Constructing the Rainbow Nation

Migration and national identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Uppsala University spring semester of 2017
Development Studies C
Author: Arvid Anagrius
Supervisor: Oscar Almén
Word count including references: 13534
**Abstract:**

Post-Apartheid South Africa has seen xenophobic sentiments towards migrants increase, culminating in several deadly riots. The words of equality and diversity, nurtured during the fight for independence seem to be far away. Building on Micheal Neocosmos theories on South African Xenophobia as a political discourse, this thesis examines how nationalist discourse creates and sustains negative perceptions of migrants. Using theories on national identity to undertake a critical discourse analysis of South African parliament proceedings, it illustrates how the perception of a civic and democratic nation, naturalizes a dichotomy between migrants and citizens. How the narrative of an equal and free South Africa, relies on the opposite perception of neighboring countries, as chaotic, undemocratic and un-free, resulting in a negative view of migrants. It argues that the opposing discourse of Pan-Africanism provides an opportunity in which a more inclusive identity can be built. Finally this thesis wishes to contribute to further research on national identity construction, by proposing a four-dimensional framework of exclusion that provides a reference point for contrasting national discourses.
# Contents

1. **Introduction** .................................................................................................................. 4
   1.1. **Aim and research question.** .................................................................................... 4
   1.2. **Previous research** ................................................................................................. 5
2. **Theory** ............................................................................................................................. 7
   2.1. **Social constructionism** ........................................................................................ 7
   2.2. **The four dimensions of inclusion.** ........................................................................ 8
   2.3. **The four theories of Nationalism** ........................................................................ 10
      2.3.1. **Civic nationalism.** ......................................................................................... 10
      2.3.2. **Cosmopolitan identity** ............................................................................... 11
      2.3.3. **Ethnic Nationalism.** ................................................................................... 13
      2.3.4. **Supra-nationalism, pan-nationalism and diaspora nationalism.** ............... 14
3. **Method** ............................................................................................................................ 16
   3.1. **Critical discourse analysis.** .................................................................................. 16
   3.2. **Norman Fairclough’s three-dimensional model** ................................................ 17
      3.2.1. **First dimension: Linguistic and textual aspects.** ....................................... 17
      3.2.2. **Second dimension: Discursive practice.** ...................................................... 21
      3.2.3. **Operationalization** ..................................................................................... 22
   3.3. **Social practice** ...................................................................................................... 26
   3.4. **Summarizing the framework.** .............................................................................. 26
4. **Material** .......................................................................................................................... 28
5. **Analysis** ........................................................................................................................... 29
   5.1. **Civic Nationalism - Portraying an exceptional rainbow nation.** ......................... 29
   5.2. **Supranationalism - The shared suffering of Africa.** ............................................ 32
   5.3. **Ethno-nationalism-Justifying Xenophobia.** .......................................................... 35
   5.4. **Cosmopolitanism** ............................................................................................... 37
6. **Discussion and conclusion.** ........................................................................................... 39
   6.1. **Evaluating the four-dimensional framework.** ....................................................... 41
7. **References:** ..................................................................................................................... 42
1. Introduction

The end of the Apartheid regime marked the creation of a new South Africa, which promised to leave its old policies of discrimination and oppression in the past (Peberdy, 2009, p. 162). A country envisioned as a “rainbow nation” built on equality and diversity, with respect and rights for all.

However this vision was shattered, when in 2008 a series of xenophobic attacks against African migrants left more than 60 people dead and several thousand displaced (Patel, 2016). The years following this event have seen violence against foreigners continue around the country, with notable number of incidents each year (Crush et al 2015, 41,42). New waves of violence in 2015 and as late as February 2017 indicate that this phenomenon is not disappearing (Karimi, 2015) (Sieff, 2017).

Michael Neocosmos (2006, 2010), have argued that the political discourse of the Post-Apartheid South Africa, which was supposed to unify the country under its new inclusive goals, has constructed an identity that more clearly separates citizens from non-citizens. The national discourse has reinforced an exclusionary view of people and portrayed migrants in opposition to a perception of the “South African”.

Has the new “rainbow nation” exchanged the racial-discrimination of the Apartheid regime for a new xenophobia directed against African migrants? Does the political national discourse contribute to a negative perception of migrants? And how is that perception used to construct a larger South African identity?

1.1. Aim and research question.

The aim of this thesis is to identify the connections between nationalism, identity construction and the perception of migrants within South African political discourse. The study uses theories on national identity to undertake a critical discourse analysis of South African parliament proceedings. Using transcripts regarding migration from parliament discussions, it aspires to undercover how South African politicians use national discourse to discursively
construct migrants, and how those perceptions help create a larger national identity. The main research question is thus as follows:

- How are perceptions of migrants used to discursively construct South African national identity?

This translates into the two sub-questions

- What role and identity are migrants given in the South African political discourse?
- How is that role used to construct the larger South African identity?

Furthermore does this thesis aim to contribute to the research methodology of national discourse analysis by proposing a four-dimensional framework of exclusion, which combines Ruth Wodak’s previous work on identity construction with a broader understanding of identity that can differentiate between external and internal exclusiveness.

1.2. Previous research

Although most policy makers have ascribed the rising hostility towards migrants as a question of deprivation and frustration emanating from poverty, several scholars have argued that South African xenophobia should be understood as a political discourse, originating from the reinvention of citizenship and the creation of the modern liberal state (Neocosmos, 2010, p.4). Neocosmos (2010) claims that to understand xenophobia today one must also know the history of the migrant labour in South Africa. As an integral part of the Apartheid regime migrant labour was used to control the labour force, by de-nationalizing black South Africans and denying them citizenship. According to Neocosmos, actors within the liberation movement therefore came to view migrant labour as a legacy of the Apartheid regime, and were set on eradicating its existence. When the new South Africa was formed, the inclusive ideal which had permeated the former resistance, where moved aside in favour of a state centric definition of citizens based on indigeneity. And so, those who could not show family connections to the old South Africa was denied inclusion. In other words the racial definition of citizenship disappeared, but since the borders drawn from colonial and apartheid rule remained, a new way of determining citizens was formed. Necosmos argues that in order to
legitimize this new exclusion the political discourse had to enhance South African
exceptionality and portray the rest of Africa as backwards.

“This discourse is not simply founded on the belief that South Africa is an exception in Africa
because of its industrial development, but includes a tendency to see the rest of the continent
as rural, backwards, immersed in poverty and politically unstable and corrupt.” (Neocosmos,
2006, p. 78)

Sally Peberdy (2009) agrees with Neocosmos assesement and calls this discourse the “miracle
narrative” where South African transition to democracy, equality and modernity is seen as a
unique phenomenon and a wonder.

“The miracle narrative has become an identifying feature of descriptions of South Africa’s
transition to democracy and the nation itself” (Peberdy, 2009, p. 162)

Audie Klotz, (2016) similarly connects the issue of xenophobia to one of national identity.
She explains how the absence of race in political identity left a vacuum for what would define
South Africans. Shaped by colonial legacies the new definition naturalizes African exclusion
by ignoring the complex history of border integration and Pan-African cooperation, and thus
the new democratic state is seen as only belonging to “true” South Africans. Consequently
those who were classified as migrants are now seen as “stealing the fruits of democracy” and
not entitled to South African progress.

