“Welcome back to South Africa, we’ve been waiting for you.”

Discursive roles of diasporic newspaper
The South African

Denise Hofman
Student number: 1944835
Master Journalism
University of Groningen (RUG)
Specialization: radio/TV
Supervisor and first reader: Dr. C. J. Peters
Second reader: Dr. A. Heinrich
16 August 2012
Abstract

Ethnic or diasporic media are often underestimated and underrepresented in journalism and communication studies. Their small niche audience prevents them from employing a team of professionally trained media workers and professional standards and presentation cannot compare to those of mainstream media outlets. Yet they are worthy of study as they thrive, while mainstream media are struggling. This thesis analyzes the discursive roles of The South African, a paper which caters for the South African community in London. It builds upon themes found in the literature on community media to investigate how this outlet provides detailed information about the homeland; acts as a source to help integration; promotes a sense of community; and crafts an identity around the South African diaspora in London. A sense of community is found in the use of the Afrikaans language and the possibility to attend meetings organized by the paper to meet with other South Africans who share a common history of living in South Africa, share similar experiences of emigrating, and share current challenges from living in the UK. The interplay of articles and advertisements construct the most important functions of this newspaper: promoting a sense of community and constructing a sense of not belonging in London. In this way, this thesis finds that diasporic media should not be equated to mainstream media in the sense that its main function and responsibility should be regarded as forging cultural pride and identity, instead of reporting facts and promoting “objectivity”.

Keywords: The South African, diaspora, ethnic and community media, community, belonging
# Table of contents

Introduction ........................................................................................................................................... 5

2 Diasporic identity and media .................................................................................................................. 9
  2.1 Thinking about migrant identities ..................................................................................................... 11
  2.2 Diasporic media .................................................................................................................................. 18
    2.2.1 Characteristics and dilemmas ......................................................................................................... 19
    2.2.2 Professional standards and journalistic practices ............................................................................ 21
    2.2.3 Discursive functions ....................................................................................................................... 22

3 Discourse analysis ................................................................................................................................. 27
  3.1 Discourse ........................................................................................................................................... 28
  3.2 The discourse of the news ................................................................................................................... 31
  3.3 Performing discourse analysis ............................................................................................................ 33
  3.4 Choices and sample ............................................................................................................................ 37
  3.5 The South African diaspora in London .............................................................................................. 38

4. *The South African*: format ....................................................................................................................... 41
  4.1 How SA appears within the pages of TSA .......................................................................................... 47

5. Issues of community and diaspora ......................................................................................................... 57
  5.1 Act as a source to help the integration of South Africans in London ................................................ 57
  5.2 Promoting a sense of community ........................................................................................................ 60
  5.3 Craft an identity around the South African diaspora in London ...................................................... 72
  5.4 Sense of not belonging ....................................................................................................................... 80

Results and Conclusion: The discourse of TSA and diasporic media ......................................................... 85

References .................................................................................................................................................. 89

The South African sample .......................................................................................................................... 89

Fout! Bladwijzer niet gedefinieerd.

Appendix 1: Ad from Five Oceans ........................................................................................................... 92

Appendix 2: Ad from Western Union ......................................................................................................... 93
List of figures

Figure 3.1: Sample of The South African ................................................................. 38
Figure 4.1: Sponsored page.................................................................................. 42
Figure 4.2: Advertising message........................................................................... 43
Figure 5.1: Legally Speaking ............................................................... .............................. 58
Figure 5.2: column in Afrikaans ......................................................................... 62
Figure 5.3: Biltong Taste Awards ........................................................................ 75
Introduction

From Arab American newspaper competition in rural Michigan to Hindi pop tunes anchoring Radio Asia in Tampa, Florida, the past decade has seen an inspiring spike in the number of national and local radio stations, newspapers, magazines, web portals, public and cable television networks catering to the America’s various ethnic communities. But paralleling this somewhat grassroots growth, ethnic media has become a major player aboveground as well, seen most noticeably with NBC’s 2002 acquisition of the national, 24-hour Telemundo network.¹

Over the course of the 20th century and into the new millennium, more and more people from so-called Third World countries relocated in more developed countries. These international migrants have access to media technologies that facilitate instant communication across borders, cultures and language. The technologies they use are cheaper, smaller and easier to use than before.² This has changed the dynamics of communication between immigrants and their homeland. The two trends – migration to developed countries and the access to cheap, small and easy media technologies for communication – help to explain the worldwide expansion of diasporic or ethnic media. This ongoing expansion makes them more significant to study, now more than ever. While newspapers and other media aimed at a general, mass audience are struggling, diasporic media thrive.

Nearly 60 million Americans now regularly get information from ethnically oriented TV, radio, newspapers, and Web sites, many of which are published or broadcast in languages other than English - and that number is on the rise. As mainstream newspapers and cable news channels in the United States are losing more money, readers, and viewers each year, ethnic media appears to be ‘maybe the most vibrant part’ of the media landscape, said pollster Sergio Bendixen, releasing the latest statistics today. ‘The ethnic media is growing, and it is growing at a very impressive rate.’³

Ethnic media is explained by Gutiérrez as “print, broadcast and digital media that reflect and reinforce a language, culture, religion, race, or ethnicity that is distinct from the dominant media of the host country.”⁴ I refer to these media as diasporic media to emphasize the nature of their existence and target audience. Diaspora refers to a group of people who are dispersed in space,

---
⁴ Gutiérrez, Journalism, 260.
oriented towards a homeland and feel they are different from the people in their host society.\(^5\) By calling the media specifically produced for them diasporic, it is immediately clear that it concerns (former) immigrants who feel connected or nostalgic towards their home country. Their media are considered to be neglected by journalism scholars. In an introduction to a special issue on ethnic media in *Journalism*, Gutiérrez writes:

