DECONSTRUCTING POPULISTS RHETORIC PRESENTED IN THE TWEETS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNION, ASSOCIATION OF MINEWORKERS AND CONSTRUCTION UNION (AMCU): A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS STUDY

by

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the subject of

COMMUNICATION

at the

University of South Africa

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January 2022

DECLARATION

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I declare that *Deconstructing Populists Rhetoric presented in the tweets of the South African trade union, Association of Mineworkers And Construction Union (AMCU): A Critical Discourse Analysis study* is my own work and that all the sources that I have either used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of comprehensive references.

Mr N MATSHA

Date: 19 January 2022

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

This study argues that social media network Twitter possess underlying political populist rhetoric and uses different discursive practices in the verbal and visual texts primarily to legitimise and/or delegitimise a political discourse. Thus, political populism rhetoric is inherently ideological rather than objective. Political populism rhetoric is presented on the Twitter account of the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU). This study makes the following significant contribution: (1) populism is increasingly an issue of concern that undermines the South African democracy, (2) the study is the first of its kind that explored underlying political populist rhetoric of AMCU in South Africa.

What is key to this study is to deconstruct and/or interrogate underlying political populists rhetoric on Twitter, by means of different research methods of the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), namely: the three-dimensional model of discourse, political discourse analysis, discourse mythology analysis and social semiotic analysis. The above-mentioned interpretative, critical and reveal underlying discursive practices of a particular political discourse. The study sampled AMCU tweets collected from March 2019 to September 2020. The units of analysis are the verbal and visual texts of AMCU tweets.

The findings of the study revealed that AMCU employed political myths, political language and visual aspects as rhetoric. This was primarily to construct the underlying populist political rhetoric. The significance of these rhetoric is firstly, to legitimise the relevance of AMCU as a trade union in the mining sector of South Africa. Secondly, to lament socio-economic conditions of the marginalised mineworkers. Thirdly, to demonise the role of the mining management as exploiters of mine labourers. Lastly, the study revealed the use of different linguistic features such as grammar and political metaphors rhetorically to construct a populist political rhetoric that

delegitimises the South African mining management. While the visual texts are used rhetorically to legitimise the populist, heroic and master myth of AMCU as a trade union. On the other hand, AMCU employed verbal and visual rhetoric to delegitimise the political discourse of the African National Congress (ANC) led government in post-1994 South Africa.

Keywords: populism, rhetoric, verbal text, visual, text, ideology, Tweeter.

ABBREVIATIONS

AU	African Union
AMCU	Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union
ANC	African National Congress
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CEPPWAWU	Chemical Energy Paper Printing Wood and Allied Workers' Union
CNETU	Council of Non-European Trade Unions
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CWU	Communication Workers Union
DENOSA	Democratic Nursing Organisation of South Africa
DMA	Discourse Mythology Analysis
DMRE	Department of Mineral Resources and Energy
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
EU	European Union
FAWU	Food and Allied Workers Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FEDUSA	Federation of Democratic Unions of South Africa
FIFA	Federation of International Football Association
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique
GIWUSA	General Industries Workers Union of South Africa
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of Africa.
IDC	Industrial Development Corporation

ITF	International Transport Workers' Federation
IMATU	Independent Municipal and Allied Trade Union
LRA	Labour Relations Amendment Act
LRS	Labour Research Service
MHSA	Mine Health and Safety Act
MPLA	Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola
NEHAWU	National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union
NF	National Front
NP	National Party
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers
NUMSA	National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PAWUSA	Public and Allied Workers Union of South Africa
PDA	Political Discourse Analysis
PEU	Professional Educators' Union
PIC	Public Investment Corporation
PF	Party for Freedom
POPCRU	Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union
PSA	Public Servants Association of South Africa
RDO	Rock Drill Operator
SACCA	South African Cabin Crew Association
SACTWU	South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union

SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers Union
SAFPU	South African Football Players Union
SAFTU	South African Federation of Trade Unions
SAMWU	South African Municipal Workers' Union
SAPS	South African Police Service
SAPSWU	South African Private Security Workers' Union
SASAWU	South African State and Allied Workers' Union
SATAWU	South African Transport and Allied Workers Union
SD	Swedish Democrats
SP	Socialist Party
SWAPO	South West Africa People Organisation
UDCA	Union for the Defence of Tradesmen and Artisans
UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party
UNTU	United Transport and Allied Trade Union
US	United States
WMC	White Monopoly Capital
SACCAWU	South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union

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1 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This study argues that verbal and visual texts of the selected political tweets present underlying political populist messages. Verbal texts employ different discursive practices of linguistic features and symbolic language. While visual texts employ visual metaphors, logo design, party regalia and slogans among others to convey populist narratives. The underlying discursive practices are ideological rather than overt used mainly to legitimise and/or delegitimise a political discourse.

This study employs a Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA) as a theory and research method to identify, interrogate and critique whether the trade union AMCU uses underlying political populist rhetoric on their Twitter account.

Therefore, this chapter briefly presents the historical-political landscape of South African trade unions throughout the colonial-apartheid era and into post-1994 South Africa. Moreover, the chapter outlines the nature of the concept of political populism, the aim and relevance of the study, research methodology, theoretical foundation, contributions and limitations and the layout of the thesis. This study is concerned about the underlying political populist rhetoric of the trade union AMCU on Twitter.

1.2   BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The origins of trade unions can be traced back to the 18th century in England when groups of labours known as craftsmen formed trade unions. The main purpose of trade unions then was to demand improved working conditions such as wage increases (Webster, Buhlungu & Bezuindenhout 2006:41).

Contemporary, trade unions globally are grappling with similar issues as the 18th-century labourers such as demanding improved working conditions. In the 20th century, unionised employees were discouraged in Britain, mainly by the former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of the Conservative Party. Then, trade unions in Britain experience a significant decline in membership by 23.2 % between the 1980s and 1990s as she was opposed to trade unions, limiting their powers and accusing them of weakening the British economy (Chaison 2014:69). In Germany, the German government was not as hostile as the British government; however, there was a continued decline in trade union membership in Germany (Markovits 2016:112). Another factor that has contributed to the decline in the significance of trade unions in the European Union (EU) is the influx of immigrants from Africa, Middle Eastern countries and Eastern Europe who work as unskilled labours primarily in the EU economic sectors such as agriculture and factories. These immigrant workers weaken the significance of trade unions in the EU zone (Hyman 2016:127).

Trade unions in South Africa date as far as 1880, when trade unions were predominantly for white workers. Until 1920, the Industrial and Commercial Union (ICU) trade union represents unskilled black and coloured labourers in the mining, industrial and farming sectors of the economy were represented. The ICU trade union was political and focuses on the injustices of colonialism in Southern Africa (Bradford 1987). In 1946, the Council of Non-European Trade Union (CNETU) together with the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) were involved in the anti-apartheid and National Party (NP) movement by advocating for the

African Mine Workers strike (Lewis 1984). In the 1970s and 1980s used populist rhetoric mainly to destabilise the NP economy by discouraging black labours from going to work due to unfair labour practices and the apartheid injustices of racial discrimination (Sacks 2014:22). For example, in 1973 the trade union-led a strike in Durban in which black workers were demanding wage increases. The trade union protests resulted in a confrontation between black workers and white workers (Buhlungu: 2001:54).

In post-1994 South Africa, trade unions were undermined by the then South African President Thabo Mbeki, arguing that they do not share aspirations of economic growth and development (Ngesi 2013:49). South African trade unions federations, namely the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the Federation of Unions of South Africa (FEDUSA), National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), and South African Federation of Trade Unions (SAFTU) are increasingly losing power and influence in major sectors of the economy (Bezuidenhout 2017:9). Today, businesses in South Africa repeatedly accuse trade unions of stifling the economy, through their irrational and hostile relationship towards the employer; they have no vision of improving the South African economy by means of enabling employment creation, transforming the overall economic conditions of South Africa as a friendly business market (Sandler 2017:111).

South African trade unions remain divided based on political and/or ideological orientation. COSATU remains the largest federation and is in alliance with the political parties, the ANC and the SACP. The largest affiliates of COSATU include the National Education Health Allied Workers Union (NEHAWU) and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) (Labour Guide 2017). These trade unions have been critical in the advocacy of improved employment conditions such as basic minimum wages. They have essentially contributed to strategic economic and social conditions that adversely affect workers in the face of the rising cost of living and high inflation that the undermines household economy of the working class and poor (Motala 2017:33). On

the other hand, South Africa's economic woes of high unemployment and stagnant economic growth over the past 10 years since former President Jacob Zuma took office, have been heavily criticised by businesses in South Africa. This is due to over-regulation of labour, high minimum wages and unreasonable demands or prescriptions of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), and difficulty in hiring and firing employees among others (Bond 2005:29).

Moreover, South African trade unions are increasingly faced with structural challenges, such as declining membership and business community. Trade unions are increasingly having minimal impact, particularly in the business community. Its impact in the public sphere has significantly diminished. Weaker union structures and union members are demobilised and essentially not actively involved in the union affairs and are isolated primarily from other core businesses of the organisation, (Van Der Walt, 2017). Other challenges facing trade unions in South Africa include mass retrenchments, a significant loss of membership, low wages and a dissatisfaction among workers, that employers are deliberately cutting the wage bill as well as declining investment in the primary sectors of the economy, namely: agriculture, mining and manufacturing among others (Omomowo 2018:390). South Africa's failure to attract foreign direct investment (FDI) over the past 10 years given among others, a rigid South African labour market that favours manufactured imported goods from China, rather than locally manufactured goods, has also contributed to high unemployment that has a bearing impact on trade union membership (Cloete 2001).

Post-1994 there was topsy-turvy fights between the governing party and trade unions following the adoption of neoliberal policies such as Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR). The adoption of these policies created disharmony between the labour movement and the governing party because the ANC dismissed COSATU's and SACP's refusal of the government's macro-economic policy and implemented it without agreeing with the alliance partners (van der Walt 2000: 73). Former President Nelson Mandela, and his finance minister Trevor Manuel, declared GEAR to be "non-

negotiable" (Kotze 2000:64). Trade unions opposition to these neoliberal policies included concern about the impact of privatization which would lead to retrenchment and job losses. The unions also had fears of the loss of social security benefits (Terreblanche 2003:461).

COSATU opposed GEAR because of its negative effects on the socio-economic interests of the poor and the working class (Knight 2001:4). In this context, COSATU became increasingly critical of GEAR while the union federation spoke strongly and even staged a series of protest and strikes against job losses –it rejected GEAR, but it did not demand that the government rescind it (Marais 2001:182). COSATU's lukewarm efforts to contest the implementation of the GEAR plan were not only a reflection of the gradual weakening of labour's influence in the socio-economic realm (van der Walt 2000: 74).

Another problem contributing to trade unions increasingly becoming powerless, at least in the private sector, is that the post-1994 South African economy heavily invested in the tertiary sector of the economy with a specific focus on service industries such as finance, real estate, software technology, sales and retail, education and private construction among others. These sectors of the economy are not in favour of unionised employees (Bezuidenhout 2017:73).

It is, therefore, against this backdrop that trade unions not only in South Africa but rather the world over are re-strategizing predominantly to remain relevant to their defined stakeholders which constitute union members, alliance partners and employers. It is, therefore, for this reason, that this study argues that South African trade unions use populist political rhetoric primarily to reposition themselves, revive memberships, reconnect with workers and attempt to remain relevant to the South African public (Du Plessis 2019).

Trade unions such as the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa (NUMSA) for example, uses populist political rhetoric on social media network such as Facebook essentially as a public sphere where policy issues are argued. For example, in 2018, NUMSA used its Facebook page to argue that labour brokers "abuse casual and temporary workers" and "expose workers to low wages and terrible working conditions". Thus, the decision to end labour brokers is a "death knell of the entire industry" and "NUMSA will continue to fight for a total ban on labour brokers" (NUMSA 2018).

Another South African trade union worth considering is the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU) formed in 1998 at Douglas Colliery, Mpumalanga, one of the oldest mines belonging to Ingwe Coal, now known as BHP Billiton. It was formed by a breakaway faction of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), affiliated with NUMSA. In 2001, AMCU was officially registered as a trade union. Its main target is mineworkers and construction workers across South Africa (Sinwell & Mbatha 2016:41). In 2012, AMCU members were killed by the South African Police Service (SAPS) in Marikana, just outside Rustenburg, North West Province of South Africa while protesting for a wage increase of R12 500, thus dubbed the Marikana Massacre (Chinguno 2013:28). Since the tragic event of mineworkers being killed by the police AMCU, within the media circles and other trade unions such as NUMSA, are known for rebellious populist remarks (Sinwell & Mbatha 2016:41).

In 2014, AMCU led a five-month-long strike in the platinum sector –with over 70 000 mineworkers from major platinum producers such as Lonmin Platinum, Anglo American Platinum and Impala Platinum joining the strike (Singh 2014). Then in 2018, AMCU some members and officials who opposed Mathunjwa's leadership were expelled from the union (Whittles 2018). In 2019, the Registrar of Labour Relations gave out a notice to deregister AMCU, saying the union has violated its constitution and that AMCU is no longer a genuine trade union (Mabuza 2019). In 2020, the union was embroiled in a leadership battle in which the election of Joseph Mathunjwa as president of AMCU was challenged in court (Masuabi 2020).

With the above developments since the founding of AMCU, this study, therefore, makes the following arguments: Firstly, political populist rhetoric is presented in verbal and visual texts on Twitter. Secondly, the underlying discursive practices of political messages are subjective, subliminal, and possess underlying political populist rhetoric essential to appeal to trade union members. Thirdly, the underlying political populist rhetoric functions to legitimise and/or delegitimise a political discourse. Lastly, it is worth pointing out the main purpose of this study, therefore, to deconstruct the underlying political populist rhetoric of AMCU on the social media network Twitter.

1.3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

This study uses the following key concepts, namely: social media, ideology and rhetoric.

1.3.1 Social media

Social media is a distinct subset of media, which is internet-based. Internet-based means that there is a significant interconnection of computer networks across the globe using internet infrastructure primarily to communicate through audio-visual hyperlinks (Caleb & Rebecca 2015). Given the significance of the internet, social media is therefore a digital technology that emphasizes the generation or creation of the content, distribution and interaction of the content (Kaplan & Haenlein 2010). On the other hand, social media functions primarily for interaction purposes which are, to carry out communication between the communicator and multiple audiences using channel characteristics or networks such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram among others primarily (Howard & Parks 2012).

The above definition of social media emphasizes the significance of facilitation of online communication, networking and collaboration (Russe, Watkins, Kelly & Chan 2008:22). Social media is a group of internet-based applications that are built on the principle of the creation of content, connection, interaction, production exchange and/or sharing of

the content between or among users. Thus, it is important to point out that social media must be understood as an "information infrastructure" and "tool" used primarily for the production and distribution of the content (Howard & Parks 2012: 362). Content in social media platforms is presented in verbal, visual and audio-visual or video texts. Moreover, the genre of the content of social media significantly varies; it is presented in the form of personal messages, news, ideas, music videos, movies, educational content, and engineering and lifestyle genre types messages. Ellison (2007:211) emphasizes that content on social media is significantly public and content is shared among connected users. Key participants of social media networks are individuals groups, organisations, and industries that create, distribute and consume digital content. The content is presented in different forms such as video, audio, text and visual images.

1.3.2 Ideology

Ideology is the second key concept of this study. Ideology is generally described as a world view, a system of values, attitudes, ideas and beliefs, which forms the basis of economic and/or political system or theory (Lemon 1996). The problem with the above view of the concept of ideology is neutral rather than subjective. Therefore, for this study, ideology is rational and concerned with tacit (sometimes explicit) biases, interests and values of the producers rather than of the audiences (Kellner & Durham 2001). What it means, is that media production is significantly subjective, largely influenced by media producers. In addition, Hodge and Kress (1988) point out that ideology in populism is essentially a set of rules determining conditions for media production and reception of meaning by which media is intended. The key to the above understanding of ideology is essentially subliminal rather than explicit.

1.3.3 Rhetoric

The third key concept of this particular study is rhetoric. The study of rhetoric originates with the Greeks in 465 BCE. Rhetoric emphasises the art of speaking which is the eloquence in speech, the use of emotions primarily to appeal to the audience and

conclusion (Kennedy 1964). In the 21st century, the interest in rhetoric is more in visual and verbal rhetoric, mainly on social media and traditional media. Thus, rhetoric is the art of persuasive speaking or writing expressed in visual and verbal texts employed primarily to communicate, inform, persuade, influence and more importantly evoke actions among audiences (Foss 2004).

The above suggests that communication is deliberate, intentional and conscious. The speakers or communicators' main intention is to persuade and evoke action from the audience. While Borcher (2006:24) views rhetoric as a "symbolic language" that communicates the lived experiences, creates identities and underlying meaning using grammar, political metaphor among others mainly to evoke action among audiences. It is worth pointing out that this study argues that language used in political texts is highly political, thus political language. Political language is creative and symbolic, it uses grammar and metaphors are rhetorical and create meaning (Entman 1993:53). Rhetoric is not only limited to verbal text but rather includes visual text such as images. According to Foss (1997), visual images possess three underlying meanings which are iconic, indexical and symbolic. Iconic meaning means the presentation of real-world experiences, while indexical sign means suggests a cause and effect relationship and symbols are arbitrary signs (Messaris 1997).

1.4   MAIN RESEARCH PROBLEM STATEMENT

Populism in trade unions is alarmingly on the rise in the European Union (EU) because of the loss of national sovereignty over globalisation. The EU populist trade unions accuse government elites of benefiting from globalisation, thus threatening to leave the EU and rejecting trade with other EU countries (Jones 2017:39). Moreover, the populist trade unions want the EU to be downsized and/or leave the union given rising unemployment and austerity majors imposed by the EU on respective countries such as France, Spain and Greece (Broning 2016:239). On the other hand, populist trade unions

argue in favour of the rejection of the EU treaties, the single market currency and the fear of change that brings a possible loss of the middle class in the respective countries (Bracciale & Martella 2017:131). The problem with the above trade union discourse in the EU is that it remains unknown whether the populist rhetoric employed by EU trade unions uses traditional media and/or social media networks.

However, EU studies focus on the significant use of populist political rhetoric in social media networks by party political actors rather than trade unions. For example, the study by Bracciale and Martella (2017) focuses on the populist political communication styles of the tweets of the Italian main political leaders rather than trade unions. In addition, Alonso-Munoz, and Caero-Ripolles (2020) analyse framing and communication strategies on Twitter used by the EU populist actors rather than trade unions. The study by Leonardi and Carreiri (2020) analyses the underlying discursive strategies employed by the Italian trade unions to support the poor working class. The problem with Leonardi and Carreiri's (2020) study is that it does not speak to the significant use of social media, particularly Twitter, as a public sphere that can be used to convey trade unions' populist rhetoric. While studies by Bracciale and Martella (2017), Alonso-Munoz, Caero-Ripolles (2020) significantly focus on party political actors and overlooked trade unions in the EU and social media networks.

In the context of South Africa, trade unions are particularly developed and organised than those in other African countries. However, the problem with South African trade unions is that they are varied and fragmented and rarely speak in one voice on issues affecting the labour (Omomowo 2018:391). In addition, there is little or no knowledge on the subject of the populist rhetoric of trade unions in South Africa, particularly on Twitter.

While the section above has located the main research problem statement of the study, the section below focuses on the main objectives of the study.

1.5   MAIN AIM OF THE STUDY

The main aim of the study is to deconstruct, by means of CDA, the underlying political populist rhetoric of the trade union AMCU on social media platforms, namely, Twitter.

1.6   MAIN OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The main objectives of this study are:

- To determine, whether the trade union AMCU uses political populist rhetoric on Twitter.
- To determine, whether the rhetoric (verbal and visual) used by AMCU in the selected social media network is populist.
- To determine, how underlying discursive practices (verbal and visual texts) are presented in the selected social media network to construct AMCU political populist rhetoric.
- To determine, how underlying discursive practices are used ideologically to legitimise and/or delegitimise AMCU political populist rhetoric.
- To deconstruct, the underlying ideological meaning of the political populist rhetoric of AMCU on Twitter.

1.7   MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION

The main research question of this particular study is as follows:

- What is the underlying political populist rhetoric used by the trade union AMCU on Twitter?

The sub-problems of this study are as follows:

- To what extent are the underlying political populist rhetoric used by the trade union AMCU on Twitter?

- To what extent are the verbal and visual texts of AMCU on Twitter rhetorical populist?
- To what extent are the underlying discursive practices (verbal and visual texts) used in the construction of AMCU political populist rhetoric on Twitter?
- To what extent are the underlying discursive practices used ideologically to legitimise and/or delegitimise AMCU political populist rhetoric on Twitter?
- What is the underlying meaning of the political populist rhetoric of AMCU on Twitter?

1.8 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Studying political populist rhetoric of the trade unions on social media is a new phenomenon. Therefore, this study makes the following contribution to the South African political communication landscape: Firstly, the study focuses on the discourse of populist political rhetoric on social media, particularly on trade unions in South Africa rather than concentrating on populist rhetoric of trade unions in the developed Western world. Secondly, populist rhetoric, particularly in trade unions, contributes to the growing body of literature on populism within the context of political communication in South Africa and/or Africa, previously regarded as an American phenomenon.

Thirdly, this study contributes significantly to the underlying discourse of populism and rhetoric as an underlying premise of freedom of speech in a progressive democracy, predominantly in post-1994 South Africa. Fourthly, studying the political populist rhetoric of the trade unions on social media platforms is a new phenomenon. This, therefore, makes this study the first study in South Africa that focuses exclusively on the political populist rhetoric of a trade union. Fifthly, rather than identifying and interpreting political populist rhetoric on trade union's social media platforms, this study critically analyses political populist rhetoric used by AMCU. Thus, this study is inherently qualitative rather than quantitative. Lastly, this study contributes to the understanding of political populist rhetoric in the context of social media mainly of South African trade unions.

Political populist rhetoric is relevant to political communication studies; thus it is defined as the production, dissemination, processing and the effects of mediated political information among audiences of political actors (political leaders, political parties and government officials) (Denton & Woodward1990:14). For McNair (2011:3) political communication is defined as the verbal and visual political rhetoric that is intentional or purposeful. Usually, political communication is about politics, it includes all forms of communication undertaken by political actors primarily to achieve an objective. While Graber (1981) views political communication, from an all-encompassing perspective suggesting paralinguistic signs such as body language, political acts of boycotts and protests.

This study makes the following arguments: (1) political populist rhetoric is presented by means of verbal and visual texts of the selected political tweets. (2) These verbal and visual texts use different discursive practices in the form of linguistic features and symbolic language, while visual texts use visual metaphors, logo design, party regalia, settings and slogans among others to convey political populist messages. (3) The underlying discursive practices of verbal and visual texts are interrogated.

The below section focuses on the theoretical framework of the study.

1.9 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

This study employed two main theories, namely: populism and critical discourse analysis (CDA).

Populism is the first theory of this study regarded as a communication strategy used primarily by political actors, concerned with the plight of the "the people", rather than "the elites" of society (Jagers & Walgrave 2007:322). Key to the above definition is the role of communication strategies used to appeal to the everyday people of the society,

thus "the people". Key to the above definition is the role of communication within the context of populism, its underlying appeals to "the people" (Canovan 2004:242) and the dynamics between the "elites" and the "people" (Sorensen 2017:29). Chapter three of this study presents a detailed discussion of the theoretical framework of populism.

CDA is the second theory of the study that argues different discursive practices are not objective but are subjective, possess underlying ideologies and possess inherent biases, present power dynamics, and knowledge produced in the verbal and visual texts of media. These discursive practices are critical to this study as they explain how and why certain discourses are produced, legitimised and/or delegitimised (van Dijk 1998). It is for this reason, that underlying discursive practices of the verbal and visual rhetoric are interrogated. This, therefore, makes this study a critical study rather than an objective study. Chapter four of this study presents a detailed theoretical discussion of CDA as a theory.

1.10 LAYOUT OF THE THESIS

This thesis is divided into seven chapters (including chapter one). Chapter Two presents a review of literature in the context of populism. The review of literature focused on the seminal and secondary scholars of populism, mainly the work of Ionescu and Geller (1969) on their challenges to the concept of populism. The secondary work of Canovon (1981) furthermore makes significant advancements in the modern understanding of the concept of populism. The chapter demarcated literature on populism from the following main constituents, namely: populism as a political phenomenon, populism as a communication strategy, the significance of populism on social media, and the relationship between populism and a trade union.

Chapter Three presents a theoretical discussion on the nature of populism, the underlying history of populism and key definitions of the concept of populism and the working definition of populism from a political communication perspective. The theory of

populism is located from underpinning theoretical assumptions of populism and a working definition of populism from a political communication perspective rather than from a general perspective. While Chapter Four presents this study with a theoretical framework of CDA and its nature of CDA. The chapter further points out that CDA on the other hand is used as a research method that possesses different "tools" or dimensions that are useful in the analysis or interrogation of the underlying and obvious meaning of the verbal and visual rhetoric in the media texts.

Chapter Five presents the research methodology of the study while Chapter Six presents the analysis and interpretation of the underlying populism rhetoric of the sample tweets of AMCU. The analysis and interpretation of AMCU are based primarily on the theoretical underpinnings of populism. Additionally, in the analysis of AMCU different research methods of CDA have been employed, namely: Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model of a Discourse (Fairclough, 1992), Political Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk, 1998; Wodak, 2009), Discourse Mythology Analysis (DMA)(Kesley, 2015) and social semiotic analysis (van Leeuwven, 2005). Chapter Seven presents the conclusion of the study.

This study has seven chapters. Chapter One presented the overall introduction of the study. The chapter presented the background of the study, conceptual framework, the research problem statement, the main aim and objectives of the study, main research question, significance of the study, theoretical framework, and the limitations of the study. Chapter Two presented a review of literature in the context of populism. The review of literature focused on the seminal and secondary scholars of populism. Using previous studies, the chapter demarcated literature on populism from the following main constituents, namely: populism as a political phenomenon, populism as a communication strategy, the significance of populism in social media, and the relationship between populism and a trade union. Under the literature review, the study revealed underlying and/or inherent problems, limitations and weaknesses of the selected literature review in the above-mentioned constituents of populism. While

Chapter Three presented a theoretical discussion on the nature of populism, the underlying history of populism and key definitions of the concept of populism as well as the working definition of populism from a political communication perspective. The theoretical discussion of populism presented the underpinnings of populism and located a working definition of populism from a political communication perspective rather than from a general perspective.

Chapter Four presented this study with CDA as a theoretical framework. The chapter moreover pointed out that CDA is a research method that possesses different "tools" or dimensions that are critical in the analysis or interrogation of the underlying rhetorics of the verbal and visual texts. Chapter Five outlined the study with a comprehensive research strategy, while Chapter Six presented the analysis and interpretation of the underlying populist rhetoric of the sample tweets of AMCU using different research methods of CDA, namely; Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model of a Discourse, Political Discourse Analysis, Discourse Mythology Analysis and Social Semiotic Analysis. The above different methods of CDA are used to interrogate the underlying rhetorics of AMCU in the verbal and visual texts. Chapter Seven presents the conclusion of the study

1.11 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the overall introduction to the study, the context of the study with a specific background, aims, objectives and the relevance of the topic. Moreover, the chapter presented a summary of the research methodology, theoretical framework, study contributions, limitations and demarcations of the study.

