 interdependent dimensions of discourse analysis, that is, the text, the discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. The model focusses on the conditions of production and interpretation, the process of production and interpretation of discourse as well as the text that results from these processes.

The text represents the object of analysis which can be written, verbal, or visual. However, this research focusses only on the written form, as indicated above that transcripts of SONA speeches will be used as data for analysis. The discourse practice represents the process by

which the text is produced and received; and the sociocultural practice represents the sociocultural conditions in which texts are produced and received.

The table below is an illustration of Fairclough's 3-dimensional model as conceptualised by Janks (1998: 330),

Figure 1



Whilst the three dimensions of analysis provided by this model are interrelated, Janks (1998) argues that the use of this model is not always tidily linear, each box requires its own mode of analysis and thus it is possible to begin the analysis from the inner box labelled as text in the illustration above. The work of Britten (2005) whose analysis focussed on the impact of the wider social and political context on advertising, illustrates this point. She chose to work with the outer boxes of the model, that is, the interpretation of the text and the conditions of production of the text. This research will work with all the three dimensions of the model for data analysis. A debate is characteristically interactive and therefore its analysis should include the text and the reaction it elicits. The context in which the debate occurs will also be a focus for this research.

A) Text

Fairclough's approach to text analysis is premised on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Halliday's theory of SFL is based on the notion that language is organised to serve a social function. This theory gives primacy to the social functions of language and that people experience the world through language. It asserts that language provides us with a way to act upon the world; reflect our experience of the world; and show connections between text and context (Collerson, 1994).

Halliday (1973) illustrates this idea through his conceptual framework which links the three 3 major functions of language, that is, the Ideational Function; the Interpersonal Function; and the Textual Function of language with the context in which language is used. When exploring the ideational function of language 1 of the 3 elements will be identified, analysed, and form the basis of interpretation of meaning.

The ideational function deals with meanings which are concerned with how we represent experience in language (Haratyan ,2011). This implies that whichever circumstance which we use language in, we are always talking about something or someone else doing something. Within SFL the ideational function of meaning constitutes two components: (1) experiential meaning in the clause, and (2) the logical meaning between clauses in clause complexes (Eggins ,2004).

According to Haratyan (2011) the ideational function operates as a semantic system to analyse representations of reality in a linguistic text and to expose the same experience through various lexico-grammatical options influenced by various schools of thought or the author's ideology. It exists to expose and create an understanding of the author ideological stance which are shaped by social and cultural institutions. It is relevant for this study as ideology is an imperative aspect of analysis in critical discourse analysis and this will also address "who or what does what to whom or what?" where actor, action and goal as affected are highlighted (Haratyan, 2011).

Central to Ideation are linguistic processes which operate as products of our perceptions of reality or the world which are constructed both socially and culturally with participants (Halliday, 1985). These processes include:

Material Process

Eggins (2004, p. 215) argues that material processes are processes of "doing" or are about actions, usually concrete, tangible actions. This implies that some entity performs an act or something, it involves undertaking some action; which may be done to some other entity. Then these actions involve actors and, or participants (Alei and Hangari, 2016).

Mental Process

Halliday (1994, p. 118) categorises mental process verbs into three classes: cognition (verbs of thinking, knowing, and understanding), affection (verbs of liking, fearing), and (verbs of perception (verbs of seeing, hearing). On this mental process, there is always one participant who is conscious ; it's the one who senses, feels or perceives. Both Halliday (1994) and Eggins (2004) refer to this participant as a senser.

Relational Process

This process is classified into intensive, attributive, identifying, circumstantial, and possessive (Haratyan,2011). Relational process is centred around the processes of demystifying abstract relations and deals with two other kinds of relational processes, possessives and circumstantial (Haratyan,2011). Possessives encode meanings of ownership and possession between clausal participants.

Verbal Process

The verbal process is concerned with a direct or indirect report, situated at the border of mental and relational processes which is considered to be related to a symbolic exchange of meaning (Halliday, 1985). A verbal process constitutes three participants: the Sayer, the Receiver and the Verbiage (Eggins, 2004). The Sayer, is the participant which is responsible for the verbal process and does not have to be a conscious participant (although it typically is), but is capable of transmitting a signal. The Receiver is the one the verbal process is directed at, which is the Benefactor of a verbal message, which occurs with or without a preposition. The Verbiage, refers to the nominalized statement of the verbal process, such as a noun expressing some kind of verbal behaviour (Alaei and Ahangri, 2016).

Existential process

An Existential process can refer to an entity, event or action (Haratyan,2011). Existentials are easily identifiable as its structure involves the use of 'there' to create meaning (Alaei and Ahangri, 2016). According to Eggins (2004) "there when used in existential processes, has no representational meaning, it does not refer to a location" (Eggins, 2004, p. 214). This process would typically employ the verb 'be' or synonyms such as 'exist, arise or occur'. There is one obliged participant in an existential process which receives a functional label of being the Existent and usually follows the 'there is/are' sequence, may be a phenomenon of any kind, and is often in fact an event or rather a nominalized action.

According to Alalei and Ahangri (2016) these different types of processes in ideational function are utilised in the analysis, so this specific emphasis made on defining the different types of processes and their associated configurations of particular roles will aid in teasing out various text elements on the State of the Nation speeches.

The Interpersonal function in a text is expressed through mood (language as a form of exchange-statements, questions, and commands); polarity and modality. The textual function uses three elements, that is, the Theme and Rhyme (what comes first and later in a clause) ; Information Focus; and Cohesion (what is used to hold the text together or to create coherence in a text.

This research will use the Interpersonal and some textual functions of language as part of its analytical lenses to explore persuasive strategies used by President Ramaphosa during his State of the Nation Addresses. The interpersonal function of language concerns itself with interaction between speaker and addressee(s) (Collerson, 1994). The focus of this research will be on mood; modality and polarity. The theme and rhyme will also be explored as they serve the textual function of language.

According to Matthiessen & Halliday (1997) mood is one of the major grammatical systems of the interpersonal function of language. Mood (as indicated above) concerns itself with exchange of information through statements; questions; and commands. It indicates the communicative role that the speaker assumes in an interaction, that is, as the one offering information (statements and commands) or requiring information (questions). Modality on the other hand is evaluative of that information. Modality and polarity are indicative of the degree

of commitment by the speaker to what he/she says. Fairclough (2003) also makes the assertion that modality also deals with attitudes; judgements; and stances. In political speeches these judgements; attitudes and stances can manifest themselves through categorical or uncategorical statements that are based on assumed shared values. This research makes the argument that mood and modal choices during a parliamentary speech are of particular significance in the present context in South Africa, given our divided past and continuing debates on values that public representatives should adhere to in South Africa.

The textual function has a thematic structure which is concerned with theme, and rheme which are centred on a structure where any component in a clause such as subject, predicator, complement or circumstantial adjunct can be illuminated and be placed in thematic position or the beginning of the clause which is more significant than other locations in a sentence (Haratyan,2011). Halliday (1982) argues that theme incorporates the message in a text which displays the identity of text relations. This implies that the topic is situated at the beginning and thereafter comment appears to expand, justify and provide additional information to information provided earlier information.

According to Haratyan , "the clause acts as a message in the thematic statuses of theme and rheme in terms of the local and spatial position in a sequence where theme takes the initial position whether marked or unmarked and rheme the non-initial position" (Haratyan,2011,p.263). He further exemplifies the flow of information to a wave in a sentence from themes at the top to themes at the bottom which can be accompanied by rising or falling intonation. Theme slide along to rheme and given information toward new to expose the positionality of information prominence.

According to Mann & Matthiessen (2015) text is the ongoing developing process , which involves contextualisation of messages and presentation of their organizational status within text. This view supports the previous arguments by Haratyan as Mann & Matthiessen which posit that text is inherently sequential and dynamic in nature in a manner that what was new, becomes old, what was non-identifiable be- comes identifiable, what was rhematic becomes thematic. They further assert that during presentation, the text takes up its own context.

Therefore, Mann & Matthiessen (2015) implies that the above characterizations implies that text can be developed ideational form and interpersonal form in arguing that:

(1) a text can represent a complex phenomenon by means of exploring relationships such as cause, condition and time sequence.

(2) a text can be formed as a rhetorical act in terms of relations which organise interaction between speaker and audience-relations such as motivation and enablement.

Then Cohesion, is defined as the "non-structural text-forming relations" (Halliday and Hasan 1976, p. 7) which relates to the semantic ties or relations of meaning within text. The cohesive devices as defined by Haratyan (2011) include:

Referencing

Classified into homophoric, exophoric and endophoric categories respectively referring to culturally shared information, immediate situation context, and textual information, referencing identifies presupposed information throughout the text.

Substitution and Ellipsis

Substitution and ellipsis are utilised in order to refrain from repeating lexical items through grammatical resources of language. The substitution and ellipsis are considered nominal, verbal and clausal in text.

Conjunction

When conjunction is applied differently, it often leads to different textual styles. When extension is used frequently it is likely to contribute in solidity and effect of the information, however, if it's not well managed, it then confuses the reader. Texture, then provides a basis for unity and semantic linkages within text, provides meaning and coherence to any length of text. Classified into categories of adversative, additive, temporal and clausal, conjunction as

another semantic cohesive element links the pieces and clauses of a text together to provide meaning to text.

Lexical Cohesion

Lexical cohesion refers to non-grammatical and is ideally the effect achieved by vocabulary choice like reiteration where a lexical item directly or indirectly occurs when word choices as synonym, antonym, metonym, or hyponym or a super-ordinate and collocation are applied together in the same event or environment lexical items co-occur or located together within the text. As cited in Haratyan (2011) , Halliday and Hasan (1976) argue that when these lexical items are closer, together, the text encounters a higher degree of cohesion.

B) Process of production and interpretation

This dimension has been extensively discussed in the previous section on SONA as the discursive dimension, which "deals with how authors of texts draw on already existing discourses and genres to create texts and how receivers of texts also apply available discourses and genres in the consumption and interpretation of texts" (Jørgensen et al. ,2002, p.69). Fairclough's explanation of this dimension is that it is the process in which producers and consumers of text draw from social orders or situational contexts and interactional history or context to create and consume texts (Fairclough, 1992). In simple terms, he asserts that this dimension concerns itself with what is going on (activity/ topic / purpose)?; Who is involved?; what are the relations between those involved?; and what is the role of language in what is going on? Using this dimension this research will look at who is involved in a SONA, what are their relations, and rules of engagement between those who are involved in the debate.

C) Conditions of Production and Interpretation

This dimension is also referred to as social analysis or explanation. It concerns itself with the relationship between interaction and the social context in which the interaction occurs (Fairclough, 1992). This social and institutional context provides a better understanding of the conditions that govern the processes of production and interpretation and what is considered socially acceptable in relation to the activity being analysed. For the purpose of this research, this dimension will provide insight into the context in which the State of the Nation Address occurs.