Their [journalism and mass communication scholars] focus has been on journalism in the mass media, the print and broadcast media reaching (or attempting to reach) the majority of the people. Too often they have over-looked or underestimated the long-term presence and growth of class media, the media reaching (or attempting to reach) specific audience segments often identified by race, language, special interest, sexual orientation, gender, religion or other characteristics marginalized by the general audience norm.\(^6\)

Aiming at a minority audience, and not a general public, may be one of the reasons scholars have less interest in diasporic media. However, another reason could be that most diasporic media do not measure up to their mainstream counterparts in terms of journalistic standards and professionalism. These media are run like small business startups, where costs need to remain low. Therefore, they often rely on poorly-paid, casual, part-time reporters, freelancers and (student) volunteers. Few of them have journalistic experience or receive appropriate training and they see working at a diasporic medium as a stepping stone to their career. Besides not having the means, neither the media outlets staff nor the organizations see any point in investing in professionalization.\(^7\) What further makes them appear amateurish and community-like is their dependence on small and local advertisers.

Because of this lack of professionalization in many of the diasporic media outlets, it is not always considered to be ‘real’ journalism. In this sense, diasporic media have a common ground with tabloids. For a long time, tabloids were not fully respected in the journalistic field. They were considered second-rate newspapers, without containing any real news. Similarly, the diasporic media are not fully respected because of its niche audience and lesser resources to live up to the journalistic standards and professionalism of mainstream media. Despite tabloids garnering little respect in the journalistic field, they have become a subject of research to many scholars.\(^8\) In the 1980s and 90s, researchers started to investigate what attracted the audiences to the tabloid and the ‘inner

---


workings’ of the tabloid. Like the development of the scholarly attention to the tabloid, I argue that more attention should be paid to diasporic media and its functions.

One special issue of Journalism has contributed greatly to the body of research on diasporic media, however the majority of its focus is on media outlets in the USA. For this thesis, I analyze a diasporic newspaper in the UK which is relatively unknown. The South African (TSA) caters for the South African diaspora in London with a free, weekly newspaper and accompanying website. This paper was brought to my attention during a three month research period in London and has attracted my interest ever since. Like most diasporic media, which are targeted at smaller groups that are not catered for by the mainstream media, so too is The South African. South Africans are not a group with a strong collective ethnic presence, despite their large numbers. They are estimated to be with anywhere between 100,000 and one million residents in the London area alone. The South African, with 25,000 editions printed and many more being distributed through their weekly E-newsletter (21,000 subscribers) and a digital version on their website (average of 35,000 unique users monthly) provides in their own words “news to global South Africans”, but is mainly focused on London.⁹

This research aims to study the discursive roles of a diasporic newspaper in the South African diaspora in London, to contribute to the analysis of the overlooked and under-estimated diasporic media worldwide. There is some literature on the functions of diasporic media. For example, Subervi-Velez termed these media as performing a ‘dual role’, which refers to the fact that “ethnic media are tools of cultural preservation, and also at the same time agents of assimilation of ethnic minority audiences to the dominant mainstream culture and values.”¹⁰ These and other functions contribute to the discursive functions I analyze in The South African. Therefore, the research question is:

What discursive role(s) does The South African perform for its readership?

To answer this question, other sub-questions have been raised: What different discourses around 'South African-ness' and the London-based South African diaspora appear in The South African? How are these discourses crafted and presented within it? Do any specific discourses predominate? Does it try to create a sense of community or of belonging? If so, how?

The research question allows me to look into the assigned functions of diasporic media and to analyze them through discourse analysis. Also, the approach to migration that I use is a transnational, multilocal sense of belonging. This entails the idea that migrants have a sense of

belonging to multiple locations and countries, instead of just their host country or motherland. In *The South African* I analyze whether it creates a sense of belonging, without assuming this is just to South Africa or just to London/UK.

This thesis continues with a theoretical framework in chapter two. It defines the South African migrants in London as a diaspora. Theories on migration identities are discussed, from multiple identities to transnationalism and a transnational, multilocal sense of belonging. I consider the diaspora to be an imagined community, where the existence of newspapers creates a sense of belonging. From other research on diasporic papers, I draw four themes or functions to analyze in *The South African*. General characteristics of diasporic papers are also provided.

Chapter three explains my choice for the method of discourse analysis. It first explains what discourse analysis is. The analysis of news discourse specifically, forms another part of the chapter, demonstrating how discourses work within journalism. An insight into the process of performing discourse analysis follows. My method of sampling and other methodological choices are underpinned. Ending the chapter is a characterization of the South African diaspora in London.

Chapters four and five constitute the empirical part of the thesis. Chapter four is an introduction to *The South African* in order get a general idea of the lay-out and contents of the paper. Also, it gives an account on how TSA provides detailed information about the homeland and how South Africa (SA) appears within the pages of TSA. Issues of diaspora and community are presented in chapter five, where the remaining themes which consider the diaspora are discussed. Each section in this chapter analyzes one theme. So, there is a section on how TSA acts as a source of integration, how TSA promotes a sense of community, how TSA crafts an identity around the South African diaspora in London and how TSA creates a sense of not belonging to London. A summary of the results is provided in the following chapter in which the main question and sub questions of the thesis are answered. This chapter is combined with a conclusion on this research.

So with diasporic media taking in a greater piece of the media landscape, it becomes more relevant to journalism and media studies. No longer should ethnic or diasporic media be underestimated and underrepresented in media research, but be relevant because of its difference with mainstream media. Let us not forget that in a time where print media are struggling, diasporic media are more popular than ever.