“... removing race as the core feature of citizenship in the post-apartheid era opened the
complex question of ’who are the people’ that democracy should now serve, and without
’black’ as the primary reference for innumerable demands, ‘South Africans’ becomes an
identity with no obvious content” (Klotz, 2016, p.180-181)

Hence these three Scholars all agree that national identity has played an important role in
portraying migrants historically. Following their understandings of South African history and
its present national discourse, this thesis sets out to uncover South African identity within
parliament politics. It does so by using four theories of national identity to locate the
discourse-order and to discover how potentially conflicting discourses portrays migrants
differently.
2. Theory

2.1. Social constructionism

The theoretical starting point of this thesis is situated within the social constructionism field of social science. Although a wide field with differing applications, most social constructionism approaches share several assumptions about the world. These form the basis for the method of critical discourse analysis used in this thesis (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 4-5)

In accordance with social constructionism this thesis assumes that the social world is constructed intersubjectively by people rather than created as a result of a material or objective reality. Our social world cannot be seen as a mere reflection of something “out there”, but rather as a consequence of the way in which we categorize and give meanings to our perception of reality. Knowledge should therefore, not be seen as an objective truth, but as a product of discourse (ibid p.5)

Furthermore, this thesis draws from social constructionism, the assumption that knowledge is created through social interactions. It is through various forms of interactions that a common truth and a collective perception of the world is created, as well as competed for and changed. Thus our knowledge, and our view of the world, is historically and culturally contingent. It is dependent on former and present social actions in an ever changing process (ibid p.5)

Finally, this thesis holds that knowledge is not only created by actions, knowledge is also what determines which actions are possible. With a certain world view, some actions become natural while others become literally unthinkable. Thus people are both shaped by, and help to create the social world at the same time (ibid p.5)

It is important to point out that this does not necessarily mean rejecting an objective material reality altogether, but rather acknowledging that we are unable to talk of, think and perceive that reality without also constructing it. The immigration of people to South Africa is to some degree a material reality; the movement of people from one place to another. However, as
soon as we start to conceive or talk of it, it becomes part of our discourse and is given meaning. Perceiving migrants as “illegal aliens”, “desperate people”, or “brothers” give rise to different realities, all with its own set of problems and connotations.

2.2. The four dimensions of Exclusion.

This thesis framework derives its analytical tools from Fairclough’s critical discourse analysis and Ruth Wodak’s framework for analyzing national identity construction. However, as the purpose of this thesis was unfolding, the South African case proved to demand yet another framework. The reason for this was the tendency in Wodak’s work to assume a national identity congruent with state institutions and borders. Although critical to Smith’s definition of nation (below) since it disregards subnational and supranational identities, and assumes an existence of group identity preceding the nation-state, her framework still adopts much of his presumptions (Wodak et al, 2009 p. 31).

“...A named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members” (Smith 1991, p.14)

This thesis agrees with Wodak that national identity is ultimately about inclusion and exclusion of people, creating a division between “we” and “them”, but it disagrees that these acts of inclusion functions equally in all forms of national identity. I argue that in order to understand South African identity construction, one cannot assume that national identity discourse only excludes and includes consistent with current borders and states. As seen during the Apartheid regime, national identity can exclude inwards while still being outwards inclusive towards whites, and if Necosmos is to be believed, the discourse of the post-apartheid state, although internally inclusive, has resulted in an outwards exclusion of migrants.

This thesis presents a new framework that adds a four-dimensional conception of exclusion, in combination with Wodak’s tools. The new framework distinguishes between External and Internal Exclusiveness, contra External and Internal Inclusiveness, in order to locate competing discourses of belonging, and to compare these discourses effect on the perception of migrants. See figure 1.1 below.
Inclusiveness and exclusiveness translates to the difference between assimilation and dissimilation of people. Internal and external on the other hand should be understood as the difference between within-state and beyond-state target of Inclusiveness/Exclusiveness. In the four corners are examples of forms of nationalism as they relate to these dimensions. Classic Ethno-nationalism for example upholds the idea of “one country one people” and thus excludes both inwards and outwards, since it envisions a certain type of individuals, and holds that those individuals have a connection to a nation. Supra-nationalism on the other hand builds its identity on the basis of group belonging without a connection to a nation or fatherland. White-nationalism excludes inwards towards blacks and includes transnationally based on a racial definition of belonging.

These theories of nationalism make up the backbone of the thesis by providing four different discourses of analysis. Hence they function as a way to locate the *discursive practice* in Norman Fairclough’s discourse analysis (explained later on in the thesis) by linking theory and empirics, and providing an intertextual reference point. Next the forms of nationalism will be explained theoretically in order to later on in the method section be incorporated into Fairclough’s critical discourse analysis and combined with Wodak’s framework, in order to locate them empirically within the parliament discourse.
2.3. **The four theories of Nationalism**

2.3.1. **Civic nationalism.**

A recurring distinction within the nationalism field of study is that between civic and ethnic nationalism. According to Ignatieff (1993), civic nationalism is the idea of a national identity, which is not rooted in ethnic or racial origin, but in the citizenship and the political values that comes with the state.

“One type, civic nationalism maintains that the nation should be composed of all those regardless of race, colour, creed, gender, language or ethnicity- who subscribe to the nation's political creed. This nationalism is called civic because it envisages the nation as a community of equal rights-bearing citizens, united in patriotic attachment to a shared set of political practices and values.” (Ignatieff, 1993, p.3).

According to this definition, identity within the civic nation is based on association by law. The common denominator of the members is their citizenship and their acceptance of the liberal principles of the state. Membership is thereby inclusive, in the sense that everyone has the theoretical possibility to be part of the identity through citizenship and acceptance of shared political values (Smith, 1991), (Stilz, 2009). That said, civic nationalism is far from a fully agreed upon concept and the dichotomy of ethnic and civic nations have been questioned by many. The most striking criticism, questions the possibility to actually form a non-exclusive identity around the notion of a state. As (Pickus, 2009) points out.

“This revived civic nationalism combines ideas that today are often considered antithetical— inclusiveness and nationalism.” (Pickus 2009).

Hence, the notion that political identity can somehow be fully separated from culture is problematic. Constructing a “we” around a set of values still entails the notion of a specific people within a region sharing specific beliefs. Those beliefs may not be based on ethnicity but they are still separated from the perceived values of the non-citizen, “the other”. For this reason civic nationalism, is placed on the externally exclusive side of the four-dimensional model. By acknowledging the fact, that the assumption of inclusiveness in civic nationalism
does not necessarily yield an all-encompassing definition of the “we”, this thesis is able to discover if its discourse potentially reproduces unequal relations of power, representation and subjugation. As Brubaker (1999) points out, if we take the ideal notion of civic nationalism expressed by countries to be true, we become blind to its construction of a distinct people.

“...Yet construing civic nationalism strictly in this fashion risks defining the phenomenon out of existence. Even the cases most often cited as a paradigmatic - France and America - involve a crucial component or, in Hobsbawm's terms, a strong sense of separate peoplehood” (Brubaker, 1999, p.61)

Yet here it must be acknowledged, that although scholars have defined ways in which the ideal view of the civic nation is self-contradictory, it does not mean that a notion of an ideal is not present in the mindset of people. Due to the social constructionist viewpoint of this thesis, it is neither possible nor desirable to define an objectively true identity, but rather to understand the cognitive perception of an imagined civic nation. It is through the recognition of the contrary elements within, that this thesis tries to make visible the discourse in which they seem natural. As we shall see later in the results are the inherent contradictions of civic nationalism what makes the case of South Africa interesting.

The ideal of Civic nationalism can be expressed as the idea of a political and legal community belonging to a common state. An identity built on the state’s political reality and its values.

2.3.2. Cosmopolitan identity

To say that the notion of nations, as a basis for identity and individual worth, has received much criticism is most likely an understatement. Both scholars and civil society have argued for everything from a larger emphasis on the connection between community and individuals, by proponents of communitarianism, to the rejection of the very idea that morality and identity should be bound to anything else than humanity itself, by the proponents of cosmopolitanism. In its essence, cosmopolitanism is the idea that all people, regardless of origin, nationality or political creed, be regarded as equal, exclusively on the grounds of humanity. That we derive our worth, not from our affiliation with a specific community or citizenship, but by our shared identity as humans, which gives us the right of equality and freedom (Held, 2010).
“... cosmopolitanism maintains that there are moral obligations owed to all human beings based solely on humanity alone, without reference to race, gender political affiliation, state citizenship, or other communal particularities” (Held Brown, 2010, p.1)

It is clear that cosmopolitanism shares some of its inclusive characters with civic nationalism in that they both agree that gender and race are irrelevant factors for belonging and identity, in relation to human worth and moral concern. The important distinction lies instead in the latter three examples above. In contrast to civic nationalism, cosmopolitanism also rejects that a person’s moral obligations and worth varies by their regional or political affiliation. It tries to transcend the idea of rights based on citizenship or national belonging and instead place it within the individuals themselves (Held, 2010).