The next chapter presents the Literature Review of the study.

2 CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW ON POPULISM

2.1 INTRODUCTION

There have been academic publications in the form of books and journal articles on the subject of populism since the late 1960s. Literature on populism is littered with studies from different subjects such as politics, history, economics, religion, and social sciences among others. The presidency of the former United States (US) President Donald Trump resulted in populism becoming a political issue in American politics. A series of academic articles such as Lacatus (2021), provides an analysis of populism on how the former President Trump used Twitter and elections rallies mainly to communicate the US foreign policy. Wojczewski (2020) argues that the arrival of former President Trump in US politics has created a populist political identity relating to the "self" rather than the global political "order". It is for this reason that Conley (2020) laments that US politics has entered populism as a political strategy. However, Gruszczynski and Lawrence (2019) argue that Trump is a populist brand in US politics rather than a neoliberalist politician. Rowland (2011) notes that populists political actors use populist and nationalist rhetoric as primary tools to ascend to power. It is for this reason that Pinto's (2018) study agrees that the former president is a populist and a nationalist leader.

In the European Union (EU), there has been an explosion of literature on populism against the backdrop of the rise of right-wing movements in Austria, Germany and the United Kingdom (UK) among others (Balnaves, Burkle, Erkan & Fischer 2020). The diffusion of nationalism and populism developed a political project that legitimised, for example, anti-immigration, anti-China, and racism (Martinell (2018). The rise of right-wing populism in Europe (Sandrin 2021) could be seen as politics of national, racial, and regional identity rather than politics of liberal democracy centred on the significance of human rights (Noury & Roland 2020).

It is worth pointing out that the above developments of populism in the West politics have created opportunities for how communication, specifically, is used in the context of populism. In other words, these developments have created opportunities for political communication researchers or scholars to investigate the underlying communication aspects of the populism phenomenon.

Therefore, the following sections of this chapter focus on the review of literature on the phenomenon of populism with a specific focus on (1) populism as a political phenomenon, (2) populism as a communication strategy, (3) populism and social media, and (4) populism and trade unions.

2.2   LITERATURE REVIEW

This study is inspired by the seminal work of Gina Ionescu and Ernest Gellner (1969) and Margaret Canovon (1981). The study of Ionescu and Gellner (1969) reveals that populism is mainly seen as an "ideology, a movement and a pathological syndrome" affecting largely political actors rather than ordinary people in the society. While the work of Canovon (1981) entitled *Populism* holds that populism is not divorced from people, in other words, it is associated with the "people". For Canovon (1981:31-32) the "people" in the context of populism do not refer to "the elites", rather the "people" refer significantly to the marginalised who have "neglected grievances", the "oppressed who can appeal" and "articulate genuine political concerns". The significance of people moreover emphasizes the role that rhetoric plays in the appeal of the marginalised.

Although the above seminal work of Ionescu and Gellner (1969) and Canovan (1981) located the significance of populism within the realism of political science, their studies lack coherence and context. To overcome the above shortcomings of the seminal work, the following discussion presents literature that speaks to the themes of populism as a political concept, its role in political communication, and social media networks. These three themes are critical to this study in that, it helps this study to delineate the

discussion of populism from a general perspective to a more communication-focused perspective, with a specific focus on political communication and social media networks perspective, rather than traditional media.

2.2.1 Populism as a political phenomenon

Populism owes its origins to political tradition. Previous studies by Freeden (1996), Kazin (1995), Laclau (2005) and Panizza (2005) are old studies; however, they succeeded in locating the significance of populism within the overall political sciences discipline rather than in the overall discipline of communication. The most recent study by Cox (2017) reveals how populism is used for political purposes to influence the public sphere on an international relations front such as Britain leaving the European Union. Cox (2017) argues that the move by Britain was instigated largely by a populist stance rather than Britain's foreign policy or historical diplomatic ties between Britain and the rest of the Europe Union. Additionally, the study by Mbete (2015) is primarily concerned with populism as a far-left opposition South African political party issue. The problem with her study is that it limits the populism discourse mainly to pure political science rather than to communication and trade unions. Like Cox (2017) and Mbete (2015), Kelsey (2016) views populism as a political phenomenon to be associated with right-wing political parties of British politics that need to leave the European Union. The study does not take into consideration the socio-economic factors that led Britain to decide to leave the European Union (EU). On the other hand, Barr (2017) observes the resurgence of populism among the political actors of Bolivia, in South America, primarily to resolve difficult socio-economic issues of poverty, underdevelopment and environmental degradation facing the country. He further argues that populism is a "political strategy" rather than a communication strategy to address societies pressing socio-economic issues (Barr 2018:34).

Although the above studies have succeeded in locating the significance of populism from a political perspective, they have little or no relevance to this study. Secondly, they do not present the role of communication in the context of populism. To overcome the

above concern, the next section presents previous studies on the significance of populism and communication – political communication.

2.2.2 Populism as a communication strategy

The significance of communication in the context of populism is primarily concerned with how populism is communicated. The study of Stanyer, Salgado and Strimback (2016:89) notes that populism is a "communication-centred approach" that primarily focuses on the underlying strategies, styles, rhetoric and tactics used by political actors. For this study the primary concern is about how political parties and/or political candidates communicate with audiences is fundamental. What are the underlying characteristics of populist political actors, ideologies and communication strategies, as well as the choice of political language used by the political actors? It is worth emphasising that the study of Stanyer et al (2016) forms the basis of this study. In addition, the study of de Vreese, Esser, Aalberg, Reinemann and Stanyer (2018:45) argues that populism is an expression of political communication using "content and style". This makes populism a communication strategy that populist political actors employ to communicate with their political audiences. de Vreese et al (2018) points out that, this is achieved using employing different sets of communication styles, characteristics and messages in the presentation of the underlying populism.

Moreover, Aalberg, Esser, Reinemann, Stromback and de Vreese (2016) note that the significance of populism from a communication perspective is for appealing to audiences. That is, whether political actors or media make sense to the political audiences. Given the underlying content of populism, it makes populism a public communication that appeals to political audiences. It is worth pointing out that the significance of a set of communication characteristics and/or styles makes populism an underlying ideology (Aalberg et al 2016). It is worth noting that ideology in this specific context does not necessarily mean a set of political ideas used by political parties or political candidates. It essentially means subliminal ideology is rational and concerned with tacit (sometimes explicit) biases, interests and values of the producers rather than

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of the audiences (Kellner & Durham 2001:6). Thus, communication tools such as verbal and visual texts are used for the dissemination of populist narratives. The problem with the studies of Stanyer et al (2016), Aalberg et al (2016) and de Vreese et al (2018), however, is that they are focused mainly on the characteristics and styles that frame a populist message. Moreover, the study by Kaltwasser, Taggart, Espejo and Ostiguy (2017) has overlooked the significant phenomenon of communication in populism.

Although the secondary work of Jagers and Walgrave (2007) is an old study, their study remains relevant to this study, in that they argue that there is a symbiotic relationship between populism and communication. Therefore, this makes populism a communication phenomenon rather than a political phenomenon. Given the above, it is without a doubt that the study of Jagers and Walgrave (2007:131) made a significant contribution to the discourse of political communication and populism. This study argues for a "communication-centred approach" rather than a general approach to populism. This, therefore, makes populism a communication-centred approach based on style or discursive practices used in the visual and/or verbal texts of a particular discourse, the underlying ideology, rhetoric and strategy (Moffitt & Tormey 2014). These aspects of populism are critical in that political actors adopt certain communication styles and/or languages when delivering a political issue to a political audience (Taguieff 2003).

The previous study by Block and Negrine (2017) is primarily concerned with populism as a communication style rather than general populism. The study argues that populism is highly communication-centred. It possesses underlying critical ideologies that construct identities using narratives. Moreover, populism from a communication perspective is rhetorical, employs various styles of rhetoric and establishes relationships with various media channels. It is worth emphasizing that, Block and Negine's (2017) study is relevant to this study since it is primarily concerned with the use of rhetorics both in visual and verbal texts of social media networks.

Previous studies by Hunston (2017:3) focus on the populism of the former US presidential elections of Donald Trump, while Mazzoleni's (2014) study focuses on the use of populism concerning Brexit.[1] The study of Lacatus (2021) focuses on populism in US foreign policy. While, Wojczwski (2020), Rowland (2011), Pinto (2018), Gruszczynski and Lawrence (2019) argue that political actors use populism to construct political brand identity mainly to ascend to political power. The studies of Akkerman (2011), Balnaves et al (2020), Martinell (2018), Sandrin (2021), and Noury and Roland (2020) note that populism is used by right-wing political actors to legitimise anti-immigration, racism, and nationalism stance among others in the EU. None of these studies speaks to populism in the context of trade unions; rather they focus mainly on populist aspects of political parties and/or political actors. Despite these limitations, the above-mentioned studies remain relevant to this study.

Although Moffitt and Tormey's (2014) study specifies where and from which discipline approaches populism, their work presents this study with critical key concepts related to populism, namely: populism as an ideology, populism as a political logic, populism as a discourse, populism as a strategy and populism as rhetoric. These concepts are critical for this study, in that they provide the study-specific canons by which populism could be analysed. Moffitt and Tormey (2014), regarding populism, are critical for this study and shall be discussed at length in the proceeding *Chapter Three* and *Chapter Six*. In addition, Cranmer (2011) argues that populism does not occur in isolation rather it occurs within a particular political context, that is, different public settings and political actors influence the nature of populist communication.

The below section reviews the literature on the subject of populism and social media.

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[1] The withdrawal of the United Kingdom (UK) from the European Union (EU).

2.2.3 Populism and social media

The study by Jagers and Walgrave (2007) argues that there is a significant symmetrical relationship between populism and the media in that the media makes politicians popular, and more importantly, acceptable to the audience members. This is done in different ways such as providing extensive coverage of political actors in mainstream media, talking about the political candidates and/or political parties as well as mixing information and entertainment primarily to popularise the politics. Moreover, the media speculate and personalise their preferred candidate and/or political party. However, the weakness of Jagers and Walgrave (2007) is that their focus is largely on traditional media such as newspapers, television and radio rather than social media networks. The study by Stanyer *et al* (2016), however, does not specify how communication is a centred approach, particularly on social media networks. The above study speaks of media in general terms rather than in specifics terms. While the study by Cranmer (2011) points out different types of media influences on populist communication. The only weakness of Cranmer's (2011) study is that it is an old study; however, it presents relevant aspects, particularly on the question of context and/or type of media, used to determine the nature of populism.

The study by Engesser, Ernst, Esser and Buchel (2016) notes that populism in the context of social media presents advantages of not being subjected to the traditional gatekeepers, such as news editors who determine what news items go to the media and which ones are rejected. In other words, social media networks afford political actors a platform to speak directly to their constituencies. The significance of the use of populism within the space of social media is primarily (1) to simplify political messages, (2) to facilitate the inclusion of political messages in the personal frames rather than mediated political messages and, (3) diffuse populist ideology and make it accessible to like-minded people (Engesser et al 2016). Another benefit of populism, in the context of social media networks, is that populist politicians or political actors serve as news and information sources. There is an alteration of information formats, a convergence between mass and interpersonal communication. News are aligned with the audience's

preferences, the news is constantly changing and provides the audience with the ability for consumption patterns, and news is presented with simultaneous developments (Jungherr 2016). The main weakness of Jungherr's (2016) study, however, is concerned with the use of Twitter for elections purposes, rather than the use of Twitter for populism and trade unions. Another study worth considering is the work of Bracciale and Martella (2017). It is concerned with identifying how Italian politicians use Twitter for political communication styles to engage, intimidate, popularise and personalisation. The main limitation of Bracciale and Martella's (2017) study, is that it does not address trade union issues.

Chapter One pointed out key limitations regarding available South African literature. There is a significant lack of studies that speak to populism from a political communication perspective. As indicated, South African studies by Hart (2014), Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008), Mathekga (2009), and Halisi (1998) speak to populism regarding socio-economic issues such as xenophobia, poor race relations, racism, and service delivery protests among others, rather than on political communication and trade unions. For instance, the study of Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008) notes that former South African President Jacob Zuma (2009-2018) employed populist rhetoric in the form of a song such as *uMshini Wami,*[2] *and Yinde Lendlela Esiyihambayo,*[3] mainly to campaign for his presidential elections. In a similar South African study, Mathegka (2009:8) observes how the ANC leadership proud itself around the populist rhetoric of the "leader of the liberation movement and the transformation process in South Africa since 1994". Although the populist rhetoric has not translated into a significant impact in terms of transforming the lives of the majority of poor South Africans. This is aggravated by increasing economic inequality and slow economic transformation that could lift masses, particularly Black people, out of poverty and under-development.

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[2] isiZulu language for please bring back my gun.

[3] IsiZulu language for it's a long and difficult road that we are travelling.

More relevant to this particular study, are the previous studies of Fichter (2008), Gabbitas (2017), Lafrance (2018), Arndt and Rennwald (2016), Oesch (2009) and Stoss (2017) which focus specifically on the underlying problems of populism within the context of trade unions. These studies point out that populism in the context of trade unions undermines and weakens the significance of trade unions as a key regulatory force within industrial relations and questions their role in representing the interests of employees (Arndt & Rennwald 2016; Oesch 2009; Stoss 2017). In addition, populism is seen as anti-trade unions and any proponent of populism should be disregarded or even ignored as an outsider (Fichter 2008, Gabbitas 2017). Populism should rather be taken as a fundamental threat to democracy (Lafrance 2018).

The use of social media platforms as tools for social and political mobilisation has proved highly effective during protest events. For example the #FeesMustFall and the #BlackLivesMatter as highlighted in a study by van der Vyver (2017). The study notes that during the #FeesMustFall students activists use d digital media platforms effectively particularly Twitter, WhatsApp and Facebook. In this case, van der Vyver (2017) claims student activist used Twitter as a PR and crowd-mobilisation tool and therefore, the importance of Twitter in Fees Must Fall protests action. The #FeesMustFall movement began in October 2015 in response to an increase in fees at South African universities. The #FeesMustFall movement did not only mobilise students, but it spread throughout the continent (van der Vyver 2017:38).

The power of social media on a global scale was revealed with the #BlacklivesMatter movement. The study by Cosby (2018) provides a quintessential example of how social media can be used to mobilise political activism and promote engagement from the average citizens. According to Cosby (2018:35) Social media is an important platform where political organisations can mobilise people to commit to a particular cause. The technology, gives political parties the ability to connect farther and faster than ever before, and some populist political actors exploit it. The #BlackLivesMatter begun in

2013 in response to the racial discrimination and police brutality against black people and became a rallying cry for the black community Cosby (2018: 37).

2.2.4 Populism and trade unions

There is a significant relationship between populism and trade unions in South Africa as well as their use of social media, specifically Twitter. However, there is a lack of literature that addresses these specific concerns of populism, trade unions and their use of social media. Although Murillo (2000) speaks to populism and trade unions, the study, however, does not address the social media issues. Rather, it is concerned with the historical transitions from conservative politics to a neoliberal market-driven populist discourse in Latin America. Murillo (2000) does not address populist issues with a specific reference to the trade unions in South Africa, rhetoric as well as the use of social media.

Litchtenstein (2016) is another study worth highlighting. His study argues that populism is not for trade unions but rather significant for political parties. Although the study by Baines (2007) is a South African study that speaks to populism and trade unions. Baines's (2007) study, however, presents a historical account of populism and trade unions in the Eastern Cape Province from 1918 to 1920. This study does not address issues of populism and trade unions in contemporary South Africa where social media networks are used primarily to communicate with members of the public and/or of the trade unions.

Another problem with the above studies is that they are international studies that focus specifically on labour unions issues in overseas countries such as Germany, Greece, Italian, Latin America and Sweden among others. Secondly, these studies do not use CDA; rather they focus specifically on quantitatively related research paradigms. Thirdly, none of the studies focuses on labour unions, specifically in post-1994 South Africa. Lastly, none of the above studies analyses the use of social media by trade

union organisations primarily to convey populist messages, which is the research focus area for this study.

It is, therefore, against this backdrop that this study expands on the above studies by means of the critical discourse analysis (CDA) research method to interrogate underlying populist messages constructed by selected South African trade union organisations, conveyed through social media platforms, specifically Twitter. Lastly, it is on this basis that this study contributes to the political communication landscape, trade union studies and the use of social media platforms as a political public sphere in South Africa.

Now that the foregoing section has reviewed the literature on populism, the next chapter discusses a theoretical framework of populism.

2.3   CONCLUSION

Chapter Two presented a review of literature in the context of populism. The review of the literature focused on the seminal and secondary scholars of populism, mainly the work of Ionescu and Geller (1969) on their challenges to the concept of populism. Furthermore, the secondary work of Canovon (1981) makes significant advancements in the modern understanding of the concept of populism. The chapter demarcated literature on populism from the following main constituents, namely: populism as a political phenomenon, populism as a communication strategy, the significance of populism in social media, and the relationship between populism and a trade union. Under the literature review, the study revealed underlying and/or inherent problems, limitations and weaknesses of the selected literature review mainly in the above-mentioned constituents of populism. The next chapter presents a theoretical framework of the study.

3   CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1   INTRODUCTION

Key to this chapter is the discussion on the nature of the concept of populism and the theoretical perspective therein. Underlying the concept of populism is a binary relationship between the "people" and the "elites" of the society (Mudde & Kaltwasser 2013:17). The concept of populism is borrowed primarily from different approaches or studies of film, media, politics, political communication, history, sociology, literature and philosophy among others. This makes populism an interdisciplinary study.

This thesis approaches populism specifically from a political communication perspective. From a political communication perspective, populism asserts that there is significant use of verbal and visual rhetoric that is inherently ideological (Jagers & Walgrave 2007). This rhetoric is used mainly by political actors that are, political leaders and/or political parties mainly to (1) side with the plight of the poor rather than the elites of the society and (2) to mobilise the poor who constitutes the masses of the society (Block & Negrine 2017).

Based on the above overview of populism, the below sections of the chapter provide a historical background of populism, thus the nature of populism, the theoretical framework of populism and the underlying weaknesses of populism. Under the theoretical framework of populism, the chapter presents a list of concepts that form the theoretical underpinnings of populism.

3.2   THE NATURE OF POPULISM

The concept of populism has evolved from different schools of thought. Early scholars of populism such as di Tella (1965:196) view populism as an "anti-status quo appeal" essential for the mobilisation of the masses. Similarly, Germani (1978:23) views

populism as a "multi-class movement organised mainly by charismatic leaders" primarily to persuade audiences. While Jaguaribe (1967:56) observe that populism is a result of the poor relationship between "the people" and "the elites". "The people" constitute the poor and marginalised members of the society, while "the elites" constitute the rich, wealthy, generally powerful members of society such as business people and politicians. However, Jacquaribe (1967:168) notes that there is animosity between the two parties-"the people" and "the elites" as a result of a lack of mediation by authorities.

Moreover, populism is described as political mobilisation only concerned with the interests of the marginalised people, "the people", which constitutes the poor and the oppressed without an agency within a political community, rather than "the elites", the sources of contention within the society (Albertazzi & McDonnell 2008:29). The "people" are mainly critical of the existing structural biases of the society that undermines their economic, social and political needs and favours the elites, the wealthy and the middle class of the society (Woods 2014:1). Within the context of populism, there are key political actors, made up largely of the political leaders and/or political parties whose main intentions are to appeal to the plight of "the people" (Mudde 2004:544).

In addition, populism focuses on oppositional binaries between "the people" and "the elites" which essentially constitute the political and business elites of the society (Stefanel 2016:142 & Taggart 2000:92). The above view of the concept under discussion is based largely on populism from a political perspective, rather than from a political communication perspective.

The concept of populism has been significantly used since the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries. Throughout these centuries farmers, industrialists, and railway line workers among others in the Midwest of the USA used populism from different perspectives (Weir 1996:47). In the context of trade unions, this study traces populism from the early trade union of the Knights of Labour formed in 1869, in Philadelphia, USA. The Knights of Labour was a pioneer that championed the labour interests of exploited American

workers. Through populist rhetoric, the union succeeded in listing 700 000 members of farmers and industrial workers by1884 (Weir 1996:48).

According to Weir (1996:49), labour unions then unified labourers against big corporations and strengthened their ability to bargain by organising both skilled and unskilled workers. The Knights of Labour focused primarily on labours rather than professional workers such as bankers, lawyers, doctors and liquor traders within their ranks (Weir 1996:49). The formation of organised labour furthermore, brought tension and divisions between "the people" and "the elite" in the American society. Hild (2007:80-81) points out that the Knights of Labour employed a populist approach to solving labour problems. This was done by demanding more economic power for workers to end the corporate monopoly and government ownership of telecommunication facilities and the railroads, end child labour, promotion of health and safety laws for workers; equal pay for both sexes and an end to convicted prisoners who are kept as labourers. Surprisingly, prison labourer is still intact in many US prison facilities to this very day.

Furthermore, populism was not only used for labour-related issues rather but was also used for political purposes elsewhere in the world, in particular in Russia and Latin America. Another historical development of populism worth considering is the Russian Narodniki populist movement between 1860 and 1870. According to Pedler (1927:133), the Russian Narodniki was an urban intellectual populist movement primarily concerned with mobilising Russian peasants to overthrow Emperor Tsar Nicholas II's government. The Narodniki then argued that the Nicholas government was less concerned about the socio-economic struggle of rural Russia. The Narodniki was also known as the "going to the people" movement in favour of the rural poor, rather than the rural elites of Russia (Pedler 1927:133-136). The Russian Narodniki case was among the earliest examples of populism, which thrived on the growing unrest between the peasantry "the people" and the *Tsarist* autocratic bureaucrats "the elites". Populists then argued in favour of a better form of government for Russia and the peasants were not to be treated like

slaves as if they were not Russians. The significance of populism under these historical circumstances is that it highly praised peasants and spoke of them as "the people" rather than slaves as well as emphasizing the "will of the people" of Russia (Venturi 1960:12).

In the 20th century, populism in Latin America was employed in the 1940s, largely under the leadership of President Juan Peron of Argentina and President Getulio Vargas of Brazil. The populist leaders both claimed to represent "the people" and rule on their behalf. Peron pushed for state intervention in the economy and social benefits for the working class such as minimum wages. He also implemented strong anti-United States and anti-British sentiments. In his speeches, Peron praised the poor and downtrodden, saying they were the "true Argentine people," and he spoke publicly about their problems (Castro & Ronci 1991:161).

Like Peron in Argentina, President Vargas of Brazil introduced significant economic and social reform that mainly focused on the plight of Brazilians. The former President Vargas made extensive educational reforms, social-security laws were enacted and workers were given a range of benefits, including a minimum wage (Dulles 1967:24). Because of these significant reforms, Brazilians fondly called President Vargas the "Father of the Poor," as he was fighting against big corporates and the corrupt political elite (Dulles 1967:24). President Vargas's government created Social Security Institutions that provide the poor with medical assistance and welfare protection and/or support (Castro & Ronci 1991:161).

In Europe, populism emerged in France in the early 1950s with the rise of Pierre Poujade-Poujadism and the formation of his Union for the Defence of Tradesmen and Artisans (UDCA) – which mainly expressed the suffering of artisans and traders assailed by new forms of production, distribution and consumption (Hermet 2017:6). In addition, Ionescu and Gellner (1969:1) observe that in the 1960s, populism became even more popular among Western European sociologists and political science

scholars. For instance, in 1967 a conference on Populism was held at the London School of Economics in Britain, where scholars had to deliberate on the nature of the concept of populism and its underlying characteristics. Taggart (2002:63) notes that "academic interest in populism and the rapid growth in research was driven mainly by the political conditions of the time". For example, in the 1960s populism was used as propaganda to justify the US war on Vietnam. The US government was effective at creating propaganda to persuade the American public, as well as the rest of the Western world that the war between the US and Vietnam was a "just war" (Pilger 1986:106).

Moreover, populism in Africa appeared later in what was known as a populism for decolonisation, particularly with Ghana's first President Kwame Nkrumah and Tanzania's first President Julius Nyerere between 1956 and 1966 (Hermet 2017:6). During this time, Hermet (2017:7) observed that independent African countries had experienced increased use of populist ideologies of nationalism and socialism. In apartheid South Africa, the National Party (NP)[4] the government used populist rhetoric to brand all underground liberation struggle movements, which included the African National Congress (ANC), Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), South-West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia, the Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola (MPLA),[5] Frente de Libebertacao de Mocambique (FRELIMO),[6] and the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) of Zimbabwe as terrorist activities. These activities were perceived as a threat to the privileges, security and economic well-being of White minorities in South Africa (Scholtz 2000:70). The NP government used both populism as propaganda to justify the then apartheid government in consuming a budget of 4.4 % of the national GDP (Gross Domestic Product), with more than one hundred thousand active conscripts, advanced military technology and the

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[4] The NP was the governing party of South Africa from 1948 until 1994 and was disbanded in 2005.
[5] The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola
[6] The Mozambique Liberation Front

best air force, making the South African Defence Force (SADF) the largest military in Africa, mainly to harass and suppress protesting young Black people in the townships (Scholtz 2000:75).

On the other hand, (Aalberg, Esser, Reinemann, Stromback & De Vreese 2016:5) point out that, during the 20th and 21st centuries, the concept of populism was increasingly used by "right-wing" and "left-wing" political parties that sought to challenge established liberal politics of Western European countries such as Britain, Belgium, Germany, France and Sweden among others, including the US. Arter (2010:454) describes the new right-wing populism as focusing mainly on issues such as nationalism, crime, anti-Semitism and immigration. Pankowski (2010:29) notes that political actors such as the Swedish Democrats (SD)[7], the National Front (NF),[8] in France, and the Party for Freedom (PF)[9] in the Netherlands used populist rhetoric to call for European countries to close their borders to asylum seekers, mainly Islam migrants from war-torn Syria. Thus, Hermet (2017:7) remarks that it is not surprising that countries susceptible to declining economic, social and political conditions are likely to misdirect their internal dynamics and issues to populism. This is concerning the Netherlands, whereby the party leader of PF, Geert Wilder, criticised the Islamic religion for the violation of human rights, particularly on issues affecting the women, children and people of sexual minorities such as gays and lesbians.

On the whole, right-wing populist movements in Europe are in many instances aligned with former US President Donald Trump in their populist remarks. Some of these remarks are "migrants are taking your jobs", "Muslims are posing a threat to your culture and the US security", and more importantly, "the elites are selling you out to the rich and well-connected" (Wengel 2017:6). This means that populism in Europe is compatible with the American populism influenced by former US President Trump.

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[7] Swedish Democrats
[8] The National Front is now called National Rally (NR).
[9] Party for Freedom

Given the above, regarding historical developments of populism in the Western world, Dinc (2016:11) points out that populism is often characterised by pejorative and discriminative sentiments towards "others" and an increased polarisation between the "people" and "the elites". This makes populism an important phenomenon within democratic societies.

It is important to point out that although the above historical narratives of populism do not specifically relate to the trade unions, the main challenge for this particular study is a significant lack of relevant literature that speaks to issues of populism in the context of trade unions. Regardless of the above limitation, this study used the above literature to demonstrate the historical and modern-day use of the concept of populism by both trade unions, and political and civic movements to address socio-economic as well as political issues affecting their respective societies.