3.5.3 Rhetorical devices

In doing text analysis, which is the inner box of Fairclough's 3-Dimensional model, this research will also look at rhetorical devices used in the political speeches that will be analysed. Traditional rhetorical devices have their origins in classical Greek society hence some of the original terminology is in Latin. Rhetorical devices describe strategies which are used to enhance the effect of what is said to achieve a persuasive effect (Kelen, 2008). The research analysis will name the devices used and identify patterns in the use of the devices and their purpose in the speeches selected for analysis. Following is a list of some the rhetorical devices found in presidential speeches:

Absurdity: The exaggeration of a point beyond belief;

Aetiologia: Giving cause or a reason;

Alloisis: Breaking down a subject into its alternatives;

Alliteration: different words beginning with the same sound;

Anaphora: A succession of sentences beginning with the same words;

Metaphor: A figure of speech where a word that normally applies to one thing is designated to another to create a mental picture.

Code Switching: This research will also argue that code switching can be used as a rhetorical device in multi-lingual settings.

Data in both analytical methods of this study will require sorting and categorising in order to identify patterns. Coding will be utilised as a process of classifying data into categories (Wetherell et al., 2001)

3.5.4 Coding

The coding method used in the study is a theoretical coding which is a procedure of analysing data for a grounded theory (Flick, 2006). The first step is open coding which involves expressing data in the form of concepts which are identified in the literature review to provide empirical bases for the study. This involves segmenting the data into themes, units of meaning in order to attach meaning to them (Flick, 2006). The second part involves axial coding which differentiates the categories identified in open coding and relations between codes which are identified in Fairclough's three-dimensional method of CDA. These are the main themes that have been focussed on during the analysis in order to address the hypothesis of the study.

The secondary themes will be identified in order to provide analytical guidelines for processing text material as suggested in Siegfried Jager (2001). This is primarily concerned with linguistic and iconic characteristics of discourse, focusing on `collective symbols' which carry vital cohesive functions in texts. These sub-themes were separated and presented into different colour codes ***(See Appendix 1)*** for a full coded SONA speech and coding sheet ***(See Appendix 2)***. This process is aimed at organising data for comprehensive analysis of text.

Chapter 4:

4. Data Analysis

This study seeks to conduct an analysis to find the rhetoric employed by President Ramaphosa during his 2018-2019 SONA speeches. This section will utilise the Fairclough 3-tier model of analysis as discussed in Chapter 3. This begins with an analysis of the conditions of production, which encompasses contextual analysis. The study takes into consideration the two institutional contexts being political party and state contexts. The social context is discussed extensively to analyse the socio-economic conditions which have influenced the speeches. Then, the discursive elements are being analysed because they are able to be shaped by discourse and in turn shape discourse. These encompass various attributes that the President addresses through the speeches which are drawn from existing discourses. Lastly text is analysed to locate various linguistic and rhetorical elements employed by the President in his speeches to maintain power. This analysis attempts to provide not only a glance into various linguistic features but seeks to put under the spotlight socio-economic conditions which affect the people of this country and how the President frames, articulates and addresses them through his SONA speeches.

4.1 Conditions of Production

Conditions of production are represented in the outer box of Fairclough's model which concerns itself with the institutional and societal conditions which give rise to the conditions in which the speeches are produced, including their wider contextual relevance (Locke, 2004). Fairclough & Wodak (1997) argue that this aspect is based on the dialectical relationship between the discursive event, institutions, situation and social structure. It implies that the State of the Nation Address (SONA) is shaped by social and institutional conditions and in-turn, the conditions are shaped by institutions too. The purpose of this section is to analyse the social and institutional conditions which shape the production of the SONA. In this particular study, I take into cognisance that the SONA occurs within a political sphere, therefore both social and institutional contexts should be politically embedded and interdependent. The institutional contexts in both government and the party-political context play a pivotal role in shaping social activities.

4.1.1 Institutional Context

The institutions at play in this particular discursive event are the political parties and government. Another important factor to note, is that a President of the country is a party leader of the governing

party – being the African National Congress (ANC). Therefore, government policies are resolutions of the governing party conference. Hence, President Ramaphosa, for example, cites a resolution of the 54th National Congress of the ANC during his first State of the Nation Address on the 16th of February 2018 when speaking about land. The literature in previous sections (Wodak, 1995; Sipra and Rashid, 2013) has displayed that the use of language in any discursive event must be within context, therefore this section seeks to display how language during the SONA is shaped by contextual attributes from institutional to social contexts.

4.1.1.1 Party Political Context

Chapter 2 of this study has theoretically grounded SONA as an inaugural address, given the scarcity of academic literature and empirical studies on the SONA. According to Reisigl (2003), an inaugural address such as the SONA is presided over by the head of State whose primary audience is made up of members of parliament. He further alludes to the fact that SONA seeks to articulate government policies and programs for a stipulated period. The Government policies which the President advances in the speeches are policies adopted by the governing party, the African National Congress – which he concurrently heads. Therefore, in the analysis of the conditions of production of the speech, the party-political context becomes an imperative aspect of analysis. Since the ANC assumed political power, the policy adoption processes, leadership succession processes and who heads the country have been culturally embedded traditions of the ANC. The State President serves at the behest of the ruling party; they are expected to carry out the party mandate in Government.

The State of the Nation Addresses selected for analysis are those that President Ramaphosa delivered almost two months and a year, respectively, after he had been elected as the President of the governing party, the African National Congress (ANC), at its 54th Elective Conference. Mr Ramaphosa was elected at what was dubbed as one of the most contested ANC leadership conferences, with media headlines highlighting the volatility that surrounded the conference: "The ANC leadership will go down to the wire: here's why" (Booysen, 2017); "ANC high stakes elective conference set for the ultimate show-down" (Dhawraj, 2017); "ANC Race tightly contested across the board" (Power 987, 2017); "Battle to lead ANC and set South Africa's future course too close to call" (Burke, 2017).

During the period leading up to the ANC elective conference, both local and international media speculated on which candidate would be a better president for the country. The media framed Ramaphosa as the hero whose win would rescue the country from the economic conditions which included the prospect of the country's sovereign investment rating being downgraded to junk status. Even the public broadcaster, the SABC, added to the voices that were pre-empting an improved state of the economy and the response of the markets to a possible Ramaphosa win:

> "South Africa's rand firmed more than 2.3 percent to 12.7800 on Sunday as Cyril Ramaphosa and Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma were formally nominated to contest the leadership of the ruling African National Congress" (SABC, 2017).

And they further cited a pundit to amplify their argument:

> "The rand is stronger on the likelihood of Cyril Ramaphosa being elected ANC head," said Brett Birkenstock, a director at Overberg Asset Management. "The markets favour Ramaphosa and expect him to improve the economy" (SABC, 2017).

Even international media seemed to believe a Ramaphosa win would be a game changer, improving conditions from his predecessor who was perceived to be a corrupt leader. Numerous articles from UK news media made comparisons between Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa who were the front-runners for the presidency of the ANC. Mainly, the comparisons were on policy proposals, leadership record and what South Africa would be like under the leadership of each candidate.

Central to the horse race was policy propositions on various issues between both candidates. Each candidate relied on messaging which carried ideological nuances through language to entice followers and attain power. Dlamini-Zuma proposed a Radical Economic Transformation (RET), amongst other changes, which was embedded on socialist ideology around equal distribution of wealth (Marrian, 2017). Ramaphosa on the other hand pitched the "New Deal" policy proposition, which had third way ideological ascriptions, which seemed to propose a middle ground between a capitalist system and a socialist system (Khoza, 2017). This was expected to bring collaboration between Government, business and citizens to deal with structural challenges and poor economic conditions. This saw the two factions within the ANC organise themselves as supporters of each candidate based on shared beliefs by each group, similar to what Van Dijk (2003) refers to as categorisation of ideology – which involves organising and grouping people through shared beliefs.

The media frenzy continued in the build up towards the ANC elective conference, with the majority reporting the idea that Dr Dlamini-Zuma was a continuity candidate (Telegraph, 2017) and went further to say "Ramaphosa is seen as a better choice for the economy". In simple terms, the publication was portraying Dr Dlamini–Zuma as a proxy who would maintain the status quo of the previous government led by Mr Jacob Zuma, and Mr Ramaphosa as a candidate who would bring much-needed change. The anti-corruption sentiments were salient and were aligned to Ramaphosa. Even the BBC (2017) highlighted his pledge in dealing with corruption in his acceptance speech.

Following the tough contestation, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa emerged as the winner and became the 13th President of the African National Congress. Mr Jacob Zuma continued to be the President of the country, as the terms of the Presidency of the ANC and that of the country are not necessarily synchronised, whilst Cyril Ramaphosa was the Deputy President of the country. President Zuma was still left with about 16 months of his term in office as the president of the country. This meant that Mr Zuma was Mr Ramaphosa's leader in government and Mr Ramaphosa was Mr Zuma's leader in the party.

Mr Zuma, under much political pressure, eventually resigned as the president of the country on 14 February 2018. Mr Ramaphosa was then elected as the President of South Africa on 15 February 2018, following the resignation of Mr Jacob Zuma. As per the practice of parliament in South Africa, Mr Zuma had been due to deliver the State of the Nation Address from the year 2018 prior to his resignation. It fell on Mr Ramaphosa to now deliver the State of the Nation Address as the sitting president.

In his inaugural address Mr Ramaphosa introduced the idea of a "New Dawn" which would mark the shift from the presidency of Mr Zuma to his presidency. The idea of a new dawn was a response to outcries for an anti-corrupt government. His language was that of collaboration between government, business and the people to rectify economic conditions, which will be elaborated on further in the analysis of the text.

4.1.1.2 State Institutional Context

The state institutional context is imperative for this study as the SONA occurs within the State as a discursive process supposedly between government and the people, and presented by its head. For a period before and leading to the elective conference of the ANC in 2017, there had been growing concerns about perceived corruption in state institutions (Afrobarometer, 2017;

Corruption Watch, 2014; Transparency International, 2017). In an article titled 'Rainbow Stagnation' well respected International Magazine, *The Economist*, decried how corruption and bad policies were strangling South Africa (The Economist, 26 November 2016). On the eve of the conference the same publication led with an article titled 'The Corruption of South Africa' (The Economist, 7 December 2017). There was a growing concern about corruption and the negative global financial outlook, stagnant economic growth and a decline in investor confidence.