Cosmopolitanism is usually divided into two separate categories: cultural and political cosmopolitanism (Held, 2010). Political cosmopolitanism refers to the commitment to, or argument for, some form of global political institution or legal system that transcends nations. This is not particularly relevant for a study of identity and will not be developed further. Cultural cosmopolitanism on the other hand is concerned with how we might construct a sense of global justice that goes beyond an identity that is anchored to a specific culture or geographical area. How we can construct identity which allows us to perceive all humans as equally valuable. This does not mean a denial of cultural influences on identity; on the contrary, it recognizes that all people are able to identify with a complex and diverse set of cultural particularities and obligations at the same time. Therefore, accommodating a cosmopolitan identity does not mean abandoning the specific cultural features of your identity and daily life. It means adding on an identification with all people that is built on our “common human traits”. These traits are arguably hard to define, however Held (2010 p. 229-230) gives examples such as human reason, our ability to be harmed, and our requirement for basic needs, on which a cosmopolitan identity may be built upon. By recognizing a universal identity and thus the worth of all people, one also rejects the exclusion of any person from moral equality, based on other forms of identity. Using the four dimensions of inclusion cosmopolitanism is thereby defined as being both internal and external inclusive

What is important for this thesis, is once again not to comment on what a true cosmopolitan identity should consist of, but to define the different ways in which people use cosmopolitan
discourse to create identity and in what way the migrant is portrayed in that discourse. Exactly how this will be done is explained in the framework section of the thesis; however the concept will here be used in its broadest sense: as the cognitive understanding of a worldwide affinity -a perception of universal identity. Or as Guibernau express it.

“I define cosmopolitan identity as the collective sentiment of belonging to humanity and being committed to the idea that all humans are free and equal” (Guibernau, 2007)

2.3.3. Ethnic Nationalism.

Considering the many ways in which ethnicity have been conceptualized, is it almost impossible to provide a description which satisfies all approaches. With that in mind, most scholars would agree that the concept has something to do with the classification of group and group relations (Eriksen, 2005). The concept of ethnicity is thereby not exclusive to existing states, and is in its broadest sense an intersubjectively constructed idea of group belonging, rooted in at least a perceived common heritage and descent (Smith, 1991). The degree of emphasis on the word perceived may vary, however it is generally understood as the feeling of being connected to a group through shared history and culture. This description must be distinguished from group feelings in general, since certainly all people feel connected to others by culture. Smith argues therefore, that ethnic communities are distinguishable by their degree of organisation and to the degree in which they are identified by others and self, as being distinct, in regards to having distinguishable ancestry, culture and history. Ethnic communities should by this description also involve some form of “self-awareness”. Without it, Smith argues, the phenomena is better understood as “ethnic categorisation”, when a group is solely recognised by outsiders. Keeping in mind the need for self-perception of belonging, Smith provides a definition of ethnicity as being:

“a named human population with myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories and one or more common element of culture, including an association with a homeland, and some degree of solidarity, at least among élites.” (Smith, 1995, p. 57)

The relationship between ethnicity and nationalism is incredibly complex and has been subject to extensive research. In short the difference between an ethnic group and an ethno-
national identity is rather straightforward. Nationalists claim that their ethnic group shares a connection to a political state and a cultural fatherland.

“A nationalist holds that political boundaries should be coterminous with cultural boundaries, whereas many ethnic groups do not demand command over a state. “ (Eriksen, 2005 p.138)

Consequently ethnic nationalism differs greatly from the cosmopolitan and civic one in its emphasis on the shared past, present and future of a specific group and their nation. Inclusion is not based on a political premise or human value, but by a person's connection to cultural particularities. Here some notice must be given to the relationship between the concepts of “race” and ethnicity. From a realist standpoint “race”, as a word with descriptive value, is at best highly dubious. No honest scholar still acknowledges a direct connection between genetic descent and cultural variation (Eriksen, 2005). However as a constructionist concept it is relevant as long as people perceive it to be. The notion of ethnic characteristics bound to different “races” carries social relevance regardless of any objective existence.

“In societies where ideas of race are important, they must therefore be studied as part of local discourses on ethnicity “ (Eriksen, 2005 137)

A clear cut distinction between the concepts of “race” and ethnicity is thus problematic. Ethnic groups are built on a perception of a common descent and a myth of origin, which relates to the idea of heritage often ascribed to “race”. The concepts are thus infused in the sense that “racial” groups are often “ethnified” by being assigned common history and culture.

In summary Ethno-nationalism can be defined as the perception of a population sharing common myth, ancestry, historical memories and culture, which claims the political entity of a state.

2.3.4. **Supra-nationalism, pan-nationalism and diaspora nationalism.**
This thesis makes a clear distinction here between, on the one hand, ethnic nationalism which builds its identity around common ancestry, myth, and people exclusively to the boundaries of an existing state, and on the other hand those that transcend the state in order to construct an identity which is more inclusive to some groups of non-citizen, often combined with the exclusion of others. This includes diaspora nationalism, such as the Jewish diaspora, where ethnic communities’ hopes to claim a lost or unrecognized homeland (Rabinovitch, 2012 p.11).

“Unlike homeland ethnic communities or nations, diaspora ethnies lack physical unity, being scattered across the borders of several states...” (Leoussi et al 2010 p.6)

It also includes Pan-Nationalist identities, such as Pan-Africanism or Pan-Europeanism and more controversial ideas, like white-nationalism and apartheid nationalism. Although many supra-national identities heavily rely on a common ethnos equal to the one in ethnic nationalism, the two cannot be equated. As Boogard (2017) argues, Pan-African identity has become an identity built on the rejection of western ontological thought which sustains the idea of nations. It should therefore be understood as an identity shaped by post-colonialism.

“...the very concept of pan-African citizenship was defined in terms of a subaltern conception of membership, in contrast to the dominant Western liberal conception of citizenship based on the nation-state...”

Instead of ethnicity, sameness is here built around a rejection of western hegemony and colonialism. A rejection based upon people’s shared experiences, not as an ethnic community, but as people who have been forced upon a way of thinking and being (ibid, 2017 p.60).

“It is a concept of the African nation, and is not associated with a particular state, language, religion, political system, or colour of the skin. For those who project it, it expresses the identification not only with Africa’s historical past, but with the struggle of the African people in the African Revolution to liberate and unify the continent and to build a just society” (Nkrumah 1973, found in Boogard, 2017 p.53)
Consequently supra-nationalism includes a broad set of identities that differ greatly in their construction of community. Although these may seem to be far apart from each other in terms of their radical views on people, they all share the same inclusive and exclusive character. Supra-national identities are, unlike ethnic and civic nationalism, inclusive towards certain non-citizens, incorporating them in the identity of the “we”.

3. Method

3.1. Critical discourse analysis.

The word discourse have been popularized and used throughout almost all of social science and therefore there is no clear consensus on its meaning. The concept is used both as a noun “a discourse” and as a process of social practice. Grbich defines it as.

“(...) the spoken or written practices or visual representations that characterize a topic, an era, or a cultural practice. They dictate meaning and upon analysis may indicate their hidden impact and the individuals or groups whose views have dominated at a particular point in time.” (Grbich, 2013: 245)

Thus discourse can be understood as patterns of communication. All forms of structured language are built around preconceived meanings and understandings that people follow. These vary from different domains of social life (see medical or political discourse). A discourse analysis tries to reveal these patterns in order to understand how they influence the way we speak, act and conceive reality. (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002.)

Critical discourse analysis shares these general assumptions but gives extra focus to the ideological effect of discourses, meaning the way in which discourses help to create and reproduce unequal relations of power, representation and subjugation between social groups. CDA recognizes that discourses shape our social world and thus creates cognitive boundaries that furthers the interest of particular groups and plays a role in securing power and social hegemony (Ibid p.63). It is therefore natural to adopt this approach to the study of nationalism, identity and the perception of migration. Only by viewing discourse as constitutive of power, can one identify the way in which discursive practices regarding the South African nation creates social hierarchy, in and out groups, exclusion and inclusion. By
using this approach, this thesis is able to locate whether the discourse permits a perception of migrants as equal to South African citizens, and what role the migrant is given in the narrative of the nation.