The next section of this chapter provides a theoretical framework of populism.

3.3   THEORY OF POPULISM

In Chapter Two, political populism is defined from a traditional and general political science perspective rather than from a political communication perspective. The primary scholar of populism Conovan (1981:12) views populism as "a political appeal to the people"; while Freeden (1996) and Kazin (1995) view populism essentially as a set of ideas for mobilising the poor. In addition, Laclau (2005) views populism as polarizing "the poor" and "the rich" of the society. In other words, populism is essentially an antagonistic relationship between "the people" and "the elite" (Laclau, 2005: 20; Panizza, 2005: 9).

Although the above scholars, Conovan (1981), Freeden (19960, Kazin (1995), Laclau (2005) and Panizza (2005) had successfully presented a definition of the concept of populism, for the purpose of this study it is worth pointing out there has been historical difficulties about an agreed and coherent definition of the concept populism.

Hence, Fawzi, Obermaier and Reinemann (2016:2) point out that populism remains a difficult concept to define as it lacks a universal and coherent definition. While, Taggart (2000:8) notes that the challenges of defining populism lie in its definitional ambiguity – meaning that there is a lack of coherent or universal definition of the term.

Secondly, it is difficult to differentiate between what is populist and what is not populist, as legitimate concerns largely raised by oppositions or the so-called right-wing movements are sometimes reduced to populist rhetoric particularly when they threaten the stability of the middle class and the rich of the society (Bale, van Kessel & Taggart 2011:121). While Sorensen (2017: 11) laments that "any political actor who is in the news frequently for a substantial amount of time probably runs the risk of being labelled populist".

Thirdly, Furedi (2017:119) observed that populism had effectively become a derogatory term used against those who are critical of the status quo. This is clearly shown for example, as populists are often described as racist, xenophobic, irrational, dangerously illiberal, and economically illiterate. Even when populists participate in, and win, elections or referendums, they are still castigated as being a threat to democracy. This, in addition, makes it difficult to provide a coherent definition of the concept of populism.

Now that the foregoing discussion has located a working definition of populism for this particular study, the following sections briefly describe key theoretical concepts of populism. These concepts are the main underpinnings of the theory of populism.

3.3.1 The people

The people in the overall theory of populism display the following attributes: Firstly, in the definition of populism different scholars such as Roodjuin (2014), Jagers and Walgarve (2007) and Engesser *et al* (2016:117) describe "the people" as anyone who is not an elite but marginalised and disadvantaged. According to Roodjuin (2014:9), within the context of populism, "the people" are considered a monolithic group of people who share common virtues, struggles, and ideals without internal differences, only subjected to exploitation from the external forces of "the elites". While Jagers and Walgrave (2007:322) point out that populism is mainly concerned with "appealing and identifying with the people", rather than with the "elites" of the society. In addition, Canovan (1999), Mény and Surel (2000) and Kriesi (2013) concede that "the people" are "united people" regardless of a different race, ethnicity, class and religion among others that speaks against "the elites" (Kriesi 2013:3) who in many cases are corrupt, oppressive and exploit the poor.

Secondly, "the people" in the context of populism, have been ignored by "the elites" and are in the struggle to fight and protect their interests that are threatened by "the elites". Stefanel (2016:142) adds that within the context of populists, "the people" are at the centre of the binary narrative of the "us" and "them" and demonstrate a significant hostile, anti-elite, and anti-establishment attitude within the political community.

Lastly, Van Kessel and Castelein (2016: 598) studied Emile Roemer of the Dutch Socialist Party (*Socialistische Partij*, SP) and emphasized that "the people", are the ordinary hard-working Dutch citizens, victims of an unfair political and economic system of the Dutch society. SP leader Roemer, in his populist remarks, emphasizes the importance of returning the Netherlands country "to its citizens", in other words to "the people" rather than to the elites whom he blames for the financial crisis of 2008 and the subsequent economic downturn.

In the context of trade unions or labour unions,[10] "the people" constitute the working class and labourers who are members of the working class, employed in a company or industry, who does work to earn a wage and does not have a powerful position as stipulated by the South African Labour Relations Amendment Act 6 of 2014 (Mpange 2016:13). A study by Oesch (2009:350) identified considerable ways demonstrating how populism is used to appeal to workers in the five European countries.

In the study Oesch (2009:350) tries to explain why workers are more likely than any other class to vote or support populist parties. Three different sets of explanations are advanced to account for workers' support of populist parties. A first explanation relates to "economic conflict" – implying that populist parties gather support from people who have more to lose than to win from socio-economic changes. For example, the opening of borders. By supporting and voting for a populist party, workers are merely trying to protect their jobs and wages from competition from cheap labour migration. The second set of reasons by Oesch (2009:350) stresses "cultural conflict" – meaning that workers are backing populists primarily to express their unease with multiculturalism and the rejection of equal rights for foreign citizens. Oesch (2009:350) argues that workers may be particularly ill-equipped to deal with the cultural challenge posed by immigration. Additionally, he points out that another explanation is linked to the concept of "alienation" – suggesting that workers dissatisfied with the functioning of the elite political system tend to support the strongest alternative to the established political parties that populist parties represent. Furthermore, Oesch (2009:350) points out that among workers, political alienation may be exacerbated by the weakening of working-class organisations such as trade unions.

Based on these arguments by Oesch (2009:351) it is apparent that workers have been hit hardest and weakened by technological progress, globalisation and the opening of

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[10] This study uses trade unions and/or labour unions interchangeably throughout the study.

the border. Being the main victims of economic displacements, Gabbitas (2017:79) suggest that workers may express their resentment by supporting populist parties that are openly anti-elitism and anti-establishment. Particularly in Europe whereby populist parties such as the German AfD, the French National Front of Marine Le Pen and the Danish People's Party have taken an anti-elitism stance against big corporates and xenophobic stance toward international competition and opposing further integration in the global market. As suggested by Oesch (2009:351) populists have appealed to workers by defending the principle of "national preference" for employment and social security. They are mobilising against African migrants, and asylum seekers, who are viewed as posing a threat as a source of cheap labour and competition in the labour market.

The above example on the other hand legitimises the narrative of the "us" and "them" in the political and social discourse within the society (Mudde 2004:543). This hostile relationship between "the elite" versus "the people" forms the basis of populism (Meny & Surel 2002:12). Panizza (2004:4) regards hostility as the core element of populism between "the people" and "the elites".

Another key concept of populism is "the elites".

3.3.2 "The elites"

The second, key concept of populism is "the elite". "The elites" are described as a small group of people in the society who are powerful and have a lot of influence because they have money or authority (Taggart 2008:8). "The elites" have a negative image or standing among "the people" in that they are seen as oppressive members of the society. "The elites" are labelled as "corrupt", "exploiter", "evil" and "immoral" who occupy positions of power primarily to serve their interests rather than those of "the people" (Hawkins 2009:142).

Furthermore, "the elites" are described as "arrogant", "corrupt", "greedy" , "suffer from entitlement", "above the law", "unaccountable" and "selfish", and only concerned about themselves (Rooduijn 2013:6). For Mudde (2004:544) the characteristics of "the elites" appear in stark contrast with "the people", as they are portrayed as enemies of "the people", the "sell-outs" who have betrayed "the people" (Jansen 2011:84). "The elites" are accused by "the people" of acting only on behalf of their interest above the general will of "the people" (Hameleers 2018:2174).

In addition, Stefenal (2016:142) admits that both "the people" and "the elite" hold extreme and opposing identities. They occupy diverse positions or socio-economic standing in society. Therefore, the "the people" versus "the elite" relationship can be understood based on the animosity between the two opposing groups. "The people" see an opportunity to rise when "the elite" are seen to be failing to deliver on the general will of the people (Mudde & Kaltwisser 2017:34).

Members of the International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF) and UNI Global Union in Germany illustrate an example of populist trade unions confronting "the elites" when they challenged Amazon's management. Amazon, the US giant online retailer, is known for poor working conditions and its anti-union stance. In October 2013, some 1 100 employees of Amazon formed a picket line in front of the mining gates, wearing high-reflective vests and posters calling for a collective agreement and for the company to cooperate with trade unions on regulating working conditions (Boewe & Schulten 2019). For Boewe and Schulten (2019:10) this was like "a modern-day David and Goliath story" – a few hundred strikers taking on the world's leading online retailer. A UNI Global Union statement concludes that "the fight against Amazon isn't just about one company. It is a fight against the elite and powerful" (Boewe & Schulten (2019:9).

3.3.2 Populists as charismatic leaders

The elites in a populist discourse could sometimes be "charismatic leaders". A charismatic leader could generally be seen as having a quality that passes as

extraordinary – its origin magically accustomed to prophets, military leaders or enchanters. It is a personality that is considered to have supernatural or superhuman forces or unusual and unachievable aspects for any other person or as sent by God, or as exemplary and as a consequence, as a boss, a leader or guide. Furthermore, Tismaneanu (2000:14) explains that charisma is linked to supernatural power and the leader who possesses it can speak on behalf of his followers and express their concerns.

In addition, Wirth, Esser, Wettstein, Engesser, Wirz, Schulz and Schemer (2016:12) identified the following charismatic qualities of a populist, which are "fascinating", "exciting", and "flamboyance" among "the people". This makes charismatic populists only concerned about individual political actors, rather the overall political parties that appeal primarily to "the people".

Populists as charismatic leaders essentially use different personalities that primarily appeal to "the people". They are skilled orators articulating, "the general will of the people" and therefore seen as the people's only saviour and representative (Stefanel 2016:143). Moreover, Albertazzi and McDonnell (2008:67) point out that populist leaders are capable of appealing to "the people", can articulate what people want to hear, win people's trust and provide solutions as to how their concerns or challenges can be solved.

To illustrate the use of charismatic populist qualities, Block and Negrine (2017) note that the former British Foreign Affairs Minster Nigel Farage, the leader of the UK Independence Party an opposition party employs charismatic populist qualities. These charismatic populist qualities are employed by political actors to appeal to electorates "the people", who are largely British people dissatisfied with the influx of Muslim immigrants in Britain (Block & Negrine (2017:186). According to Robinson (2015:9), and Block and Negrine (2017:186) Farage displayed the charismatic qualities of a "people's person", "a beer lover", "a smoker" and a confrontational person who constantly

challenges the status quo. As Block and Negrine (2017:186) concede that Farage has successfully convinced the populace that he is "a man of the people" – he has represented himself as the voice of "the people" against "the elites", particularly the Liberal Democrats and the Labour Party of Britain. As a charismatic leader Farage has been against established politics in the UK and Europe. He portrayed himself as the defender of the British people against the bullying of the EU, which he argued is dominated by the rich Germans (Robinson 2015:9).

However, regarding underlying weaknesses of charismatic leadership, Stanyer, Salgado and Stromback (2016:10) in *Populist actors of communicators or political actors as populist communicators: cross-national findings and perspectives* point out that there is limited research on populist charismatic actors as communicators and political actors. Populist charismatic leaders are characterised by a populist actor centred approach rather than a communication centred approach (Piramo 2009:177). It is important to point out that systematic knowledge of populist actors as "communicators" and/or "political actors" as the overall populist communicators are primarily limited and inadequate (Stanyer et al 2016:11).

The next aspect of populism is political communication.

3.3.3 Populism and political communication

Populism is a significant aspect of political communication, a sub-discipline of communication. Populism can be understood as an aspect of political communication that essentially communicates messages (of what is being said) and the use of populist style elements (how it is being said) by political actors (Sorensen: 2017:2). Therefore, it is from this perspective that populism becomes a communication-centred approach, which defines key characteristics of populist messages and styles of populist communication. This means that this study focuses primarily on the populist communication aspects.

Along with the same breath, Reinemann, Aalberg, Esser, Stromback, and de Vreese (2016:3) emphasize the role of communication in the context of populism conveyed using oral, written and visual texts of individual politicians and political parties. Moreover, Mazzoleni, Stewart and Horsfield (2003:66) point out that the media aspect of communication, particularly social media platforms, plays a critical role in supporting and facilitating the rise and success of populist political parties and populist actors.

Populism does not occur in a vacuum, rather it occurs within the public sphere. The German scholar Jurgen Habermas defines the public sphere as a domain of social life where public opinion can be formed (Herbanas 1999:401). In addition, Herbanas (1999:401) explained that the public sphere is mainly for all citizens and is constituted in every conversation in which individuals come together to form a public. According to Hauser (1998:20), it is a discursive place where people can interchange and express their opinions to create a common judgement. Fuchs (2014:38) points out that the public sphere does not necessarily refer to one specific place anymore. It is used to refer to a combination of offline places and virtual spaces embedded in the media.

For Fuchs (2014:40) the media is crucial in this creation and shaping of the public sphere where politicians, journalists and, with the advent of Facebook and Twitter, which has fundamentally altered the character of the public sphere, can have a voice. Fuchs (2014:42) has hailed social media as it has revitalised the public sphere with social media networks such as YouTube, Instagram, Facebook and Twitter. Social media has created spaces for broader public participation, where political actors disseminate populist messages promoting racism, xenophobia and Islamophobia.

Moreover, social media being the public sphere of populism is used to set a political agenda. Walgrave and Van Aelst (2006:89) define agenda-setting as the media setting the idea of what the public thinks about. Thus, by utilising social media networks, populists have an effective platform for setting an agenda in society. On the other hand, social media networks provide populist political actors with increased space and

attention that dramatises and sensationalises news headlines essentially to appeal to the "the people" audience (Ellison 2007:211).

With these characteristics, Aalberg et al (2016:11) concede that populist actors have become important role player's on social media platforms and their rise is facilitated by the way, in which they communicate and interact with the media. Wolfsfeld (2015:10) defines the concept of "political actors" as individual politicians, political parties, government officials, and/or trade union leaders.

Furthermore, populist actors do not communicate through established formal channels of communication with their opponents, the "elites". Populists use the above mentioned social media platforms, newspaper editorials such as opinion pieces, public gatherings such as political rallies, press releases and conferences just to name a few (Kramer 2014:45). They use these platforms mainly to raise their concerns regarding "the elites" established status quo as well as the plight of "the people". Furthermore, the political populists use these social media networks mainly to communicate with their political constituencies, "the people". It is important to point out that populists view the above-mentioned formal channels/networks of communications as essential platforms for shaping public opinion.

However, populist choose not to communicate through established formal channels because they accuse the mainstream media to participate in an elite conspiracy against ordinary people (Jagers & Walgrave 2007:321)). Established media channels have been used for decades and the publics have relied on them for years. These traditional media channels such as broadcast television, radio, print and billboards are blamed for marginalisation of ordinary people (Kramer 2014:55). The marginalisation of the subaltern publics or marginalised communities by the established channels induces populist political actors to avoid utilising the mainstream media. For Rooduijn (2014:85) populist prefer to bypass traditional media gatekeepers because they do not have access to and these channels neglect to cover issues raised by subaltern publics.

There are several challenges regarding media ownership in South Africa which leads to marginalisation of the subaltern and the neglect to cover issues that political populist actors are grappling with. According to Friedman (2011:105) there are issues regarding the diversity of content we see on our television screens and read in our newspaper – which is arguably informed by media ownership. The marginalisation of some languages and the dominance of a few languages is one of the important factors in marginalisation of the subaltern publics. The marginalisation of the ordinary people in the traditional media in South Africa involves the dissemination of certain ideas, world views, voices and beliefs at the expense of other narratives (Friedman 2011:109).

The use of platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and YouTube to communicate and frame issues provides an opportunity for political populists to act as a counterweight to the political and media elites, while at the same time extending the reach of their messages to their constituents. This means that populists utilise social media as a means of meditation. Sorensen (2016:9) argues that social media is a strategic tool that populists use to circumvent and interact with their electorates. Therefore, social media provides a unique environment for expressions of populism and attempts at controlling the media.

Social media plays a major role in the political communication strategies of political parties. Social media is centred on the significance of the political actors to "communicate messages" while users "like", "subscribe", "comment on political actors' messages" and "share" messages of the political actors with other users (Ernst, Engesser, Buchel, Blassnig & Esser 2017:1349). Thus, the number of "likes", "comments", "sharing" by Facebook friends and retweets by Twitter followers contribute to the popularity of political actors.

A study by Hanska and Bauchowitz (2017) focuses on how the British Conservative party used social media to promote the Brexit campaign. The study further shows that social media provides a platform through which politicians, journalists and citizens

communicate. According to Hanska and Bauchowitz (2017:3), the key rhetoric employed during the Brexit campaign used the fear appeal, that is, "fear of immigrants" and "resentment at the idea that Britain's sovereignty has been compromised by the European Union (EU) membership" to appeal to "the people".

The use of the rhetoric of fear and anxiety directed toward Brexit supporters shared inflammatory and propaganda material about immigrants in the form of social media memes. Hanska and Bauchowitz (2017:3) point out that videos depicting refugees as "vicious snakes" were shared on social media and the populist slogan "Take Back Control" to present the EU as an evil conspiracy to undermine British sovereignty and for real British citizens to take back control of their country. This suggests that social media as a source of information and news is popular amongst politicians and journalists. Social media has significantly changed how news is produced, shared and accessed.

The next section focuses on different canons of populism.

3.4   KEY THEORETICAL CANONS OF POPULISM

The foregoing section has located underlying theoretical assumptions of populism within the context of political communication; the following sections further locate related key canons of populism, which are: (1) ideology, (2) communication strategy, (3) discourse, (4) rhetoric, (5) political myth, (6) propaganda and (7) genre. These related key canons of populism are derived from various studies by Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017), Taggart (2008), and Rooduijin (2014) who view populism from an ideological perspective while Kazim (1995), Freeden (1998), Jaggers and Walgrave (2007), Albertazzi and McDonnell (2008) view populism as a communication strategy for political actors. Flood (2002) and Stoica (2017) view populism from a political myth point of view. Foss (2004), Kaid and Johnston (2001) and Borchers (2006) view populism as rhetoric. Chandler

(1997), and Hodge and Kress (1988) view populism as a particular genre while Fairclough (1989), Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) and Bayram (2010) argue that populism possesses underlying discourse. Lastly, Van der Meiden (1988) and Sproule (1994) argue that underlying populism is propaganda.

The above canons are significant to this study as they provide the study with demarcations or areas where populism could be analysed in verbal and visual texts. Chapter Six uses these canons as demarcations where populism could be analysed.

The below sections of the chapter discusses the key theoretical concepts of populism.

3.4.1 Populism as an ideological construct

Firstly, populism is a subjective rather than an objective ideological construct. By ideological construct, Aslanidis (2015:1) argues that the ideological approach of populism does not necessarily mean established ideologies such as democracy, liberalism and socialism among others. Rather, ideology in this context is concerned with underlying manipulative structures and techniques employed in the production of the verbal and visual rhetorical texts, primarily aimed at representing "the marginalized people" versus the elites (Harvey, 1990:30). This means that political actors are regarded as populists using their public utterances through verbal and visual texts laced with the dichotomy of "the elite" versus the "people".

For Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017:36) populism relies on other developed ideologies to gain support for their political program because it is unable to provide inclusive and refined responses to the political questions in society. The emphasis of the ideological construct of populism is largely concerned with the presentation of the content of populism. The styles that expressed populist messages are often associated with certain ideological frames (Vreese, Esser, Aalberg, Reinemann, Stanyer, 2018: 425).

In light of the above, it is worth pointing out that populism is ideological and is used primarily to represent the interests of the marginalised people rather than the "the elite", who are represented as corrupt and self-serving (Kaltwasser 2014:34). Political actors convey populist rhetoric, using verbal and visual texts, songs, iconic figures and dress codes among others (Dinc 2016:7). The fact that during labour protests, riots and demonstrations by the Ghanaian Mineworkers Union (GMN) in Ghana, mining bosses were dressed in miners' overalls, and boots and made to carry mining tools at the front of the worker's procession (Sandbrook 1981:20). Forcing the managing director to dress in a mineworker's uniform and march with the workers is ideological. That is, it essentially puts mining corporates elites, the rich in society, in a position to identify with the poor conditions and the harsh reality of the miners.

The above example illustrates that organised labour has a rallying strength through ideological solidarity chanting, dancing, marches, intimidation, songs and placards. These communication materials are usually coded, subliminal, and structured. The underlying techniques are significant to the manipulation and production of a text, be it verbal and/or visual, focusing on a specific grievance.

3.4.2 Populism as a communication strategy

The second canon is the communication strategy of populism. Weyland (2001:14), describes the communication strategy of populism as a means for organising and mobilising "the people" by political actors such as political leaders or political parties. What is more relevant to this study is the trade union leaders. The importance of the communication strategy is essentially to assist political actors to make relevant communication decisions on what, when, where and how political actors should communicate with their defined stakeholders (Hallahan, Holtzhausen, van Ruler, Vercic & Sriramesh 2007:5).

Furthermore, a communication strategy is used by political actors to appeal rhetorically on political and economic issues such as better working conditions, among others, that

negatively affect the lives of "the people", particularly the workers, rather than of "the elites" the employers (Dinc 2016:10). For example, Gabbitas' (2017) study suggests that the working class, who feel their interests are not represented by trade unions, tend to be swayed by populist movements leaders who propose increasing bans on migration, demand penalties for the outsourcing of jobs and argue for local manufacturing as solutions to the socio-economic issues.

From a communication perspective, populism is therefore defined as a communication strategy that is used deliberately by political actors seeking to exercise power based on the following: (1) personal appeal to "the people", (2) directly appeal to "the people" and (3) personal skill of political organisation (Barr 2017:22). These are fundamental populist communication strategies employed at least by the following Latin American leaders: the former Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez and President Evos Morales of Bolivia. These heads of state used populism as a political strategy to win presidential elections. They employed political populist strategies primarily to mobilise the poor masses of people instead of relying on the support of established political parties (Barr 2017:30).

Populism as a communication strategy from the above perspective, therefore, encourages what Weyland (2001:7) refers to as "political entrepreneurs" who can form coalitions with varied social groups/movements to establish a common view or perspective that is critical of the elites. The idea here is that a populist politician develops a well thought out plan that mainly intends to mobilise the masses.

In addition, Resnic (2015:317) considers a communication populist strategy strictly as an electoral strategy based primarily on mobilising voters to support a particular political party and/or political leader for a presidential office. As indicated earlier in section 3.3.3, this form of populist strategy resonates with "a charismatic leader" who can foster relations with "the people" constituencies (Jaguaribe 1967:168). Moreover, Hawkins (2010:135) refers to the above-mentioned populist strategy of personal appeal as a pattern of politics in which a charismatic leader exploits a narrative of defending the poor to garner electoral support to gain power.

On the other hand, Roberts (2006:127) provides another perspective of a populist strategy as a communication strategy. He views populism as a communication strategy that strives for political mobilisation of "the people" by "charismatic leaders" whose intention is primarily to challenge established elites.

3.4.3 Populism and discourse

The third canon of populism is discourse. According to Fairclough (1989:24), the concept of discourse refers to "the whole process of interaction of a text" with the overall society. While, Foucault (1977:49) defines discourse as a social construction of "reality", which forms a basis of knowledge that determines the nature of specific knowledge and certain behaviour in a particular social or political context or environment. Discourse is mainly concerned with how society communicates knowledge and the underlying relations between them.

Thus, the significance of discursive practices and discourse within the context of populism is that it contextualises expression, speaking and behaving for instance, through which identities and socio-cultural affiliations are claimed and communicated in a particular populist manner (Weyland 2001:18). This means discourse and underlying discursive practices are contextual and situational.

Moreover, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) view discourse as a way of articulating and disseminating underlying power, knowledge and social reality, presented through verbal, non-verbal and visual texts. Foucault (1977:49) conceptualised discourse as a "social construction of reality". In other words, discourse is concerned with the construction of social knowledge and social meaning in overall society. This, therefore, makes discourse a social practice, a social process and a social structure, under which populist speeches, slogans and songs are produced (Hodge & Kress 1988:6).

In addition, the key to discourse is the discursive practices that construct ideological meaning utilizing visual and linguistic features. For example, the cinematic film employs camera shots and camera movement to construct an ideological meaning. While visual images use colour, objects, and body posture, among others, to create an ideological meaning. As for linguistic features, these include vocabulary, syntax intonations, proverbs, and naming strategies, among others, to make a discourse (Bayram 2010:26).

Thus, populism as a discursive practice involves specific activities that populist actors engage in deliberately to stimulate a particular action and response (Kramer 2014:51). Moreover, de la Torre (2010:9) points out that populism also involves a non-verbal aspect of discursive practices such as emotions, physical body language, dress code, colours, logos, films, camera shots, camera angles, lighting and location or settings.

Another study by Hunston (2017:3) notes that US President Donald Trump uses a populist language and style that is distinctive and aligns with the situations in a casual conversational manner rather than in a formal manner. For example, former President Trump described the controversial newly built border wall between the USA and Mexico as a "beautiful" wall. About North Korean missile texts, former President Trump argues that "North Korea best not make any more threats to the United States. They will be met with fire and fury as the world has never seen!" (Hunston 2017:3). With the above, one could point out that former President Trump uses political language informally or casually and irresponsibly based on the content and style. Moreover, his use of political language undermines the significance of US foreign policy and creates uncertainty abroad. The significance of Hunston's (2017) observation demonstrates how the elites use political language by employing different and underlying discursive practices, mainly to construct a populist narrative.

The following section of the study will discuss these key concepts of populism in detail.

3.4.4 Populism as a Rhetoric

Rhetoric is the fourth canon of the theoretical framework of populism. Foss (2004:5) defines the concept of rhetoric as a formal, deliberate and conscious effort, which seeks to persuade, influence and evoke action among audiences. This means political actors carefully select verbal (words) and visual images to convey information and most important to persuade audiences. Borchers (2006:24) furthermore, points out that the primary function of rhetoric is the use of language and symbols mainly to communicate, construct collective identities, inform, produce meaning, persuade, influence and more importantly evoke actions among audiences.

Therefore, rhetoric is understood as the speaker's ability to persuade audiences through verbal, non-verbal and visual material mainly to appeal to the audience. Verbal rhetoric focuses primarily on the role of the speaker and his deliberate intentions to persuade and influence audiences. He uses linguistic techniques such as metaphor, grammar, styles and symbols primarily to persuade and/or influence audiences (Kaid & Johnston 2001:67). While visual rhetoric includes images use for purposes of appealing, representing, presenting persuasive arguments and constructing underlying meaning (Foss 2004). Non-verbal rhetoric includes human body movement, dress codes, settings, objects and the modality of voice among others (Birdwhistell 1970:147, Kaid & Johnston 2001: 200, Kim 1992:87, Woodward & Denton 1992:322). It is worth emphasizing that these forms of rhetoric, are deliberate and subjective.

The below discussion presents this study with different functions of rhetoric, namely: information, emotional, ethical or morality appeal, policy appeal, fantasy or thematic appeal, nostalgic appeal, fictitious appeal and fear appeal. The informational appeal uses statistical figures, diagrams, statutory laws and maps, for example, to present a rational and/or logical argument. The information appeal is used to enhance the credibility of the image of the political party (or candidate) (Hymes 1972:51). The emotional appeal, political actors employ different emotions such as fear, insecurity, and

guilt as well as feelings of happiness, pride and anger (Agres, Edell & Dubitsky 1990:8). This appeal is used primarily to appeal to "the people". The use of "fantasy" appeal in political populist speeches evokes feelings of hope, change and/or a better future among "the people" (Brierly 2002:166). While the nostalgic appeal is employed to remind "the people" about their sentimental longing for the past, when conditions were different and more positive than now (Brierley 2002:167). Fear appeal is used to evoke fear among voters, to suggest negative consequences could occur (Kaid & Johnston 1991:56). While the ethical appeal is used to enhance the credibility and trustworthiness of a political party (Khang & Tak 2006:45). Policy appeal on policy issues such as human settlement, health, economy and security among others to win the hearts of the electorates (Newman 1999:375-376).