In 2016, a year before the conference, the then Public Protector, Advocate Thulisile Madonsela published a report titled, 'South Africa: State of Capture'. At the heart of the report were allegations of "Improper and unethical conduct by the president (Jacob Zuma) and other state functionaries relating to alleged improper appointment of Ministers and Directors of State Owned Entities (SOEs), resulting in improper and possibly corrupt award of state contracts and benefits to the Gupta family businesses" (State of Capture Report, November 2016: 4). The characterisation of perceived state capture had gained momentum in the media prior to the release of the report by the then Public Protector (Godinho & Hermanus, 2018).

The former Deputy Minister of Finance, Mr Mcebisi Jonas, also made refence to a growing narrative in the media about 'State Capture' and warned that it should be of concern. Mr Jonas had issued a statement on 16 March 2016, alleging that members of the Gupta family (whom he referred to as non-governmental individuals) had offered him the position of Finance. Minister to replace the then Minister Mr Nhlanhla Nene. This, Mr Jonas implied, was an attempt to capture the state, as the appointment of Ministers is the responsibility of the President. Mr Jonas's account formed part of Advocate Madonsela's report on State Capture. The report recommended a full judicial enquiry into Sate Capture.

There were greater calls for government to deal with perceived corruption and undermining of state institutions. Another interesting phenomenon during this period was the increase in what Roux and Davis (2019) referred to as Lawfare. This is increased litigation in relation to the decisions of government as well as to make government account for its actions. Roux and Davis provide a long list of some of the cases to demonstrate this phenomenon, including: the challenge to the appointment of the head of the Directorate for Priority Crime Investigation, Mr Berning Ntlemeza; the application to set aside the agreement that removed the National Director of Public Prosecutions , Mr Mxolisi Nxasana; the application to strike off the roll the prosecutors perceived to be supporters of the President, Advocates Nomgcobo Jiba and

Lawrence Mrwebi; the Failure by the Department of Social Development to replace Cash PayMaster Services as the vehicle for the payment of social grants; the demand for the president to provide reasons for the Cabinet Reshuffle in March 2017; the Constitutional Court Case seeking a secret ballot to remove President Jacob Zuma, and many more cases. The courts increasingly "became the primary dispute resolution mechanism" for government institutions (Roux & Davis, 2019, p.4).

There was increased mobilisation by civil society for President Jacob Zuma to step down (Hunter, 2019). Since the election of the first President under the new Constitution, Mr Nelson Mandela, South Africa had only had a voluntary resignation by its second democratically elected President, Mr Thabo Mbeki, after he had been recalled by the ruling party. Despite the calls for Mr Zuma to step down, including major strikes across the country driven by the social media slogan *Zuma Must Fall*, the ruling party did not recall him prior to the 2017 Elective Conference.

Thus, these conditions within the state shaped the content of the President's SONA, from corruption perceptions and *State Capture*, conditions in State Owned Enterprises (SOE), to the crisis in higher education with massive student protests starting in 2015 and continuing until 2018. As alluded to above, Mr Ramaphosa's presidential bid was centred around the anti-corruption sentiment. The President presents his first SONA by using rhetoric to delegitimise his political opponents, being the previous administration and those closely tied to it, similarly to Reisgl (2008) account of presidential speeches. Though he thanks President Zuma for his contribution in the previous administration, he introduces his incoming presidency as the New Dawn when he articulated in his speech that:

> "We should put behind us the era of diminishing trust in public institutions and weakened confidence in leaders" (SONA, 16 February 2018, p 2).

While not using accusatory language or directly identifying those responsible for corruption, the president seeks to assure the public of positive changes in government which are coming but also utilises conversational rhetoric (Lim, 2008) to illuminate his trustworthiness as a leader. Throughout his speeches he speaks decisively against corruption. In his second State of the Nation Address delivered on 7 February 2019, he implies that efforts to tackle poverty, unemployment and inequalities will be fruitless until state capture and corruption are dealt with. He further makes reference to repercussions for those responsible and acknowledges the

work of the commissions of enquiry which seeks to unearth corruption cases in government. The president makes the assertion that where there is basis to prosecute from the findings of commissions, there should be swift prosecution and recovery of stolen public funds.

Another salient theme on his anti-corruption sentiments is ensuring ethical leadership in all tiers of government. The President speaks of improving state capacity by introducing compulsory courses at the National School of Government which will cover ethics and anti-corruption for senior managers. He expresses these sentiments with regard to SOEs when he speaks of progress being made in SOEs to "restore proper corporate governance, new boards with credible, appropriately experienced and ethical directors have been appointed at Eskom, Denel, Transnet, SAFCOL, PRASA and SA Express" (SONA,2019 (a), p.14).

Amongst state institutions he continues citing is Eskom – which receives prominent attention given the allegations of corruption and concerns around the rolling electricity blackouts referred to as load-shedding. The president spends significant time in all speeches to assure the audience that the 'challenges' around Eskom are being attended to. The president speaks of strengthening governance and rooting out corruption to build public confidence.

The second SONA displays elements of advancement of these plans when the president reported that a presidential SOE council has been established to ensure reform, repositioning and revitalisation of state entities. Ultimately, on his third SONA he mentions that the council will align all SOEs in order to better articulate their respective mandates.

On the other hand, the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) and the topic of education raised in the speeches address issues pertaining to the poor in society. Through his first speech he assures the audience that he understands the importance of social grants in the lives of the poor and that government will ensure that they comply with the Constitutional Court directions.

In his second speech, the President resumes speaking on SASSA by framing South Africa as having:

> "one of the most comprehensive and far-reaching social security nets in the world, proving a buffer between poor households and abject poverty". (SONA 7 February 2019, p18)

He further asserts that Constitutional Court directives have been met and that the majority of grant beneficiaries are able to retrieve their monies from the Post Office. He takes credit in having ensured progress in applying a comprehensive social security program. On his third speech, he hardly mentions SASSA or Social Development. However, issues of education receive more attention in two of the speeches.

The President's assertions are highly centred on anti-intellectual rhetoric defined as not providing information that audiences can evaluate (Lim, 2008); this is apparent when speaking of basic education issues. On basic education he speaks on issues of infrastructure in rural schools such as pit toilets and proposes improvements in the textbook distribution through the availability of digital textbooks. On higher education he makes reference to the demands of activists involved with *Fees Must Fall*, a struggle for free higher education which rendered the country ungovernable. He makes reference to the fact that subsidised higher education was declared by President Zuma in saying:

> "On 16 December last year, former President Zuma announced that government would be phasing in fully subsidised free higher education and training for the poor and working-class South Africans over a five-year period" (SONA, 16 February 2018, p12).

On analysis of the above statement, President Ramaphosa raises red-flags as the President attributes this policy to the Zuma administration, and also in saying "Government would" – which highlights probability and not "will" as a definite statement. This study has also observed that the President has consistently referred to Government as "we" – which includes himself, but when speaking on Free Higher Education, he excludes himself. This may be due to that fact that the Finance Department and the Education Department had previously declared that free higher education is not possible due to budgetary constraints (Talk 702, 2016). However, he settles these concerns during his speech that the Ministers of Higher Education will lead implementation of the policy and left it for the Minister of Finance to clarify financial aspects of the policy during his own departmental budget speech.

The president in his SONA speeches makes use of text which is produced in consideration of how government wants to be imagined by the audience, as Fairclough (2005) explains when he outlines the text production process. The manner in which he positions government as an institution in the eyes of the public is consistent.

In his first speech, the president makes reference to the previous administration once and does not outline successes made before he became president. He speaks on the government's vision to rectify the conditions brought about by corrupt practices. Then, in his second speech he does report on progress made on the promises he has made in the previous speech. What could be deduced with regard to President Ramaphosa's interests based on these SONA speeches, is that he aims to live up to the broad expectations of being a "fixer" type of leader as positioned during his presidential bid. In the speeches, he positions his government to be much more functional, efficient and ethical compared to the one prior to him becoming President. In the speech delivered after taking over the presidency from Mr Zuma, the President says the following:

> "We are determined to build a society defined by decency and integrity, that does not tolerate plunder of resources, nor theft by corporate criminals of the hard-earned savings of ordinary people" (SONA, 16 February 2018 (a): 2).

The president is clearly managing cohesion and fosters a collaborative leadership style through the use of 'we' – which on its own is inclusive. He further brings about an element of morality in use of words as "decency" and "integrity" to display intolerance for corruption. Though he was part of the Zuma administration, the president distinguishes himself from what is perceived as a corrupt administration.

4.1.2 Social Context

This section concerns itself with how President Ramaphosa's state of the nation address is shaped by the social environment. The social aspects have been illuminated in Chapter 2 of this study and asserts that CDA is a social process. Relevant literature explained that language is an element of social processes and is in turn shaped by the social sphere (Wodak,1997; Fairclough, 2001). Therefore, the discursive event is constructed by the social and historical aspects which emanate from a dialectical relationship with other facets of social life. The role of historic events in shaping social realities and discursive possibilities in South Africa cannot be denied. South Africa's system of apartheid was designed to separate citizens along racial lines.

The democratic dispensation sought to unify the nation and its people. Mr Nelson Mandela, the first president of a democratic South Africa, was hailed for his efforts to unite the people

of South Africa. His message had wide and cross-cultural appeal amongst South Africans. As discussed in Chapter 1, he created a sense of an all-inclusive social order and a '*rainbow nation*' (a term coined by Bishop Desmond Tutu to denote an inclusive common humanity).

Beyond inclusive national identity and social cohesion, economic reforms were an expectation and a promise of the new South Africa. One of the fundamental principles underpinning the first economic policy of the democratic South Africa, the Reconstruction and Development Programme, was to address the economic imbalances and structural problems in South Africa's economy (Turok, 2011).

Racial segregation remained a key feature of apartheid rule and elements of its settlement patterns remain prevalent in the modern-day South Africa (Friedman, 2009). South Africa continues to grapple with poverty, inequalities and sexism even though commitments of the democratic dispensation in 1994 were to address them. According to Statistics South Africa (2017), despite the general decline in poverty levels between 2006 and 2011, poverty levels rose in 2015.

When maladministration and corruption during the tenure of Mr Zuma's Presidency increasingly became a concern, disaffected people took to the streets to express their grievances. Various social groups in society organised themselves into social movements and structures such as Save South Africa, Future South Africa, and *#UnitedBehind*, in order to 'Defend Democracy' (Save South Africa, 2017).

The youth raised concerns about jobs and free higher education. The *Fees Must Fall* Movement, which started with a protest over disagreements in fee negotiations at the University of Witwatersrand on 14 October 2015 (Chikane, 2018) and spread into various universities, was one of the largest student protests in the country.