3.2. **Norman Fairclough’s three-dimensional model**

The analytical framework of this thesis is based on the three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis developed by Norman Fairclough, combined with the tools from Ruth Wodak’s work on national identity. Fairclough’s model distinguishes between three different levels of analysis of a communicative event: textual and linguistic aspects, discursive practice, and social practice. Although the levels are sometimes intertwined, Fairclough imagines them as separable and positioned in an outwards order. In other words; the linguistic aspects of the text enables the discursive practice which in turn enables the broader social practice (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002 p.1). See figure 1.1 below.

![Figure 1.1](image)

Below follows a description of each dimension and the way in which they are used practically in the thesis.

3.2.1. **First dimension: Linguistic and textual aspects.**

The first dimension of Fairclough’s model involves the analysis of the linguistic characteristics of the text by various methods and tools. Due to the many possible ways that textual analysis can be done, this thesis is mainly limited to the proposed tools in Wodak’s work (Wodak, et al 2009.). That said, the first dimension constitutes a significant part of the analysis, since it outlines the practical ways in which actors realize identity and the use of
discourse, thus potentially revealing the ideological dimensions of the language. Wodak distinguishes between three analytical levels of national identity construction, namely *content, strategies and means and forms of realisation*. As these closely relate to CDA in general, they are here placed in the appropriate dimension. This is done with the reservation that this thesis is not a direct copy of Wodak’s work, and that some levels might arguably belong in several dimensions. That said, *content* concerns the actual substance that is given to identity through conceived notions of sameness, difference and national narratives. It is therefore related to the dimension of discursive practice and is represented by the four theories of identity explained earlier. *Strategies* and *forms of realisation* are the ways in which communicative events are realised practically and thus falls within the linguistic dimension.

**Strategies**, according to Wodak, are actions which are oriented towards a goal but not necessarily voluntary. Hence they should be understood as ways to an endpoint rather than as forms of conscious tactic. In national discourse, strategies represent the effect that the communicative event has on the path of the discourse by dismantling, transforming, and sustaining identity. They are the processes indicating in which direction the communicative event pushes identity and in so the discourse. Wodak outlines four macro strategies in national identity construction, which in turn all contain their own sub-strategies, however only some of the micro strategies will be used here, due to the smaller scope of this thesis. Below follow an explanation of these strategies and later on the means and forms of realisation that enable them (Ibid, p.33).

*Construction* strategies are the broadest of the four and contains those communicative events that attempt to establish and construct a particular national identity by evoking solidarity and unity, or by differentiating other groups and identities from the “we”. This is usually done by the implementation of the sub-strategies of assimilation and dissimilation, which refers to the creation of a thematic (interpersonal spatial, temporal, etc.) similarity in the case of assimilation, and difference in the case of dissimilation. These thematic categories will be explained further in the second dimension (ibid, p.33)

Strategies of *perpetuation or justification* attempt to maintain and preserve a conceived identity from threats that may change it. Their aim is to protect and support an already existing notion of the “we”. *Justification* strategies are a specific type of perpetuation that is used in conjunction to problematic events and actions which threaten to tarnish the self-
perception. Often by distancing the we-group from the perpetrators of the action or by emphasizing a “status quo ante” through a legitimization or emphasis on past actions (ibid, p.34)

Strategies of transformation are aimed at changing an established component of the national identity into a new one, which the speaker has conceptualised. Dismantling and destructive strategies are similar but do not provide any new model in exchange for the old one, instead only disparages and discourages the identity component in order to remove it (ibid, p.34)

Means and forms of realisation: While strategies represent direction, means and forms of realisation represent the ways in which language actually move. They consist of the words, phrasings, metaphors, quantifiers, pronouns, etc., that enables strategies and in doing so also moves or sustains discourse. In identity construction these are arguably innumerable; however they can largely be categorized into three thematic groups:

“I. Personal reference (anthroponymic generic terms, personal pronouns, quantifiers);”

Personal reference concerns the use of lexical units that refers to individuals and groups. These are used mainly to determine the speaker’s affinity and dissimilarity to different people, and by extension the characteristics that the speaker wishes to assign those people. Most importantly is perhaps the use of personal pronouns such as “we” and “them”. These allow a speaker to unite all referred people into a single unit and replace their individual differences with a simple “we”. Similarly the opposite, “they” diminishes differences between the intended individuals while increasing the difference towards the speaker. These are particularly important in strategies of assimilation and dissimilation where the speaker contributes to the construction of an identity through the emphasis on difference and similarities. The use of synekdokes and synonyms, such as foreigners, aliens, Africans or brothers works in a similar way to group together people and then assign them qualities that the speaker has outlined and in so helps to generalize and create stereotypes. See for example the quote below (ibid 35)

“Minister launched the checking of marital status campaign to ensure that our fellow South Africans are not fraudulently married to illegal aliens.”
In perpetuation and justification tactics, personal quantifiers can serve to diminish problematic events by referring to them as the actions of “just a few people” and thereby distancing the self-image from the problematic acts. Furthermore, as shown later on, high quantifiers in relation to migrants often indicate threat and urgency. In short, personal reference constitutes those words and sentences that ascribe meaning to people (ibid).

2. “Spatial reference (toponyms/geonyms, adverbs of place, spatial reference through persons, by means of prepositional phrases such as ‘with us’, ‘with them’)”

Spatial reference concerns the use of place names, reference to physical land, country or borders and other forms of lexical units that construct a cognitive perception of a divided or limited physical world. The speaker's use of spatial reference is significant since it constructs ideas of distinct and separable spaces, and in doing so, creates ideas on who has a rightful place within those spaces (ibid).

Focus is here given to the use of adverbs of place such as “here”, “there”, “outside” “inside” and their respective synonyms. Just as with personal pronouns, these words indicate the speaker's degree of affinity towards the referred subject. “Here” is by nature speaker-inclusive and those who are portrayed as naturally belonging “here” is thus brought closer to the speaker. In contrast, if people’s presence within “here” is described as deviant or abnormal they move further away from the speaker and become less included in the perceived identity of the “we” (ibid).

Place names such as countries are given meaning by their ascribed characteristics. In this way they too channel identity. In the example below no direct characteristics are ascribed to any people, however the places are given identity (a chaotic Zimbabwe and Vulnerable South Africa). That identity is then partly transferred to people (ibid).

“There is no doubt that because of the situation in Zimbabwe, with the curtailment of demonstrations, the destruction of shacks, rampant inflation increasing in thousands of percentages per month, we do have, if not millions, at least, obviously, 800 000 or more citizens in South Africa, and this has an impact on jobs, services, and also crime.”

Temporal reference concerns the use of lexical units of time, length, duration, past, presence and future. In identity construction, time is used to establish an identity as constant and timeless. Furthermore, exceptions to a perceived identity can be reduced to irregularities and deviations from a steady trend, or be relegated to actions of the past. This is especially important in strategies of justification where the speaker handles problematic events (ibid).

An important way in which strategies of assimilation and dissimilation can be realized is by a combination of temporal and spatial reference. With words like “they come here” or “they stay here” the speaker indicates that the referred people are just situated here temporarily and therefore do not actually belong.

Lastly, temporal reference binds together the identity of the people who are no longer alive with present and future generations. Actions of past and visions of future become a part of the national narrative and are connected to the idea of the “we” (ibid).

3.2.2. Second dimension: Discursive practice.

In the dimension of discursive practice, the production and consumption of text is analyzed. This means considering how consumers and producers of language, draw their interpretations and intended meanings from already existing discourses and genres. Discourse is here more easily understood as a noun, “a discourse”, rather than as a process. Without existing discourses and preconceptions, language becomes empty and useless. The discursive practice is thereby what gives meaning to the communicative event by situating it within already existing notions and preconceived meanings. It is the link between linguistic aspects of the communicative event and the social practice and ideological effect that it has on listeners and society as a whole. In this thesis discursive practice is limited to the analysis of intertextuality and interdiscursivity in relation to the four theories of identity.