The above rhetorical components are important for deconstructing the underlying populist rhetoric. In the context of populism, political actors "the elites" use this rhetoric to appeal to "the people". Studies by Moffit and Taggart (2014:387), Bos, van der Burg and de Vreese (2010: 186), and Kaid and Johnston (2001:44), point out that political actors use different-verbal and visual communication strategies primarily to convey populist rhetoric to audiences. The trade union Building and Wood Workers' International (BWI) and its affiliates demonstrate the use of verbal and visual communication strategies for populist purposes, working to ensure the safety and health of workers working in the construction of stadiums related to FIFA World Cup events. The communication strategy by the union involves showing a symbolic red card to FIFA and shouting slogans during a protest in front of the headquarters of football's international governing body in Zurich (BWI 2019).

The next section focuses on the aspects of genre and populism.

3.4.5 Populism and genre

The fifth canon of populism is genre. The concept genre refers to particular types of texts (Zhan 2012). In the same vein, Bhatia (1993:16) defined the genre as a

"recognizable set of communicative purposes identified and mutually understood by members of the speech community in which it occurs". Hodge and Kress (1988:8) point out that genres are made up of communication patterns such as the type of settings, storylines, the kind of issues under discussion, the type of cinematic techniques such as lighting and camera angles used in the media production. That is, genres are classed according to the type of actors, namely: the "hero", "heroine" and "villain", the historical time or period (Hodge and Kress 1988:229). It is worth pointing out that class or types of the genre are representational.

The significance of genre helps to identify and understand populist political actors.

3.4.6 Populism and political myth

Political myth is the sixth canon of populism, defined as "a set of political narratives about political events" that either occurred in the past, present or are predicted to occur in the future (Flood 2002:41). With these narratives essentially political actors, the narrator wants to make meaningful debates with the audience. In this definition, Flood (2002) makes a valuable contribution by stressing the importance of "narratives" that are presented in the form of stories. Given the underlying definition of political myth. Stoic (2017) identified the following types of political myths, namely: the "hero myth", "unity myth", "conspiracy myth", "us" and "them" myth and the "Golden Age myth" used rhetorically to appeal to "the people".

The ultimate aim of "hero myth" is related to the legendary figure of the hero, a divine-human being with the ability to restructure life or social and political structure, towards which the members of the community long to return - "unity myth" (Stoic 2017:68). The significance of the unity myth signifies the notion of a common /shared political destiny. While the "conspiracy myth" refers to the deeply secretive character and plans of an organisation to rule against the general will of "the people". The "us" and "them" are essentially a narrative of binaries between opposing groups. The "Golden Age myth" suggests it is associated with the refusal to accept contemporary political developments

(Stoic 2017:68). It is worth pointing out that these different types of political myths are employed ideologically in the verbal and visual texts to construct a populist narrative.

3.4.7 Populism and propaganda

The last canon of populism is propaganda. According to Van der Meiden (1988:58), propaganda is a form of communication that is biased or misleading and used primarily to advance a particular political cause or point of view to influence and influence public opinion. Propaganda employs persuasive strategies, with a focus on action. Propaganda is also understood as a form of communication that attempts to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist.

Moreover, Nicholas, Culbert and Welch (2003:34) define propaganda as communication that is used deliberately by individuals or groups to influence the opinions or actions of others through psychological manipulation aimed at a particular objective". The above definition emphasises (1) that communication is deliberate rather innocent, (2) it is manipulative, and (3) and sought to influence the opinions and/or actions of the public. The limitation of the canon of propaganda is that it possesses negative connotations (Sproule 1994:8). Thus, propaganda is significant to this study in that, it helps populists to disseminate their populist messages and virtually monopolise communication.

3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided a theoretical discussion on the nature of populism, particularly within the context of political communication. The working definition of the concept of populism is concerned with a political communication style that refers to the people, portraying society as divided into two homogeneous groups – "pure people" versus a "corrupt elite". This chapter has further pointed out that there are key concepts that are inherent to populism which is "the people", "the elites" ideology, a political communication style, political strategy and rhetoric. This chapter emphasized that

populism is significantly anti-elites and resonates with the plight of "the people" in society.

Furthermore, this chapter argued that populism is inherently rhetorical and ideological. That is, populism uses verbal and visual rhetoric to communicate and to persuade "the people" to protest or critique anti-elites and establishments. Moreover, the use of rhetoric suggests that populism employs different communication styles such as metaphors, idioms, comparison, and caricatures to essentially discredit the elites. On the other hand, populism can be seen as an effective tool to carry out propaganda to discredit the elites or the enemy.

The next chapter of the study will discuss Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and outline its aims, methods, and its theoretical foundation.

4 CHAPTER 4: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA) stem from a critical theory of languages which argues that language is a social practice rather than a set of a collection of words. All social practices are linked to varying contexts such as economic, historical, political and social contexts. Thus, these make them context-specific. The key to CDA is to consider the functioning of texts in the social, political and economic environments.

CDA is concerned about deconstructing underlying discursive practices of the verbal and/or visual texts, as they are essential in the construction of a narrative. Moreover, discursive practices are used ideologically, to legitimise and/or delegitimise a discourse.

The below sections of this chapter present a theoretical framework of CDA. For this study, CDA forms the theoretical framework of this study. CDA is a multidisciplinary study that uses different qualitative research methods, namely: the Three-Dimensional Model of Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1992), Political Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk1998 & Wodak 2009), Discourse Mythology Analysis (Kesley 2015), Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2011), Discourse Historical Approach (Wodak 2001), and Social Semiotics (Kress & Van Leeweven 2001). It is worth pointing out, however, that not all of the above research methods are relevant to this study.

The above mentioned, research methods of CDA argue that the construction of verbal and visual text in the context of discourse is primarily ideological and influenced by different environmental factors such as economics, politics, history and culture just to mention a few.

4.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF CDA

The emergence of CDA is found in the seminal work of Van Dijk's (1990) journal entitled *Discourse and Society* and a gathering of critical linguist scholars Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak through the support of the University of Amsterdam. They deliberated and agreed on key methods and approaches that would characterise CDA.

CDA dates back to the 1970s. Then linguistic scholars such as Labor (1972), Hymes (1972), Fowler, Hodge, Kress and Trew (1979), Hodge and Kress (1979), among others, were concerned about how language is studied. They argued that language is studied mainly on its formal functions and on the competency of the speaker rather than the circumstances under which language is produced. From this perspective, the focus was on the objective description of language rather than on the subjective approach to language. The above-mentioned early scholars were influenced largely by the seminal work of Halliday (1978,1985).

These primary works focused specifically on the "what" aspect of language rather than on the circumstances, that produce language (Tenerio 2011:189). In addition, the early linguistic scholars were influenced by Halliday's (1978) work on critical linguistics that emphasises mainly the significant context under which language is produced. Halliday's theory of systematic functional linguistics depicts language as a social practise concerned with the text, structure, function and meaning, which views language as a system of making meaning. Usually, the underlying environment in which language is produced influences the social aspect of language.

It is worth pointing out that CDA belongs to Critical Linguistics concerned with critiquing the underlying meaning of language. According to Liu and Guo (2016:176), CDA is a development of critical linguistics, which broadens the criticism perspective in discourse analysis studies. The concept of critical linguistics was used for the first time in a book titled *Language and Control* wrote by Roger Fowler and Gunther Kress in 1979. Fowler

and Kress are therefore two seminal linguistic scholars in the study of critical linguistics (Fowler & Kress 1979:186).

Critical linguistics is a branch of discourse analysis that goes beyond the description of a discourse to an explanation of how and why particular discourses are produced (Teo 2000:11). According to Fowler and Kress (1979:186), Critical Linguistic Analysis played a critical role in the formation of CDA in that, it studies the underlying ideologies of the text. That is, it is concerned with the underlying meaning of the text, production processes, which sought to position power, and control in the text.

Based on the above historical background of CDA, it can be concluded that CDA is concerned with the analysis and interrogation of the underlying ideologies, power relations, abuses, biases, and inequalities inherent in the verbal and visual texts of discourse Fairclough (2001:21), Van Dijk (1997:43), Van Leeuwen (2006:291). In other words, CDA argues that language is not as objective as the early linguistic scholars used to believe, rather language is significantly subjective. According to Janks (1997:329), CDA is not only concerned about the nature of the text, rather it takes into consideration the significance of the social, economic, political and historical context under which discourse is produced. Thus, there is a significant relationship between the texts, processes and their social conditions. More important is the underlying connection between the discourse and underlying discursive patterns within a text that needs to be interpreted, explained, and described.

Now that the above section has located the historical background of CDA, the section below focuses on the theoretical framework of CDA.

4.3 CDA AS A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

It is worth noting that CDA is a theoretical framework concerned with how language functions under varying contexts of discourses and how the underlying meaning is created in different contexts (Tenerio 2011:189). Furthermore, CDA belongs to a post-structuralist approach, mainly concerned with the contextual meaning of language rather than the functions of language (Janks 1997:329). This means that language is influenced by, among others, economic, historical, political and social aspects of language and the ways people use language to achieve specific goals. For example, to evoke emotions, manage conflict or build trust. According to Coffin (2001:94), CDA involves taking a qualitative look at different types of texts and more importantly, how these texts are produced primarily to convey a particular ideological meaning of the communicator, and how language is inherently connected to the cultural, social and political power structures of society.

Thus, to comprehend the theoretical premises of CDA, it is worth providing varying theoretical positions of different scholars of CDA, namely: Fairclough (1995), Van Dijk (1993), Wodak (1996), Van Leeuwen (2008), and Kress and Hodge (1988). These key scholars hold different views on the theoretical premises of CDA. The discussion of the chapter below presents different theoretical perspectives of each scholar.

Fairclough (1995:132) broadly defines CDA as "systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power". What this means is that CDA is mainly concerned with a deeper assessment of language, and how language is related to the economic, historical, political and social contexts. Thus, there is a dialectical (mutual) relationship between language and the underlying social, economic and political practices, among others, of a discourse (Fairclough 1995:133). Moreover, the dialectical relationship between language and discourse essentially means there is a

significant interchange between a text, interpretation and the context. On the other hand, CDA does not only look into the meaning of language, rather it focuses on the underlying structures of language, such as how language uses power and/or biases essentially to normalise and/or delegitimise a particular discourse and how language is used to describe and explain a particular discourse.

That is, spoken or written text in a discourse is a product of a process of production and the resource of the process of interpretation (Fairclough 2001:21). Within these written or spoken texts, there is underlying power and ideology embedded in the language as a unitary system. Thus, language is not objective, but rather subjective and relates to different environments (Fairclough 1989:15).

It is worth noting that Fairclough's (2001:22) view of CDA is derived largely from Critical Language Studies (CLS), which is concerned mainly with the concealed relations in language, that is, the links between language, power and ideology. Regarding CLS, the aim is to reveal aspects of the hidden social relations in a way that clarifies how linguistic components to control or decides the way their disguised elements develop in social relations. Lastly, Fairclough (2001:19) argues that the relationship between language and society is internal and dialectical, meaning that language is interwoven into society as a whole, rather than an isolated phenomenon.

The second primary scholar worth considering for this study is Van Dijk (1997). In his seminal *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* he views CDA from a socio-cognitive perspective that focuses mainly on the shared social representation, the "acquisition and uses in a social context" (Van Dijk 1997:22). Furthermore, Van Dijk's (1997) approach to CDA focuses on relations between discourse, power abuse, dominance, inequality and underlying ideology involved in the production, reproduction and resistance largely by social groups in the text. His approach to CDA is embedded in a discourse analytical framework when examining the subtle textual expressions of ideologically based opinions (Van Dijk 1997:21). Moreover, Van Dijk's (1993:138)

approach to CDA focuses on social cognition, that is, "socially shared representations of arrangements, groups, relations and mental operations" such as interpretation, thinking, arguing, inferencing and learning (Van Dijk 1993:257).

The third primary scholar of CDA under consideration for this study is Ruth Wodak (2001). She points out that CDA is not only interested in the analysis of a linguistic unit, rather it is concerned with studying social and/or political phenomena, which are necessarily complex and require a multidisciplinary and multi-methodical approach. With this approach, CDA emphasizes the critical analysis of economic, political, cultural and historical discourses, among others, to primarily reveal underlying knowledge of social, economic and political interconnectedness, underlying structures of power and ideologies behind the discourse, and essentially making the invisible, visible. Given the significant interconnectedness, CDA is interdisciplinary and attracts scholars from different disciplines such as anthropology, linguistics, philosophy, communication, politics, economics, and history just to mention a few.

The fourth primary scholar of CDA is Hodge and Kress (1995) from a social semiotic perspective. Social semiotic as a theoretical framework and a research method, in the context of CDA, is mainly concerned with the understanding of a sign from various environments such as political, economic and historical perspectives. Rather than the structuralist perspective, only concerned with the meaning of the sign, the post-structural perspective is largely concerned with the environment under which the sign is produced (Hodge & Kress 1996:5). What it means is that critical scholars recognise the significance of the external environment under which the sign is produced.

The last seminal scholar of CDA is van Leeuwen (2008). He is mainly concerned about the representation of the social practices within a discourse. Representation is defined as the recognition of what is subjectively or ideologically represented. That is, it stands for something or someone that is represented. Thus, representation is semiological that is, meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a particular group using

verbal and visual texts. Moreover, representation is seen as a strategy by which media portrays social actors as ideological participants, rather than innocent ideological participants (Hall 1997:10).

Now that the above discussion has located key scholars of CDA, their arguments are centred largely on the interrogation of a hidden and/or deeper meaning of the verbal and visual texts. The above scholars emphasize the following key concepts of CDA, namely: critical, message, analysis, text, discourse, ideology and genre. It is worth emphasizing the above concepts are theoretical underpins of the theory of CDA.

4.3.1 Critical

The concept of critical is significant to CDA as it originates from the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School, of the 1930s. Bilig (2003: 35-37) observes that the concept of critical is significant in both verbal and visual texts for various reasons. Firstly, it contributes towards improving the overall understanding of the social sciences, particularly underlying messages be it political or economic or health for example and how these messages are interconnected within society. Secondly, critical in the context of CDA is essential in that it produces underlying knowledge by means of describing and explaining a phenomenon to eradicate any form of delusions. Lastly, critical in the context of CDA reveals underlying power structures and ideologies behind the discourse, essentially revealing hidden cues more visible.

Furthermore, the concept of critical rejects naturalism in that critical essentially rejects the prevailing social practices, labels, and programs. Rather, it represents reality, rationality and the assumption that the truth is because of science and logic (Adorno & Horkeimer1992). What it means is that the concept critical is concerned with the unveiling of patterns and reproduction of power dynamics. Critical as a key concept of CDA is concerned with questioning the underlying status quo by means of detecting and analysing, for example, aspects of power abuse available in public and private discourses.

In summary, it is worth pointing out that the key to the critical approach is to object to the absolute truth about a particular phenomenon (Jager & Maier 2009:36). it is committed to the analysis of social ills such as biases, prejudice, unequal access to power, privileges, material and the ideological use of symbolic resources (Fiarclough 2009:78). It is concerned with discerning the prevailing hegemonic social practices that essentially cause social ills (Bloor & Bloor 2007:39). Critical seeks to expose the manipulative techniques of the discursive practices in language and visual material as well as to remove underlying barriers that are legitimised through a particular discourse. Thus, it is therefore fair to conclude that critical is "explicit and unapologetic" when critiquing underlying texts of discourses (van Leeuwen 2006:98).

4.3.2 Message

Writing from a social semiotic point of view, Hodge and Kress (1988) distinguish between message, text and discourse. The message is defined as the smallest semiotic form, characterised by a source and a goal, a social context and purpose. Hodge and Kress (1988) make a distinction by defining text as a structure of message or message traces, which have socially ascribed unity. The message is regarded as the most important component of the communication process. The social context of the message helps explain the effect of the message and how the message is transmitted is as important as what it says (Weninger 2008: 145).

Hodge and Kress (1988) begin from the assumption that signs and messages – the subject matter of semiotics – must always be situated within the context of social semiotics. According to Hodge and Kress (1988), the field of social semiotics addresses how messages are used and exchanged in specific social groups and where the meaning of a message is realised across several resources or modes of communication. From this perspective, the message is seen as a theoretical construct,

not just as a concept. The concept of the message refers to any instance of implication, or meaning-making, whether through verbal or non-verbal means (Weninger 2008: 145).

4.3.3 Analysis

The analysis is the second concept that forms the theoretical underpinnings of CDA. Fairclough (2001:21) and Janks (1997:329) note that analysis involves scrutinizing the relationship between texts, processes and their underlying social, economic and political conditions, among others, under which a text is produced. The significant consideration of the environment under which a text is produced analyzes CDA post-structuralist rather than structuralist.

4.3.4 Text

Text is the third concept that makes the theoretical premise of CDA. It includes written, spoken and visual texts. Halliday and Hasan (1985) define a text as a language that is functional – meaning that it is doing some job in some context, as opposed to isolated words or sentences. Text is referred to as a semantic unit, implying that a text is a product, produced in a particular time and place a material artefact that can be described and analysed (Halliday & Hasan 1985).

Writing from a similar perspective, Hodge and Kress (1988) define a text as a structure of a message. They emphasize that text has its place in a social system of signs that is dynamic. In this view, texts are the material realisation of a system of signs and the site where change continually takes place. In the context of CDA, the concept "text" has many meanings because it applies to any type of communication, whether verbal or visual (Weninger 2008: 145). Since this study is concerned about verbal and visual texts, chapter one presented a discussion on the significance of visual and verbal texts in the context of social media networks. Chapter Six presents the analysis of the sample of verbal and visual texts on social media platforms.

4.3.5 Discourse

Discourse is the fourth key theoretical concept of CDA. According to Hodge and Kress (1988:6) discourse is the underlying use of language that conveys a political knowledge and exchange of a specific topic among others on social, political and economic issues. This, therefore, makes discourse a "social practice" because language is a "dialectical relationship with society" rather than an entity that exists separately from the society (Van Dijk 1993:252). In other words, language is shaped by the social context under which it is produced and reproduced, thus changing the underlying meaning and values that make up the society.

4.3.6 Ideology

Ideology is the fourth concept of CDA. From a critical perspective point of view, ideology suggests a "construction of perceived social, political and economic realities" (Hodge & Kress 1993:6). In other words, ideologies create a false consciousness, they represent and organise the world from a particular point of view, and they reproduce dynamics of unequal power relations in the discourse.

For this study, chapter one described the concept ideology as rational and concerned with distinct biases, interests and values of the producers rather than of the audiences (Kellner & Durham 2001). This makes ideology subjective rather than objective.

4.3.7 Genre

Genre originates with the Latin word, "genus", which means a "kind" or "type" of something or rather how things are done in a certain way. Part of the communication genre is identified as one of the important elements in the study of signs and symbols (Hodge & Kress 1988:7).

Genre identifies "types" or "kinds" of verbal and visual rhetoric with common and established characteristics that regulate the expression of rhetoric (Van Leeuwen 2005:239). Hodge and Kress (1988:7-8) suggest communication actions that makeup genres in the social practice contain elements such as actors, historical time, narrative structure and settings. These elements of genres are important because they categorise and group-specific kinds or types of rhetorical codes, conventions and rules found in media texts.

These different types of genres can be said to possess many constituents, which represent and enhance the nature of a genre as a significant dimension of the analysis of signs and symbols to create meaning (Hodge & Kress 1988:7). Thus, the genre is significant to this study in that, it helps to identify and comprehend the underlying social meanings of verbal and visual texts.

The next section of this chapter provides criticisms of CDA.

4.4 CRITIQUES OF CDA

Several social science scholars namely, Tyrwhit-Drake (1995), Toolan (1997), Widdowson (1995), Stubbs (1997), Chouliaraki (1999) and Fairclough (1996), among others, expressed their dissatisfaction with the CDA approach as a research and a theoretical approach. For example, Tyrwhit-Drake (1995) argued that CDA is an ideologically flawed and unstable approach, which easily allows for a researcher to uncover the findings that he or she expects or wants to find. While Toolan (1997) laments that CDA as a research method does not provide a coherent methodological framework given that its analysis method is varied and diverse.

Similarly, Stubbs's (1997) criticism of CDA emanates from the reality that the researcher "cherry-picks" texts that best prove their positions. This means that CDA practitioners

select aspects of the texts that agree with their hypotheses or political agendas and these do not address the point of representativeness of the texts selected. The study should aim for credibility and dependability by being as truthful and transparent as possible in giving sufficient details about the data source. The data must be obtained systematically, and there should be enough data to provide a representative sample which Stubbs (1997) argues is lacking in CDA.

While Chouliaraki (1999) and Fairclough (1996) have suggested that the kind of interpretive work that CDA offers is more of explanation than subjective understanding. They do not call into question the existence and relevance of CDA, they mostly picked up concerns around context, cognition, partiality and the linguistic model used – except for Widdowson (1995:516). He has accused CDA of being biased, unprincipled, conventional, decontextualised cherry-picking of linguistic features closer to impressionistic commentary, which supports interpretation and yields simplistic findings.

Widdowson (1995), a notable critique of CDA, argued that the approach lacks methodological rigour and should adopt a critical language attitude towards its purpose, methods and practices. Furthermore, Widdowson (2004:167) laments that there is a significant lack of rigour and transparency in the selection of texts or linguistic features. Thus, he describes CDA as a method of analysis mainly concerned with ideological literary criticism or literary hermeneutics, rather than the relationship between language and power.

Moreover, Widdowson (1995:510) argues that CDA is not an analysis in support of theory but merely an interpretation in support of the belief. He also takes CDA to task stating that the beliefs of CDA analysts are ideologically biased, leading to analysts reading meaning into the text rather than out of the text. Bias is further compounded by the fact that the analyst selects only those texts, which will confirm his or her beliefs (Widdowson, 1995).

Other critical scholars include Chilton (2005) and Billing (2003). For Chilton (2005) CDA is not based on any particular scientific programme. Billing (2003) criticised CDA for its underdeveloped understanding of social theory. Chilton's (2005) concern with CDA is that it lacks cognitive theory; it fails to measure how a particular discourse affects the audience's cognition. What it means is that Chilton is primarily concerned about audiences rather than the text and more importantly, how CDA affects the overall audiences of a discourse.

Chilton (2005:21) has criticised CDA because it lacks a cognitive dimension in which human social action or social discourse may be better explained. Chilton (2005) argues that the kind of critical analysis performed by CDA analysts is scant because they do not consider how the human mind functions in terms of mental processes and representation. He maintains that CDA must consider a cognitive linguistic perspective on discursive action – the failure to do that, according to Chilton (2005) could result in the CDA practitioner being bound to providing a mere description of discourse and cannot properly explain how people think, and understand how ideologies, social identities and racist attitude arise and get propagated. He suggests that CDA will not be able to achieve one of its ultimate objectives, which is to combat oppression and inequality.

In addition, Toolan (1997:110) took issue with CDA arguing that it is uncritical of its discursive practices and that CDA is "unsystematic and essentially unprincipled". CDA has also been criticised by Pennycook (2001:54) for its tendency to be ideologically driven and CDA practitioners have been accused of both projecting their ideological biases into the analysis, and of conducting a selective analysis that is aligned with their biases. This is because the ideology of discourse is hidden and opaque, the researchers may put their ideology into the discourse by listing linguistic features that are likely to have some ideological significance and make conclusions about ideology based on them (Pennycook 2001:54).

Another critique levelled against CDA is the superficial treatment of context. Schegloff (1997:169) accuses CDA of projecting a context presupposed by the researcher onto the discourse created by the participants – meaning that CDA analysts impose their interest on the analysis rather than the participant's interest on the discourse. Blommaert (2001:15) points to the lack of an ethnographic basis for analysis of context and too much reliance on common sense, expectations, and presumptions. On the other hand, Blommaert (2001:19) points out another weakness of CDA, which is using terms and concepts in generic or underdeveloped ways, resulting in unsubstantiated analyses of social context. He argues that many of the concepts and analytical models of CDA are vague and CDA's interpretation of the text is not based on standard criteria that can be replicated and tested for reliability (Blommaert 2001:19). Moreover, Martin and Blommaert (1992) lament that the significant work of CDA pays particular attention to text relevant in the western world such as Europe and North America, rather than to Third world societies.

Adding to the criticism Fowler (1996:12) argued that the major problem with CDA is that its examples tend to be fragmented and they usually take too much for granted in the way of method and context.

The above section dealt with the criticism against CDA, and this particular study responds to the above-mentioned criticisms. To provide solutions and counter the above criticism this study uses: 1) CDA to analyse verbal and visual texts from a developing society such as South Africa, 2) the use of CDA contributes towards the overall scholarship of political communication, 3) the study seeks to reveal underlying ideologies of the selected verbal and visual texts of trade unions, 4) CDA as a post-structuralist approach is multidisciplinary, it uses different research methods such as Critical Historical Analysis, Discourse Historical Approach, Political Discourse Analysis, and Social Semiotics to interrogate underlying populist rhetoric's in the verbal and visual texts.

The next section deals with the analytical methods of CDA.

4.5 ANALYTICAL METHODS OF CDA

The previous sections of this study pointed out that CDA is concerned among others with underlying linguistic biases, where language is understood in a broad structural-functional sense (Wodak & Meyer 2001:98). In other words, CDA interrogates underlying structures, strategies, functions of text and talk, including grammar, underlying interactional patterns, style, rhetoric, narratives or similar forms of verbal and non-verbal texts. This, therefore, makes CDA a multidisciplinary approach made up of various theoretical and research methods, namely: the Three-Dimensional Model of Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1992), Political Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk1998), (Wodak 2009), Discourse Mythology Analysis (Kesley 2015), Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2011), Discourse Historical Approach (Wodak 2001), and Social Semiotics (Kress & Van Leeweven 2001).

These research methods are critical in that, they describe, interpret and explain underlying powers structures and ideologies of the verbal and visual texts (Wodak 2001:17). The above research methods are used to interrogate underlying political populist ideologies and rhetoric presented in the context of visual and verbal texts of the South African trade union, AMCU in the context of social media, namely Twitter, during the period January 2019 and March 2021. These verbal or visual texts were posted on Twitter during this period. Lastly, the above-varied research methods offer the researcher of this study an opportunity to adapt to different social perspectives of the media texts.

In addition, MacDonald (2003:29) points out that text is not the only way in which people communicate; he argues that sounds and visuals or even smell and taste are included

in the discourse analysis. Thus, these varied aspects of the texts, that is, verbal and visual texts essentially require multiple approach methods of analysis (Kress & van Leeuwen 2001:41). According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2001:41), the use of a multiple approach method of CDA is essential in examining different texts. These texts include music, film, pictures, architectural structures such as buildings and town structures, statues and artworks, such as painting and literature such as novels and poetry, advertisements, health, educational curriculum and historical narratives or documents among others. The use of CDA in these varied contexts and analysis methods functions to interrogate underlying ideologies and social meanings of discourse under scrutiny (Teo 2000:11).