Women were concerned with safety and gender-based violence. Civil society and various women structures formed a national coalition called *National Shut Down* (*Independent Online*, 27 July 2018; *News24.com*, 1 August 2018; *Daily Maverick*, 31 July 2018). On the 1st August 2018, they organised marches across the country to government institutions to table their grievances and to demand the state brings an end to gender-based violence.

The analysis of SONA speeches ends with 2019 speeches which were grounded on the anniversary of the 25 years of democracy. It was also during this period that there was social panic over delivery

of services by the state as people considered 25 years to have been a significant time for socio-economic conditions to have improved (Independent Online, 2019). Understanding the social dynamics and the mood around the country the president renders the 25 years of democracy into a moment of reflection in saying:

> "We must spend this year, the 25th anniversary of our freedom, asking ourselves whether we have built a society in which all South Africans equally and without exception enjoy their inalienable rights to life, dignity and liberty. Have we built a society where injustices of the past no longer defines the lives of the present? We must use this time to reflect on progress we have made, the challenges we have encountered, the setbacks we have suffered, and the mistakes we have committed"(SONA, 7 February 2019 (1).

The statement of the president does not offer any solutions to the challenges but rather requires everyone to collectively accept responsibility on the social realities. However, the president discusses issues of public concern individually. For instance, he avoids accepting blame for joblessness and lack of economic growth. He refers to that as a time a country is confronted by severe challenges, which is a norm in presidential speeches. Campbell and Jameson (1985) contend that speeches illustrate the President's acknowledgements of requirements and limitations in his role. The president avoids projecting government as an institution that has failed its people, so he is consistent in using unifying speech acts and language which expects people to take part in building a better country when he says:

> "The task of **building a better South Africa** is our collective responsibility as a nation…It is at the centre of the work of every government department. It informs every policy, every program and every initiative" (SONA, 7 February 2019).

Within the social context the president utilises democratic rhetoric which decentralises power from the institution or himself and situates it with the people. The social conditions have shaped the process of producing all three speeches analysed in this study. The content of the speeches is shaped by social conditions and the areas of concern within the social environment from service delivery issues, to safety and poverty. As discussed on the Independent Online, in an article titled "Democracy in South Africa is not real" (Gumede, 2019), 25 years of democracy must reflect that socio-economic conditions of the poor have changed since the dawn of democracy. The president addresses those concerns by rendering government's responsibilities

into a collective responsibility. Most areas of concern from the social analysis form part of existing discourses which inform the content of the speech and shall be extensively discussed in the next section.

4.2 Process of Production and Consumption

This section will, as discussed in Chapter 3, concern itself with who is involved in the discursive event, what their power relations are, what the rules of engagement are and what the role of language is in the process. Fairclough, in Wetherell et al. (2001), makes the assertion that written texts can also be interactional and that texts are often written with a particular readership in mind. He further asserts that texts are oriented to anticipate particular responses and are therefore interactive.

4.2.1 Actors

Actors within the SONA speeches are both primary and secondary audiences. Given the scarcity of literature or studies in SONA speeches, this locates its theoretical basis from literature on presidential inaugural addresses. Reisigl (2003) outlines features of the inaugural address which are similar to that of SONA, including being presided over by the head of government, being the President in South Africa, and the fact that their primary audience is mainly members of parliament. On the other hand, Volmert (2005) identifies the secondary audience as members of the public and other government agencies from foreign states. In the case of South Africa, this extends to special interest institutions such as ratings agencies and investors, and members of the media. The speeches serve a purpose of articulating government's policy programme and highlighting policy imperatives for the next parliamentary term (Reisigl 2003), though in the case of SONA it addresses policy issues for a period of one year.

As illustrated in Chapter 2, SONA is a political speech which occurs in the context of differing opinions about political decisions in parliament and in the public sphere (Reisigl, 2008). SONA preceded an open debate among political parties, different opinions and criticism occur. According to Klein (2000) a majority of parliamentary debate speeches are speeches aimed at legitimising a certain policy, to articulate one's political position and to deliberately delegitimise political opponents. Therefore, SONA does culminate in a debate with political opponents on a different date, which positions the speech as something inherently open to great scrutiny and as having to anticipate possible counter positions.

During SONA, counter positions are expected from opposition parties. SONA has linguistic action patterns in which howling or interruptions may occur according to Burkhardt (2004), and they are accepted as normal reactions with the exception of insults which the presiding chairperson calls to order (Reisigl, 2008). According to Reisigl (2008) the speaker can spontaneously respond to the howling and permits applause.

Since the establishment of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), an opposition party, the order during the SONA in parliament has been significantly altered. Since 2014, during President Zuma's administration, interactions have moved from heckling and shouting to walkouts by the EFF and other members of the opposition, and even violence in some instances.

This action resumed when then Public Protector made a recommendation for former President Zuma to repay the state funds used for security upgrades in his Nkandla home. The EFF would disrupt the former president's SONA speeches by chanting "pay back the money", and the presiding officer would call them to order until security officers would have to be called to intervene (ENCA, 2014).

The president is aware of possible disruptions by opposition during the SONA speech and uses interpellation to establish a rapport with members of the opposition. Interpellation is a term coined by Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser (1971) which talks to how texts positions readers to accept the meanings offered in an interactional process, this is sometimes referred to as "being called or hailed by a particular discourse" (Wetherrel, Taylor, and Yates, 2002,p.209).

In his maiden speech, following the resignation of former President Zuma, President Ramaphosa reads out his salutations, starting with presiding officers, the Speakers and Deputy Speaker; he then mentions the leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters immediately after this, deviating from the practice of acknowledging former presidents and speakers.

The president further affirms the rest of opposition in his speech delivered after the 2019 elections, where he positions them as leaders who have heard the cries of the people when he states that:

> "Through the elections held in May, you all provided us with a clear mandate for growth and renewal. All of us have heard you – myself, Hon Malema, Hon Buthelezi, Hon

Groenewald, Hon Moshoe, Hon Holomisa, Hon Zungula, Hon De Lille, Hon Magwaza-Msibi, Hon Galo, Hon Lekota, Hon Nyhontso and Hon Hendricks. (SONA, June 2019)

In this manner the president may manage to tame opposition by acknowledging that they are leaders who are given mandates by their constituent groups. This statement may also position opposition as co-governing with him in the administration to carry out the people's mandate. This statement also positions the president as being an equal leader in his position and not of a higher rank. The president has utilised democratic rhetoric, which transforms power relations from one of authority to comradeship (Ellis, 1998). This kind of rhetoric is what Azari et al. (2012) call multi-partisan appeal in presidential speeches. The speaker makes use of language to neutralise an opponent. The secondary audience has no notable responses during the event as the SONA is delivered by the President and there is no response by the immediate audience on the day, making it a mostly one-way communication process. However, concerns of various audience groups are covered in the SONA and the President extracts them from existing discourses, which will be discussed extensively in the next section.

4.2.2 Drawing from Existing Discourses

This aspect of the research project deals with analysing how content of the speech is drawn from existing discourses. In the literature review Wodak and Meyer (2011) argued that in CDA, language has no ability to be powerful in isolation of the people who use it within a discursive practice. Therefore, this displays the interconnectivity between text, discourse and the discursive practice – which constitutes more of an interdependent connectedness. The discursive event is shaped by discourse and shapes discourse. This section will analyse issues in text which are drawn from existing discourses, which includes how they are presented by the president through use of language and how the president uses language to shape discourse.

Popular Culture & Literature

As demonstrated in the social analysis section, the context in which this speech is delivered is a time preceded by great angst about political stability in the country, concerns about the levels of corruption, economic downturn, loss of trust in public institutions, as well as protracted processes of negotiations within the governing party towards a change of leadership in government.

The speech is also delivered 6 weeks after the passing of Hugh Masekela, a legendary jazz musician who was not only admired for his musical prowess but for using his art to contribute to the struggle for equality in South Africa. His death was met with an outpouring of grief amongst many South Africans. Many South Africans could therefore identify with this call for a 'renewed sense of patriotism' as one of the President's speech writers quoted in Hunter (2019) said was the motive behind the use of a Hugh Masekela song that Ramaphosa quoted at his first SONA.

According to Lim (2008), this is a form of abstract rhetoric, which draws from the religious, poetic and idealistic forms of discourses. The president chooses the song of the late Hugh Masekela to foster a psycho-social bond amongst South Africans. He also utilises this song in his first SONA to set the tone of his leadership as he defines the song "Thuma Mina" as a song in which the artists anticipated a day of renewal and new beginnings. In his maiden SONA in February 2018, he recited the song and said:

"I wanna be there when the people start to turn it
around When they triumph over poverty
I wanna be there when the people win the battle against AIDS
I wanna lend a hand
I wanna be there for the alcoholic
I wanna be there for the drug addict
I wanna be there for the victims of violence and abuse
I wanna lend a hand,

Send me"

This form of rhetoric is utilised for its political value and its strength in drawing on elemental ideas and concepts to reach the emotions of audiences and to foster a sense of belonging and a common ideological bond. This is also apparent on his June 2019 SONA where he recited a poem by the poet Laurette, Ben Okri:

"Only free people can make a free
world. Infect the world with your light.
Help fulfill the golden
prophecies. Press forward the
human genius. Our future is

greater than our past."

Through arts, the President seeks to arouse the feelings of patriotism, service, and unity of purpose. In both the poem and the song, he is calling people to action, in terms of contributing to the South Africa they aspire to. Ramaphosa creates intertextual links to these artistic texts in order to rouse the emotions of the audience and to inspire hope and a sense of common purpose.

He also taps into national mourning for Hugh Masekela in order to create an emotional bond with South Africans who similarly mourned the loss of the great musician.

Another domain within which the symbolism of Thuma Mina can be understood as a message of renewal is within the biblical context. Ramaphosa invokes the experience of the prophet Isiah in Isiah 6 v 8: This message also falls with a christonormative context, where the president assumes Christianity as a normal, common religion among members of the audience both in parliament and the wider South Africa though media. His selection of this draws on this kind of normativity as well as reproduces it.

> "Then I heard the voice of the Lord saying, whom shall I send and who will go for us? And I said, here am I, Send Me" (Yancey & Stafford,1992, p.616)

In this passage, the prophet Isiah volunteers his services to the Lord when he responds to the voice of the Lord 'Here am I, send me', after the Lord asks the question 'Whom shall I send'.

The song is also another messianic rhetorical device, borrowed from both popular culture and religious discourse as the president offers himself to be sent, out of a moral conviction to solve the social ills rather than ascension to power like conventional politicians. The language is likewise a call for other South Africans to see themselves as partners in creating a better South Africa and to themselves answer "send me" to the call of renewal and change.