**Intertextuality** simply refers to the process in which every communicative event is influenced by earlier events. All use of language is made up of words and phrases that already carry
meaning. Intertextuality is in this sense historical; it concerns the way in which old texts create the meaning of the new, and those in turn give meaning to new communicative events. In its most concrete form, so called manifest intertextuality, the communicative event explicitly draws from other texts, for example by citing them. In this case intertextual analysis is achieved by linking empirics to theory, namely the four notions of identity (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.65)

**Interdiscursivity** is the process where different discourses and genres are expressed together to create the communicative event. By combining language in new, complex and creative ways a speaker may challenge preconception and encourage new thinking by changing the boundaries of the discourse. A high degree of interdiscursivity is an indication of disruption and change within the discourse order as well as between discourses. Vice versa, a low degree of interdiscursivity or if discourses are combined in conventional ways, tends to indicate the stability of the discourse order (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.65)

Thus, both interdiscursivity and intertextuality serves as the bridge between theory and empirics, by linking the notions of identity, outlined in the theory section, with the actual data. Below each theory is operationalised by relating them to the means and forms of realisation described above.

### 3.2.3. Operationalisation

**Cosmopolitanism**: Using held and Browns definition, the core of cosmopolitanism is its emphasis on the equal worth of all people. It is expressed through reference to common humanity, human traits and human morality, through the acknowledgment of all people’s complex and diverse cultural belongings, and those belongings indifference in determining human worth. All-encompassing human traits such as, reason, our ability to be harmed, and our requirement for basic need, and the transcendence and opposition to physical boundaries and borders are also important expressions.

![Figure 3.1](#)
At the other end of the spectrum is Ethno-nationalism. It is expressed through an emphasis on the exceptionality of the nation through construction of myths, historical narratives, reference to national symbols, and expressions of the superiority of national norms and culture.

**Figure 3.2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethno nationalism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference to attributes and traits in conjunction with nationality. The “South”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Supra-nationalism shares aspects with ethnic identity and although most expressions differ slightly it can be hard to distinguish the two. For analytical distinction between them to be relevant some mutually exclusive elements must exist. This thesis therefore focuses on the elements that do not exist in both theories. The most relevant of these distinctions occurs through the use of spatial reference. While ethnic nationalism refers to existing borders, supra-national identity focuses on boundaries between human bodies over that of geographical borders. Also, reference to ethnic belonging is in conjunction with groups and populations not nations and nationality. Instead it can be expressed through criticism of countries and borders that mix different ethnicity and cultures.

**Figure 3.3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Supra-nationalism</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personal reference</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spatial reference</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Temporal reference</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Finally Civic nationalism is expressed by the use of political and legal reference. Historical narratives the construction of a common future based on the state’s political reality and its values as well as reference to peoples worth in conjunction with an emphasis on citizenship and legal rights.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linguistic construction of <em>homo internus</em> and <em>homo externus</em> based on ethnic identifiers, such as “races”, cultural traits and physical and intellectual attributes.</th>
<th>Emphasis on sub-national or supra-national boundaries between human bodies over that of geographical borders.</th>
<th>Emphasis on the history of a few. Including myth of origin.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reference to superior or/and separate norms and values of the “we group”. Including, within country exclusion and cross country inclusion.</td>
<td>The promotion of separate spaces for groups of people and/or criticism of physical mixing of people.</td>
<td>the narration of a common ancestry, shared culture, language, faith and descent by blood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promoting or expressing positive sentiments towards an unequal treatment of people based on ethnic belonging.</td>
<td>Reference to place in conjunction with ancestry of the land or rightful people of the land.</td>
<td>Emphasis on a shared future uniquely separated from that of other groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference to the fictions idea idea of “pure” groups of people.</td>
<td>Criticism of countries and borders that mix different ethnicity and cultures.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference to the fictions idea idea of “pure” groups of people.</td>
<td>Criticism of borders that separate members of an ethnic group.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference to the fictions idea idea of “pure” groups of people.</td>
<td>Reference to a non-existing homeland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 3.4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal reference</th>
<th>Spatial reference</th>
<th>Temporal Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emphasis on the acceptance of the moral and legal values of the state.</td>
<td>Emphasis of the legal boundaries of the state and its borders</td>
<td>Construction of a common political present and future</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3. **Social practice**

The third dimension of Fairclough’s framework concerns the social implication of the discursive practice. It’s where the ideological and political consequences of the discourse is evaluated and thereby, where answers to questions regarding whether the discourse contributes to social change or whether it reinforces unequal power relations in society as a whole, is answered.

This however, requires combining the discourse analysis with other social theories, and is thus too big of a task for this thesis. Therefore the social practice is limited solely to the discussion at the end of the thesis and should not be seen as part of the result of the analysis itself.

3.4. **Summarizing the framework.**

Each communicative event is analyzed by relating it to one or several of the four theories of identity. This is done using the operationalized definition of each concept. Furthermore, the migrants role in each discourse is evaluated using the linguistic aspects of identity formation explained above. Finally the strategy of the communicative event is considered in order to situate the statement within the larger discourse order and its direction on the four-dimensional model. The entire framework is outlined in figure 4.1 below.
By connecting each communicative event to one or several of the four notions of identity, the debate over migration is related to identity construction, allowing this thesis to answer the question on how perceptions of migrants are used to construct a larger South African identity. Furthermore it allows the four notions of identity to be analysed separately in order to determine the role that migrants are given in the construction of each theory.
4. Material

The main material of the thesis consists of 20 Hansard documents from the South African Parliament. Hansards are substantial verbatim reports of parliament proceeding, excluding repetitions, redundancies and obvious mistakes. The documents include proceedings from the National Assembly, the National Council of Provinces as well as joint sittings.

The selection of Hansards was made using key word searches on the official parliament website search engine, which sorts the result according to its relevance. The top results of each search word were examined, apart from documents that were clearly irrelevant for the theme of the thesis (see for example results regarding digital migration). The same was true for proceedings that concerned multiple subjects with only the relevant parts being used. The search words include the following.

Migrant; Migration; Refugees; Foreigner; Illegal aliens.

Since some search-words provided fewer relevant results, the distribution is not perfectly equal with more documents being used from the results of Migration.

The timespan of the document ranges from 25th of October 2006 until 19th of March 2015, with most documents concentrated around the 2008 incident.

An issue regarding the collection of data occurred due to the parliament website being remade during the writing of this thesis, so that its search function changed midway, not allowing in-document searches anymore. Due to this, two separate websites have been used that provide the same documents. The websites used were.


https://www.parliament.gov.za/hansard?sorts[date]=-1 - Website of the People’s Assembly

Since the two use different search engines their sorted relevance also slightly differ. This does not provide a significant problem however, since the documents were still examined equally. That said, it might make it more difficult to replicate the results, as the search function from the first website is no longer available.

More material from other forums, such as newspapers or provincial authorities, was considered in order to shed light on the specific discourse of the parliament and its difference from other parts of society, and thereby discovering contrasting discourses. However, this was
not deemed feasible in the timeframe of a bachelor thesis, and is instead cause for further research.

5. Analysis

The analysis will be presented in four parts, each relating to one of the four theories. Both discursive practice and the linguistic aspects will be presented simultaneously in order to show how they relate and reinforce each other. The Hansard located from the website of People’s Assembly do not contain page references.

5.1. Civic Nationalism - Portraying an exceptional rainbow nation.

Civic nationalism was frequently present within parliamentary proceedings, being the most common of the four discourses. Its presence could be seen in strategies of construction and assimilation with speakers referring to human rights, the rule of law and the constitutional framework as the cornerstone of national unity and South African identity. The discourse also regularly figured in strategies of transformation and dismantling as well as destructive strategies, mostly as an opposition to ethno-national and racial discrimination, and finally in strategies of perpetuation and justification were speakers used the constitution and South African democracy to emphasize the “Status quo ante” in relation to problematic events.