Thus, the next sections of this chapter present a theoretical discussion on the analytical methods of CDA, namely, the Three-Dimensional Model of a Discourse, Political Discourse Analysis, Discourse Mythology Analysis and Social Semiotics Analysis.

4.5.1 Three–Dimensional Model of a Discourse Analysis

The key scholar of the Three-Dimensional Model of a Discourse Analysis is Norman Fairclough (1992). In his seminal work, Fairclough (1992) developed a three-dimensional framework for studying discourse to combine three separate forms of analysis into one – the analysis of language text (written and spoken), analysis of discourse practice (process of text production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events (underlying social-cultural practices). The Three-Dimensional Model of Discourse Analysis consists of the three dimensions, namely: text, interpretation and context (Fairclough 1995:97).

The first dimension of a text essentially means a text is either written and/or spoken. Thus, a text functions mainly at a micro-level. The analysis focuses on words, grammar, metaphors and sentences, images, colour, objects, and words. At this level, the researcher essentially looks at these grammatical or linguistic features from a structuralist point of view. They are objective rather than subjective.

The second dimension suggests that a text possesses underlying discursive practices in its production and interpretation. Under the second dimension, the meso-level suggests that these discursive practices are words, grammar, sentences, and metaphors. In terms of visual images, these are colour, and shapes, are subjective and possess underlying ideologies.

At a meso-level, which involves the production and interpretation of the text, the researcher is involved with the interpretation of the text and the inherent underlying ideological meaning. For example, why a unionist uses personal pronouns such as "we", "our people", "our members", "conditions of employment", "management", "the employer" etc. in the production of a speech. These words are highly ideological rather than objective. They convey a particular hidden meaning; thus the researcher's role is to identify the inherent ideological meaning of the above-mentioned linguistic features. Moreover, the researcher identifies the underlying visual images. The production of visual images is ideological, rather than objective.

Thirdly, Fairclough's (1992:18) model argues that a text is not objective or divorced from the social, political, and economic environment, rather it is subjective. Thus, the third dimension is a significant relationship between a text and the environment under which the text is produced. Thus, a dialectical relationship, that is, there is a significant relationship between language (text) and its immediate social, cultural, historical, economic and political environment.

Lastly, the third dimension of Fairclough's (1995) model is the macro-level. What it means is that the text is not produced and interpreted in a vacuum; rather a text is produced under different historical, political, social, cultural and economic environments among others. These different environments play a significant role in the production and interpretation of a text.

There are previous studies in political communication that used Fairclough's (2006) three-dimensional model to analyse political texts. Several researchers have accomplished CDA employing Fairclough's three-dimensional model in the realm of political communication. Sipra and Rashid (2013) analysed the first part of Martin Luther King junior's speech *"I Have a Dream"* in a socio-political context. The speech was analysed based on Fairclough's three-dimensional model and CDA was used as a theoretical framework for the research analysis. In Sipra and Rashid's (2013) Fairclough's three-dimensional model has been used as a tool to investigate, analyse and interpret the hegemonic attitude and discursive practices of the whites against the black. It critically analyses the whole text based on three aspects on a broader macro and micro-level – which relates to the analysis of linguistic choices (text), discourse practices and socio-cultural practices (Sipra & Rashid 2013).

4.5.2 Political Discourse Analysis

The second analysis method for this study is Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) by Van Dijk (1997). PDA as a research method is described as an analysis method of political discourse, that focuses specifically on the political texts that are produced by politicians either overtly or explicitly. He argues that underlying a political discourse is the inherent political and power relationships that produce a particular ideological meaning. Political Discourse is an approach commonly used for analysing political texts such as policy, interviews, news, press releases, and so on. As a type of discourse, Political Discourse also uses language as a text to deliver political messages (Van Dijk 1997:102).

Political discourse is critical in the creation, reproduction, and legitimation of power and domination. It includes the main argument and the meaning of the interaction that can be analysed using the practical structure and the overall contexts (Wendland 2012:421).

For Gastil (1992:469) political discourse takes place "when political actors, in and out of the government, communicate about political matters, for political purposes". This definition aligns itself with Chilton's (2004) definition of politics as either "a struggle for

power between two or more who seek to assert and maintain power to those who seek to resist it" (Chilton 2004:3). Fairclough (2012:17) understood PDA as the analysis of political discourse from a critical perspective that focuses on the reproduction and contestation of political power through political discourse. Van Dijk (1997:11) has suggested that PDA deals with the replication of political power, domination and abuse of power. It also includes the various forms of resistance against such kind of domination.

PDA analyses discursive conditions, and underlying inequalities within the text (Van Dijk, 1993:34). Van Dijk (1996:2) points out key areas of analysis within the political discourse are essentially political actors as indicated in the previous chapters, which include among others politicians, political institutions, political parties, members of parliament as well as citizen's participation in political processes such as elections. Other political texts include media statements and political speeches of politicians and political parties.

In a study by Chimbarange, Takavarasha and Kombe (2013) titled *A Critical Discourse Analysis of President Mugabe's 2002 Address to the World Summit on Sustainable Development,* the study applies PDA to analyse the political discourse of the late Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, focusing on the persuasive strategies and covert ideology used in his speech. Using PDA to assess the speech, it is revealed that President Mugabe's expert use of personal pronouns and well-timed repetition is used the major rhetorical tools in articulating his political view (Chimbarange et al 2013: 284).

Another study by Mohamed (2019) entitled *Linguistic and Pragmatic Devices in King Abdullah's Speech: A Political Discourse Analysis* the study analyses a speech delivered by King Abdullah of Jordan at Oxford University, Britain. The study employs PDA to analyse linguistic aspects utilised in King Abdullah's speech, thereby revealing underlying linguistic features such as "pronouns", "metaphors" and "repetition" as a form

of styling and other forms of rhetorical appeal. The textual analysis argues that the King's speech is highly persuasive and rhetorical (Mohamed 2019:43).

4.5.3 Discourse Mythology Analysis (DMA)

The third analysis method of CDA is Discourse Mythology Analysis (DMA). A Key scholar of the DMA is Daren Kesley (2015). Kelsey (2015) developed a discourse-mythological approach for analysing media texts, underlying mythologies and ideologies. Key to DMA is essentially a systematic analysis framework mainly concerned with the analysis of the underlying myths, ideologies, and discourses (Kesly, 2015:3).

According to Flood (2002:11), a myth is a type of political discourse that possesses underlying ideologies. Myths or narratives are constructed using language. Language is functional and possesses underlying discursive practices that are inherently ideological. Myths employ underlying ideologies and express them through the theatrics and dramatisation of storytelling. This means that myths put the drama on stage and deliver ideology through its theatrical form. Chilton (2004:65) has shown that language is an essential component of political performance.

For Kelsey (2015:3) DMA is a systematic analytical framework that can be adopted to investigate discursive constructions and underlying ideological operations of mythology in journalistic storytelling. In a Kelsey (2016) study analysis of underlying archetypal traits of the hero myth in Farage's rhetoric and the Mail's reporting, this analysis shows how discursive constructions of mythology have functioned to support and promote the ideological agenda and political objectives of UKIP. A study by MacMillan (2017) titled *Haven of Peace and Prosperity or Neo-Nazi Nightmare? A Discourse Mythological Analysis of the AKP's Discourse on the EU* the study examined the AKP's discourse on the European Union (EU) using a variant of DMA as devised by Kelsey (2013, 2014, 2015). The study approaches AKP discourse about the EU's political mythology, notably, its founding myth, that of European integration arising from the ashes of the

Nazi era and World War II to construct a continent based on peace, prosperity and fundamental rights. The key area of analysis within the text is that the AKP government has frequently referred to the EU, as well as Europe more generally, as an inherently discriminatory entity, characterised by xenophobia and racism. In contrast to the depiction of the EU as a racist, intolerant and quasi-Nazi entity, AKP discourse frames Turkey as the true guardian of European values such as democracy, freedom and the rule of law, MacMillan (2017: 8).

Chapter Three pointed out that populism possesses underlying political myth used mainly to persuade the marginalised. It is therefore essential that this particular study used DMA to deconstruct inherent myths in the verbal and visual text of political populism.

According to Kesley (2015:6), the advantage of the DMA approach is that it also offers analytical advantages, which other disciplines can also benefit from – considering the typical features of mythology or the underlying ideological construction of cultural texts. Kelsey's work shows how societies continue to reflect these conventions in both the production (construction and consumption, interpretation) of storytelling (Kesley 2015:7). The study approaches political populist discourse about the political mythology, notably the myth that populist politicians are somehow invincible.

4.5.4 Social Semiotic Analysis

The last analysis method of CDA, social semiotics, originates from the work of Voloshinov (1973), Halliday (1978), Hodge (1988), and Kress (1988). The purpose of this study, however, focuses on the notable contribution of Hodge (1988), Kress (1988) and van Leeuwen (2005). Social semiotics is defined as a branch of the field of semiotics concerned with the creation of meaning within media and cultural texts as well as links to "social realities" or environments (Hodge & Kress 1988:10; van Leeuwen 2005). The foregoing definition of social semiotics is concerned with the creation of the social meaning based on a diverse social environment, while traditional semiotics is

concerned with the creation of the meaning of the "sign", "message", "users" and "culture" (Thwaites, Davis & Mules 2002:35). The social semiotics theory is fundamental in that it rejects all forms of traditional semiotics. Secondly, social semiotics acknowledges that the semiotic "resource" (sign) ranges from artwork, human behaviour, physical activity, and word or visual images which has been produced within a specific social environment. Thus, the approach attributes meaning to the specific environmental context of communication. Lastly, social semiotics takes into consideration the ever-changing social, political and economic environments.

Moreover, the significance of social semiotics is primarily to interrogate the manifestation and latent ideological meanings of the verbal and visual rhetoric that contributes toward the creation of the ideological meaning (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996).

4.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided the historical background of CDA, a working definition of CDA and a theoretical discussion of CDA as a theory and research process. The key to this chapter is that CDA is primarily concerned with investigating the associations between language, power, and ideology. CDA is used to analyse the written and spoken texts to explore the discursive sources of power, dominance inequality and bias. It systematically explores opaque relationships. Moreover, CDA argues that a text is produced under a particular discourse which can be ideological, that is, there are underlying power relations between the text, discourse and the environment under which the text is produced. This chapter argued that verbal and visual text are not produced in isolation; rather they are produced within a particular social, political and economic environment.

The chapter also looked at the nature of CDA and looked at the seminal work of Fairclough (1992, 1995), Van Dijk (1993, 1996) and Wodak (1997) which briefly recap

what these scholars had to say about CDA. Moreover, the foregoing chapter pointed out that CDA is a broader and multidisciplinary approach that uses other research methods such as the three-dimensional model of discourse, political discourse analysis, critical metaphor analysis, discourse mythology approach and social semiotic analysis. These critical approaches of CDA are essential in the deconstruction of the underlying populist discourses on the social media platform Twitter.

The chapter identified several scholars who are critical of CDA, arguing that the approach is failing to provide a coherent methodological framework given that its analysis methods are varied and diverse. CDA scholars are also accused of being biased, unprincipled, conventional, and decontextualised – cherry-picking aspects of texts that agree with their hypotheses or political agendas. The chapter also looked at the analytical methods of CDA – arguing that CDA consists of an interdisciplinary set of approaches and these analytical methods are mainly concerned with interrogating hidden and unequal power relations within the context of discourse within the visual and verbal texts.

The chapter further looked at another initiative of CDA, which is called PDA, which focuses on how political speeches and texts can be analysed. Critical-political discourse analysis deals especially with the reproduction of political power, power abuse or domination through political discourse, including the various forms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance. Political discourse plays an important role in the enactment, reproduction and legitimation of power and domination.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents this thesis with the methodological procedure. The study is inherently explorative and interpretative, thus following a qualitative tradition of research. Chapter Four pointed out that CDA is a theoretical framework and a research method. CDA is therefore employed as a research method for deconstructing underlying populists rhetoric presented in verbal and visual rhetoric used by a South African trade union, the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU).

This chapter outlines the problem statement, research goals and objectives of the study. In addition, it demarcates the research design of the study, the population, the sampling procedure, and the unit of analysis of the selected trade union.

4.2   CONTENT ANALYSIS

There are two types of content analysis, namely: a qualitative and quantitative content analysis. Content analysis, whether used in qualitative or quantitative research design, functions primarily in the analysis of media texts (verbal, non-verbal and visual texts) such as memos, electronic mails, newspapers, magazines, advertisements, music, film and television programs and at times audio and video-recorded transcripts of meetings and policy documents (du Plooy 2011:213).

As for quantitative research design, du Plooy (2011) points out that it is commonly used to record the statistical frequencies utilizing statistical procedures by which certain words or themes that appear in messages of media texts such as newspapers or magazines are counted in numerical terms.

While a qualitative content analysis is used in the analysis of the underlying meaning or interpretation of verbal and visual texts rather than quantitative figures (Cresswell 1994:1). Within the qualitative content analysis, there are different interpretative research methods such as critical discourse analysis, social semiotic analysis, narrative analysis, genre analysis, thematic analysis and multimodal analysis among others.

These analytical methods are used to interpret selected media texts be it visual or verbal texts found in, for instance, advertisements, art, books, magazines, television, the internet and now social media networks. The use of the above-mentioned analytical methods revealed that verbal and visual texts possess underlying ideological meaning used to persuade or represent a particular political issue such as the race of people or gender.

The strength of the qualitative research design is essential in describing communicative messages and it makes the research process relatively unobtrusive. Additionally, the qualitative content analysis provides a relatively safe process for examining communicative messages, but it can be time-consuming and presents several methodological challenges (du Plooy 2011:33).

Since this study follows a qualitative content analysis tradition, employs a critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a research method. The significance of CDA is that it makes a study a critical study concerned with digging beneath the surface of verbal and visual texts as well as acknowledging that there are underlying meanings, sets of power structures and relations within a text (Harvey 1990:1). Moreover, Locke (2004:25) notes that verbal and visual texts are produced ideological as they reveal underlying power dynamics. Thus, the main principle of the critical approach is to reveal the underlying ideological structures of a text.

Therefore, it is for this reason that this study uses CDA to interrogate the underlying latent (hidden or inferred) meanings of the discursive practices of the verbal and visual

texts rather than the manifest (obvious) meaning of the text. This study is of the view that within the verbal and visual texts, there is underlying verbal and visual rhetoric that must be interrogated. This study, therefore, uses the following CDA research methods of analysis, namely: Three-Dimensional Model of a Discourse (Fairclough 1992), Political Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk 1998; Wodak 2009), Discourse Mythology Analysis (DMA) (Kesley 2015) and Social Semiotic Analysis (van Leeuwen 2005). Chapter Four presented a discussion of the above research methods of CDA since these research methods of CDA originate in the qualitative tradition of critical studies and focus primarily on the interrogation of different levels of meanings constructed using different discursive practices (du Plooy 2011:220).

The section below focuses on the underlying limitations of CDA as a research method.

4.3   LIMITATIONS OF QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

Qualitative content analysis is a highly relevant research design for this study, given that it is subjective and affords the researcher to present his or her interpretation of the issue under scrutiny (Fairclough 1992). However, there are significant underlying limitations of qualitative content analysis (Cullen 2017:14).

The limitation of the qualitative research design is that, firstly, it fails to analyse the effect of the verbal and visual texts on audiences (Terre Blanche, Durheim & Painter 2012:565). Although this is an important limitation, it does not necessarily apply to this study, as this is not an audience analysis study. Secondly, qualitative studies are time-consuming compared to quantitative studies (Wimmer & Dominick 2003: 26). Thirdly, since the analysis is based on the researcher's interpretation, the researcher is likely to misinterpret the subject under scrutiny, thus the study could have varying errors.

The section below of the chapter deals with the deductive and inductive approaches to qualitative content analysis.

4.4 DEDUCTIVE AND INDUCTIVE APPROACHES TO QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

This study makes use of inductive reasoning since the study uses a research design of a qualitative nature rather than quantitative. Inductive reasoning applied in qualitative research focuses more on the logic of exploring the meaning-making processes as experienced by different research participants or conveyed by different mass media messages. According to du Plooy (2011:33) the outcomes of inductive reasoning in qualitative research – qualitative content analysis will be in the form of a narrative description as accounts of the patterned ways in which the communication issue is experienced or represented.

For Wagner, Kawulich, and Garner (2012:229) inductive approach works well with single cases or when you want to describe or explore some phenomenon. However, a deductive approach can be applied when you are already familiar with the setting and want to confirm or explain phenomena, based on several cases. In this regard, Wagner et al (2012:229) argue that inductive analysis involves going from specifics to the general. That is, approaching the analysis at the data level, and then looking at them more broadly.

Regarding an inductive approach to qualitative analysis, Wagner et al (2012:229) argue that codes are typically identified from the data themselves, rather than from preconceived codes from the existing literature or the researcher's beliefs or knowledge of the topic. The deductive analysis calls for looking at the study from a general standpoint and then moving to the specific data. When using deductive approaches the study can use codes already identified from other studies or apply codes based on the researcher's specific knowledge (Wagner et al 2012:229).

This study, therefore, uses an inductive approach to reasoning. The interpretation phase is premised on the theoretical framework of populism and CDA that underpinned the study.

The below section describe data collection methods and techniques that will be used in the study.

4.5 DATA COLLECTION METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

Data collection for this study involves the analysis of primary data, which includes content retrieved from Twitter. Tweet messages were collected from the account (@_AMCU) on Twitter. The data set retrieved from the social media site consisted of 102 tweets from AMCU.

The sampled dataset of AMCU tweets consists of verbal texts and visual texts such as video clips, pictures, posters and written text that presents the trade union discourse related issues of AMCU. Twitter as a communication platform allows AMCU to use multiple forms of interaction alongside one another, with pictures, video and verbal text all on offer. Carter and Goddard (2016:72) point out that on social media networks there is significant use of intertextuality, that is, a combination of the use of visual, verbal and video or cinematic material as multimodality to convey communication messages.

According to Silverman (2017:14), the internet has become a place where a wide variety of information could easily be accessed. Politically, the internet is viewed as a new platform where strategic political communication and online political dimensions can be developed (Dal Lago 2017:105). Twitter is therefore a key communication tool for trade union AMCU that occurs on daily basis.

According to Kelly (2012:286) data represents bits of discrete information that can be extracted from their context and analysed as numbers, whereas qualitative research

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typically works with material that is richly related to context and would lose its meaning if broken into discrete bits.

The actual data for this particular study is the material available on social media sites such as Twitter, mainly of the trade union AMCU Twitter account presented in verbal and visual texts such as media releases, speeches, written texts in the form of posted tweets, videos and verbal speeches of AMCU officials.

The below section of the chapter identifies the population of the study.

4.6 POPULATION

The concept of a population refers to a total number of people or individuals, groups, organisations, social artefacts or objects such as mass-media messages, or social interactions and events that occurred (du Plooy 2011:108). On the other hand, Durrheim and Painter (2012:133) point out that population is defined as the larger pool from which sampling elements are drawn and to which we want to generalise our findings. The population includes all the elements that make up our unit of analysis.

The population of this study is all the trade unions media messages and the sampled unit of analysis is the verbal and visual texts of Twitter post made by AMCU. The following are some the trade unions we have in South Africa, namely: the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), Communication Workers Union (CWU), Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU), General Industries Workers Union of South Africa (GEWUSA), National Education, and Health and Allied Workers' Union (NEHAWU). As well as the South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU), South African Transport and Allied Workers Union (SATAWU), Chemical, Energy, Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers Union (CEPPAWU), Public Servants Association of South Africa (PSA), National Union of Mineworkers

(NUM), Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (POPCRU), and Food and Allied Workers Union (FAWU). Furthermore, it includes the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU), Independent Municipal and Allied Trade Union (IMATU), United Transport and Allied Trade Union (UNTU), Professional Educators' Union (PEU), and the South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union (SACCAWU). Additional, it also includes the South African Cabin Crew Association (SACCA), South African Private Security Workers' Union (SAPSWU), South African State and Allied Workers' Union (SASAWU), and the Democratic Nursing Organisation of South Africa (DENOSA). Moreover, it includes the South African Football Players Union (SAFPU), Public and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (PAWUSA), Health and Other Services Personnel Trade Union of South Africa (HOSPERSA), and Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (SACTWU).

For this study, the accessible trade union is AMCU. The accessible population is defined as the units of analysis in the target population to which researchers has access (du Plooy 2011:109).

The below section presents the study with the unit of analysis.

4.7   UNIT OF ANALYSIS

The unit of analysis is defined as the object of the investigation which is determined by who or what the researcher wishes to conclude about (TerreBlanche et al 2012:565). For Wagner et al (2012:274) the unit of analysis is the smallest unit considered for analysis; it can be as small as one person or as large as an organisation. In documents, the unit of analysis may be a paragraph, a sentence, or even a word.

The main units of analysis for this study, are the Twitter texts and videos posts by AMCU.

The next section outlines the sampling method of the study.

4.8   SAMPLING METHOD

The concept of sampling is defined by Berg (2001:114) as a segment of the total population that needs to be investigated. The type of sampling method used in this study is non-probability sampling. A non-probability sampling method means that sampling units are selected based on personal judgment (Berg 2001:120). In this method, personal knowledge and opinion are used to identify the individuals or items from the population. Thus, this study employs a purposive sampling method.

Sampling involves the following process when selecting units of analysis from a target or accessible population (du Plooy 2011:108). The sample unit of analysis for this study is verbal and visual texts. Verbal texts are words, sentences and paragraphs that speak mainly to the AMCU trade union. The visual texts are presented in the form of visual images such as pictures, individual human beings, and branding logos. When drawing a purposive sample, the researcher used previous knowledge of the target population and the objective of the study to select a sample.

Thus, the research sample is of all the tweets posted on daily basis from March 2019 to September 2020 by the AMCU trade union. The target sampling for this study includes the tweets that are disseminated on daily basis, during the specified 18 months period by AMCU.

4.9   TIME DIMENSION

The time dimension is longitudinal, which means the study was conducted over an extended period (Cullen 2017:14). The AMCU tweets were collected from 01 March 2019 to 30 September 2020, this makes the study longitudinal.

4.10 DATA ANALYSIS

The collected data needs to be analysed and interpreted to formulate findings, which are related to the context of the study. Data analysis according to du Plooy (2011:100) is an important step in the research process because of the findings from the basis, conclusions and recommendations of the study. In addition, they also influence whether recommendations will be implemented in other studies (du Plooy 2011:100).

This thesis, therefore, employs different research methods of CDA, namely: Three-Dimensional Model of a Discourse (Fairclough 1992), Political Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk 1998; Wodak, 2009), Discourse Mythology Analysis (DMA) (Kesley 2015) and Social Semiotic Analysis (van Leeuwen 2005). This is to analyse how underlying discursive practices of visual and verbal texts are used to legitimise and/or delegitimise underlying political populist rhetoric.

4.11 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented an overview of the research process involved in the selection of the social media text messages by the trade union AMCU. Moreover, the chapter explained and justified the significant use of qualitative content (textual/thematic) analysis; and considered qualitative data gathering techniques and methods. The chapter demarcated the population and the sampling method involved, in the selection of AMCU tweeted posts. The chapter further identified how the collected data needs to be analysed and interpreted to formulate findings.

The next chapter presents the interpretation and analysis of the findings of the study.

5   CHAPTER SIX: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

5.3 INTRODUCTION

This chapter looks at the underlying discursive practices and/or strategies in the verbal and visual texts used to construct underlying populist characteristics presented in the tweets of AMCU. This study argues underlying tweets are inherently rhetorical and are presented in verbal and visual texts. The discussion of findings and the interpretation are based on the 23 sampled tweets of AMCU. The selected unit of analysis, tweets, are mainly verbal and visual texts.

The analysis and interpretation of the sampled data are through different research methods of CDA, namely: the Three-Dimensional Model of a Discourse (Fairclough 1992), Political Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk 1998) and (Wodak 2009), Discourse Mythology Analysis (DMA) (Kesley 2015) and Social Semiotic Analysis (van Leeuwen 1996). The above research methods of CDA reveal underlying populist messages embedded in AMCUs tweets through visual and verbal rhetoric.

Every tweet that was analysed, out of the population of 110 in total, would not have been possible within the limited framework of this study. This chapter therefore analysis 23 tweets selected from the sampled dataset to illustrate AMCUs Twitter communication and the aspects that relate to its populist characteristics in it. Each tweet will be analysed through the above CDA research methods.

In line with the research objectives and research questions of the study, the verbal and visual texts of AMCUs tweets are rhetorical and ideological intended primarily to persuade and/or shape a public opinion on a particular political or social issue. Moreover, the underlying verbal and visual texts are grammar, vocabulary, images, symbolic languages, camera shots, camera angles, colours and words among others. Discursive practices are involved in the creation, production, reproduction and

transmission of political messages with the intention to either create a public opinion and/or persuade audiences.

In addition, there are political messages presented in verbal and visual texts possessing underlying latent and connotative meanings that need to be scrutinised and critiqued by means of different methods of CDA research methods. However, it is not in the interests of this study to analyse the impact of AMCU tweets among audiences. The below analysis of the verbal and visual texts of this study is based mainly on the following theoretical premises of populism discussed in chapter three, namely: populism is ideological, populism employs a communication strategy, populism is a discourse, populism is rhetoric, populism employs political myth, populism is propaganda and genre.

Moreover, the next sections of this chapter seek to address the main research question of the study as presented in chapter one, namely: What is the underlying political populist rhetoric used by the trade union AMCU in the selected social media network, Twitter?

In addition, the following chapter intends to address the following underlying objectives, which are:
- To determine, by means of CDA, whether the trade union AMCU uses political populist rhetoric on Twitter.
- To determine, by means of CDA, whether the verbal and visual rhetoric used by AMCU on Twitter are populist.
- To determine, by means of CDA, how visual and verbal texts of discursive practices are presented on Twitter to construct AMCU political populist rhetoric.
- To determine, by means of CDA, how underlying discursive practices are used ideologically to legitimise and/or delegitimise AMCU political populist rhetoric.
- To interrogate, by means of CDA, the underlying ideological meaning of the political populist rhetoric of AMCU on Twitter.

5.4 CANONS OF POPULISM

The next sections present a critical analysis of the underlying political populist rhetoric in the verbal and visual texts of the selected tweets of the trade union AMCU. Previous chapters, three and four, argued that underlying political populist rhetoric is presented in the form of discursive practices. These discursive practices are not objective; rather they are ideological to legitimise and/or delegitimise political populist rhetoric. The analysis of verbal and visual texts of the political populist rhetoric of AMCUs tweets are based on the identified theoretical canons of populism, namely: (1) ideology, (2) communication strategy, (3) discourse, (4) rhetoric, (5) political myth, (6) propaganda and (7) genre as discussed in chapter three of this study. These canons were described at length in chapter three.

The following section presents the canon of populism as an ideology.

5.4.1 Populism as an ideology

Chapter Three (Section 3.4.1) argued that ideology in populism does not necessarily mean that populism is on the same level as established political ideologies such as democracy, liberalism and socialism among others (Aslanidis 2015:1). Ideology, in the context of this study, means underlying manipulative structures, biases and techniques employed in the production of the verbal and visual rhetorical texts (Harvey 1990:30). Ideology is representational, it constructs underlying narratives of the marginalised people versus the elites in verbal and visual texts.