---

2 Diasporic identity and media

I asked my children if I had changed since the ‘move’. They said I was useless for crying for six months in a row, becoming obsessed with everything South African and forcing them to try at least a dozen different rusk recipes that not even the ducks across the road would touch. I seemed to miss my maid more than I loved them. Every sentence began with ‘back home...’ and best of all was their concern for my new love affair with wine. Cheaper than Prozac I mumbled feebly. Don’t take it personally? Living in London and loving Africa is very personal. Embarking on a new life, a new destination, reaching a little further is the most personal you are ever going to get.

The changes that occur when we move from one country to another are immense. In the fragment above, taken from a column called ‘The Optimist’ in the diasporic newspaper The South African, the writer describes what she went through since her migration. She calls her migration “embarking on a new life, a new destination, reaching a little further.” The readers of this newspaper will probably recognize themselves in the picture painted in this particular column since they have experienced the move themselves. This research investigates the discursive roles of TSA, such as creating a sense of belonging or community among its readers and its role in providing news on the homeland, acting as a source of integration and crafting an identity around the South African diaspora in London.

In order to analyze the roles of a diasporic paper, it is necessary to know how its audience - the ethnic group, immigrants, expats or diaspora - can be theorized. For example, to study how a newspaper can create a sense of belonging amongst a group of immigrants, we first need to know what a sense of belonging is and secondly, how immigrants consider a sense of belonging and to what place or group this sense of belonging can apply (in the case of this thesis, South Africans in London).

A brief account is given in this chapter on how scholars have perceived the changes in identity of those migrating. It is important to know that with the changes described as globalization and all its accompanying developments (affordable journeys and technology to keep in touch with the homeland), theories have developed as well. From considering migration as a permanent, one-way movement, migration is now less unilateral and is theorized as such. Thinking about migrants’ identities has developed along similar lines. Ideas of fragmented identities have been augmented by theories on transnationalism and sense of belonging as concepts to investigate migrant identity issues.

This research is about a newspaper for the South African diaspora in London. It has not been researched before, but there are theories on the role of the media in such communities. A diaspora

---

12 TSA, 424, 10 (column ‘The Optimist’ by Karen De Villiers).
could be considered an imagined community as laid out by Benedict Anderson. He argues that newspapers play a significant role in creating and maintaining the imagined community. What exactly are the contents of such media and what roles do they play in diasporic communities? The research aims to contribute to the knowledge on diasporic papers, and its role in the migrant community it targets. It is therefore important to know what research has been done on the role of diasporic papers. Section 2.2 discusses the characteristics of other diasporic newspapers and the dilemmas that media workers face. It also looks at the professional standards and journalistic practices of diasporic papers as they tend to be different from majority, mass media. It is these dilemmas and professional standards and journalistic practices that make diasporic media less interesting as a research topic in journalism. Furthermore, it evaluates the discursive functions of diasporic papers to investigate roles that TSA might perform as well.

I refer to the group of South Africans in London as a diaspora, because it clearly indicates which group is meant. I find 'migrant' or 'ethnic groups' or 'communities' not specific enough. Diaspora is a term applied in academics as well as everyday use. In an overview of the development of the concept, Brubaker argues that the term diaspora can be applied to almost every group because of the broadening of the term over time: "essentially to any and every nameable population category that is to some extent dispersed in space." When so many groups can be labeled as diasporic our ability to use it as a concept with which we can analyze a specific group becomes difficult if it is not clearly delineated.

In the above definition, diaspora entails everyone and everything, from the Jewish diaspora to the ‘gay diaspora’. Therefore, Brubaker takes the term back to its three essential criteria in an attempt to restore its value: a diaspora must be dispersed in space, oriented towards a homeland and feel that they are different from the people in their host society. I refer to the South Africans in London as a diaspora, considering these criteria the term to me is clearer than 'migrant' or 'ethnic' or 'community'. The three criteria exactly describe the South Africans in London.

The term migrant refers to a person that moved from one place to another; usually it refers to moving to another country. What is missing here and what is in incorporated in the criteria of a diaspora is the orientation towards the homeland and feeling different from the people in their host society. "Ethnic group" describes a specific culturally defined group in a nation or region that contains others. Ethnic distinctions can be associated with language, religion, history, geography, kinship or 'race'. Although by this definition a homogeneous group of immigrants in terms of

---

14 Ibidem, 5-6.
religion could also fall under ‘ethnic’, concerning the group of South Africans in London it is most important to know and emphasize that they are migrants, that they are not in their home country, despite their diverse religious, historic and language backgrounds. Community, or community media is a broad term that also entails the papers from a specific village or district, independent of a diasporic group. So I will be referring to South Africans in London and their specific newspaper as diaspora or diasporic.

2.1 Thinking about migrant identities

Identity is constructed through attribution and ascription. Attribution is an internal, self-attributed part while ascription is defined by others. This internal and external dialectic is conditioned within specific social worlds. It holds for personal and collective identities, which should be seen as closely entangled with each other. Contemporary views on identity formation and change imply it is naïve and invalid to treat identities as homogenous, stable and unproblematic identities. Concerning migrants this is even more complicated. Literature on transnationalism underscores that migrants live in social worlds that stretch between, or are dually located in, physical places and communities in two or more countries. However, first the previous views on migration are discussed.

Researchers on migration have nearly always recognized that migrants keep various forms of contact with people and institutions in their countries of origin. An example of this is the correspondence and remittances of migrants that were practiced on a large scale in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Since research on migration started in the 1920s-1930s, the focus of research has been mainly on the integration, or lack thereof in the host country. However, this has changed in the past decade. The focus has shifted towards the attachment that remains between the migrant and its motherland, such as to family, community and tradition. This is the concept of transnationalism. A theory mentioned as early as 1916 by Bourne, but only in the last twenty years has it become a buzzword that appears in almost every migration study. This means that the term transnationalism is defined in various ways by different researchers.