The Land Question

The land question is one of the discourses which has dominated the public sphere in recent years. Following the establishment of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) political party in 2013, the debate on land reform and redistribution gained prominence. The 54th National Conference of the ANC in December 2017 also took a resolution to pursue the programme of

land reform using expropriation of land without compensation as a key mechanism (54th National Conference Report and Resolutions, 2017).

In his first speech, the president mentioned land reform as a resolution of the 2017 ANC Elective Conference in saying:

> "We are determined that expropriation without compensation should be implemented in a way that increases agricultural production, improves food security and ensure that the land is returned to those from whom it was taken under colonialism and apartheid" (SONA, 16 February 2018).

The SONA on the 9th of June 2019, marked the 106th year since the promulgation of the Native Lands Act which formalised land dispossession of black people in South Africa. The president used emotional appeals which emanate from the apartheid era characterised by brutality and displacement of the black majority in saying:

> "We gather here at the start of the 6th Democratic Parliament, 106 years to the day after the Natives Land Act – one of the most devastating acts of dispossession, pain and humiliation – came into force" (SONA, 20 June 2019).

He also draws from the heroic discourse when he cites a much-respected fallen hero of the struggle against apartheid, Sol Plaatje who said;

> "Awakening on Friday morning, June 20, 1913, the South African native found himself, not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth."

In addition to citing Sol Plaatjie, the President positions himself as an ally of the poor. He makes a statement to project himself as a leader who understands the plight of the poor, in stating that:

> "Our people suffered gravely and endured untold hardships as a result of the implementation of the Natives Land Act. The effect[s] of that law are still present with us. More than a century after that grave injustice, we are called upon to forge a South Africa where no person will be slave or pariah, only free and equal and respected" (SONA, 20 June 2019).

As part of the discursive practice, the president embarks on articulation of certain rhetoric as action (Lemon, 2004) which implies not reducing discourse to be a mere activity and acknowledging the limitations in language. Acknowledging these limitations involves proposing a legal framework which allows for a legally compliant land redistribution program. As part of the action, the president announces that he has appointed a panel of experts to draw a comprehensive land reform program (SONA, 20 June 2019). The actions, such as the appointment of the presidential panel of experts, do provide hope that something is being done to accelerate a land redistribution program, and language is used to portray the president as a leader who identifies with the challenges of the poor in society.

He also focuses on the pain and emotional toll of land dispossession, and of how this effectively made people "slaves" and "pariahs". He relies strongly on emotive language that frames people as victims who are in need of salvation. This is closely linked to his presidential bid language where he portrays himself as a moral leader who links to religious narratives in terms of rescuing others.

Youth Development & Jobs

Youth unemployment remains a major concern as outlined in recent statistics released by Statistics South Africa. It has been reported that youth unemployment had increased to 58,2 percent by the third quarter of 2019 (Statistics South Africa, 2019). In his June 2019 SONA, the president referred to these figures as a national crisis:

> "The fact that the unemployment rate among young South Africans is more than 50% is a national crisis..." (SONA , 20 June 2019, p.16)

According to population estimates released in 2019, the youth constitute more than a third of South Africa's population, that is 35,1% (Statistics South Africa, 2019). The president emphasises that this is a priority matter to be addressed when he says:

> "We are one people, committed to work together to find jobs for our youth; to build factories and roads, houses and clinics; to prepare our children for a world of change and progress; to build cities and towns where families may be safe, productive and content" (SONA, 16 February 2018).

In the above statement he aligns youth unemployment together with other service delivery imperatives. The following statement may affirm to the audience that youth unemployment will be addressed:

"At the centre of our national agenda in 2018 is the creation of jobs, especially for the youth. We are going to embark on a number of measures to address the unemployment challenge" (SONA, 16 February 2018).

One of the initiatives the president mentioned was to convene a Jobs Summit after his first SONA to align the efforts of every sector and every stakeholder behind the imperative of job creation (SONA, 16 February 2018).

> "It is therefore essential that we proceed without delay to implement a comprehensive plan – driven and coordinated from the Presidency – to create no fewer than two million new jobs for young people within the next decade. We will continue to develop programmes to ensure that economically excluded young people are work ready and absorbed into sectors where 'jobs demand' is growing".

The president starts off by acknowledging that youth unemployment is a national crisis, then he shares plans for the youth and he ends off in saying the youth must lead change – a more democratic type of rhetoric. The democratic rhetoric employed by the President advances an observation by Lim (2008) that presidential rhetoric has evolved into a rhetoric that honours the people, and is inclusive, emotive in nature and egalitarian. This can be signified in the consistency by the President to use "we" – which signifies collaboration and re-negotiation in power relations into some kind of equal distribution of power amongst the people of the country. This rhetorical strategy can also be seen as instrumental in enabling the president to escape accountability for the conditions of unemployment among the youth.

The fight against gender-based violence

Various groups called for government to deal decisively with gender-based violence. Towards mid-year in 2018, women from all walks of life organised themselves under the banner of the total shutdown, where the entire country would not operate but would stand against gender-based violence (IOL, 2018). Amongst other demands, the total shut down demanded a strong message from the president that gender-based violence is alarmingly high and will not be tolerated in society. Additionally, the protesters demanded for the

president to commit that any individual found guilty of gender-based violence will not be appointed to work with the state (S.ANews, 2018).

The President addressed GBV at the SONA after the 2019 elections by drawing from existing discourses when he said:

> "We are working with civil society organisations on strategies to end gender-based violence and femicide. Following intensive consultations and engagements, we are working towards the establishment of the Gender Based Violence and Femicide Council and a National Strategic Plan that will guide all of us, wherever we are, in our efforts to eradicate this national scourge" (SONA, 20 June 2019)

He also acknowledged the pervasiveness and critical level of GBV in society as demanded by the total shutdown:

> "Violence against women and children has reached epidemic proportions. Every day women encounter abuse from those they trust" (SONA, 7 February 2019).

As demanded by the total shutdown is August 2018, the Presidency hosted a gender-based violence summit, where the President affirmed to attendees that government has heard their cries. During the summit, activists demanded for budget to be made available for handling gender-based violence. He expressed the same sentiment at the SONA when he said:

> "We have listened to the call to make funds available to combat gender-based violence and have allocated funding in the current budget to support the decisions taken at the Summit" (SONA, 20 June 2019).

Through language, the president responds to the environment and draws his messages on violence against women and children from existing discourses. There is little evidence that government has had any comprehensive policy for dealing with the scourge of gender-based violence. This proves true to the assertion of Weiss and Wodak (2003) that text is rarely a product of a single source but is shaped by discourse, which is apparent in the content on violence on women and children in SONA speeches. Jørgensen (2002) refers to this as a practice where language is drawn from already existing discourses to create text. The language used demonstrates that the president is responsive to the demands of activists and serves to reassure them that the issue is being taken seriously.

Building a Sense of Shared Values

On this particular aspect the president relies on the existing discourse on the history of the country, namely the struggle against apartheid. He draws on the known values and principles of the heroes and stalwarts of the struggle against apartheid. This is clearly evidenced when the President says:

> "For this, we owe much to our forbearers – people like Pixley ka Seme, Charlotte Maxeke and Chief Albert Luthuli – who understood the necessity of the unity and harmony of all the people of this great land" (SONA, 7 February 2018).

The president sought to tap into ideological ascriptions of his audiences, which is defined by van Dijk (2003) as the basic values and beliefs shared by a group, and such values in this study can be located in common history. Essentially, ideology presents a representative form and consists of a number of widely accepted rules which allows social actors to quickly understand, or build, reject or modify widely accepted ideology (van Dijk2003).

The President aligns his message with the legacy of the late President Nelson Mandela and utilises the strategy of shared values and admiration of former president Nelson Mandela. He draws mainly from what Britten (2005) refers to as the myth of a *saintly Mandela* whose presidency was characterised by his pursuit of non-racialism and national unity. Interestingly, Mandela did not agree with this attribute of sainthood. Delivering a speech at the Baker Institute for Public Policy in Houston he said, "…I am not a saint, unless you think of a saint as a sinner who keeps on trying" (www.houstonpublicmedia.org). There was an existing discourse on marking the 100 years since the birth of Nelson Mandela. The president drew from that discourse and drew from the discourse on the legacy of Mandela to formulate a unifying message for South Africans:

> "In just over 150 days from now, the peoples of the world will unite in celebrating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela. We will recount Madiba's (Mandela's clan name) long walk to freedom, his wisdom, his unfailing humility, his abiding compassion and his essential integrity. We have dedicated this year to his

> (Mandela) memory and we will devote our every action, every effort, every utterance, to the realisation of his vision of a democratic, just and equitable society. In celebrating…Nelson Mandela, we are not merely honouring the past, we are building the future" (SONA, 7 February 2018).

As discussed in Chapter 1 of this study, the Mandela legacy considers him a unifier and a steward for peace in the country as the president alludes:

> "…It is a New Dawn that is inspired by our collective memory of Nelson Mandela. We are continuing the long walk he (Mandela) began. We should honour **Madiba** by putting behind us the era of discord, disunity, and disillusionment" (SONA, February 2018).

In this narrative, Mandela remains a key figure in the construction of what South Africa should be. The rebirth and renewal of South Africa is mainly to honour Mandela; by implication, this is what he would have wanted. Mandela's presidency was characterised by the pursuit of national unity and non-racialism. It is also interesting how this strategy also draws from the *Ethos* of President Nelson Mandela to both unite and legitimise the presidency of Mr Ramaphosa.

4.3 Text Analysis

This section of the study is grounded on Halliday's theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday, 1985). The theory identifies three major functions of language which links language with the context in which it is used, this is, the Ideational Function, Interpersonal Function, and Textual Function of language (these are expanded on in the literature review section). Thompson's theory (1984, 1990) on the Modes of Operation of Ideology (as discussed in the literature review) and how they are realised in language will also provide good lenses for analysis of text in addition to Halliday's functions of language. The analysis of rhetorical devices utilised by the President will also form part of this section.

This analysis will not look at all three SONA speeches, in relation to these functions; it will however look at how these functions manifest themselves in relation to the most salient themes in the speeches. These are outlined below:

4.3.1 Interpersonal Function: Language of Hope and Renewal

The previous chapter defined the interpersonal function in a text as being expressed through mood and modality in the main. According to Oni (2013) this function is relevant in ascertaining power in political speeches as it reflects on the speaker's angle on an issue and motives in saying what they are saying. Therefore, utilising this function seeks to analyse how the President addresses concerns about corruption, a stagnant economy, the high unemployment rate and great consternation about the direction in which the country was going. The previous section of this study has illuminated that one of the striking themes that is discernible in the speeches is how President Ramaphosa sought to bring hope in this situation and mobilise support for his presidency. This section puts under the spotlight some of the thematic issues found in the SONA speeches and will analyse some linguistic elements and rhetorical devises employed by the President.