The underlying ideology of populism illustrates that trade unions have a rallying strength through ideological solidarity, chanting, dancing, marches, intimidation, songs and placards using coded, subliminal, structured and underlying techniques significant to the manipulation and production of a text, be it verbal and/or visual, focusing on specific issues that can be repeated regularly as a clarion call.

The following visual image of an AMCU tweet rhetorically represents the canon of populism as ideology.

Figure 6.1: social media banner of AMCU.

Figure 6.1 above is a social media banner used in a tweet by AMCU. It depicts a logo of AMCU with a heavy-duty red dragline, a crossing spade and picks, inscribed words "WILL MAKE THE DIFFERENCE", a large wheel in black and a caption written in black colour "CAPITALISM HAS NO CONSCIENCE" against the green colour. Underneath is the AMCU slogan: OUR AMCU, OUR LAND, OUR ECONOMY, OUR POWER, OUR WAY.

From Hodge and Kress (1988) and Van Leeuwen (1996), the social semiotic perspective discussed in chapter four is concerned with the creation of underlying ideological meaning within the media and political texts. In addition, Fairclough's (1996) three-dimensional model argued that there is a significant dialectical relationship between the text and the wider socio-economic, political and historical environment. In other words, the text is not divorced from these socio-economic realities of society. Sometimes, the verbal and/or visual text is symbolically critical for the creation of the underlying ideological meaning. Given the significance of Hodge and Kress (1988), Van Leeuwen's (1996) and Fairclough's (1996) work it is worth pointing out that both the text and the underlying ideological meaning are significantly symbiotic.

In light of the significance of the social semiotic perspective of CDA, the above visual text presents the manifest meaning of the AMCU logo of the "black wheel with spokes", "a crossing spade and pick", "a heavy-duty dragline" and the written text "WILL MAKE A DIFFERENCE" as ideological as they symbolise the black mineworkers of Southern Africa who, for generations, have worked in the mines under poor mining working conditions. The crossing spade and pick represents the arduous, difficult, heavy and laborious work done by mineworkers, often cheap and exploited while enriching white capitalists (Sinwell & Mbatha 2016:19).

The underlying latent meaning of the above visual image, on the other hand, is a reminder of the struggles of black workers, what they have gone through under colonialism and apartheid, that they are cheap labour and are marginalised by the South African capitalist system. The above visual image rhetorically represents a common understanding among South African workers of their history and culture. Moreover, the iconic symbols used in the visual images remind South Africans that the trade union movement has played a critical role in the history of the South African labour market, that is, it fought for the rights of workers against apartheid and colonialism (Bezuidenhout 2017:49). For this study, it is worth pointing out that these visual symbols are not used for aesthetic purposes. They are used rhetorically to appeal emotionally to AMCU members as well as to evoke the shared emotional and lived experiences of black labourers who are subjected to exploitation in the labour camps of the mining sectors during oppressive apartheid and colonial South Africa.

While the colours, black, green, red and gold are symbolic, the green colour symbolises land, which for centuries has sustained the people of South Africa through agriculture, from which they were removed forcefully by colonial and apartheid governments to benefit the white minority. Gold represents the mineral wealth of South Africa, which belongs to all South Africans regardless of class and race. In addition, the colour gold suggests money, affluence, and extravagance, which all point to consumerism and capitalism. While the red dragline symbolises the blood, sweat and bravery of black

mine labourers working deep in the dangerous belly of the earth extracting minerals, essentially creating wealth for white South African, while black people remain impoverished. The black colour, suggests a determination to resist all forms of oppression, independence, authority and power in the face of adversity (Bule 2011:65).

Therefore, the above colours are representational, ideological, and rhetorically subscribing to the plight of black labourers in so-called democratic South Africa. Moreover, the above colours convey underlying populist rhetoric that speaks to the struggles of the marginalised blacks, rather than the mining bosses. As such, they delegitimise the significance of the mining bosses, and legitimise the plight and/or the injustices perpetrated towards black labourers. It is worth pointing out that the above-mentioned colours remind readers that black labourers in the South African mines are subjected to poor working conditions regardless of the significant profits made by mining companies.

There are still major safety hazards such as collapsing shafts, falling rocks, toxic fumes, high temperatures and intensive noise. Many mineworkers suffer from diseases such as silicosis and tuberculosis (TB) and many are still not given adequate compensation for hard and risky labour (Pelders & Nelson 2018:6). Concerning wages, salaries are usually high for high-skilled workers such as engineers and managers, however, they can be very low for miners who are trained on the job and who have limited formal education (Chinguno 2013:29). It is, therefore, for this reason, that AMCU delegitimises labour practices of the South African mining industry.
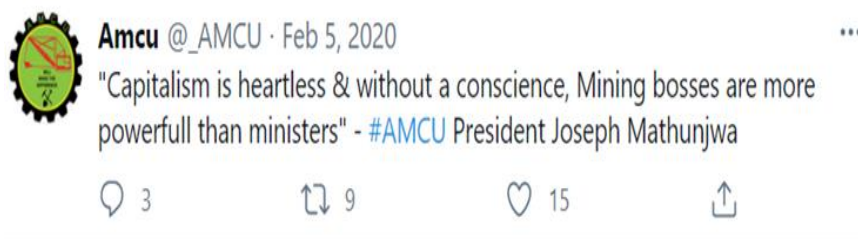

Figure 6.2: verbal text of a political metaphor "capitalism is heartless".

The verbal text in the selected social media banner, *"capitalism has no conscience"* and *"capitalism is heartless and without conscience"* are used ideologically as a political metaphor. Edelman (1971:38) notes that political metaphors are central to political language, in that, they possess words and phrases that convey an underlying set of meanings that evoke associations in subtle ways using metaphors, synonyms and symbols that creates underlying meaning. Political metaphors are therefore deliberate, rational and a strategic mode of communication used to appeal to, legitimise and/or delegitimise a political issue.

The verbal text *"capitalism has no conscience"* and *"capitalism is heartless"* are political metaphors that speak to an unjust economic system that is dysfunctional. It is characterised by large multinational corporations, eroding ethics, entrenching economic and political interests of the few, rather than the majority, uncaring and creating persistent social pathologies such as high levels of poverty, unemployment, underdevelopment, environmental degradation, unequal distribution of resources and hyper materialism among others (Bowled & Gintis 1986). The above political metaphors are the opposite of the 1700 Scottish economist Adam Smith's vision of an ethical and moral economic system that is concerned with the well-being of the consumer, a responsible and/or accountable economic and political system where business ethics, the environment and humanity of employees are recognised and respected by business elites (Bassing & Jones, 1993). It is for this reason that AMCU delegitimises the significance of capitalism in the so-called post-apartheid South African mining industry. The use of the above political metaphors by AMCU subliminally argues that capitalism in South Africa is immoral, unethical, unaccountable and less caring about the very social and economic well-being of its employees (Mathekga 2019:119).

Poor labour practices in the mining sector are significantly compromised, this includes a range of health and safety hazards that are not properly managed to result in serious traumatic injuries, death or occupational illness, such as silicosis and the Lily Mine

disaster (Nkosi 2017:11). The mines are also failing to address worker fatigue due to irregular shift schedules. Concerning wages, there is still a prevalence of inequality when it comes to black and white wage differentials – the sector is failing to deal with racial wage equality. This implies that exploitation is still rife in the sector and the brutality of capitalism continues unabated in South Africa and underlines the political metaphor of "capitalism has no conscience" (Naidoo 2019:37).

In the context of populism, AMCU uses the above political metaphor primarily to take a stand against liberalist views of a progressive and self-determination type of society. The union uses this political metaphor rhetorically to construct a populist narrative that is anti-establishment and anti-status quo that undermines the black labourer. These antagonistic feelings towards capitalism may be justified given that in South Africa, businesses have been repeatedly accused of not contributing significantly to improving the lives of South Africans, particularly blacks (Gumede 2013: 22).

Moreover, the political metaphor of *"capitalism is heartless"* has been accused of promoting greed and corruption both in the private and public sectors. This was highlighted in 2020 by reports that well-connected people, both in the government and private sector, had enriched themselves at the expense of efforts to contain Covid-19, which benefited few individuals and left thousands dead, while hundreds of thousands, even millions were infected and left poor as the economy was shedding jobs (Friedman 2021). On the other hand, the discourse of anti-capitalist populism by AMCU is entrenching the antagonism by dividing people into conflicting groups (mining bosses, ministers and poor workers) which in turn undermines the democratic and liberal values that are essential for capitalism to thrive (Parsons 2018:7).

It is worth pointing out that although capitalism has its shortcoming, more so when it is not properly regulated and leaves millions in poverty and underdevelopment. However, the system has created wealth for millions who are willing to work hard; it has presented millions of people with options for innovation, freedom of choice, and competition

(Parsons 2018:2). It is, however, regrettable that AMCU fails to acknowledge the underlying benefits of capitalism.

Figure 6.3: a verbal text presenting populist ideology.

The above verbal text is used ideologically to demonstrate the underlying dynamics of "the elites" versus "the masses" in the overall theory of populism as discussed in chapter three (Mudde 2004:77). The President of AMCU Mr Mathunjwa argues that the ANC has abandoned its values by losing the high moral ground it once held and it is in full conflict with everybody around it. The party has become immoral, embroiled in corruptions scandals, infighting in the form of factionalism, lack of trust in the public domain and failure to provide essential services to the public (Gumede 2013:61). AMCU accused the ANC led government of being captured by white capitalists and the party is synonymous with greed and corruption within its ranks (Friedman 2020).

AMCU is ideologically using the verbal text that the ANC is supporting the minority capitalists, while the masses that voted the party into power are living in poverty and underdevelopment. The 2020 UN Human Development Report revealed that South Africa has made little progress in eradicating poverty and inequality with declining standards of living and worsening income inequalities. The report further indicates that 18.9% of the population, about 11 million South Africans, live on less than R28 a day, which is around R800 per month (UNDP 2020).

AMCU raises the political discourse of the "elites" versus the "masses" primarily to delegitimise the ANC led government. Moreover, the binaries of the "elites" versus the

"masses" present underlying rhetoric that essentially portrays the ANC as a party that has abandoned the people who voted it into power in favour of the big business elite. On the other hand, the ANC led government is accused of failing to transform the socio-economic conditions of black South Africans in particular (Oosthuizen 2019:11). Mathunjwa's verbal rhetoric means black poverty is still the key political issue.

There are many liberation movements in Africa such as Zanu-PF, MPLA, SWAPO, UNIP, and FRELIMO, where victory over colonialism they fall into bad governance, corruption, dictatorship, military dictatorship and in worst cases, countries under liberation movements plunge into civil wars (Southall 2019:37). Many of the liberation movements prioritise individual elites over the masses, and political parties over the nation - in other words, they forgot about the people who put them in power in the first place. Given a significant loss of the moral high ground of the ANC led government, the party has been experiencing a steady decline in voters after the elections. For example, in the 2004 national elections the ANC, under former President Thabo Mbeki, was a popular party, given the steady economy grew at an average rate of 4.5% on annual basis, robust economic reforms and the involvement of South Africa in the international community mainly to advance political, economic and social interests of South Africa (Ndlovu & Strydom 2016:21). However, under the presidency of former President Jacob Zuma, the party experienced a significant decline due to a lack of economic growth, unprecedented levels of corruption, patronage, nepotism, kleptocracy and the downgrade of the South African economy by rating agencies (Basson 2012:38). In the recent national elections of 2019, the party made alarming losses by winning with a reduced majority of 57,50%, down from 62.15% in the 2014 elections (Burke 2019).

The above verbal text uses the political metaphor "pain" rhetorically to suggest the sorry state of the ANC political party. Given that the ANC was founded in 1912, has organised black people in the fight against colonialism, slavery, apartheid and post-1994 South Africa, the ANC continued to increase access to social safety nets in the form of social grants, and made basic services free, including water and electricity available to poor

households. Broadened access to basic education for 10 million learners in 20 000 no-fee schools; expanded access to housing to four million households both in rural and semi-urban South Africa (ANC Local Government Elections Manifesto 2021). The metaphor "pain" demonstrates that the party has lost its plot, essentially of improving the lives of black people. The party is embroiled in scandals after scandals of corruption, mismanagement of state resources and abuse of power. Thus, the moral campus of the ANC has significantly declined (Suttner 2021).

The following verbal text from an AMCU tweet rhetorically represents the dimension of populism as ideology.

Amcu @_AMCU · Aug 16, 2019
"My only sin as Joseph Mathunjwa was to help injured workers who were exploited by the employer, that is why white monopoly capital hates me, that's why they hate #AMCU #RememberMarikana #MarikanaMassacre President Joseph Mathunjwa at the 7th Marikana Commemoration

Figure 6.4: AMCU is hated by the white employer.

In Figure 6.4 above, AMCU reveals that White Monopoly Capital (WMC) is seen as a source of economic and social problems for many black people in South Africa. White Monopoly Capital is regarded as big corporates and multinationals that have undermined the social order and social justice society through the exploitation of workers and unfair treatment of workers (Malikane 2017). These big corporates are largely owned by whites rather than blacks and dominate the overall economy of South Africa (Patel 2017; Netshitenzhe 2019).

The WMC narrative was constructed by the British based international public relations company Bell Pottinger by disseminating fake news. This was done to deviate the South African public attention away from the former President Jacob Zuma's widespread

corruptions scandals with the Gupta family[11] and ideologically construct a populist narrative that real problems or issues facing black South Africans are White Monopoly Capital rather than the ANC led government (Smith 2017).

Trade union AMCU and some radical political formations such as the Black First Land First (BLF), Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) and former President Zuma factions within the ANC bought into the WMC populist propaganda, that hid the real inefficiencies caused by the ANC led government, its inability to provide essential services to the poor mainly black people, to transform the economy and the rampant corruption within the ranks of the ANC that almost destroyed the South African economy (Patel 2017).

Trade union AMCU uses the WMC ideologically, primarily to construct a populist narrative that the problems of black people in South Africa are primarily caused by white people, rather than a lack of economic growth. This is because, white business is accused of low wages and stifling competition and as a result, they have a monopoly in the economy (van der Walt 2015:39). Given the significance of white monopoly in the South African economy in post-1994, black people have consistently been squeezed out of business either as entrepreneurs. Instead, the system has pushed many into labourers and/or workers. Thus, the anti-colonial activist, Sol Plaatje describe the economic and social state of black South Africans "as a pariah in the land of his birth" (Midgley, 2007:2-3). What it means is that regardless of the political gains of 1994, black people in South Africa do not have economic power, they are labourers in the economic system, and hence many are a symbol of poverty and underdevelopment. A symbolic "pariah" is low cast and marginalised in the South African economy that can only be helped rather than stand on their two feet to build sustained economic enterprises to develop and advance the livelihood of black people. In the Johannesburg

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[11] The Gupta family is a wealthy Indian-origin family with business interests in South Africa, the family became synonymous with corruption and caused much political controversy as a result of their close ties to Jacob Zuma before and during his presidency.

Stock Exchange (JSE), black people do not take a percentage of listed black-owned companies (Fakude 2019:11). In other words, blacks are powerless economically, they are neither producers nor managers of the economy, rather insatiable consumers of goods and services. On the other hand, AMCU uses the White Monopoly Capital (WMC) populist rhetoric primarily to delegitimise the significance of the white minorities, the black political elites responsible for "selling out" the black economic and social interests of "the people" (Mudde 2004:547).

Thus, AMCU uses a populist narrative of WMC in two critical ways: Firstly, the trade union ideologically argues for the liberation of workers from the oppression of white capitalists. Secondly, rhetorically uses anti-apartheid and liberation struggle songs for the liberation of black people from WMC, which is regarded as the primary "enemy for the natives" (Malikane 2017). The problem with AMCU's populist rhetoric is that it is only critical of white people. The trade union does not provide an alternative economic framework that could uplift millions of black people from white exploitation, poverty and underdevelopment. Moreover, the trade union does not speak against corruption and irrational government policies that keep black people in perpetual poverty and underdevelopment.

The foregoing discussion has located the underlying canon of populism and ideology. The section below presents the canon of populism as a communication strategy.

5.4.2 Populism as a communication strategy

Chapter three (section 3.4.2) pointed out that populism is strategic communication. That is, political actors, use populism strategically to communicate political messages. However, the strategic nature of communication argues that: (1) communication is deliberate, (2) it is intended to effect changes, (3) to create meaning and (4) that has intended underlying implications in the interpretation of the text (Hallahan et al 2007:23). The significance of a communication strategy or strategic communication is primarily to organise and mobilise "the people" by political actors. Relevant to this study is the trade

union leaders (Weyland 2001:14). It is for this reason that communication is used strategically to advance populism interests.

In chapter three, this study additionally pointed out that communication uses rhetoric strategically to appeal politically and economically on issues such as better working conditions, among others, that negatively affect the lives of "the people", particularly the workers, rather than "the elites" (Dinc 2016:10). Thus, from a communication perspective, populism can be defined as a communication strategy that is deliberately employed by skilful political actors seeking to exercise power based on the following: (1) personal appeal to "the people", (2) directly appeal to "the people" and (3) personal skill of political organisation (Barr 2017:22).

The following verbal text from an AMCU tweet rhetorically represents the dimension of populism as a communication strategy.
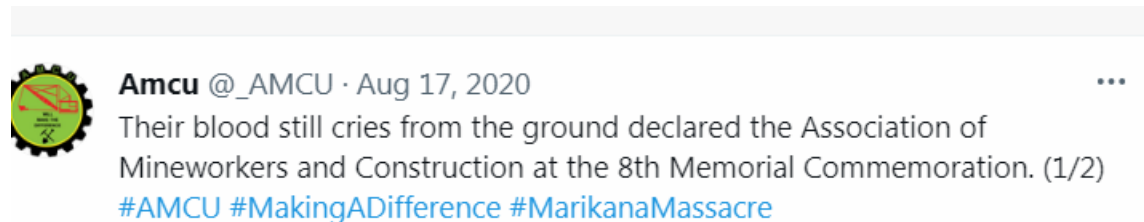

Figure 6.5: AMCU uses a political metaphor to rhetorically appeal to the audience.

The above figure, figure 6.5, of the verbal text, uses political language ideologically, their *"blood still cries from the ground".* The political metaphor carries the biblical narrative concerning the animosity of Cain and Abel, which resulted in the death of Abel as recorded in the Bible book of Genesis. The book of Genesis describes, "the blood of Abel is crying, and it calls to God from the ground" (Byron 2011:745). From a historical, religious and/or cultural point of view, the above metaphor is used to suggest the death of innocent victims, killed without justice being served.

In light of the Marikana massacre, the metaphor is used politically rather than socially, to suggest the dissatisfaction of the 34 Lonmin mineworkers who died in Marikana (just

outside of Rustenburg in the North West Province, South Africa) at the hands of the South African Police Service (SAPS), when they were demanding a pay increase of R12 000 and other related improved working conditions (Chinguno 2013:29).

Political metaphor plays a critical role in political texts, as they are used deliberately, ideologically and rhetorically to appeal to the political audiences (Mussolff 2016:31). Moreover, they are essentially in the creation of the underlying ideological meaning of the political narratives, as they frame our understanding of various political issues, however, they often bring together several ideas and carry with them several connotations (Carter & Goddard 2016: 107). Thus, the political metaphor of *"their blood still cries from the ground"* is ideologically and/or rhetorically used to suggest that the slain mineworkers are not resting in peace given their demands for a better wage and working conditions not been achieved. Thus, they have been killed in vain despite their legitimate cry for injustice and better working conditions. A critical look at the political language of this verbal text helps us understand why AMCU choose to use this political metaphor because the use of the word "blood" and the underlying verb "cry" is powerful as they suggest a desperate situation faced by humanity. The cry from the ground is strategically used to communicate that people who are killed violently and innocently must be avenged, to appeal for justice. Moreover, the political metaphor is appropriate in the families of the victims of the massacre are still waiting for justice and reparations. The blame for the lack of progress squarely lies on the ANC led government, which is not serious about ensuring accountability for the killings of mineworkers. The government established the Marikana Commission of Inquiry to look into the circumstances of the killings and present a report with recommendations arising from its findings (Sacks 2014). However, none of the members of the South African Police Service (SAPS) members involved in the killing of the 34 Lonmin miners was prosecuted. Instead, the national commissioner of the police was sacked from her job, under the pressure of the court ruling (Mathe 2019). None of the Lonmin managers or executive bosses was prosecuted as a result (Marinovich 2012:84). Like many colonial and apartheid activists, mainly black South Africans, their "blood" continues to "cry"

given that their murders have not been prosecuted. They have essentially gotten away with murder. On the other hand, their blood continues to "cry" given that the socio-economic conditions of many black people have not changed, regardless of the political gains of 1994 (Mathekga 2015:39). Lastly, AMCU is using the above political metaphor to delegitimise the ANC led government that has failed to prosecute those who perpetrated crimes against black people in post-1994.

The below verbal text from an AMCU tweet rhetorically represents the dimension of populism as a communication strategy.
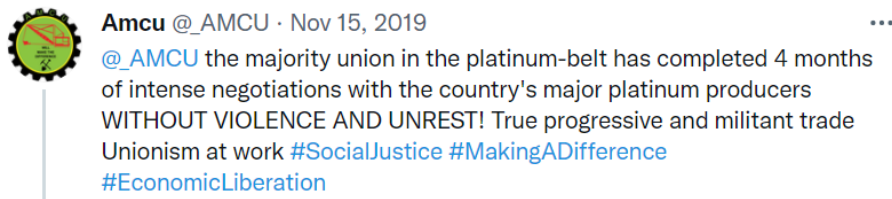

Amcu @_AMCU · Nov 15, 2019 ···
@_AMCU the majority union in the platinum-belt has completed 4 months of intense negotiations with the country's major platinum producers WITHOUT VIOLENCE AND UNREST! True progressive and militant trade Unionism at work #SocialJustice #MakingADifference #EconomicLiberation

Figure 6.6: AMCU legitimises the significance of peace and non-violence.

The above verbal text is used as a communication strategy to legitimise that AMCU as a trade union values peace. It uses the rhetoric of non-violence and unrest primarily in its negotiations regarding wage increases. It points out that it has spent four months of wage negotiation without violence. The verbal rhetoric is used ideologically by employing discursive practices of the upper case to emphasize that the trade union is peaceful. On the other hand, it subliminally presents a counter-narrative that only AMCU is a peaceful trade union. This is against the backdrop that established trade unions in South Africa have a reputation for being militant and violent, which results in the destruction of property and at times results in many businesses closing and lives being lost as a result of clashes with police (Tenza 2020:113). For example, in 2016 NUMSA was engaged in a violent strike at Dunlop in KwaZulu-Natal. In this labour unrest, members of NUMSA marched and blockaded the access road to the main company

with burning tires, stoned other workers and cars entering the company, and assaulted the security guards (Bega 2019).

On the other hand, it can be said that the above tweet is used ideologically by AMCU to counter the public opinion or perception, largely within the mining industry, that AMCU is a violent trade union that uses intimidation to grow its membership and to accomplish its ambition of collective bargaining wage demands (Tenza 2020:114). This is against the backdrop of other trade unions such as the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) who hold the view that AMCU has an inherent reputation for violence by being radical and aggressive (Ndaba & Tau 2013). These narratives were constructed at the backdrop of the 2014 platinum sector strike that lasted for five months, the longest strike in the South African mining history which was led by AMCU resulted in nine people being killed and more than 62 houses of NUM supporters burnt down throughout the strike by AMCU (Mathe 2019). In 2013, AMCU refused to sign a government-brokered peace and stability pact known as the Framework Agreement for a Sustainable Mining Industry. The agreement was aimed at defusing tensions and ending the eight months of violence in the mining industry to ensure that peace and stability prevail and that human beings and property are protected to create an environment conducive to development (Lakmidas 2013).

According to Lakmidas (2013) the South Africa's Chamber of Mines, FEDUSA and COSATU, and the then mining Minister Ms Susan Shabangu signed the peace accord. AMCU was not prepared to commit itself unconditionally to peace and stability – therefore the verbal extract seeks to legitimise AMCU as a peaceful union that can complete four months of intense negotiations without violence and unrest.

However, there are indications that AMCU is at the risk of losing its majority status in the platinum belt. The percentage of card-carrying AMCU members fell to 49% from 51% at the end of May 2019 at Sibanye-Stillwaters. In the platinum belt, it dropped from 65% to 60% (Stoddard 2019). AMCU's rise in the platinum belt was the drastic and

spectacular fashion with the Marikana massacre and portrayed itself as a victim of state-sponsored violence and exploiting the growing discontent with the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which at the time was seen by some members as too close to the mining bosses and the ANC (Chinguno 2013:24). The tweet by AMCU also seeks to legitimise AMCU as enjoying popular support in the platinum belt and this rhetoric is undermined by the reality that the once-popular trade union in the platinum belt is shedding members slowly.

The following section presents the canon of populism as political discourse.

6.2.3 Populism as a political discourse

Chapter three (section 3.4.3) discourse was defined as a social construction of the social, economic and/or political "reality" which forms a basis of knowledge that determines the nature of specific knowledge and certain behaviour in a particular social or political context or environment (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996). The significance of discourse is to determine how the society should communicate issues, ways of thinking, producing knowledge and the underlying relations within the society. In other words, discourse is concerned with the construction of political knowledge and political meaning in the overall society, the underlying political practice, political process and political structures, under which populist oriented speeches, slogans, and songs are produced.

The following verbal text of an AMCU tweet rhetorically represents the dimension of populism as political discourse.
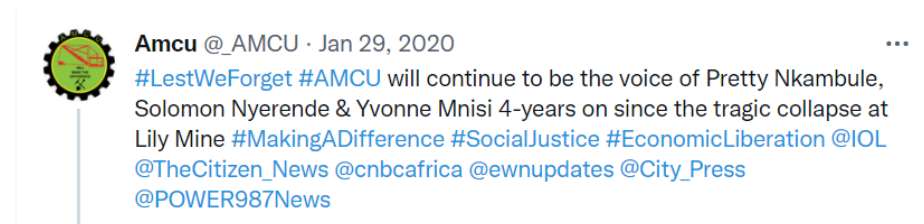

Figure 6.7: the discourse of safety in the mining industry.

The above verbal text presents the discourse of a lack of safety by which many black mineworkers are primary victims of mining fatalities in the deep mining shafts of gold, platinum and iron ore, thus the discourse of health and safety. According to (Mohapi & Zarske 2019:26) major contributing accidents to mine deaths and severe injuries in the South African deep shaft mining are rock falls underground, rock bursts, chemical accidents, fatal accidents and transportation-related accidents. For instance, in 2018 alone, 69 mineworkers died while on duty, with the deep and hot shaft gold mines being a major contributor with 21 deaths. While, in 2017, the total number of miners who died on duty stood at 88. According to data published by the Minerals Council of South Africa, 58 people died in work-related accidents in the country's mining industry in 2020, up from the record low of 51 in 2019 (Minerals Council, 2019).