Assimilation strategies were used in order to construct and reaffirm a common identity in opposition to a narrower one, often in relation to ethno-national statements or to events that the speakers valued as discriminatory. The most common use of civic nationalism was simply, as in the example below, to state that rights and laws are inclusive, and to reaffirm that South Africans are united in those beliefs.

“This means that political, civil, cultural, economic and social human rights are to be seen in their entirety. One cannot pick and choose which rights to promote and protect. They are all of equal value and apply to everyone” (Minister of Arts and Culture, 19 March 2015)

This speech act uses personal reference in conjunction with human rights and civic values to achieve assimilation towards people identified with those values. The speaker use civic
discourse to move identity perception towards inclusiveness by reaffirming a broad identity and move away from definitions based on cultural or ethnical traits. The aim is thus to construct a common identity on the basis of rights and values of freedom and equality, and so the speech-act by itself does at first glance help to include both citizens and migrants into the same identity. However, this study found that civic discourse paradoxically contributed to a division between migrant and citizens rather than hinder it. The reason for this was a tendency to paint a picture of South Africa as uniquely free and equal - a country that have come further than its neighbours in pursuing human rights and building a modern society. The users of civic discourse described South Africa as having achieved success through past struggles of its people and through their exceptional values and resolve. As can be seen in the examples below, speakers express a high sense of pride and a glorification of the events that have created the current South Africa and its constitution.

“Through their sacrifices, today we pride ourselves on having one of the most progressive constitutions in the world, the cornerstone of which is the Bill of Rights. Our freedom therefore symbolises a resounding triumph of the human spirit over adversity. Thanks indeed to our struggle icons for the freedoms we now enjoy.” (Minister of Arts and Culture, 19 March 2015)

“This is reflected in the current harmony in our unique ethnic, religious and cultural mix that defines us as a rainbow nation.” (Ms. K R Maga, 26 June 2009 p. 3)

“This is yet another testimony highlighting the fact that South Africa is indeed a better place to live in. The ANC and its alliance partners have been at the forefront of fighting for and promoting a culture of human rights in this beautiful land.” (Mr. T W Mhlongo 19 March 2015)

Using temporal reference to the history of South Africa in conjunction with words like unique, triumph, pride and beautiful, these speech-acts emphasize a glorious past and a unique present. They construct an image of an exceptional rainbow nation and its prideful creation. This recurrence within civic discourse helps to create and enhance a division between South Africa and its neighboring countries, something which is further attested by the fact that the opposite image was portrayed onto other countries. In opposition to the stability and freedom
of South Africa, expressed above, the countries in its proximity were instead presented in relation to their instability, criminality and lack of freedom.

“But we also need to urgently deal with regional instability, notably, the political crisis in Zimbabwe. The failure of President Mbeki’s policy of silent diplomacy is directly responsible for the flood of the migrants to South Africa.” (Mr. J Selfe, 16 May 2008 p.22)

“The situation in Africa with terror groups like Boko Haram, burning towns and abducting and killing thousands, brings global terror much closer to home…” (Ms. C Dudley 19 March 2015)

“There is no doubt that because of the situation in Zimbabwe, with the curtailment of demonstrations, the destruction of shacks, rampant inflation increasing in thousands of percentages per month, we do have, if not millions, at least, obviously, 800 000 or more citizens in South Africa, and this has an impact on jobs, services, and also crime.” (Mr. L B Labushagne, 20 September 2006, p. 19)

“South Africa cannot be an island of democracy in a sea of undemocratic states.” (Mr. S Mokgalapa, 15 September 2010 p.6)

The combination of a South Africa defined by equality, freedom and stability, and its neighboring countries instability and lack of freedom, creates the image of a haven surrounded by crisis, stability in the storm, a country which is fundamentally different from its neighbours. And since the speakers attributed this exceptionality to the people of South Africa and their historical struggles, a perception of fundamentally different people, it creates the notion that other countries in Africa have not achieved what South Africa has since they lack the values and spirit of South African people. Therein lies the paradox, where users of civic discourse, in their effort to move towards a more generous inclusion of people, does so by emphasizing South African exceptionality, and thereby increase the dichotomy between migrants and South African citizens. Hence, within civic discourse, migrants are dissimilated from South African identity by being perceived as lacking values and spirit.

One particularly important aspect of this was the emphasis on the illegality of migrants. As a result of the frequent reference to rights and laws within the discourse, the fact that migrants
lack legal papers was translated into a quality of the migrants themselves. Their presence was often described as threatening, and in some cases the migrants were seen as criminal and deceitful in general. One common use of dissimulation tactics was personal reference using the term “illegal aliens” which carries with it negative connotations that migrants might be different and dangerous. This is affirmed by the fact that the speakers who used the term often preceded to connect their presence to state safety.

“The stream of illegal aliens crossing over the northern borders with impunity is testimony to this. South Africa needs more effective border control, especially along our borders with Zimbabwe and Mozambique. For that task, we need to deploy the National Defence Force in sufficient numbers to secure our country’s borders …” (Mr. M A Mzizi, 14 June 2007, p.98)

“Our Minister launched the checking of marital status campaign to ensure that our fellow South Africans are not fraudulently married to illegal aliens” (Mr. S S Vundisa, 30 May, 2006, p.69)

“...passport control and everything else that goes on at borders are only for the honest people and the hunters that bring in a bit of biltong, and that the crooks can come into this country freely will and go anywhere?” (Mr. A Watson, 11 September, 2007 p.123)

Personal reference to migrants is here connected to crime and insecurity in general. The last speaker clearly distinguishes between the honest South African and the criminal migrant “crooks”. Although these connections between migrants and threats to security was not exclusive to Civic discourse, and, as stated above, most use was consciously aimed at defending rather than excluding migrants, does these examples show how migrants lack of citizenship was used as a reason to portray them negatively and as threatening.

Relating the result to Neocosmos’ study on South African identity, one can establish that the findings gives further legitimacy to his theories. Civic discourse dehumanizes migrants by removing their individuality in place of an idea of a fictional other. This other is defined by qualities assigned to all of neighboring Africa relating to its backwardness and instability. Vice versa, the discourse in return dependents on the constant dissimilation of migrants.

5.2. Supranationalism - The shared suffering of Africa.
This study found supranational discourse to be surprisingly common in parliament proceedings, second only to the civic discourse. Almost all such use however, was limited to Pan-African reference, or acts that aimed to broaden the South African identity to include more or all of Africa. Supranationalism was mainly used in strategies of transformation and dismantling where speakers dismissed or downplayed the importance of being South African in favor of a broader identity. This was repeatedly achieved through temporal reference to the common past and future of all Africans.

“Africans cannot be foreigners in Africa — Africans have a common destiny. We are sailing on the same ship — if it sails across the waters, we shall all be safe; if it sinks, we shall all perish. When we were enslaved or colonised, the authors of these inhuman acts never asked whether we were Nigerians, Zimbabweans, Azanians or South Africans. They inflicted their atrocities on every African…” (Mr. M.T. Likotsi, 19 June 2008, p.47)

“Not long ago Africans of the African continent were united against colonialism and apartheid. Their countries made a rich Pan-African contribution to the liberation of South Africa. They were then appreciated and loved. Why would South Africans now exchange this appreciation for acid hatred?” (Mr. M.T. Likotsi, 19 June 2008 p.47)

“Let us all unite as Africans! Our past and our future are one and are irrevocably linked.” (Mr. B W Dhlamini, 19 June 2008, p.23)

These speech-acts work to defend migrants and include and portray them as part of society and a common African identity. The use of temporal reference to colonialism and past struggles invoke the sense of a common history and thus help to dismantle national narratives that promotes a unique history of the country. This thesis found that supranational discourse was overwhelmingly used to counter exclusionary language seen in civic and ethno-national discourse. At the core of its conceptualized identity, was the reference to a solidarity won historically in the fight against apartheid imperialism and colonialism. This was then further translated into a common envisioned future, and more importantly, a call to accept migrants into South African society. In contrast to the civic discourse, which also constantly rejected discrimination, the Pan African discourse contained actual request for the acceptance of migrants into South Africa. It portrayed migrants and citizens as one and the same and therefore entitled to the same treatment. The example below is one of several where the Pan-
African history is expressed as an argument for allowing migrants to be treated equally to citizens.