In a review on transnationalism, Boccagni uses a working definition which emphasizes the relational, reciprocal and everyday-related bases of migrant transnationalism. "The diverse complex of the social relationships and practices developing at a distance (and of the identifications

underpinning them), through which migrants exert a significant, provable and reciprocal influence on non-migrants in the countries of origin.\textsuperscript{20} This definition has its focus on the influence of the migrant on its country of origin. In other words, the migrant ‘sends’ something to the people he or she left behind in the country of origin and this has a provable influence on the people in the motherland. Though the influence is seen as reciprocal, the definition by Boccagni emphasizes the influence on the people in the motherland.

Another way to look at transnationalism, is the influence on or the needs of the migrant itself. This is what Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton do. They propose a transmigrant view to study contemporary immigrant communities. They define transmigrants as “immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state.”\textsuperscript{21} While Boccagni’s working definition focuses on the influence of transnationalism on the people the migrant leaves behind in the country of origin, Schiller et al. emphasize the need of migrants to maintain the connections to the homeland and how they derive their public identity from this. Portes also focuses on the transnational migrant and its identity. He described transnational communities as follows:

\[
\text{[...]} \text{ dense networks across political borders created by immigrants in their quest for economic advancement and social recognition. Through these networks, an increasing number of people are able to live dual lives. Participants are often bilingual, move easily between different cultures, frequently maintain homes in two countries, and pursue economic, political and cultural interests that require their presence in both.}\textsuperscript{22}
\]

The transnational migrant lives a dual life, where he speaks multiple languages, and not longer has one ‘home’. This description emphasizes the attachment of migrants to both their country of origin and their host country, abandoning old visions on migration as a one-way, or two-way movement where a migrant moves from one place to another and possibly back again.\textsuperscript{23} Newer, cheaper and more efficient communication and transport technologies make it possible for migrants to maintain the relationships and interests both in the host country and the country of origin.

\textsuperscript{20} Boccagni, European Journal of Social Theory, 120.
Immigrants who keep identifying with the motherland as ‘home’, affect their own lives more than the lives of the people they leave behind. First, it provides consistency during their hardship overseas, where they might feel lost, or experience categorizations such as ‘immigrants’ or ‘foreigner’. Secondly, they think of their homeland as their final destination, even though it is unsure when, they do have plans to return one day.\textsuperscript{24} It gives them meaning and a sense of direction to the sacrifices they are making overseas.

More skeptic views on transnationalism focus on the fact that transnational activities – apart from remittances – are relatively infrequent, and that these activities are often facilitated by successful integration overseas. These studies focus on the integration of the immigrant and the tangible aspects of transnationalism. Remittances can be traced, and so can other activities such as calling, internet connections, writing letters, visiting etcetera. This view stresses transmigration as something a migrant does, while transnationalism is also theorized as migrants’ feelings and views on their identity. It is a very basic understanding of the concept, while it can mean so much more to migration research.

Reviewing transnationalism, Boccagni concludes the way to move forward with the term is to make a cognitive turn. The transnational should not be understood as a noun (transnationalism), but as an adjective (transnational)– “that is, as a social attribute (or even an asset) which may apply and be enacted to different degrees, depending on other variables which turn into the real focus of analysis.”\textsuperscript{25} This thesis will follow this thinking, applying transnationalism as an adjective to identity or migrant, thus creating a transnational identity or transnational migrant.

Furthermore, the definition Portes gives on transnational migrants is also important to the understanding of transnationality. According to Portes, transnational migrants are often bilingual, move easily between cultures and frequently have homes in two countries. This does not hold for all migrants, but Portes describes a certain type of migrants, distinguishing how different contemporary immigrants can be from earlier immigrants. Most important to me is the definition Schiller et al. propose, which indicates migrants have a need to maintain ties to their homeland and that their identities are derived from more than one country. This definition incorporates the perspective of the migrant itself, which is crucial in analyzing The South African.

Transmigrants develop and maintain all kinds of relations that span borders. Diasporic communities, hybridized cultures and labor mobility have made the movements and settlements of


immigrants much more complex to study. Transnationalism, translocational positionality and a transnational, multilocal sense of belonging are among concepts and theories that help understand this complexity.

Some ways of communicating with the migrants' motherland are longstanding, yet today's linkages are different from and more intense than previous forms. The transnationalism approach to migration explains why and how this changed. This obviously mentions the rapid development of communication and travel technologies. Shifting economic and political circumstances in both sending and receiving countries have also contributed to this. These changes include an increase in the political organization of migrants, since sending countries have developed a more positive view on their emigrants and the impact of remittances on local economies.

Transnationalism has significant economic, social and cultural and political impacts. Economically, the most important is the massive flow of remittances migrants send to families and communities in the motherland. On the social and cultural fields, many migrant communities maintain intense bonds and exchange marriage partners, religious activities, media and the consumption of commodities. Political effects have far-reaching consequences through which sovereign nation-states are criss-crossed and undermined by transnational actors.

Older migration theories, in an effort to understand the connections migrants still maintain to the home country, but also to understand the new 'identity' of the migrant in the host country, developed ideas on shifting, fragmented and multiple identities. These are the ideas in which persons are composed not of one, but of several, sometimes contradictory, identities. Hall explains these perspectives: “the subject assumes different identities at different times, identities which are not unified around a coherent 'self'. Within us are contradictory identities, pulling in different directions so that our identifications are continually being shifted about.” This view of identity considers people to have different identities at different times.