The New Dawn Metaphor

In his maiden speech the President introduced the idea of a *New Dawn* (SONA, 16 February 2018,p.3). The New Dawn is a metaphor used to introduce the idea of a rebirth of South Africa. Sipra and Rashid (2013) note that metaphors in a discourse represent an ideology which shapes reality within that context. This metaphor is used to explain the abstract notion of political change and convey the values of a Ramaphosa presidency.

> "We should put all negativity that has dogged our country behind us because a *new dawn* is upon us. It is a *new dawn* that is inspired by our collective memory of Nelson Mandela" (SONA, 16 February 2018)

The choice of the metaphor of light versus darkness, which has a source domain in ethics and morality, is an interesting rhetorical device. It implies a positive evaluation of his presidency versus the darkness and negativity of the previous one. It is also part of the messianic narrative whose source domain is in religious discourse, that is the language of rebirth and renewal (Chateris-Black, 2005).

The president projects his administration as a formation of a new nation, informed by the Mandela epoch in ushering the country to a new dispensation. Some of the phrases utilised include:

> "We have been given a responsibility to build a new nation." (SONA, 16 February 2018)

He also says:

> "As we enter a new era, we are determined to build on these achievements…Our task, as South Africans, is to seize this moment of hope and renewal…" SONA, 16 February 2018

The imagery of the breaking of a new day from darkness is also used elliptically to represent a break from corruption (euphemistically referred to as negativity) which the President claims had dogged the country. He positions himself as someone who brings light and hope.

There is however no substantiation for the claim of a fresh start, and the metaphor is used to inspire confidence despite some level of avoidance in calling out what had truly caused the "darkness" of the preceding era. The President instead makes use of euphemisms to refer to the previous period before he assumed the Presidency. He refers to it as a time of negativity,

> "We should put behind all the negativity that has dogged our country. We should put behind the era of discord, disunity, and disillusion" (note the use of alliteration here for emphasis) (SONA, 6 February 2018).

In this manner, the President makes use of modals to express the degree of probability in order to frame the previous administration and epoch. According to Fairclough (2003) modality also deals with attitudes, judgements and stances, and with the "new dawn" metaphor the president makes a judgement to distinguish his leadership from what is seemingly a gloomy past. This argument supports the assertion of the literature review of this study that in political speeches, judgements, attitudes and stances can manifest themselves through categorical or uncategorical statements by the leader without any conclusive argument. To further shape people's perceptions on his leadership the President associates his leadership to that of Nelson Mandela as discussed in the section on social context (4.1.2).

The Mandela Legacy

The President aligns his message with former President Nelson Mandela and utilises the strategy of 'assumed' shared values and admiration of former president Nelson Mandela to legitimise his own presidency. He draws from what Britten (2005) refers to as the *myth of* a saintly *Mandela* in whose footsteps we should follow.

In anticipating the celebration of former President Mandela's centenary which took place 5 months after the delivery of his maiden speech, President Ramaphosa uses a journey metaphor previously used by former President Mandela: "We will recount Madiba's (Mandela's clan name) long walk to freedom". He also commits to dedicating "every effort, every action, every utterance to the realisation of his vision," thus creating an impression of continuity from Mandela's historic struggle for freedom to his presidency. He utilises this journey metaphor of a long walk to freedom, to create an impression of following in Mandela's footsteps.

In this narrative, Mandela remains a key figure in the construction of what South Africa should be. The rebirth and renewal of South Africa is mainly to honour Mandela: "In celebrating...Nelson Mandela, we are not merely honouring the past, we are building the future" (SONA, 16 February 2018). By implication, this is what Mandela would have wanted. It is also interesting how this strategy also draws from the *Ethos* of President Nelson Mandela to both unite the people of South Africa and legitimise Ramaphosa's presidency.

The use of rhetorical devices such as legitimation, metaphors and myths best illustrate how the President uses the language of hope and renewal to mark a shift from the previous period led by the former president Jacob Zuma and to mobilise support for his own presidency.

Language of Action and Change

Mood and Modality, which form part of the Interpersonal function of language in Hallidayan theory of functional grammar, is useful in analysing the language of action and change in the speeches. As discussed in Chapter 3, mood is expressed through statements, questions, and commands, whilst modality is expressed through judgements, attitudes, and stances taken on issues being discussed (Halliday, 1973).

An example of two areas which the President identifies as important and need to be addressed, namely corruption and the economy, demonstrate this language of change and action.

Corruption

An initial reading of the President's statements on corruption create the impression that he uses categorical and action-oriented statements when talking about corruption. This could be seen as aimed at building a sense of trust.

Categorical and action-oriented Statements

"We will use this year to **reinforce** our commitment to ethical behaviour."

"We are determined to build a society defined by decency and integrity."

"We will intervene decisively to stabilise and revitalise state-owned enterprises"

"This is the year…. **we will turn the tide** against corruption." (SONA, 16 February 2018)

However, another reading of these statements is that the modal used, such as the word "will", is not necessarily categorical in the sense that it is futuristic and in the realm of promise. It describes actions that will be done in the future, and thus creates an idealistic and less pressing tone. These promises might be divorced from action in this modal construction.

The Economy

Whilst analysing mood and modality in the clauses related to corruption, it is noticeable that the strength with which propositions are made around the economy are non-categorical and not always action oriented. It is instead negotiating and inviting, using such terms as: "social partners, collaborate, work together, forge ahead, focus efforts, initiate measure" (as opposed to taking measures as demonstrated with corruption in the above section). These linguistic features are demonstrated on the SONA February 2018, below:

"We have to build further on the collaboration with business and labour."

"Tough decisions have to be made to close the fiscal gap."

"We will make a major push ….to encourage significant new investment…."

4.3.2 Ideational Function: Representation of Experience

The Ideational function is represented through transitivity in text. Ideational meanings of text is concerned with meanings of how we represent experience in language (Haratyan ,2011). This section will therefore utilise the ideational function to construe human experience which reflects the nature of the social process in President Ramaphosa's SONA speeches. It is distinguished into two forms of meaning, one being experiential , and that of the logical meaning between clauses. Halliday (1979) classifies the processes into six types which include, the material, mental, relational, behavioural, verbal and existential processes.

The President utilises **material process** to indicate government's past and future actions – this involves an actor, material process (which is an action) and a goal which is exemplified on the following February 2018 SONA passage:

> "This year, we will be initiating (Material Process) measures to set the country on a new path of growth, employment and transformation (Goal)".

The speeches follow this sequence as the president presents the state of the nation address, to report what they state has achieved in the previous year and its plans ahead.

In line with Daniel, Habib and Southall (2003) assertion that the SONA is likely to be an overstated performance, the president utilises the material process to overstate successes on an unresolved challenged as Eskom;

> "Since the load shedding earlier this year, Eskom has made much progress in implementing its nine-point plan, ensuring better maintenance of its generation fleet, reducing costs and ensuring adequate reserves of coal" (June 2019) .

The President also utilises the mental process which involves cognition, affection and perception. This constitutes a sensor as a participant and mental process (Eggins, 2004). The President utilises this to articulate the experiences encountered by people in order to invoke emotions and portray some kind of solidarity or understanding of their plight, such as;

> "Our people (Sensor) suffered (Mental Process) gravely and endured (Mental Process) untold hardships as a result of the implementation of the Natives Land Act. The effect of that law are still present with us" (February 2019).

The President utilises this process to draw a picture of the conditions South Africans lived under during apartheid. He is also utilises it to draw on the current struggles of the people such as;

> "It hurts (Mental Process) you, the worker (Sensor) in Nelson Mandela Bay, who despite earning a salary is struggling (Mental Process) to make ends meet" (February , 2019).

On the passage above, the President displays emotional faculties to project that they understand the plight of the working class. This is necessary as the President is part of the elite, by displaying understanding of challenged of the poor, he then manufactures a sense of equality between himself and the poor. Then relational process articulates these abstract relations between the President and the poor (Haratyan, 2011).

The relational process is defined as the process of being, classified through modes which are attributive relations and identifying relation. The president utilises the relational process to forge alliances within his audiences in parliament and at home as exemplified;

> "Through the elections (Carrier) held in May, you provided all of us (Possessive) with a clear mandate for growth and renewal (Attribute)" (June, 2019).

The President seeks to portray a view that he is co-governing with his opposition when he uses "us". This manufactures collective responsibility for the state and forges some form of equality with opposition leaders. He further also utilizes relational process in text in order propose collective responsibility;

> "The task of **building a better South Africa** is our collective responsibility as a nation…It is at the centre of the work of every government department. It informs every policy, every program and every initiative" (SONA, 7 February 2019).

Therefore, the relational process serves two main purposes: 1) to represent the president as one of the people, and 2) to decentralise power and responsibility.

The verbal process deals with direct or indirect report, situated between mental and relational processes which is considered to be related to a symbolic exchange of meaning (Halliday,

1985). A verbal process involves three participants: the Sayer, the Receiver and the Verbiage which the president utilises when referring to the post-colonial South Africa in utilising normalised words as, "new nation" etc,

> "In 25 years of democracy we have made remarkable progress in building a new nation in which all South Africans have equal rights and broadening opportunities" (June 2019).

Existential is easily identified through its structure which involves the use of 'there' to create meaning (Alaei and Ahangri, 2016). According to Eggins (2004) "there" when used in existential processes, has no representational meaning, it does not refer to a location. The President utilises the existential meaning when referring to something that will seize to exist under his leadership. On the passage below, he utilises "there" in language not to depict a place but as an assurance to what will not happen;

> "We are committed to building an ethical state in which there is no place for corruption, patronage, rent-seeking and plundering of public money" (SONA, 2019).

The ideational function in this study has enabled analysis of representations of reality in the President's speeches. The President has utilised ideation to draw a picture of South Africa's past, present and the future.