“...we regard Africa as one continent but subdivided by the colonialists and the imperialists through the Berlin Act during the scramble for Africa in the 19th century. We regard you Africans as our brothers and sisters. You are more than welcome in our country. Please take stock of yourselves and become good residents in our country” (Mr. S C Mncwabe 7 February 2008 p.16)

Not only does the Pan-African discourse here result in an acceptance of migrants different from the one observed in civic nationalism. These examples also show a significant difference in the two discourses use of the “other” in identity construction. Whereas civic discourse uses contrasting values ascribed to migrants, neighboring countries and political proponents, as a contrast to the South African identity, Pan-Africanism instead relies on a historical other. It lacks a clearly conceptualized contemporary identity that can be portrayed opposite to the “African”. The opposite of Pan-African identity is instead another supranational identity, namely white supremacy. Apartheid and colonialism are used as an antipole and in so ascribed qualities and traits different from the Pan-African one. This study, however found few insinuation or indications made from speakers to ascribe such an identity to people or groups today. Instead they were mostly relegated to actions of the past. This meant that the potentially exclusive nature of supranationalism was essentially invisible in discussion regarding African migration since migrants and citizens alike were assumed to be part of the common identity.

That said, in some few cases, speakers made effort to ascribe these views to political opponents in order to exclude them from the common identity of the Pan-African discourse.

The virus that causes racism is only one thing: the belief that some race or people is superior to others. [Interjections.] And that is what you believe. You believe that you are superior to others. [Interjections.]” (Ms. S Davids, 19 Mars 2015)

In the larger context this example is understood to be a reference to white supremacy. The speaker accuses another member of being discriminatory based on race. Although such statements were rare, they show that the Pan-African identity can use group belonging based
on the exclusion of others. In Africa, and South Africa in particular, people who may be conceived as being part of, or related to, colonialism and apartheid risk not being included in the envisioned identity of the Pan-African discourse. Since the discourse was found to uphold an identity built on shared experiences of the past, it to some extent carries the potential to exclude those who lack these experiences today.

Putting that aside, the result of this analysis shows that the collective identity of Pan-Africanism is definitely not a relic of the past, but very much present in today’s political discourse. It represents the opposition to civic nationalism and to the discourse order by constantly questioning the legitimacy of the nation and unequal perceptions of Africans. It uses temporal reference to colonialism and apartheid in assimilation tactic. It also sometimes uses personal reference to ethnic qualities in order to affirm the sameness of the group, but due to the scope of an African identity does it not seem to exclude any group in particular.

5.3. Ethno-nationalism-Justifying Xenophobia.

Ethno-national discourse was uncommon in strategies of construction with little reference found to ethno-national belonging. Some attempts were made to build unity around common myth and ethno-national symbols. See for example below the temporal reference to the foundational myth of the nation, including its founding fathers, as well as the use ethno-national symbols, such as the national anthem.

“I would like to take this opportunity to remind South Africans of the vision of our founding fathers of democracy such as Enoch Sontonga, the writer of Nkosi sikelel’ iAfrika, which forms part of our National Anthem today” (Mr. K O Bapela 19 June 2008 p.2)

Such speech-acts are very similar to the ones expressed in the Civic nationalism although containing non-constitutional and non-legal references the nation. The similarity came, as users of civic discourse sometimes used ethno-national symbols to invoke pride and solidarity around the democratic state. They were not used to uphold certain ethnic qualities. So the absence of Ethno-nationalism was clear. However this did not mean that no reference to its existence was made. Racism and discrimination was mentioned in all other discourses, often working as the antipole to which other identities could be measured.
“Racism is the monster that destroys the tree of equal human rights for all. This dangerous worm threatens our efforts for a more just and equal society.” (Ms. S Davids, 19 Mars 2015)

The use of racism and discrimination is here used as contraposition to equal rights, and a civic society. This kind of direct reference to racism and discrimination was common and was seen within all other discourses. This fact in combination with the absence of the discourse itself signifies two important points. First, it is an indication that another discourse order may exist outside of parliament proceedings. If members have a language that seldom use ethno-symbolism in identity construction, and still speakers intertextually refer to its existence, one can assume that a different language use exist in other forums, for example civil society or media outlets.

Secondly, this study found that opposition to racism and discrimination often functioned as the tool which enabled speakers to portray migrants as deviant, without tarnishing the self-perception of a society based on equality. This point is reiterated above in the discussion around civic discourse, since within that discourse that the “image” of South Africa was constantly present. The narrative of the nondiscriminatory South Africa uses the constant opposition to racism in order to defend and protect the image of equality. This was particularly important when speakers realized strategies of justification in relation to the xenophobic attacks. Using opposition to xenophobia the speakers were able to construct South African qualities that opposed the image of South African racism created by the attacks.

“South Africans are neither xenophobic nor mean-spirited. South African people are hospitable and generous, even when they have little or nothing to share”. (Mr B W Dhalmini 19 June 2008)

“This speaks of enormous goodwill and enormously balanced behaviour by South Africans, and Masiphumelele led the way. [Applause.]... ...That speaks to the true spirit of South Africans.” (Mr. E Rasool, 19 June 2008, p.17)

The opposition to xenophobia helps to separate the violent acts from a self-perceived image of South Africa, since it relegates the perpetrator and their behavior as “Un-South African”. The “real” behavior or the “true spirit of South Africans”, as one speaker puts it, is presented as
something that cannot contain the perpetrators of violence and their qualities. And since the image of South Africans, as non-violent and good-hearted, do not contain these qualities; South Africa is absolved from blame. Thus these speech-acts divide people and attributes into either being or not being South African. As a result, the opposition to xenophobia also creates and sustains a dichotomy between “South African qualities” and “migrant qualities” by referring to them separately. Both the victims of the violent acts, as well as migrants in general are excluded in the description of these positive attributes. Instead, when ethno-national reference were used to absolve South Africa from blame, the absence of accountability created an opportunity to redirect the blame. The last example above illustrates how a speaker absolves and redirects the blame at the same time by only acknowledging the presence of migrants as being something problematic.

In other words; the opposition to racism is used to consciously illegitimise xenophobic tendencies but at the same time helps to legitimise a narrative which differentiate migrants and upholds the paradox of the civic nation discussed before.

5.4. Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism discourse was relatively rare within parliament proceedings, being the least common of the four, partly due to the fact that speakers simply seemed to lack a fully cosmopolitan language. Members would start out by referring to universal ideals or some form of global community, only to later on justify such on a civic or supranational basis. Similar to the supporters of the Pan-African identity, the users of cosmopolitan discourse mainly concerned themselves with defending migrants and insist on moving away from national identification. This meant that the two discourses were often intertwined and supported by each other, and so speakers often failed to refrain from invoking unity around groups or nations. Hence, such speech-acts were defined to be supranational even though they were close to cosmopolitanism in both language and purpose. That said, some speakers used clear cosmopolitan language in order to broaden the issues of migration to one of humanity and the world as a whole.

“The nondiscrimination principle is a fundamental rule of international law. This means that human rights are for all human beings, regardless of race, colour, sex, language, religion,
political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. (Minister of Arts and Culture, 19 Mars 2015)

“We must conscientise our citizens that it is not correct to have a wrong attitude towards a foreigner, because they are our brothers and citizens of this continent and of this globe.” (President of the Republic, 10 Nov 2011)

Speakers relies cosmopolitan identity through spatial reference to the “globe” and “international law”, as well as personal reference to all humans. In these examples, unlike other discourses, the use of transformation tactics does not conceptualize a new group identity in place of the one it opposes. Instead it works to dismantle all identity components that limit the perception of equality between all people. This is clear from the lack of a common reference point, which only exists in regards to what the speakers calls into question. In other words, speakers do not mention what people share, only what should not define them. Thus inclusion becomes defined by its lack of exclusion rather than by specific elements of belonging.