These multi-layered notions of identity all treat identity as something a person has, as a possession. These notions further regard identity as something that is fixed, instead of dynamic, and also as something that can be counted: multiple suggests there are more than one, often they are named and labeled. In the case of migrants it is often assumed they have multiple identities in the sense that they have an identity corresponding with the identity they had in their home country and they have a 'new' identity, because they live in a new country.

---


Migrants are positioned in three ‘places’ and their intersection: the society of migration, the homeland and the migrant group.29 Referring to the migrant’s identity fixes the migrant in time, space and process. Anthias therefore introduces the concept of translocational positionality. It can best be understood when the two words are explained separately. Positionality is how people place themselves within a set of relations and practices that implicate identification and ‘performativity’ or action. It includes both the social positioning (as a process) and social position (as an outcome). A migrant goes through the process of social positioning when there is self-attribution and ascription by others. The outcome of this is the social position. So the process of individuals placing themselves within a set of relations and practices and the outcome of social positioning are what is meant by positionality. Simply put, it is where people place themselves in society, this constantly changes.

Translocational refers to the complexity of people “at the interplay of a range of locations and dislocations in relation to gender, ethnicity, national belonging, class and racialization.”30 Combined with positionality, the meaning of translocational positionality is:

The claims and attributions that individuals make about their position in the social order of things, their views of where and to what they belong (and to what they do not belong) as well as an understanding of the broader social relations that constitute and are constituted in this process.31

With translocational positionality, Anthias argues that the concept of identity as a heuristic tool does not grasp the contradictory, located and positional aspects of constructions of belonging and otherness. Translocational positionality is told by narratives of location or dislocation, “a story about how we place ourselves in terms of social categories such as those of gender, ethnicity and class at a specific point in time and space.”32 This tool allows a researcher to think of issues related to identity as a process, explained through a narrative that is never finished. The process of positioning is continuous and therefore neither is the narrative. The narrative is a story on how we place ourselves at a specific point in time and space. It changes constantly. This way of thinking about identity, specifically that of migrants, thus goes further than assigning identities to migrants and helps keep an open mind about migrants’ identities. Translocational positionality as a concept thus applies to stories about migrants’ identities. To analyze a diasporic newspaper a different approach is needed.

Cheng uses to idea of a transnational, multilocal sense of belonging in analyzing a Cantonese diasporic paper published in Vancouver. She applies Beck’s notion of place polygamy to understand

---

31 Anthias, Ethnicities, 491.
32 Ibidem, 498.
the relationship between immigrants and their sense of belonging to multiple places. According to Cheng, immigrants should be seen as multilocals: in several places at once.\textsuperscript{33} A sense of belonging is created when people share common spaces and resources. Newspapers are particularly significant in creating an imagined community of solidarity and familiarity through their daily chronicles of social events.\textsuperscript{34}

Cheng claims that immigrants who stay in touch with their homeland, either by travelling or by thinking about it, feel like they belong to more than one place at the same time. "When immigrants travel frequently, both physically and symbolically, back and forth between a host society and a homeland, there emerges a new sense of locality that transcends the polarity between the place of origin and the place of residence."\textsuperscript{35} The concept of a sense of belonging is also used by Anthias as a way to get people to narrate about their identity. A narration of belonging is a story on how people see themselves in relation to their home and host societies. So besides being an analytical tool, a sense of belonging can also be applied to everyday use. By asking about a sense of belonging, Anthias gets her respondents to talk about their identity in relation to being a migrant. Also, with interviewees narrating about their sense of belonging and sense of not belonging, Anthias realizes that the interview data could not be analyzed by the concept of identity, but by the idea of translocational positionality.

Sense of belonging is thus both used as an analytical tool and as a way to talk about identity in relation to being a migrant. However, because it is such an everyday expression and emotionally people understand what is meant by it, it means that there are virtually no definitions of it. What might come close to describing a sense of belonging is one of the components of a sense of community: membership. Membership is regarded as when the members of the community actually feel like they belong to the group and to each other. People can have a sense of belonging to their families, community, country or town. A sense of belonging is the feeling of being accepted and connected by, for example family or a community.\textsuperscript{36}

Tufte examines the relationship between media consumption and the sense of belonging among Norrebro minority youth in Denmark. According to him, immigrants develop a multilayered sense of belonging as a result of modern communication. Minority youth have shared media experiences with mainstream Danish youth, which consist mainly of American television programs.

\textsuperscript{33} Cheng, \textit{Journal of Communication Inquiry}, 141.
\textsuperscript{34} G. Pocius, \textit{A Place to Belong: Community Order and Everyday Space in Calvert, Newfoundland.} (Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000).
\textsuperscript{35} Cheng, \textit{Journal of Communication Inquiry}, 146.
\textsuperscript{36} \url{http://www.ehow.com/facts_5768628_sense-belonging_.html} 09-07-2012.
The minority youth additionally watch programs on the homeland and ethnicity. Tufte argues that these minority youth are "producing many, not just one, sense of belonging."\(^{37}\)

A diasporic newspaper could also create a sense of community among its readers. A sense of community can be defined as:

A feeling that the members of a community have in relation to their belonging to a community, a feeling that members worry about each other and that the group is concerned about them, and a shared faith that the needs of the members will be satisfied through their commitment of being together.\(^{38}\)

McMillan further develops this theory of a sense of community with Chavis. Together they describe four components of a sense of community. These elements are: membership, influence, integration and shared emotional connections.\(^{39}\) Membership is when members of the community actually feel like they belong to the group and to each other. Influence is a sense that the individual is important and that the group matters to the individual. Integration includes a sense of trust that the community can meet the needs of its members. Shared emotional connection is the sense that the community members "share a common history and similar experiences."\(^{40}\)