4.3.3 Textual Function: Language of Structure and Cohesion

Haratyana (2011) argues that the textual function is concerned with theme, and rheme which is centred on a structure where any component in a clause such as subject, predicator, complement or circumstantial adjunct can be illuminated and be placed in thematic position or the beginning of the clause which is more significant than other locations. Theme incorporates the message in a text which displays the identity of text relations. This implies that the topic is situated at the beginning and thereafter it is justified and additional information will be provided to support information provided earlier information. On the SONA speeches we see a thematic progression on each speech which is developed through a constant theme pattern. This is notable at the beginning and this part of the speech is well knitted, well thought and well organized. It has been created with the help of chain of related ideas and appropriate words

focusing on the main idea. In the passage below the President utilises history for thematic purpose and to lay a foundation for his speech;

> "In just over 150 days from now, the peoples of the world will unite in celebrating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela. It is a day on which we, as South Africans, will remember the life of one of the most remarkable leaders this country and this continent – and indeed, the world – has known. We will recount Madiba's long walk to freedom, his wisdom, his unfailing humility, his abiding compassion and his essential integrity. We have dedicated this year to his memory and we will devote our every action, every effort, every utterance to the realisation of his vision of a democratic, just and equitable society. Guided by his example, we will use this year to reinforce our commitment to ethical behaviour and ethical leadership. In celebrating the centenary of Nelson Mandela we are not merely honouring the past, we are building the future. We are continuing the long walk he began, to build a society in which all may be free, in which all may be equal before the law and in which all may share in the wealth of our land and have a better life. We are building a country where a person's prospects are determined by their own initiative and hard work, and not by the colour of their skin, place of birth, gender, language or income of their parents.This year, we also celebrate the centenary of another giant of our struggle, Albertina Nontsikelelo Sisulu. Through her remarkable life and outstanding contribution, she defined what it means to be a freedom fighter, a leader and a diligent and disciplined servant of the people" (February, 2018).

This technique captures the feeling of the audience and fosters to unity of purpose in tackling remnants of apartheid through principles and ideals of their hero's. In other part so f the speech he utilises cohesion and coherence on the speech. This enables sentences to be grammatically and thematically correct and by cohesion, it maximises the impact of the message and feelings by the speakers. This provides power to the President to achieve a deep impact on the audience and it also creates a logical sequence within the sentences. The President also utilises this sequencing to narrate the conditions people live under. He skilfully narrates these conditions whilst avoiding to deal with the causes of poor delivery of services or why economic conditions of people have not changed under democratic rule. Through this sequenced text the president invokes emotions;

> "It affects you, the young man eMzimhlope, out of school five years now
> and still not employed".

"It impacts you, the single mother from Delft, whose grant supports not just yourself but your grandchildren too……

"It hurts you, the worker in Nelson Mandela Bay, who despite earning a salary is struggling to make ends meet.

"It is hard for you, the young student from the Sol Plaatje University, who must rely on a thin stipend from your parents to feed yourself." (June,2019)

Then this train of emotional text leads to;

"Yours are the lived struggles of the people of

this nation".

"We have heard you, and many others".

This textual technique then provides basis for unity, understanding and hope for a brighter future. This takes the viewer from a place of dissatisfaction to a position of believing Government understands their conditions and their complaints have been heard.

4.3.4 Rhetoric of Uniting the people of South Africa – Manufacturing Consent

The language of unity is quite prevalent in the speeches through the use of devices such as clichés, intensifiers, amplifiers, contrasts, and the use of pronouns. In this section, the president utilises what Fairclough (1997) refers to as mediated power to construct alliances and integration rather than to simply dominate his audience. He seeks concession by using clichés about nationhood to win the audience. These are mostly found in the following expressions:

"For though we are a diverse people, we are one nation…We are a nation at one……We are one people, committed to work together….We are… the most hospitable people…Together we are going to make history." (SONA, 16 February 2018)

"…..as a diverse people and as a united nation.., we will celebrate one of the greatest human achievements…" (note how this line is borrowed from Mandela's inaugural speech – "The sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement" as cited in (MacArthur, 1999,p. 501).

He further articulates nationhood in saying:

> "Fellow South Africans…we are a people of resilience, determination and optimism." (SONA, 7 February 2019).

Then he revives the collective responsibility from previous sections:

> "This task - of building South Africa - is our collective task as a nation."

The collective pronoun "we", is also used extensively in the speeches as shown above to create a sense of inclusion and a collective identity. It also serves as an interesting mechanism to share political responsibility towards 'rebuilding a new South Africa'.

Through these utterances the President creates an impression of a shared sense of common purpose. He creates an impression of a collective identity of all South Africans despite acknowledging their diversity. The President tries to give South Africans values and beliefs as a homogenous group. Another interesting aspect on this has been discussed in previous sections that the president is tapping into cognitive aspects of the audience which could remind them of the Mandela legacy based on his image as a unifying figure. According to Oni (2013) the functionality of the speech could be achieved through mood and therefore President Ramaphosa utilises sentimentality to achieve his goal.

The analysis on SONA speeches ends with 2019 speeches which were presented under the themes and perspectives of the 25 years since the election of a democratic government. Considering that 25 years is a significant time to reflect on whether progress has been made to improve socio-economic conditions, the president says the following:

> "We must spend this year, the 25th anniversary of our freedom, asking ourselves whether we have built a society in which all South Africans equally and without exception enjoy their inalienable rights to life, dignity and liberty. Have we built a society where injustices of the past no longer define the lives of the present? We must use this time to reflect on progress we have made, the challenges we have encountered, the setbacks we have suffered, and the mistakes we have committed" (SONA, 7 February 2019).

Within the social context, the president utilises democratic rhetoric which decentralises power from the institution or himself to the people. He addresses concerns about progress by rendering government's responsibilities into a collective responsibility

CHAPTER 5:

5. DISCUSSION

The main aim of this study was to analyse rhetoric used by president Ramaphosa during his state of the nation addresses between the 2018 – 2019 period. This section will therefore discuss how aspects of CDA such as power, social practices and ideology are construed, against findings from the analysis chapter. The analysis focused on the main themes which were salient on all three SONA speeches in order to understand the president's use of language and how he utilizes it to influence his audience. The consistent themes throughout all speeches were around intolerance for corruption and economic revival – which are the same themes he used to position himself as a candidate during his presidential bid. However, a striking observation this study has made was that content for the speeches was shaped by and responded to social and institutional context.

The first section explored the social context which encompassed a comprehensive analysis of both the social and institutional contexts. The latter was further categorised into political party contexts. The political context influenced the first State of the Nation Address in February; thereafter his tone and language carried non-partisan appeals.

During the first SONA, the president thanked his predecessor, but the speech did not focus on reporting progress made by government, as would be some of the objectives of the SONA (Habib, 2010) alluded in Chapter 2. Then on his second speech he does report on progress made against commitments he made during the previous speech. The third speech is categorised with rather abstract messaging with some of his third way ideology discussed in the political party context. Through analysis of the institutional context, this study has observed that the President frames the institutional context around moving from an era of corruption and maladministration to clean governance. His language on the institutional context is moralistic, condemns corruption but is vague on policies. This study has also noted the use of the "messiah" frame in his language during SONA speeches. An example of this is his framing of corruption as an ethical or moral issue. His use of the language of rebirth and renewal could arguably be a part of this messianic frame whose source domain is religious discourse. The president does not offer new policies to address the problems that he identifies, for example there is no discernible

policy to deal with the economic downturn, but rather calls for partnerships, Jobs Summits and Investment Conferences.

In analysing the social context, the study has observed that it is characterised by democratic rhetoric which decentralises power from the institution or himself to the people. The President identifies problems and calls on social or business partners to assist in resolving them. From the analysis of the speeches it could be observed that the social conditions have contributed to the process of producing the SONA speeches. The President's areas of focus during the SONA did somehow correlate with social conditions and salient issues during the delivery of the SONAs. Therefore, data suggested that he sought to address pressing social issues through his SONA speeches. For instance, he would address the concern over the levels of gender-based violence but little would be communicated on safety policies.

The above observation has assisted the president in dodging responsibility for and on-behalf of government over failure to deliver or resolving certain policy imperatives. Furthermore, the president fails to address the concerns of the oppressed and the marginalised in his speeches. Transitivity is an important tool to examine power relations in texts, particularly where it deals with vulnerable groups. Transitivity, as an analytical tool, concerns itself with the processes allocated to subjects. These can be considered to be material, verbal, mental, relational, behavioural and existential processes (Bustam, 2011). The analysis showed that women are often given material processes as opposed to verbal or mental processes. They are spoken of or on their behalf. He scarcely speaks of gender emancipation and improving social conditions of women – which positions women as disempowered subjects who need to be rescued. This notion significantly disempowers women and disregards women's agency.

Similar to what the study finds with women, the poor are spoken of and spoken for. They are not addressed directly, and there is often a paternalistic discourse around them. They have no mental or verbal processes attributable to them. They are mentioned in the processes of addressing inequalities and as a helpless group which needs to be rescued. In short, his response to conditions affecting the marginalised in society is consistent in conveying a message that government understands their conditions and is doing everything in their power to address their concerns. The poor and women are not active agents in the language chosen, and there is a paternalistic tone to addressing issues concerning them. His paternalistic tone is evidenced in how he refers to the poor as "our people" and renders them helpless rather than adequately acknowledging the root causes of these issues in society. From time to time he apportions blame

for the conditions of the marginal to racial segregation which economically excludes black people, but has failed to acknowledge the role of corruption in maintain the status quo. This assisted the President in avoiding to take any responsibility for challenges faced by the country.

As discussed in the analysis President Ramaphosa portrays mediated power through use of democratic rhetoric. However, this form of mediated power is addressed towards the privileged in society and business whom he addresses as partners by proposing collaboration and cooperation in order to address challenges of the country. There are striking contradictions on how the President projects his democratic power and his paternalistic tone – with authority and fatherly frames - when addressing the marginalised in society. There is unequal distribution of power with the marginalised being spoken for as helpless subjects who must be rescued from their social conditions. This shapes social realities and maintains social inequalities as women and the poor are not players as disempowering language is attributed to them.

He responds to the political environment in use of unitary language which is addressed to his detractors within the ANC and opposition parties in order to manufacture consent. What this implies is that the President's democratic rhetoric is aimed at those with some form of power be it economical (as business) or political (his political opponents and opposition parties), in order to get them to surrender their power. Whilst on the other hand, he directs anti-intellectual rhetoric, which is illustrated on the notion to scarcely substantiate his arguments towards the marginalized people in order influence their opinions. The voices of the marginalised are also not visible, even in the process of production which illuminates all other discourses.

The study has noted that some of the issues addressed during the SONA were drawn from existing discourses. The literature review of the study defined this as a process where production of texts is structured by conditions in discourse (Klein, 2000). This has been evidenced in how the president draws issues from relevant discourses for his SONA, ranging from Youth Unemployment, Gender Based Violence and Popular Culture. There was a striking pattern in how the president engaged with existing discourses pertaining to the issues. He hardly proposed any new government intervention nor asserted policy positions on issues in question, but he responded to demands tabled by social movements or interest groups. Notably, these social movements generated public interest and received both public and media attention - that can be seen in how the previous section contextualised them from news reports.

Therefore, if priority is given to issues covered in media, then SONA speeches are nothing short of 'lip service', since the concerns of those who are marginalised in society are not prioritised by Government, and there is no evidence of meaningful consultation with these affected groups in formulating solutions that are proposed in SONAs. However, the speaker aligns himself with the concerns of the public, which is evidenced in how he mentions struggles of working class in the textual function of language. In this way, they sound responsive to existing social issues and draw on the language and concerns of the public without needing to act upon these issues or concerns.