In the context of the above verbal tweet in figure 6.6, the three mineworkers had been trapped underground after a tremor, causing a container they were in to collapse at Vantage Goldfields' Lily Mine in Mpumalanga Province, South Africa in 2016, in what today is known as the Lily Mine disaster (Sikiti 2016). In the above verbal text, AMCU is rhetorically raising the discourse of health and safety mainly as the only trade union in South Africa concerned about the death of the three mineworkers who were trapped underground. AMCU essentially plays a heroic populist myth that it is the only trade union in South Africa concerned with the plight of exploited miners. Thus, the trade union uses a political metaphor the "voice" that speaks on behalf of the exploited and/or marginalised miners. By doing this, AMCU subliminally delegitimises the significance of other mining trade unions such as NUM. In addition, the discourse of health and safety should be seen as an attempt by AMCU to delegitimise and/or expose the government's failure or weakness to intervene in the extraction of the bodies of the three mineworkers left for five years underground, namely: Ms Pretty Nkambule, Mr Solomon Nyerende and Ms Yvonne Mnisi during the Lily Mine disaster (Mgadi 2016).

It is worth pointing out that the discourse of health and safety, particularly in the South African mining sector, is critical in that it reveals underlying biases towards black

mineworkers. South African mining companies report underground mining fatalities involving significantly black employees as mere "objects" or "tools" rather than human beings that companies should priorities their safety and well-being. Individuals are not only assimilated into the group of "fatalities" through a process of collectivisation, rather they are a mere statistical representation used to measure the extent of mining safety in South Africa against other global mining companies elsewhere in the world (Mathekga 2015:197). This attitude should not come as a surprise as the vast majority of poor-working black people in the so-called post-apartheid South Africa, continue to work under colonial-apartheid systems, where their economic interests are not recognised. On the other hand, the working-poor black people in South Africa constitute "a thing", "an object", "a tool" rather than a human being (Mbembe 2001:187). Mbembe (2001:188) describes a "thing" as a colonised, a subject, an object, a tool "useful when needed", a race of people that could be dehumanised, killed, enslaved, jailed, humiliated and lynched with impunity. Moreover, "a thing" suggests that black people are a property of white supremacy that only have "value" for being exploited and abused rather than treated as equals (Sithole 2014). Thus, even if black people die in mass in the deep belly of the earth of the South African mines, mining companies hardly make a significant investment to improve the safety of miners underground, after all, black people are "things", "objects" and/or "tools" of a white man property worth no value of safety.

The following verbal texts from AMCU tweets rhetorically represent the dimension of populism as political discourse.

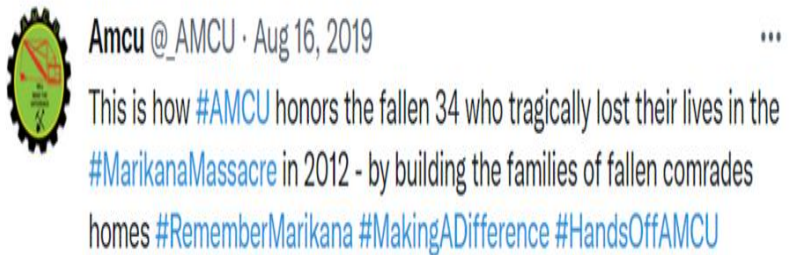**Figure 6.8: visual text presents the discourse on housing.**

Figure 6.9: verbal texts present the discourse of housing for the families who lost their loved ones.

Figures 6.8 and 6.9 above are visual and verbal texts that present the discourse of universal access to housing as a populist discourse. Although the discourse of access to social housing by private corporates forms the conscious capitalism by which private players respond to the plight of the poor and marginalised as discussed under section 5.2.1. Building houses for the victims of the Marikana massacre and their families is used ideologically by AMCU to delegitimise the ANC led government. AMCU as a trade union went beyond the scope of its mandate, which is to organise and represent the interests of workers in the workplace and is now in the service of providing housing, whereas the ANC led government fail to do so and provide housing. AMCU built houses for Marikana victims by means of the Marikana Trust (Daw 2020:33). By building houses for the victims of Marikana, AMCU is using different platforms or channels to create an alternative to social justice, built upon the populist refusal of elitist institutions and state-subsidised dwellings. AMCU is essentially responding against the backdrop of the magnitude of inadequate housing in South Africa as well as the explosion of the increased population, particularly among the poor (Marutlulle 2020: 93). Statistics South Africa In South Africa's household survey of 2017, 1.4 million households or 3.6 million people lived in informal settlements. These were significantly black people.

By the end of 2019, the Department of Human Settlement reached the milestone of providing over 4,5 million housing units through various housing programmes, which have benefitted millions of poor South Africans (Sisulu 2019). Despite all the efforts being made by the ANC led government, the backlog of housing is estimated to be 2.3 million to 3.7 million and this is growing at 178,000 per annum. Therefore, the housing backlog remains one of the social challenges facing the ANC led government (Marutlulle 2020: 94).

The significance of provision for housing by AMCU for the victims of the Marikana massacre and their families is that AMCU does not have to ensure that there is social justice in the workplace, but is contributing to the social well-being and the calibration of their member's living conditions. Through the building of houses, AMCU brought the discourse of distributive justice back to the fore. Rather than fighting for wage increases, AMCU ideologically implies that the struggles of the employees have now shifted and trade unions must offer various innovative benefits that are essential to their members and non-members alike to ideologically undermine the ANC led government, although AMCU is playing the fictitious heroic and caring father by providing housing to the poor. The provision of social housing to the people of South Africa is a fundamental human right entrenched in the Constitution of South Africa. According to clause 26 of the Constitution of South Africa, No 108 of 1996 "Everyone has the right to access to adequate housing". Although housing is a constitutional right, poor South Africans are still denied dignified houses.

From a critical perspective, the provision of housing by a trade union, AMCU in this instance, essentially delegitimises the ANC led government and its constitutional mandate to achieve the progressive realisation of access to adequate housing by poor South Africans. AMCUs attitude in this populist political discourse is to challenge the messianic ANC narrative as the sole custodian of black people in South Africa and a representative of the people in South Africa. Thus, the party no longer claim with

confidence that it represents black people given its lack of service delivery in many parts of poor rural and urban South Africa. There is increased social agency that is taking over ANC roles, by representing the organised poor and the working class operating outside of the ANC. The building of houses for the Marikana victims and their families is a manifestation of people doing for themselves what the state could have done.

The discourse of access to housing is used ideologically by AMCU to delegitimise the ANC government and to claim spaces outside of government mandate and regulation. This means that a vacuum left by the government could be filled by a range of people or forms of populist action by populist actors. Whether or not these populist actors have proclaimed themselves as being anti-established political elites, they inevitably make inroads in disrupting the notion of the state holding a monopoly on delivering houses to the poor.

The building of houses for the victims of Marikana and the widows is a manifestation of rhetorical populism insofar as it may well appeal to some or many members of the public, even though it takes us no further in understanding and addressing the housing backlog in South Africa. The building of houses is rhetorically used to suggest that it is a caring trade union. AMCU has ideologically used the housing allocation to demonstrate its human side, and thereby build lasting credibility. On the other hand, AMCU uses the housing issue to present a counter-narrative to the ANC led government, that it is a government that is ineffective, non-responsive and less caring about the plight of the poor and needy South Africans.

The following verbal text from an AMCU tweet rhetorically represents the dimension of populism as a political discourse.

Figure 6.10: verbal text presenting gender-based violence.

In addition to the capitalist consciousness, AMCU, in figure 6.9 above, demonstrates concerns over social issues affecting South Africans, that is, the discourse of gender-based violence (GBV). The above verbal text by AMCU is used ideologically as a political discourse of violence against women and children. To compare the extent of GBV in South Africa, AMCU employs a political metaphor of "warzone" as women and children are abused, assaulted and murdered daily at the hands of men. AMCU has identified the scourge of gender-based violence as a social ill and the union leader Mr Mathunjwa is using it rhetorically as a populist political discourse. Gender-based violence pervades every sphere of social and political populist leaders and cannot ignore this scourge (Brodie 2020:33). Therefore, gender-based violence discourse is used by AMCU to delegitimise the ANC led government which appears to not do enough to address the scourge of women and children abuse.

On the issue of gender-based violence, Statistics SA (2019) point out that rape and sexual violence have become hyperendemic for women. For instance, in 2019 alone, a total of 1 024 females were murdered by an intimate partner and a further 768 females were killed by a non-partner (Soul City 2019). On the other hand, the Commission for Gender Equality (2020), a dedicated population-based study on women in Gauteng, point out that more than one in three women (37.7%) has experienced physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence, 18.8% reported sexual violence and 46.2% reported economic or emotional abuse. The 2021 quarter one crime statistics indicated that over 10 000 women were raped in South Africa between April and June 2021 – amounting to a 7.1% increase compared to the previous reporting period (South African Police Service 2021).

Similar to the housing issue, AMCU is using gender-based violence to delegitimise the ANC led government for not putting in place enough measures to discourage the scourge of domestic violence in South Africa. The trade union is ideologically using the gender-based violence issue essentially to expose the failures of the government to protect the most vulnerable in society, namely: women and children including the same-sex community, that are killed for their sexual orientation (Terry & Hoare 2017:115). It is worth pointing out that gender-based violence in South Africa is patriarchal, historical and rooted in colonial and apartheid regimes that undermined the significance of black women, in particular.

It is these historical legacies that subjected black women to poverty and underdevelopment, deprived them of a stake in the economy and a sense of independence, that force them into perpetual dependency on their male counterparts for their livelihood (Boonzaier 2005:10). For example, under the apartheid and colonial South Africa, the migration of labourers from rural to urban South Africa, mainly for economic and social opportunities, has historically destabilised black families and negatively influenced family structures (Magubane 1979).

Thus, this movement left black women in rural South Africa in abject poverty since they had to take both the role of being a man and woman to build and take care of the family while their husbands are in the cities. The husbands will go for more than six months to a year without seeing their families; sometimes they will go for good and never see their families again. Thus, Magubane (1979:21) laments that the discovery of South African minerals- diamond, gold, platinum and rapid urbanisation of cities was a "curse to black families", rather than a blessing to black communities.

Considering the above historical legacies, South Africa has a high population of single-mother families, with men and women brought up without a father figure and have no idea how to run a family or how to care for a woman or a man. Thus, when men are

unable to maintain masculinity, they are likely to use violence to exert power. Therefore, gender-based violence became ingrained in the society – legitimising the use of violence against women to maintain the status quo. The violence against women and children is reinforced by other forms of violence in society such as gang and taxi violence (Boonzaier 2005:10).

The lack of consideration by AMCU of these historical and cultural factors contributing to gender-based violence is a reflection of the true populist tendency to promise a simple solution to complex societal problems. In an apt populist style, AMCU has rhetorically used the discourse of domestic violence to undermine and delegitimise the ANC led government without offering workable solutions to the problem. AMCU as a trade union should also take action to ensure that workers experiencing gender-based violence have support and assistance.

The below section presents the dimension of populism and rhetoric.

6.2.4 Populism and rhetoric

Although the foregoing sections pointed out how rhetoric is used in the verbal and visual texts to represent underlying populist rhetoric, this section of the chapter seeks to address the main research question and objectives of the study. Since rhetoric is the central canon of populism. Chapter Three defined the concept of rhetoric as a "formal, deliberate and conscious effort which seeks to persuade, influence and evoke action among audiences" (Foss 2004:5). This means, that political actors carefully select words and visual images to convey information and most importantly, to persuade audiences. The primary function of rhetoric is the use of language and symbols to communicate, construct collective identities, inform, produce meaning, persuade, influence and more importantly evoke action among audiences.

The following verbal text from an AMCU tweet rhetorically represents the dimension of populism and rhetoric.

Figure 6.11: verbal text presents populism as rhetoric.

The above verbal text reveals two key political discourses in post-1994 South Africa. Firstly, AMCU legitimises a populist master and heroic narrative of the "agent" that could bring possible changes to the socio-economic challenges such as exploitation, slavery and social injustice in post-1994 South Africa. AMCU uses symbolic language of a political metaphor "AMCU has taken the baton". What it means is to bestow one's responsibility upon someone else – an allusion to a relay race in which one runner hands a baton to the next runner. In this regard, AMCU has taken the baton from the established union NUM, which has lost members to AMCU (Chinguno 2013:26).

The current challenges facing labourers in South Africa include precarious forms of employment, such as employing workers through labour brokers and contracting (Bezuidenhout 2017:11). Major trade unions have failed to achieve real gains for workers through effective collective bargaining over the past decade. Over the past few years, there has been a growing distance between trade union representatives and workers, as well as the absence of a meaningful living wage as well as poor leadership from the government (Bezuidenhout 2017:8). The government's decision making and labour market policies remain heavily influenced by the views of trade unions – particularly COSATU – and those of big business; to the detriment of medium-sized and

small businesses (Southall 2020:61). The other challenges include poor wages, long contracts where employees are subjected to poor working conditions without adequate benefits, and exploitation of black people in the factories, and in the mines continues unabated (Sandler 2017:2).

Amid the challenges facing labour, AMCU legitimises the "heroic narrative" of change. The union presents itself as a hero and an agent of change that can disrupt the status quo and improve the conditions of workers (Flood 2002:144). While Mr Mathunjwa is presented as a hero to his followers, such that he is called *"Gobi ndlala,[12]"* and his negotiation skills with the mining management for better living conditions make him a master or heroic figure among his followers and /or supporters. However, Mr Mathunjwa's populist heroism is questioned in a lifestyle audit by *The Star* newspaper, which reported that the union leader is living an extravagant lifestyle and is not shy about his "bling" life. He arrives at meetings in luxury vehicles, surrounded by bodyguards and wearing expensive suits and has three houses listed under his name (Serrao & Seale 2014).

AMCU does not represent South African labourers in all industries; rather it has a majority of its membership mostly in the Rustenburg mining belt. It has not managed to win over workers in smaller mines and other sectors such as gold and coal. In 2019, the trade union faced threats from the Employment and Labour department to deregister the trade union if it fails to adhere to the Labour Relations Act (LRA). The Labour Department also questioned the trade union's finances and the legitimacy of office bearers (Burkhardt 2019). With the above challenges facing the trade union, its rhetorical populist appeal for heroism and the claim that it is an agent of change in South Africa seem unlikely.

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[12] Hunger Buster is essentially one that eliminates hunger.

Mineworkers work hard and face difficult working conditions – with a long history of exploitation, poor working conditions, poverty wages, debt and internal strife, culminating in protracted strikes and disagreements over salaries. Mineworkers remain in debt and simply spend their bigger salaries on paying back loan sharks. Workers in the mining industry are facing a rising tide and spiralling debt, they borrow money from loan sharks commonly known as *mashonisa*,[13] to supplement their monthly income (Steyn 2012). In 2012, nearly a quarter of all the country's mineworkers spent 75% of their monthly salaries on debt repayments. In 2014, after the latest miner's strike, 88% of the country's mineworkers were overdue on one account or another. Even though salaries have improved - at times averaging between R10 000 and R15 000 - much of this money is going to microlenders, or worse, not being repaid at all (Davis, 2014). In light of the above, there is an urgent need for the improved working conditions of mineworkers that could result in improved socio-economic conditions for black mineworkers in South Africa. The noun disruption is used rhetorically to suggest improved radical transformation.

AMCU uses the political metaphor of the "baton to change" as rhetoric to construct the heroic and/or master narrative that could bring significant changes to the exploited labour sector of post-1994 South Africa. The rhetoric phrase suggests that AMCU has emerged as a new union and has changed the labour relations scene in South Africa. The union's tactics of organising are chaotic and unyielding to undermine the employer and the established unions such as NUM. Mineworkers at Marikana have been represented by NUM, which was the dominant union. However, during the Marikana labour disputes, AMCU emerged as the largest and most popular union following NUM's loss of membership (Twala 2012:5).

The following verbal text from an AMCU tweet rhetorically represents the dimension of populism and emotional appeal rhetoric.

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[13] Mashonisa is an informal word for a person or company that provides loans to consumers, loan sharks.

Amcu @_AMCU · Nov 7, 2019

In 2011 the lowest paid RDO (Rail Drill Operator) was earning an estimated R3800 in platinum-belt, but since @_AMCU has been the majority Union the lowest paid underground worker now earns above R12 000 #AMCU #MakingADifference #SocialJustice #MakingADifference @TheCitizen_News

💬 13   ↻ 23   ♡ 59   ↑

Figure 6.12: AMCU uses rhetoric to appeal.

Figure 6.12 is a verbal text that describes a pay increase from R3 800 in 2011 to above R12 000 in 2013. The union has successfully improved the basic monthly salary of Rock Drill Operators (RDOs) – drilling is the most central work activity in mining. Regarding RDOs, they perform the hardest job and face the most hazardous conditions underground. Despite the hard labour, RDOs are on the lower levels of the job grading system defining wages and salaries (Chiguno 2013:2).

The pay increase from R3 800 per month to R12 500 per month is used rhetorically primarily to appeal to audiences. The amount of R3 800 is meagre considering the high inflation of the South African market. Secondly, the salary amount is meagre given that RDOs perform a difficult and risky job, exposed to rock falling (Mathekga 2015:198). Thus, AMCU uses the above populist rhetoric to appeal to the public, that mining management exploits mineworkers. AMCU exposes the unfair labour practice primarily to delegitimise the significance of unfair labour practice.

The following section presents the dimension of populism as a political myth.

6.2.5 Populism as a political myth

In chapter three political myth is defined as "a set of political narratives, about political events that occurred in the past, present and predicted for the future" by which the narrator wants to make meaningful debates with their audience (Flood 2002:41).

This section uses a combination of discourse mythological analysis, political discourse analysis and Fairclough's three-dimensional analysis primarily to interrogate underlying political myths in the verbal and visual texts of AMCU tweets.

Figure 6.13: the use of political myth as rhetoric.

The above visual text depicts AMCU President Mr Joseph Mathunjwa addressing a large crowd of mineworkers, with a marquee tent full and a concentration of electric pylons suggesting that mining is a critical sector of the South African economy.

The still image is used ideologically in black and white to suggest a grim or sad state of affairs. It suggests exploitation or poor working conditions in which a lot of mineworkers find themselves. Also, it reveals significant failure by both the mining industry and government to effect transformation, with a particular focus on the working conditions of the mining industry. Although the South African mines have made a significant investment in technology to maximise production and quality conditions, pay remains significantly low, particularly in the gold and platinum belt (Alexander, Lekgowa, Mmope, Sinwell & Xeswi 2013:5).

Mr Mathunjwa, standing in front of the crowd of mineworkers, conveys a heroic and/or messianic figure, who could save labourers from exploitation perpetrated by mining bosses. Thus, Mr Mathunjwa is seen as a hero who, in the context of the mineworkers of the platinum belt, will fight for increased pay of R12 000 per month in 2012/2013

(Twala 2012:61). The demand of R12 000 was more than twice the average mineworker's salary when Lonmin workers first went on strike in 2012. The average salary of a Rock Drill Operator at the time was around R3 800 per month. There was a strong argument that the R12 500 is unaffordable and will lead to the collapse of companies and result in increased joblessness while mining bosses take home millions of rands worth of bonuses (Chinguno 2013:29). Others argue that R12 000 was way above the average minimum wage in the country, specifically in other sectors and could potentially create or exacerbate high levels of inequality in the country (Sacks 2014:6). The Labour Research Service (LRS) actual wage rates database shows that the median minimum wage in mining was sitting at R4 743 a month and already higher than other sectors in 2012. Therefore, a R12 500 basic wage was simply not feasible. The daily revenue losses for Lonmin, as a result of the strike activity, were estimated to be R198-million with employees losing up to R88-million a day in wages (Kolver 2014).

The demand for an immediate salary increase was unreasonable because mining companies indicated they could not afford it. However, AMCU uses the visual image to drive a populist discourse that Mr Mathunjwa is a hero that is fighting for the R12 500 wage increase. AMCU as a trade union and their leader Mr Mathunjwa employed political myth as a populism strategy to legitimise the saviour or the heroic myth and the master myth of improved working conditions of mineworkers.

Mr Mathunjwa is depicted raising a clenched fist which symbolises an act of defiance and solidarity commonly associated with the struggle of a marginalised and oppressed group of people fighting for justice and freedom on behalf of the oppressed (Seidman 2007:38). The use of the above visual image is primarily to demonstrate that AMCU is a significantly growing trade union in South Africa and a union of choice for a majority of mineworkers. On the other hand, the image is also used to remind the public that Mathunjwa is a powerful and popular leader of the workers, essentially a commander of the working class, and a defender of social justice.

The following verbal text from an AMCU tweet rhetorically represents the dimension of the "us" and "them" strategy of populism.

Full Video Text: *"They have undermined the culture of the black people. Sibanye went and erect a memorial stone…whatever they call it, without the consent of the widows, how can you do such a thing? It is to show that Froneman undermines everyone. He is a drum majorette, you know what is a drum majorette? He is the one that beat the drum and the rest follow him, so Neil Froneman is a drum majorette of our struggle. He wants us to follow him, to march behind him. They killed our brothers and sisters at the koppie, now are taking their culture. How can you erect a hall of remembrance or whatever a stone you can call it and engrave the names of the people who were massacred by your cousin Lonmin without the consent of the families. Yini ebizwa ngokuthini yini lento".*

Figure 6.14: presentation of the underlying "us" and "them" political myth strategy of political myth.

The above verbal text reveals how Mr Mathunjwa and AMCU use pronouns as discursive practices such as "they", "our", "us" and "their" ideologically to construct the underlying political myth of the "us" and "them" to appeal to the mineworkers. The use of pronouns in the political myth context is critical in that it legitimises and/or delegitimises underlying political discourse (Bramley 2001). As for the construction of the "us" and "them" type of political myth, it is a representation of the social and/or political binaries between the privileged group of society versus the marginal members of society (Floods 2002). The use of pronouns in the above tweet is critical, in that, they present a construction of the "us" and "them" narrative between mining bosses and mineworkers. AMCU essentially legitimises the underlying divisions between white mining management and workers. These divisions are political, historical, and socially and/or culturally apparent. Moreover, he uses pronouns "they" and "their" repeatedly versus "us" and "our" primarily to legitimise that black people's culture is undermined by mining bosses. The above verbal extract points out that AMCU uses the discourse of culture to

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ideologically appeal to black people to understand that mining management undermines black people.

In addition, the verbal extract AMCU uses the political myth of "us" and "them" to delegitimise the significance of white or private enterprises in post-1994 South Africa. Thus, the use of the "us" and "them" type of political myth is used ideologically/rhetorically to establish the position of AMCU, that it favours marginalised black workers. Thus, it takes a populist stance of "us", the marginalised black labourer versus the white minority conglomerates that exploit labourers.

The above verbal texts use a political metaphor of "drum majorette", "follow him" and "march behind him". These political metaphors are rhetorically used to delegitimise the significance of black people in corporate South Africa, that is, the mining industry. As indicated in the previous section, Sithole (2012:87) points out that black people in post-colonial societies are regarded primarily as "subjects" and "tools" of exploitation, while Sol Plaatje (1982:13) adds that black people are "pariah", essentially slaves in their native countries. Others, such as former US President Thomas Jefferson, have referred to black people as lazy that requiring less sleep (Degruy 2005). It is, however, ironic that blacks are lazy, yet they are required to sleep less to be overworked mainly by white masters.

Thus, the political metaphor of "drum majorette" suggests a leading dummy playing or directing a stick while there are several followers, in the context of this study, a white CEO is the leading dummy and black people, "lazy", "subjects" and irrational "tools" are generally followers. The political metaphor "followers" is used rhetorically to suggest that black people are irrational beings, tools and subjects that could easily be exploited. Moreover, the political metaphor is fitting, particularly in the mining industry, historically built by cheap and unskilled labourers that have lower and basic levels of formal education that could practically be followers of white men, rather than rational beings that could stand on their two feet and resist various forms of exploitation.

Mr Mathunjwa is using these political metaphors deliberately as the colonial and apartheid systems deprived black people of the necessary and quality education that could produce a productive black society that could build their communities and stand on their two feet to compete. The educational system was historically designed to produce obedient "black garden boys" and "kitchen tea girls" that could be loyal to their white masters. In post-1994 South Africa, the ANC led government is failing to produce quality education, particularly in public schools, which are significantly black. Therefore, generational legacies of deprivation of quality of education continue to affect black people. As a result, South Africa has high levels of unemployment. Close to 50% of its youth population is unemployed and essentially not properly prepared to participate in the mainstream economy of the country (Habib 2013:44).

The following verbal rhetoric from an AMCU tweet focuses on the dimension of populism as a heroic myth.

Amcu @_AMCU · Jan 20, 2020
"I formed #AMCU but that doesn't not mean I'm above this organisation or its constitution" #AMCU President Joseph Gwebindlala Mathunjwa #MakingADifference #SocialJustice #EconomicLiberation @TheCitizen_News @eNCA @BDliveSA @eNCA @ewnupdates @mailandguardian @Powerfm987 @Radio702

Figure 6.15: presentation of the personal pronoun to construct a heroic and/or master narrative of political myth.

The latent meaning of the verbal rhetoric is to create an image of AMCU President Joseph Mathunjwa as a man of the people who distinguishes himself from the political establishment. In this tweet, Mr Mathunjwa is positioning himself as an outsider who is radically different and separate from the established political order. He presents himself as a leader who subjects himself to the will of the people. The heroic political myth was described in chapter three as an ideological function to invite audiences to concur with a specific reality and to reject other meanings and interpretations, meaning that myth upholds some beliefs but degrades others (Flood 2001:144).

The tweet in figure 6.15 uses the personal pronoun "I", which is followed by the verb "formed" rhetorically to legitimise Mr Mathunjwa as a leader of AMCU that is concerned with the working conditions of the mineworkers. The significance of the personal pronoun "I" is used rhetorically to construct the heroic myth. The pronoun "I" is repeatedly used when Mr Mathunjwa presents himself as a humble leader and adopts a stance of a humble servant of the workers. The considered construction of a friendly personality is an important populist strategy for Mr Mathunjwa and AMCU as it allows them to counteract criticism and attract new members to the union. Thus, legitimises a master myth of Mr Mathunjwa and AMCU is the only trade union that could improve the working conditions of the South African labourer.

Counter to the above heroic and master myth of Mr Mathunjwa of "I am not above this organisation or its constitution" the reality is that he has been in leadership since the union was formed in 1999; there is not a succession plan. Thus, it is concerning that, AMCU is a one-man party rather than a democratic trade union where there are elections for new leadership every five years (Chinguno 2013:8). The President of AMCU wants to bring himself to the same level as ordinary workers and members of AMCU. However, there are members of AMCU who have claimed that they were expelled as members if they voiced their complaints against the leadership of the union. This was attributed to a social gap between the workers and the union leaders (Sacks 2014:4). In addition, Chinguno (2013:10) argues that AMCU is demonstrating worrying signs of ignorance of the reality that union success in shop floor issues such as collective bargaining is connected to the broader macro-economic, industrial relations of the country, and the broader political economy (Chinguno 2013:11).

The following visual image from an AMCU tweet focuses on the dimension of populism as a heroic myth.

Figure 6.16: visual text of an artist's impression of Mr Mgcineni Noki.