These four components can help establish whether \textit{The South African} creates a sense of community for its readers and how. Bathum and Baumann for example conclude in their research on immigrant Latinas in the USA, that sharing their sense of loss and transitional experiences helps immigrant Latinas form bonds in their new community. Shared emotional connection is what helps them create a sense of community among each other.\(^{41}\)

Thinking about migration has thus developed from considering it a permanent, one-way movement to ideas on transnationalism, regarding migrants as having social worlds in two or more countries. Furthermore, the focus on integration or lack thereof has also shifted to studying the attachment that remains between the migrant and its motherland. This theory uses transnationalism as an adjective, thus creating the concepts of transnational identity and transnational migrant. What


\(^{41}\) Bathum and Baumann, \textit{Family & Community Health}, 172.
is most important about the idea of transnationalism, is to recognize the need of migrants to maintain ties to their homeland and that their identities derive from their ‘transnationalism’.

The idea of translocational positionality allows a researcher to view identity as a process, instead of a possession as is done by theories on multiple and fragmented identities. The narrative of how we place ourselves at a specific point in time and place changes constantly. However, to analyze a diasporic newspaper another approach is also important: that of a transnational, multilocal sense of belonging.

A sense of belonging is the feeling of being accepted by and connected to for instance family or a community. Immigrants can have a sense of belonging to multiple places at the same time, which is meant by a transnational, multilocal sense of belonging. A sense of community has four components: membership, influence, integration and shared emotional connections.

Media play a large role in creating and maintaining the imagined community of a diaspora. In the next section, the importance and the role of diasporic media are discussed. I derive many different roles diasporic media perform from previous researches on other diasporic media to determine which roles The South African could perform and how.

2.2 Diasporic media

Nations – like all other communities that are larger than face-to-face groups – are what Anderson calls ‘imagined communities’. Members of even the smallest nations do not know the majority of their fellow-citizens, do not meet, do not hear from one another. And yet they are convinced that they belong to a unique national community. Despite the internal differences, like inequality and exploitation, the nation is always seen as a deep, horizontal comradeship, and according to Anderson, “it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings.”

Anderson argues that the written press is a means to spread nationalism. In a complex industrial society, people can never have a personal experience of what it is like to live with their entire community. Newspapers, since their existence, have contributed to readers’ awareness of millions of other readers who have their language and nation in common: “each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion.”

Newspapers help reproduce a national sense of belonging over large geographical areas, because

43 Anderson, Imagined Communities, 35.
readers are encouraged to imagine fellow readers consuming the same issues in the same way at the same time and therefore they feel connected. “The newspaper reader, observing exact replicas of his own paper being consumed by his subway, barbershop or residential neighbors, is continually reassured that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life.”

Furthermore, people who read the same sources witness the same events. This means that people at great distances from each other get a feeling of shared experiences and membership of the same community. Also, by reading a newspaper people can know what happened in a specific area without having witnessed it. Newspapers therefore spread nationalism. Most importantly is the fact that newspapers cover local/provincial news as well as world news. By reading about local and worldly events, newspapers produce an awareness of the existence of other nation-states and create an in- and an outgroup: ‘us versus them’. This reinforces nationalism.

A sense of belonging is also created when people share common spaces and resources. Newspapers are very important in the creation of an imagined community of solidarity and familiarity through their daily accounts of social events. They are active agents in forming our sensibility of locality.

“Diasporic identities are ‘imagined’ and diasporas constitute ‘imagined communities’ where the sense of belonging is socially constructed on the basis of an equally ‘imagined’ common origin, mythic past, or diasporic condition.” Many authors agree that media technologies and diasporic media become crucial factors in the reproduction and transformation of diasporic identities. Diasporic media function as one of the principal vehicles of socialization and communication within diasporic communities. Together with religious and cultural organizations, it is one of the most important and vital institutions that maintain the ethnicity of the immigrant. But what are diasporic media like? How do they differ from mainstream media?

2.2.1 Characteristics and dilemmas

Most diasporic newspapers depend on advertising revenues. Chinese newspapers for the diaspora in Australia are mostly free, containing little more than advertisements for goods and services that target the Chinese-speaking consumers. Many Chinese consumers rely on these free newspapers, because it is their main source of news, being as they are free, easily accessible and in their own

---

44 Ibidem, 35-36.
45 Pocius, A Place to Belong: Community Order and Everyday Space in Calvert, Newfoundland.
47 Müller and Van Gorp, Media and Diaspora Project 2009-2011, 9.
The Chinese community in Australia is large and dispersed, which makes it a good environment for diasporic newspapers. However, the average life span of a Chinese paper is a few weeks to a few months, with the exception of some well-read papers.

Finance is an important issue to diasporic media. Linked to finance is the revenue-generating capacity of its audience. Diasporic media have trouble finding sufficient advertisers, because of the perceived lower disposable income of its audience. There is then a tension between expanding and broadening the potential audience and meeting the demands of managers and owners to address the needs and interests of a specific ethnic audience.

Majority media organizations define their purpose through the possibility to accurately specify their target audience. The audiences of minority diasporic media are typically scattered among age, gender, class and political affiliations. With a defined, but scattered audience, the ethnic media in combination with their economic restraints may have no other choice but to serve a broad, general audience who have their ethnic background in common.

To reach the broadest audience possible, choices about the language the medium uses are influential. Many diasporic communities are significantly fragmented by internal diversity, such as language. "For example, the Sámi peoples of northern Europe have a relatively small total population, but are fragmented by a number of language communities." And in South Africa there is a similar problem as there are eleven official languages. From an economic point of view, solving this language issue is problematic. Choosing one or two languages that are expected to generate the largest audience, will neglect members of the diaspora who do not speak either language. For the staff of minority ethnic media, the economic perspective of trying to create a maximum profit by appealing to a broad audience may conflict with their goals of contributing to the cultural and political vitality of the ethnic group they are part of.