This is important for two reasons. First, it is another indication to the absence of a fully cosmopolitan language. The discourse users cannot fully realise strategies of construction and transformation without conceptualising a new identity and so fails to present an alternative to the other three discourses. Therefore they do not move the discourse order and migrants are not fully included.

Second, it indicates that the discourse order is likely closer to what the speakers oppose. The frequent reference to discrimination based on for example race, national origin or ethnicity, without being able to formulate an alternative indicates a stagnant discourse order that is not moving towards cosmopolitanism. In some few instances however, attempts were made to build inclusion on all encompassing human traits and the universal qualities of people.

“The UCDP believes that mankind, regardless of stature, status, educational background, gender or nationality has loved, respected, served, and consulted. To a degree we agree with the motto of the AME Church. They say, “Man, our brother”, indicating that every person is our brother or sister. (Dr. P W A MULDER 19 June 2008, p37)
This speaker invokes inclusion by referring to all people's ability to feel and experience and is thus able to construct a cosmopolitan identity based on belonging. Such language portrays migrants and citizens as equal without the historical and cultural reference of the Pan-Africanism, thus avoiding the more narrow definition of the “we” discussed above.

However, considering the far more common Pan-African discourse, these rare instances of cosmopolitanism cannot be said to have a significant impact on the perception of migrants. Its perceived irrelevance by speakers on issues concerning African migration is nevertheless an important indication to the degree in which cultural and civic symbolism are entrenched in the parliament discourse. Both exclusion and inclusion of migrants was almost always achieved by invoking a common history, future or values of the limited group and the absence of such symbols in in cosmopolitanism, made it unable to present an alternative. It indicates that that the discussions on migration already assume national or cultural belonging of migrants, to the degree that they can only be valued through the assigned worth of those belongings. As a result, discourse change is achieved by assigning new perception to each group-belonging rather than opposing them.

6. **Discussion and conclusion.**

Looking back at the xenophobic attacks of the past years, it seems unlikely that the parliament discourse observed in this study would cause such atrocities. Most likely is the political language of the parliament, with its correctness and caution, not by itself responsible for creating this violence. However, what this thesis has shown is that the civic language of inclusiveness, which is dominant within South African political discourses, has a tendency to conceal xenophobia and fuel perceptions that continually devalues migrants. It has shown that although competing discourses exist, they are used in relation to, and compared against, the dominant discourse of the civic nation. Either by upholding the discourse and working as its antipole, in the case of Ethno-nationalism, or by constructing an identity built on an opposition to the exclusive nature of the liberal state, as in the case of Pan-Africanism.

Similarly to what Aaudi Klotz (2016) have pointed out, the civic discourse shown is one that naturalizes African exclusion by ignoring the complex history of border integration and Pan-African cooperation. This thesis exemplifies this by showing how migrants are dehumanized into one homogenous group, which is then assigned qualities contrasted to the citizen.
However, the reason for this behavior is not found in the speaker’s intentions themselves, who likely had little intent on excluding migrants. The explanation is instead closer to what Peberdy (2009) called the “miracle narrative”. What she describes was also clear in the examples provided in the analysis, a narrative that portrays the exceptionality of South Africans. Its intent is to unite South African people by virtue of their uniqueness and success; however it also demands the opposite portrayal of neighboring nations and their people.

When observing these results it is tempting to fault the Post-Apartheid state for abandoning its inclusive language used during the struggle for independence. However, as shown in this study, the civic discourse must be understood as a process with two directions. Not only does civic nationalism create a perception of migrants. The perception of migrants (as well as the perception of Africa in general) upholds the civic discourse. This relates to Neocosmos’ (2006) argument that the new nation of South Africa was left with little choice if it wanted to uphold the legitimacy of the old Colonial/Apartheid state, and at the same time reject its racial definition. It had to redefine the nation and in so who belonged there. This is reflected in the observed clash between post-colonial definitions of inclusion of the Pan-African discourse, and the state centric definition of citizenship, based on nativity. The former is the legacy of the struggle against apartheid and second the legacy of the Post-independence government legitimizing its new rule of a state created by colonialism. Thus this relates to a much bigger question. How can former colonies create national unity without falling back into the exclusion that characterized their creation?

What Necosmos (2006) seem to miss however, is the fact that the civic discourse of exclusion does not go unchallenged. Pan-African history and common identity is alive and well within the political discourse. It constantly challenges preconceptions of worth by nationality and bridges national identities by referring to their common experiences and past. I believe this provides a window to which new perceptions may be built. Those who call for the inclusion of migrants should join the proponents of Pan-Africanism in order to transform South Africaness into an identity of Africaness, built on anti-colonial and anti-national understanding people.
6.1. **Evaluating the four-dimensional framework.**

By using the four theories of nationalism, this thesis was able to observe the contrast between competing discourses thus evaluating their effect both separately and as one discourse order. The four-dimensional framework provides a useful compliment to the strategies of Ruth Wodak since it gives a reference point to the direction in which discourse can be moved.

Admittedly the four theories do require further operationalisation in order to be perfectly distinguishable from each other; however, understanding that identities are complex and constantly converging means that any framework is bound to be partly interpreted by the researchers themselves.

Most importantly is this framework a move towards an understanding of national identity construction, which illuminates the exclusive elements within discourses that are seemingly inclusive. In an international perspective one could argue that a similar framework would be useful to understand far-right movements today, as they too have moved away from racial discrimination to one built around migrant’s inability to comprehend for example Swedish values of inclusion and civic freedom.

Xenophobia is always a process of dissimilation and assimilation, however as this thesis have shown does it come in different forms. This framework is a way towards conceptualizing the different ways in which national identities exclude people.
7. References:

Books

Chikanda Abel, Crush Jonathan, Skinner Carolin, 2015, Migration, Xenophobia and Informality in South Africa, Cape town, MegaDigital

Eriksen Thomas, 2005, Ethnicity and Nationalism. In Spencer Philip, Wollman Howards, Nations and Nationalism A Reader, Rutgers University Press, New Jersey


Neocosmos Michael, 2006, From 'Foreign Natives' to 'Native Foreigners'. Explaining Xenophobia in Post-apartheid South Africa. Citizenship and Nationalism, Identity and Politics Dakar, Imprimerie Graphicus


Peberdy Sally, 2009, Selecting Immigrants. National identity and South Africa’s Immigration Politics, Johannesburg, Wits University Press,


Simon Rabinovitch, 2012, Jewish and diaspora nationalism, Brandeis University


Articles and Journals

Boogaard, Vanessa van den, 2017, Modern post-colonial approaches to citizenship: Kwame Nkrumah’s political thought on PanAfricanism, Citizenship Studies, 21:1


Klotz Audie, 2016, Borders and the Roots of Xenophobia in South Africa, South African Historical Journal, 68:2, 180-194,

Naicker Camalita, 2016, The languages of xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa: Reviewing migrancy, foreignness, and solidarity, Agenda


Stilz Anna, 2009 Civic Nationalism and Language Policy, Philosophy & Public Affairs, 37:3 257 – 292

Material of Analysis:

14 June 2007, Official Hansard, Proceedings of the national council of provinces, Parliament of South Africa
21 June 2007, Official Hansard, Proceedings of the national assembly, Parliament of South Africa
18 June, 2008, Official Hansard, Proceedings of the joint Sitting, Parliament of South Africa,
20 August 2008, Official Hansard, Proceedings of the national council of provinces,
Parliament of South Africa
7 February 2008, Official Hansard, Proceedings of the national council of provinces,
Parliament of South Africa
11 February 2009, Official Hansard, Proceedings of the national assembly, Parliament of South Africa
16 February 2010, Official Hansard, Proceedings of the national assembly, Parliament of South Africa
15 September 2010, Official Hansard, Proceedings of the national assembly, Parliament of South Africa
11 November 2010, Official Hansard, Proceedings of the national assembly, Parliament of South Africa
12 April 2011, Official Hansard, Proceeding of extended public Comitee, Parliament of South Africa
19 June 2013, Official Hansard, Proceedings of the national assembly, Parliament of South Africa
19 March 2015, Official Hansard, Proceedings of the national assembly, Parliament of South Africa