Figure 6.16 presents a visual text of an artist's impression of Mr Mgcineni Noki affectionately known as Mambush, in which he is depicted wearing a green blanket, hoisting a clenched fist, with his mouth wide open, possibly shouting "Amandla"[14], one of the most vocal of the Lonmin strikers – who died in the Marikana massacre (Carter & Goddard 2016:49). Mr Noki, a rock-drill operator, emerged as a leader demanding justice for mineworkers nicknamed "The Man in the Green Blanket". From a social semiotic point of view, discussed in chapter four, the green blanket is both an iconic and symbolic sign associated with the Marikana Massacre. Moreover, he was significantly standing out with the green blanked throughout the AMCU protest and as a result, regarded as a fallen hero as he was at the forefront of the strike. An omnipresent symbol of bravery and the Marikana Massacre Mr Noki was among the 34 men who died when police opened fire at the striking miners on August 16, 2012, and the blanket around his shoulders was an identifying feature (Sacks 2014:2).

The image of "the man in the Green Blanket" has been appropriated by AMCU for commemorating the Marikana massacre – the image is used as a symbol of the worker's struggle for a R12 500 salary in Marikana. AMCU uses the image of "the man in the Green Blanket" in their communication strategy regarding the Marikana struggle for R12 500 salary per month. The above theme of the visual rhetoric represents the

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[14] Amandla means power.

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populist discourse of using the image to advocate for a change to the status quo by promoting a sense of crisis (Marikana massacre) and presenting AMCU as having the solution to labour injustices, particularly in the mining industry.

Mr Noki is used as a symbol of resistance by AMCU, bearing in mind that he was not the official leader of the trade union under scrutiny, but a fallen hero fighting the struggle against injustices with other workers. Given that he had a well built and tall body that made him a standout in the crowd, he could use his powerful voice to mobilise workers and drive them to a nearby koppie where the protesters had gathered, encouraging them to embark on a peaceful protest and not to provoke the police while resisting to return to work (Tau 2012). Now that Mr Noki and the other 34 mineworkers were killed by the police for demanding a living wage of R12 500, AMCU legitimises him as a fallen hero that took leadership in the face of death.

The following visual image from an AMCU tweet focuses on the dimension of populism as a unity myth.

Figure 6.17: presentation of the underlying unity myth.

Figure 6.17 above presents a social media banner, a visual text that depicts the significance of the unity myth, the populism strategy of the unity myth and the discourse of national unity. The visual text uses group pronouns "our" and verbs such as "standing together", "working together" and "leading together" ideologically to imply a message of

unity and promotion of national unity discourse. Thus, legitimising the significance of unity. In other words, AMCU is a critical unifying trade union in the face of divided labour unions in South Africa. Moreover, the verbal text intends to promote national unity and recognise the injustices of the past that have divided the people of South Africa. On the other hand, the visual text uses symbolic images such as wheels and other circles and carries a rhetorical note of unity, standing together, working together, and leading together. The verbal and visual texts seek to legitimise AMCU as a unifier. The visual text is ideologically used to depict AMCU as a trade union that wants to unite the people of South Africa who are divided by race and the injustices of the past.

South Africa is a divided nation and its divisions run through economic and education inequality (Gumede 2013:22). AMCU is strategically exploiting the divisions in society ideologically to promote the discourse of national unity. The rhetoric is used to legitimise AMCU as a unifier and peacemaker. The unity myth is used to promote the need for racial harmony in society. The promotion of national unity and reconciliation is also used by AMCU to counter ANC led government failures to promote national unity.

National unity remains a myth as a majority of previously disadvantaged South Africans live in poverty, earn lower wages, are facing unemployment, and have fewer skills. At the other end of the spectrum, the white minority elite, mainly, continues to thrive and succeed (Mohammed 2010:14). According to Mohammed (2010:14), the ANC government has not made significant strides to promote unity and reconciliation in the country. Realising the challenges of division and disunity in the country AMCU ideologically uses the situation to promote unity and national discourse to delegitimise the ANC led government.

The following section presents the dimension of populism as propaganda.

6.2.6 Populism as a propaganda

In chapter three propaganda is described as an organised action to disseminate or promote ideas to influence and lead public opinion (Van der Meiden 1988:58). Propaganda is also understood as a form of communication that attempts to achieve a response that furthers the desired interest of the propagandist. According to Van der Meiden (1988:58), the purpose of propaganda is to send out an ideology to an audience with a related objective. Thus, propaganda is critical to this study in that it helps populists to disseminate their populist messages and essentially monopolise communication. This section uses the political discourse analysis research method to interrogate the underlying rhetorics of propaganda in the verbal texts.
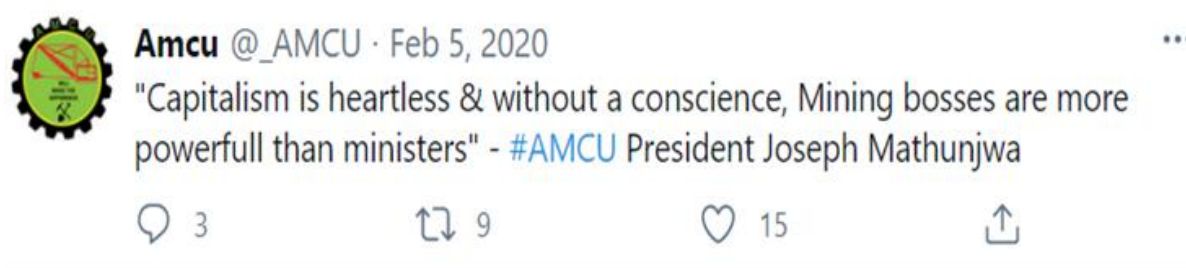

Figure 6.18: verbal text presenting the underlying propaganda narrative of AMCU.

Figure 6.18 above presents a verbal text that speaks to the representation of populism as a propaganda strategy used effectively to erode faith in the established order. The phrase carries heavy sarcasm and mockery of political institutions and government ministers. The ANCs government ministers are regarded as powerless and this populist propaganda ideologically delegitimises them. The phrase "mining bosses are more powerful than ministers" is used ideologically to position mining bosses as having more power than government ministers. The ministers are cast out as being powerless and the mining bosses are in charge and have more power in the country.

In the South African context, the President appoints Ministers and assigns their powers and functions. In this regard, ministers have executive authority. The responsibility of the executive is to run the country and to make policy in the best interests of its citizens and terms of the Constitution, rather than of the political party (Thornhill 2002:19). Therefore, the idea that mining bosses are more powerful than ministers is populist

propaganda that AMCU is using to delegitimise the role of ministers and the executive powers of the ministers.

In terms of the mining sector, the Mining and Petroleum Resources Development Act (MPRDA of 2002) grants the Minister of the Department of Mineral Resource and Energy (DMRE) the power to cancel or suspend a mining right, among others, if the holder thereof "breaches any material term or condition of such right, permit or permission". This piece of legislation asserts that ministers do have power rather than being powerless and helpless as is implied in the populist propaganda by AMCU. Health and safety in the South African mining sector are governed by the Mine Health and Safety Act (MHSA), which empowers the Minister to appoint The Mine Health and Safety Inspectorate, which is part of the DMRE. The Chief Inspector is appointed by the Minister and has wide powers to enter any mine, conduct inspections of working places, question persons, and examine documents and other articles.

The above two pieces of legislation indicate the extent of the powers of ministers and cast doubt on the populist rhetoric by AMCU that the mining bosses are more powerful than ministers. The phrase "mining bosses are more powerful than ministers" is used ideologically as populist propaganda to diminish or destroy the legitimacy of the ANC led government ministers. Ministers have exercised their powers to cancel and suspend mining rights and they have used their power to conduct inspections and close down shafts and mines. In this regard, the supposed power of mining bosses was excessively or overstated as part of the populist propaganda used by AMCU.

The next verbal text from AMCU tweets also rhetorically represents the dimension of populism as propaganda.

Figure 6.19: verbal text presenting the underlying propaganda strategy of populism.

The foregoing figure 6.19 suggests that populism as propaganda is being utilised to imply a weak and incapable government. It carries general attacks directed at the ANC led government. The phrase is used as populist propaganda to efficiently delegitimise the ANC led government that is failing to deal with the thieving of the wealth in the country (Hoffman 2016:71). The government is ideologically characterised as incompetent when dealing with big corporates and white-collar crime. Figure 6.17 above is referring to the illicit financial flows in the mining sector in South Africa as a threat to industrialisation in the country and the government is failing to deal with corruption in the mining sector (Hoffman 2016:72).

South Africa is severely affected by the illegal capital flight occurring in and around the mining sector. The thieving of the wealth in South Africa is understood to be illicit financial flows which mean the movement of capital abroad by misreporting or mispricing the value of international trade (Nitsch 2012: 314). According to the 2015 report on illicit financial flows by the African Union/UN High-Level Panel headed by former president Mbeki, it estimated that Africa was losing at least US$50-billion a year through illicit financial flows (UNECA 2015:4). The report suggested that about five per cent of illicit financial outflows were proceeds of theft and bribery by corrupt South African government officials.

AMCU identified the illicit financial flows and the stealing of the mineral wealth as a challenge facing the South African economy (Hoffman 2016:72). Therefore, the unions used this challenge ideologically as populist propaganda to disseminate or promote an idea that the elite are stealing the wealth of this country to influence and lead public opinion that says the government is not doing anything about the thieving that is taking place. The verbal text from AMCU tweets is rhetorically used to represent the dimension of populism as propaganda and to drive a narrative that the ANC led government is failing to deal with corruption in the form of illicit cash flows from the economy.

Figure 6.17 above is ideologically used as populist propaganda to push a populist discourse that government officials do not want to annoy the corporate entities that sponsor them or investigate the thieving of the South African economy. The verbal text also implies that the rhetoric by the government about curbing corruption and the thieving of the country's economy is a hypocritical lie. According to Nitsch (2012:316), there is clear evidence about the importance of stopping the illicit financial flows and the thieving of the economy but the critical challenge was implementation.

There has been little or no progress in stemming corruption and the thieving of the economy. Rotberg (2019:14) identified the culprits as mainly the multinational corporations, which were investing increasing resources in sidelining this grand corruption and continuing to pursue aggressive illicit capital flow practices. As populist rhetoric often simplifies complex issues and finds a scapegoat to blame, it is particularly well suited for AMCU to ideologically use this discourse to delegitimise the ANC led government as failing and also drive a populist narrative using this as populist propaganda.

The phrase "the government is not doing anything about it" carries populist rhetoric of fear. The insecurity, discontent and fear by "the people" that the thieving and corruption will intensify the levels of inequality, poverty and high (youth) unemployment. The criticism is that the political establishment shows little consideration for the worries and

plight of "the people" and that the ANC led government does not effectively protect its citizens against the risks of white-collar crime – through illicit financial flows and grand corruption. Populism is used as propaganda to question the integrity, a lack of commitment to the well-being of the people of the country and the absence of any coherent emancipatory vision by the ANC led government.

The following verbal extract from an AMCU tweet rhetorically represents the dimension of populism as propaganda.
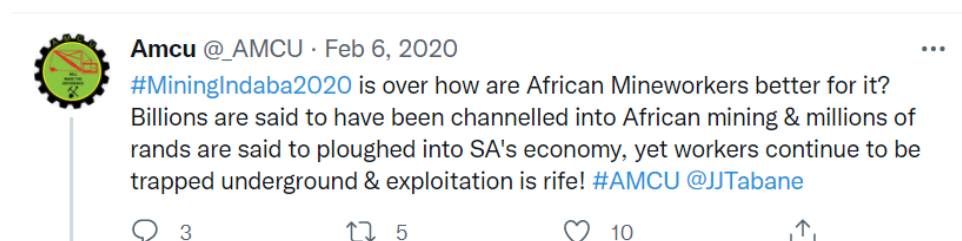

Figure 6.20: propaganda of the Mining Indaba as a populist strategy.

The above verbal extract is used by AMCU to suggest that the Mining Indaba[15] the conference does not benefit African mineworkers and they see no value in it. Although there is a lot of money in a foreign direct investment that will be pledged or invested in the South African economy, AMCU implies that the Mining Indaba is of no value to mineworkers who continue to be exploited, paid lower salaries and face dangerous working conditions in the coalface. ACMU is ideologically using populism as propaganda to create a narrative that the Mining Indaba and foreign direct investment in the mining industry do not benefit mineworkers.

The above verbal text shows that populism and propaganda can be used hand-in-hand. AMCU is using populist propaganda to focus its attacks on big businesses, investors and multinationals by advocating for workers' interests and decrying the liberal economic programme pursued by the ANC led government. In the verbal text, AMCU

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[15] Mining Indaba is the world's largest mining investment conference.

portrays the efforts of channelling foreign investment in the South African economy by big businesses and the elites as encouraging the exploitation of workers. AMCU uses populist propaganda to delegitimise big corporates and the ANC led government for neglecting a set of grievances by workers such as health and safety concerns and lower wages.

Despite government rhetoric about promoting economic growth and investment helping to grow the economy and create employment, these neo-liberal policies are promoted as an end in themselves (Bond 2005:10). For AMCU, these investors are pursuing profit accumulation, quicker turnaround on investment and less social commitment to the local labour force. AMCU is using populist propaganda to delegitimise the ANC led government and big corporates for creating a conducive environment for big corporates accumulation while limiting workers' rights. Aside from providing employment, the promotion of economic growth, ploughing millions of Rands in investment into the South African economy does not translate into benefits, stable and secure jobs for workers (Cawe 2021:28). The government is less concerned with regulating the social impact of capital on workers and local communities.

The verbal extract is used ideologically by AMCU to delegitimise the political establishment for showing little consideration for the worries and plight of "the little people" and that the ANC led government does not effectively protect its citizens against the risks of globalisation and foreign direct investment. The ANC led government desperately needs investment pledges to rebuild the South African economy to tackle high unemployment, poverty and low growth (Naidoo 2019). However, any efforts to over-regulate the labour markets will undermine market confidence and deter investors to invest in the country.

The above verbal text is used by AMCU to disseminate a narrative to influence and lead public opinion that investments that are pledged or invested in the South African economy are not always benefiting the workers. These neoliberal policies are delegitimised and viewed as the cause of the intensification of social inequality,

increased precarious employment and high (youth) unemployment (Mohammed 2010:18). AMCU equate the ploughing of investment in the South African economy with the liberalisation of the economy and the deregulation of industrial labour relations for the benefit of the corporate elites.

The following section presents the dimension of populism as a genre.

5.2.7 Populism and genre

In Chapter Three, the concept genre is used to denote both a class of texts as communicative events as well as the representation of such a class is an abstract model which means a "kind" or "type" of something or rather how things are done in a certain way (Chandler 1997:11). For this study, genre refers to a particular type of text in that it does not only describe surface features of a discourse but also reveals the rationale behind it (Zhan, 2012). In the same vein, Bhatia (1993:16) defined a genre as a "recognizable communicative event characterized by a set of communicative purposes identified and mutually understood by members of the speech community in which it occurs". Thus, the genre is significant to this study in that it helps to identify and understand the populist content in populist political actors' speeches and texts.

For the the purpose of analysis of the following visual image from an AMCU tweet, this section employs social semiotics to interrogate the underlying rhetoric of populism as a genre:

Figure 6.21: a visual text that represents a type of rhetorical genre of political music in post-1994.

The use of the political struggle song in South Africa, *"Senzeni na?"*, which essentially means, "What have we done?" in Nguni languages is used rhetorically to delegitimise the capitalist system of commerce in South Africa. From a populist point of view, the rendition of the song resonates with the marginalised black labourers who are exploited by mining companies. The song is used as a populist strategy to authenticate the demonstrations of AMCU as an anti-capitalist movement of the people and workers and to also legitimise the struggle of the 34 mineworkers who were killed in Marikana.

"Senzeni Na?" is a South African anti-apartheid struggle song. The song is inherently political commonly sung at funerals, demonstrations and during any political hardships where there are social and political injustices perpetrated toward black people (Makky 2007:6). According to (Makky 2007:7) the political song has been around at least since the 1950s and it became popular among anti-apartheid activists during the 1970s and 1980s. Like many other struggle and/or political songs, the origins of the song are unclear. The song rhetorically repeats the line *"Senzeni na?"* a number of times, which gives the listener a sense of desolation (Makky 2007:7). In this regard, AMCU uses musical sounds, lyrics, and performances as rhetoric primarily to commemorate the Marikana massacre and to appeal to the emotions of the public. The song *"Senzeni na?"* is used ideologically to appeal to the "people" rather than the "elites".

During colonial and apartheid South Africa, music was used politically as a tool with which Africans united together to oppose the unjust and racist government of South Africa through struggle songs such as *"Senzeni Na?",* which describes the struggles of the daily life of black people in the villages and townships. Post-1994 South Africa, the song is used ideologically by AMCU at the commemoration of the Marikana massacre mainly to disapprove of the exploitation and struggles of black workers under capitalist oppression. The song is essentially a passive resistance song that speaks against the 1913 land grab, the forceful removals of the 1950s, the hardships of the pass laws systems, the oppression that comes with apartheid regimes as well as the colonialism of South Africa (Makky 2007:7).

"Senzeni na?" is a rhetorical question that is used to interrogate the brutality of the apartheid regime. The song has particular relevance in a protest against the systematic exploitation of poor and black mineworkers. AMCU is using the song rhetorically and/or ideologically primarily, to delegitimise the ANC led government as well as the exploitative capitalist systems that undermine the lives of black people in South Africa. Black mineworkers continue to be exposed to appalling health and safety conditions and their salaries, overall, are low. They are exploited, in some cases, just as they were under colonial and apartheid, in South Africa. The rhetorical song, *"Senzeni na?"* holds significant resonance to millions of young black South Africans who have been consistently failed by structural and economic racism that undermines the very effort of black people to participate in the mainstream economy of colonial, apartheid and post-1994 South Africa. For many of these young black people, the political gains of 1994 mean nothing to them as their economic and social conditions have not changed. *"Senzeni na?"* resonates with millions of black people who live under squalid conditions in urban and rural South Africa, while politicians are looting billions of rands through tenders (Nkosi 2015), *"Senzeni na?"* resonates with thousands of women and children who have to endure all forms of violence in the hands of their men. *"Senzeni na?"* resonates with thousands of men and women who have to wake up every single day of

their lives looking for economic opportunities without success. *"Senzeni na?"* resonates with black communities that go months, even years without electricity and water, in the face of mismanagement of public resources by both political and business elites. *"Senzeni na?"* resonates with all forms of exploitation, landlessness, dispossession and suppression that black people continue to endure in the so-called new South Africa.

6.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented a critical analysis and interpretation of the sampled data of AMCUs tweets from August 2019 to December 2020 through different research methods of CDA, namely: social semiotics, political discourse analysis, discourse mythological analysis, and Fairclough's three-dimensional analysis. A discussion of the findings and the interpretation of verbal and visual texts were presented in the form of tweets by AMCU. Moreover, the chapter answered the main research question and sub-questions of the study and the main research objectives of the study. Employing different research methods of CDA, (1) this chapter revealed that AMCU uses political populist rhetoric on their social media platform Twitter, (2) the verbal and visual rhetoric used by AMCU in the selected social media platforms possess underlying populist rhetoric, (3) by means of different CDA research methods, this chapter revealed that visual and verbal texts use different discursive practices primarily to construct political populist rhetoric, (4) by means of different research CDA revealed underlying discursive practices of visual and verbal texts are used ideologically by AMCU to legitimise and/or delegitimise political populist rhetoric, (5) the chapter successfully interrogated, by means of different CDA research methods, the underlying ideological meaning of the political populist rhetoric of AMCU in the social media platform Twitter.

The final chapter of the study concludes the study.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the overall conclusions of the research. The sections below provide an overall summary of the study by revisiting the aims and objectives of the study, outlining summaries of chapters, summaries of the findings, the limitations of the study, and recommendation(s) on possible future research projects.

7.2 REVISITING THE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Chapter One presented the main aim and objectives of the study. The main aim of this study is to deconstruct, by means of CDA, the underlying political populist rhetoric of the trade union AMCU on Twitter.

While the main objectives of this study are as follows:

- To determine, by means of CDA whether, the trade union AMCU uses political populist rhetoric on Twitter.
- To determine, by means of CDA, whether the verbal and visual rhetoric used by AMCU on the selected social media network are populist.
- To determine, by means of CDA, how visual and verbal texts of discursive practices presented on the selected social media network construct political populist rhetoric.
- To determine, by means of CDA, how underlying discursive practices are used ideologically to legitimise and/or delegitimise political populist rhetoric.

To deconstruct, by means of CDA, the underlying ideological meaning of the political populist rhetoric of AMCU on Twitter.

7.4 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

The previous chapter interrogated the underlying political populist rhetoric of 22 tweets of AMCU by means of different research methods of CDA. In the interrogation of the underlying political populist rhetoric of the selected tweets of AMCU, this study considered the following critical concepts, namely: ideology, underlying communication strategy, discourse, underlying rhetoric, political myth, propaganda and genre. These underlying concepts are taken from the previous studies of Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017), Taggart (2008), Rooduijin (2014) (populism and ideology), and Kazim (1995), Freeden (1998). Jaggers and Walgrave (2007), Albertazzi and McDonnell (2008) (populism and communication strategy), Flood (2002), Stoica (2017) (populism and political myth), and Foss (2004). As well as Kaid and Johnston (2001) and Borchers (2006) (populism and rhetoric) Chandler (1997) and Hodge and Kress (1988), Fairclough (1989), Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) and Bayram (2010) (populism and discourse), and Van der Meiden (1988) and Sproule (1994) (populism and propaganda). Thus, the above previous studies, revealed different premises of populism, namely: (1) populism is ideological, (2) populism is a communication strategy, (3) populism is a discourse, (4) populism is rhetorical, (5) populism uses political myths, and (6) propaganda in the selected tweets of AMCU.

Through different research methods of CDA, namely: the Three-Dimensional Model of a Discourse (Fairclough 1992), Political Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk 1998; Wodak 2009), Discourse Mythology Analysis (DMA) (Kesley 2015) and Social Semiotic Analysis (van Leeuwen 1996), this study makes the following conclusion based on the study objectives:

Firstly, the study revealed that verbal and visual texts of the sampled AMCU tweets possess underlying populist rhetoric. This study looked at the underlying discursive strategies in the verbal and visual texts as well as underlying populist characteristics presented in the form of rhetoric used by AMCU on Twitter. The verbal rhetoric in the

sampled tweets uses political metaphors rhetorically to delegitimise the ANC led government and mining bosses. The study argued that the use of populist rhetoric in verbal texts is inherently ideological.

Secondly, the study has determined, by means of CDA, how visual and verbal texts of discursive practices presented in the selected AMCU tweets construct underlying political populist rhetoric. This study found that the selected tweets used different discursive practices in the verbal texts such as personal pronouns "we", "us", "them", "I", "they" and "you" to construct underlying populist political myths such as the "us" and "them" myth. Moreover, this study revealed that the above-mentioned verbal discursive practices are used ideologically to legitimise and/or delegitimise the significance of the ANC political party and the elite mining bosses.

Thirdly, the study revealed that visual text such as logos, pictures, artist impressions, videos and colours are used ideologically to present the underlying master myth and the heroic myth of AMCU. Moreover, they are used ideologically to legitimise appalling socio-economic conditions of the mineworkers under the ANC led government. AMCU also used visual texts that are highly critical of the ANC led government to delegitimise or question its relevance. Thus, AMCU's visual discursive practices present the underlying rhetoric of populism as a political myth. This study revealed that political myths are not mere "fictional" or "tales" of narratives, rather they are used ideologically to legitimise and/or delegitimise a political discourse.

Fourthly, the study identified, by means of CDA, how visual and verbal texts of discursive practices presented in the selected AMCU tweets are used ideologically as a policy to rhetorically appeal to the mining sector to pay mineworkers an improved living wage with the populist rhetoric, for example, of an increased salary of R12 500 per month. Therefore, the above demonstrates that the use of political populist rhetoric is primarily used as a communication strategy mainly to appeal to the AMCU audiences.

Moreover, the study reveals that AMCU uses the populist political rhetoric of White Monopoly Capital (WMC) ideologically to construct populist propaganda that argues that the underlying socio-economic woes of black people in South Africa are primarily caused by white people, rather than inherent problems of corruption in government and the private sector. Furthermore, factionalism within the ANC political party, inexperienced and ill-qualified cadre deployment in government has created problems of governance in South African institutions, failure of the ANC led government to grow the South African economy and to equip a vast majority of black South Africans with a high-quality education that could enable people to compete and succeed. The populist propaganda narrative of AMCU fails to address the fact that the ANC led government has instead created a welfare state, whereby the vast majority of black people are placed on all sorts of welfare programmes that have increased government spending, perpetuated poverty and underdevelopment among black people and created a culture of dependency.

The study has used social semiotics to interrogate the underlying rhetoric of populism as a genre and revealed that from the premise of populism as a genre, AMCU used musical sounds, lyrics, and performances as rhetoric to commemorate the Marikana massacre to appeal to the emotions of the public. In this instance, the AMCU tweets used political music *"Senzeni na?"* rhetorically to remind black South Africans that their historical and socio-economic conditions have not changed in post-1994 South Africa. Black mineworkers and labourers in South Africa continue to be objects of exploitation regardless of the political transition of 1994. The above-mentioned political music *"Senzeni na?"* is used ideologically to delegitimise the significance of the ANC led government. Thus, the musical genre used in AMCU tweets is political and a historical genre that reminds black South Africans that they are marginalised and exploited, similar to the colonial and apartheid South Africa – nothing has changed.

Now that a summary of findings has been presented, the below section of this study presents the limitations of the study.

7.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study identified several limitations. Firstly, there is deaf literature specifically on political populist rhetoric focusing particularly on the South African trade unions and social media platforms. Therefore, the researcher had to borrow literature significantly from Europe, the USA and Latin American studies. There is limited literature on political populist rhetoric that specifically focuses on social media networks by trade union organisations to convey political populist rhetoric.

Regarding another limitation, this study only focused on qualitative research design rather than mixed-method research, essentially interrogating populist rhetoric presented in the tweets of the trade union AMCU. This is because this study is significantly rooted in a critical discourse analysis point of view, which does not make provision for quantitative research design.

Another limitation worth noting is that this study sampled only one trade union, AMCU, rather than other established South African trade unions such as COSATU. Moreover, the study only focused on Twitter rather than other social media networks. The major reason this specific study focused primarily on the AMCUs political populist rhetoric was that the union is a new trade union, it is growing rapidly and it has a strong social media presence compared to historical and established ANC affiliated trade unions.

7.6 RECOMMENDATION FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE RESEARCH PROJECTS

Since the study of political populist rhetoric in the context of trade unions and social media networks is a new phenomenon in the South African political communication landscape, it is under-theorised, under-researched and under-documented. Therefore, more studies need to be undertaken in the following areas of political populist rhetoric:

- The use of populism as a communication strategy by South Africa's main political parties and/or politicians.

- A critical discourse analysis of populist communication strategy by trade unions in radio talk shows in South Africa.

- Impact assessment studies on the effects of populist communication on political engagements in South Africa.

- A mixed-method approach studies the analysis of persuasiveness of populist communication by trade unions.

- A critical discourse analysis of populist communication in social media environment.

7.7 CONCLUSION

This concluding chapter provided a discussion of the overall findings of the study. It summarised the findings based on its assumptions and goals. It also provided a section on the contributions and limitations of the study. Finally, it highlighted possible future research projects that could be tackled.

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