A key feature in terms of resources is the issue of staffing levels. Diasporic media, specifically in Europe through the absolute size and internal diversity, cater for a specific audience that can only sustain a very small staff group. One way to resolve this issue is to pair up with a parent company in the motherland. In this way, the ethnic media have a system of cross-subsidization with the parent company. In turn, the parent company reduces the freedom of local professionals to decide on their content. The diasporic media organization will have to promote a particularly diasporic sensitivity in which the concerns and politics of the motherland will be emphasized. The younger generation within the diaspora might not be pleased with this emphasis as they have less recollection and

---

49 Sun et al., *Media International Australia*.
51 Ibidem, 462-463.
52 Ibidem, 468.
53 Idem.
therefore less affinity to their homeland. Some of them are born in the country of current residence. The imposed view of the parent company creates an audience fragmentation based on generational differences in the immigrant community, essentially created by the diasporic media.54

Another issue concerning resources of diasporic media is the recruitment and preservation of qualified media professionals. Where majority media seldom have a problem recruiting and retaining staff, for minority media the class and educational levels of young people from ethnic communities are often not high enough to get into the media industries. For diasporic papers it is even more difficult to get media professionals that write in a language that is historically suppressed.

2.2.2 Professional standards and journalistic practices

As mentioned before, these diasporic media often lack the funds to hire professionals and depend heavily on advertisers and therefore are sometimes forced to serve a broad, general audience or allow a parent company to influence its contents. Also, it is interesting to examine whether these media use the same practices, such as values and beats, as traditional journalism.

To provide an alternative discourse to the mainstream media in Canada, diasporic media promote a positive self-image of black people, by providing their audience with stories of new businesses and stories on successful black people in their community. It sends a positive and empowering message of self-confidence and faith in the community’s ability to start changing their circumstances. Ojo describes how negative news and crises in the community are also covered, but not in the regular articles: “there are usually editorials and columns that put the ‘crisis’ issues or community ‘problems’ in perspective in an attempt to have community dialogue and resolution on these ‘problems’.”55 This newspaper is free and left at stores and shops run by blacks, the city hall and black community centers. Ethnic papers in Canada are all distributed in such a way. Although this paper wants to provide an alternative discourse to mainstream media, its political and cultural influence is limited because of its small circulation and the places of distribution. The Montreal Community Contact reaches its own community, but few others to really make a change in people’s thinking.

In terms of their journalistic standards and professionalism, Chinese diasporic media in Australia do not measure up against other media outlets. They are run like small businesses and therefore it is important to them to keep the costs low. “Most of them are inadequately resourced, relying on poorly paid, mostly casual and part-time staff reporters, freelancers and student

54 Idem.
55 Ojo, Journalism, 356.
volunteers.” In this case, many of the part-timers or freelancer workers have few other options, because their English is inadequate to work for an English-language media outlet. They have little or no media experience and do not receive adequate training. Most of the staff see working for this diasporic medium as a stepping stone in their further career. As a consequence, neither the media organization nor the media workers at Chinese diasporic media see the point of investing in staff professional development.

2.2.3 Discursive functions

What functions or roles do diasporic media perform? In literature on diasporic media two functions are frequently mentioned: cultural preservation and assimilation. Assimilation is the process by which the minority (diaspora) adapts to the patterns and norms of its host culture. Researchers believe these contradicting functions are often performed in the same newspaper, radio station or television program, this is why it is called the ‘dual role’ of diasporic media.

Assimilation, also referred to as integration into the new society, is performed by providing local news and other information the immigrant can use in the new country. Crucial, practical information can be found in some diasporic papers that help the new migrant in many ways. In Chinese-language newspapers and magazines in Australia for example, Chinese immigrants can read practical information about new rules and regulations regarding immigration, how the Australian health-care system works, what kinds of health insurance overseas students can purchase, routine procedures and protocols they must know in renting a property or how to prepare for job interviews. All these topics promote the assimilation of the Chinese into their new society. Information on the involvement of diasporic community members in politics and coverage of the relationship between the native homeland and the host country also contribute to assimilation.

The preservation of the cultural identity of the diaspora is accomplished by providing detailed information about the homeland. Most diasporic media provide updates on the homeland concerning politics, sports, business etcetera. It makes it easy for immigrants to keep up to date with current events in their homeland. In large scale research on Asian and Latino newspapers in Los Angeles, Lin and Song found that a majority of the stories focused on news from the homeland. Only

---

56 Idem.
57 Kottak, Anthropology: The Exploration of Human Diversity, 375.
58 Ojo, Journalism, 353.
60 Viswanath and Arora, Mass Communication and Society, 54.
a small part of diasporic newspapers reports on the host country or region. Stories about the specific ethnic group at the local level only comprised 17 percent of all stories in the ethnic papers.\(^{61}\)

Preservation is especially accomplished through diasporic media presented in the mother tongue of the immigrant. According to Sun et al., migrant groups who speak a different language from the people in their new country, assign a more central role in their cultural lives to diasporic papers than migrant groups who do speak the language of their new country.\(^{62}\) The diasporic media are, after all, provided in their mother tongue which is natural to them, whereas the language of the host country is new and has to be learnt. Diasporic media are one of the few elements they can understand in the beginning and are a reminder of their life at home as well. In light of this, it is also argued that being able to access news and entertainment in their own language helps immigrants to understand their ‘new’ home.\(^{63}\)

For immigrants from the former Soviet Union in Israel, for example, the media in the mother tongue “created a symbolic bridge between the interviewees’ previous life in the FSU and their new life in Israel, providing them with a sense of comfort and stability in a stormy sea of immigration.”\(^{64}\) Elias’ research concludes that despite that the immigrants did not speak Hebrew sufficiently and their relatively short time in Israel, they do not feel detached or disoriented in their new country because of the diasporic media who provides news in the mother tongue.