CDA considers language usage in both the speech and the process of producing one as a social practice (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). The SONA is a ceremonial event where the public awaits their expectations interms of delivery of services. Some of the expectations placed on the President are based on promises he made during his presidential bid with the party and his manifesto on the 2019 general elections. The President then employs a certain kind of public virtue which is centred on "ask what you can do for the country" statements. The public virtue then directs the audience to certain fundamental values a President espouses and believes the public should cultivate as he uses statements as " let's build South Africa".

In the current study this is evidenced in the President's use of existing discourses in his SONA speeches. Ideally, the speeches are shaped by social conditions such as gender-based violence, youth unemployment and the land question. As alluded above, these are the issues which are salient in public discourse and received great media coverage. Now issues such as water shortages and droughts which are affecting rural communities in the country are absent on the speech and have not received much attention on news media. Therefore, in these speeches the President responds to public opinion and social outrage. Now if other important challenges don't find expression on the SONA speeches, we are led to doubt if it depicts the real state of the country. Seemingly, it draws on issues of concern in society which are expressed in popular discourses and uses language to disseminate the same back to society. SONA as a discursive practise is shaped by the social conditions expressed in discourse in order to sustain and reproduce the status quo. Now again, if issues as droughts which threaten the livelihood of rural people find no expression on SONA – we are led back to the previous discussion that the concerns of the poor don't find expression in SONA.

On text analysis, the study found that there was no discernible unique way in which the president used language consistently to package his message. Similarly, Turrell (2018) who

analysed president Ramaphosa's maiden SONA, made the same observation that he uses language in no particular manner that marks his style such as former United States President Barak Obama's pairs of two (father and son); former British Prime Minister's Blair's parallelisms (We give opportunity to all, we demand responsibility from all; They want government under them not over them) or Bill Clinton's contrasts (war and peace) as observed by Charteris-Black (2010). A thematic analysis adopted by this study does reveal however the deployment of some rhetoric devices, however not consistently for them to be attributed to his style. For example, in the maiden SONA speech, the president makes reference to putting behind an "era of …discord, disunity, and disillusionment". This list of 3 (using alliteration) is not necessarily maintained in all the three speeches analysed. The president instead uses many clichés as demonstrated in the analysis. Although the president's anchor message of a new dawn is a metaphor of renewal, metaphors are however few and far between in the speeches. The language of the president seems to be simple and straightforward with limited use of linguistic devices.

Or, perhaps even the use of the past-future binary that enables him to hedge around the present circumstance and actions needed?

As discussed above, President Ramaphosa's rhetoric is centred around some unitary frames to shape an idea of a nation. This theme is firmly grounded on the Mandela legacy of a united nationhood and national identity. The Mandela frames are used to harness and tap into shared values that society accords to him as a statesman and is used to gain and maintain power. This type of power relates to the Gramscian concept of hegemony which is associated with uniformity of views on a certain issue with less dissenting views (Fairclough 1989, Wodak 2009). To a certain extent it is mediated power and not dominance as people are conditioned through the reverence for Mandela, and a similar optimistic and euphoric public discourse surrounded the start of Ramaphosa's presidency, known in the vernacular as "Ramaphoria".

The unitary frames are also ideological in nature and in this particular case it may be defined as: "Ideology is located, then, both in structures which constitute the outcome of past events and the conditions for current events, and in events themselves as they reproduce and transform their conditioning structures" (Fairclough 1995,p.72). This is an ideology which is structured by conditions of the past in the use of Mandela's long walk to freedom which the President utilises as an inspiration for the vision he wishes to convey to the people.

The President utilizes ideology in a manner that is defines in (van Dijk , 2003) as basic values and beliefs shared by a group which is presented in representative form which in this case is the Mandela legacy which consists of widely accepted attributes. This form of rhetoric is self-referential in some way, it is aimed at distinguishing him from the previous administration which is perceived as corrupt. The President's use of ideology, he potrays himself as a leader who ushers people from inadequate social and economic conditions to the promised land as Mandela ushered people from apartheid to democracy. Ideally, this is aimed at defocusing people from their current social realities but to envision a new chapter by selling them hope for a better tomorrow. The President's metaphoric use of language such as the "new dawn" frame is consistent in order to resonate with people's socio-political backgrounds.

The social element is as prevalent as it depicts the constitutive power in social conditions which would enable the president to connect with the people of the country. The use of Mandela's legacy has significant social currency which could condition the reception of the President's message. Ultimately, President Ramaphosa's rhetoric seeks to resuscitate the spirit of the "Rainbow Nation" where society is united under his "New Dawn". However, it is important to note that, as outlined in the previous chapter, this vision does not adequately or fully address challenges faced by those who are marginalised such as women and unemployed youth.

6. CONCLUSION

This main aim if this study was to analyse rhetoric employed by President Ramaphosa in his 2018-2019 State of the Nation Address (SONA) speeches. Ultimately, this study sought to test how language is used to maintain power through ideological ascriptive messaging by the president and how the state of the nation address may be utilised to gloss socio-economic conditions.

This was an ambitious research project, given the lack of literature on presidential speeches in South Africa, more so on studies to analyse the state of the nation addresses. Therefore, there were limitations in providing a theoretical basis for this study as more work has been done on inaugural studies than the SONA; however theories on presidential speeches and on inaugural addresses which are similar to SONAs in were used.

This project presented an introduction to provide a contextual basis on presidential speeches and presidential rhetoric in the country – together with some historical and comparative

analysis of strategies employed by the post-colonial heads of state. A literature review grounded the study and characterised CDA from classical theoretical underpinnings to contemporary texts. Literature on rhetoric, presidential speeches and presidential rhetoric was discussed in detail. Chapter three on the methodology discussed CDA a method of analysis and extensively explored Fairclough's Three Tier Model of Discourse Analysis. The chapter outlined the method, research approach and how data will be organised. Then consecutively data analysis was presented in Chapter four, it was also discussed and ultimately findings of the study were outlined.

The study found that the President was utilising a democratic rhetoric, which disperses power amongst all rather than consolidating power above. The president's rhetoric displayed a unitary kind of leadership that everyone must take part in building the South Africa they want. An interesting element was how the SONA speeches addressed various areas of concern in both discourse and in the environment. The president does not propose policies but responds to issues which are dominating in discourse during the period he delivers his speech. Democratic values have been positioned in the fashion of responding to people's concerns. However, in a diverse nation like South Africa there will be a plurality of voices and conflicting interests amongst various groups in society. Democracy in its nature is paradoxical and one group's liberty may disadvantage another.

The critical discourse analysis found that women and unemployed youth were spoken of in ways that could be disempowering, and a paternalistic tone was present in relation to these vulnerable groups. The study demonstrates that the SONAs were often more concerned with legitimising the presidency of Ramaphosa and broadly creating an image of a shift from corruption to a "new dawn" of hope and renewal, but that this shift did not adequately acknowledge these vulnerable groups as members of the audience who are affected by the speeches.

Ultimately, one of the major limitations of this study is around complexities emanating from the multi-disciplinary nature of the study. This research focused on various disciplines from rhetoric, Presidential Speeches and CDA. Each could form a separate study on its own and brought about complexities. This brought about a risk of moving away from the focus of the research topic. The researcher is also a practitioner in the area of communication and closely works with processes of speech writing in government; the researcher was therefore cognisant of the fact that this posed a risk for the critical distance in analysis.

Though complexities existed, this study was grounded on responding to the research questions which have been summarised as follows:

1. What rhetorical strategies were deployed by President Ramaphosa during the 2018 and 2019 State of the Nation Addresses?

This study has found that President Ramaphosa makes use of rhetorical strategies in order to appeal to diverse audiences on the 2018 and 2019 SONA speeches. His rhetorical style could not be distinguished into one form of rhetoric. Firstly, he makes significant use of democratic rhetoric in order to mediate power and project equal distribution of power by removing it from himself as a leader. He uses this form of rhetoric when he addresses those with some form of power as political opponents, business and investors in order for them release their own power. He addresses them as partners for collaboration and coordination by somehow addressing them as his equals. His rhetorical strategies towards the marginal in society are somehow paternalistic and addresses them as helpless subjects who need to be rescued.

2. What shapes the content of the speeches?

The speeches are shaped by both context and other discourses. Through SONA speeches, the President responds to both the social and political contexts as discussed in Chapter 4. He also makes use of existing discourses which is alluded to on the process of production and consumption in Chapter 4. By drawing from context and existing discourses this is aimed at persuading the audiences to accept he message.

3. How is language used to disguise unequal relations of power in the SONA speech?

The President disguises unequal power relations through unitary frames that everyone must take part in building the South Africa the aspire to. He also draws on existing discourses such as youth unemployment and convey a message that Government has listened to their concerns. However, viable solutions to mitigate such challenges are missing. Now in this particular instance, he would use democratic rhetoric in making statements on how youth will play a pivotal role in addressing the challenge of unemployment. However, unequal power relations become hard to disguise as the President adopts a much more paternalistic approach when addressing the marginal in society.

4. How is language used to create, re-create and maintain social order through the state of the nation address?

The president utilised the language of hope and renewal such as the new dawn metaphor. He projects his leadership as a new epoch in which people must not focus on current socio-economic conditions but must anticipate better days to come. This implies a positive evaluation of his administration, against the darkness and negativity of the previous one.

5. How does the President use language to create or shape a national identity for South Africa?

He relies more on unitary frames to project nationhood. He also utilizes that Mandela legacy to resuscitate the idea of a rainbow nation.

A fundamental principle of CDA is that scholars assume an advocatory role for groups who suffer from social discrimination. This study has clearly depicted unequal relations of power and lack of agency on issues pertaining to the marginalised groups. Ideally, SONA is challenged interms of projecting the realities on the state of the country, as issues are drawn from context and discourse. Therefore, issues which receive minimal media coverage don't find expression on the speeches though they may threaten livelihoods of the people. SONA in its form pitched as a democratic practise where the President accounts to the country on what Government has achieved over the past year and what it intends to achieve for the year ahead. In order for SONA to realise its full potential and address the needs of the poor, this practise must be informed by social realities. Content must be drawn directly from the people through consultations. All the consultations the President has alluded to in the speeches – as the GBV Summit - are hosted by Government in distant areas from some impacted parties in villages and townships. SONA must be preceded by consultations where people are, not in hotels and establishments which are only accessible to the elite. Government needs to devise means in which the marginal in society can have a voice as this study has exposed that the President responds to concern of the elite.

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