Contrarily, they are well informed on Israeli current events through their use of Russian-language media. Even news from the former Soviet Union, that is supposed to strengthen the sense of belonging to the homeland, is viewed by immigrants through Israeli society’s national interests. The immigrants’ loyalty lies fully in their new home.\(^{65}\) This demonstrates the dual role of cultural preservation and assimilation that is assigned to diasporic media and it shows that a characteristic such as news in the mother tongue can have opposite effects of what is expected. In this study, media in the mother tongue encourage and contribute to the integration and incorporation of Russian immigrants into the Israeli society.

So far, we have discussed the dual role of diasporic media, of assimilation and preservation. There are also researchers who argue that diasporic media have a triple function. According to Viswanath and Arora diasporic media serve three functions: information, assimilation and identity reinforcement.\(^{66}\) The second function they mention is the same as mentioned in the ‘dual role’ of diasporic media. The information function is obvious but also vague in this account because it is not

\(^{61}\) Lin and Song, *Journalism*, 375.

\(^{62}\) Sun et al., *Media International Australia*, 137-148.


\(^{64}\) Nelly Elias, "Russian-speaking immigrants and their media: still together?" *Israeli Affairs* 17 (2011): 77.


specified what kind of information is meant. Information on the homeland is regarded as promoting cultural preservation, while information on local news and practical information promote the integration of the immigrant. Identity reinforcement then, should be seen as cultural preservation.

How can diasporic media create a sense of belonging or a sense of community? Elias’ research shows that a Russian-language medium in Israel provides the immigrants partly with news which originated from the Former Soviet Union. According to Elias, this news on the homeland is meant to strengthen the sense of belonging to the homeland. A Cantonese newspaper in Vancouver, Canada, creates a sense of belonging to Vancouver by mentioning specific local places (street names, etc.) in the headlines and news articles of Ming Pao. This evokes a sense of familiarity and proximity. It gives readers a sense of participation, because they can picture the streets and other places in their heads. “By addressing the readers as local participants who presumably know the places, the mentioning of street names is the materialization of a neighborhood.”

A diasporic news medium can act as a community ‘guard’, identifying threats from the external environment. Creating a sense of community also comes through positive news messages. The medium can also act as a community booster, providing information on the success of members of the diasporic community in the host society.

It is seen as diasporic media’s responsibility to promote a sense of community and to forge cultural pride and identity through these media. Sun et al. perceive this role of a cultural broker or representative as more important for diasporic media than the role of independent reporter. Diasporic media also provide a time and place for cultural expressions and folklore, which they usually cannot arrange in mainstream media. Cultural expressions and folklore binds a community together and gives them a sense of belonging.

The Chinese papers in Australia give information about the Chinese community in Australia, such as where to find Chinese language schools and Chinese social and business networks. A large personal ads section goes from jobs to finding potential marriage partners. Another characteristic is the large amount of wedding announcements, funerals announcements, business openings and the names of people participating in any of these activities. In this way, the diasporic paper is the community.

Diasporic papers can also play the role of painting a different picture from mainstream media in a country. This is the case for some of the diasporic media in Canada. Some of the black media

---

68 Idem.
69 Sun et al., *Media International Australia*, 143.
70 Ojo, *Journalism*, 343-361.
71 Sun et al., *Media International Australia*.
outlets, such as *Montreal Community Contact*, are founded because black people feel underrepresented, misrepresented and invisible in the regular media. Moran demonstrates that the Hispanic television station *KBNT* in San Diego is mainly created because of underrepresentation of Hispanic people in English language media. Latinos look for Spanish-language programming to see entertainment and news which is relevant to their reality. Latinos are also extremely underrepresented in English-language news broadcasts and when they are featured, it is mostly in stories on crime and immigration issues.\(^{73}\) Canada’s media is monopolized by a few white conservative men and the media operate in a systemic stereotyping way. A fragment of the *Toronto Sun*’s columns and editorials illustrates this: “One cannot come out and say that these awful riots are caused by Black people who seem to be subhuman in their total lack of civility.”\(^{74}\) Because of this stereotyping, the diasporic media in Canada and San Diego make their own news and reportages which show the cultural diversity and airs in different ethnic languages, although English is the main language.\(^{75}\) In this sense, these media craft an identity around the diaspora, it reflects who they are as a group.

Previous researches into diasporic media show that they can perform multiple and contradicting functions at the same time. The most obvious and most mentioned are the assimilation and cultural preservation functions. Assimilation or integration is performed by providing local news and other information the immigrant can use in the new country. It has also been argued that news on their host country in their own language promotes assimilation. Detailed information on the homeland is given to preserve the cultural identity of the diaspora.

Diasporic media can create a sense of belonging or a sense of community in many ways. Providing news from the homeland can strengthen the sense of belonging to the homeland. A sense of familiarity and proximity is also created by mentioning specific local places which the immigrants presumably knows. Diasporic media can act as a community ‘guard’, identifying threats from the external environment. The medium can also act as a community booster, providing information on the success of members of the diasporic community in the host society.\(^{76}\)

A sense of community is further created when the diasporic medium is the only outlet for the diaspora to display cultural pride. Diasporic media provide communication platforms through ads and announcements of meetings. And finally, diasporic media craft an identity around the diaspora, by making news and reportages which show the cultural diversity of the diaspora.

The next chapter provides insight into the method used for the research: discourse analysis. It explains decisions made concerning the actual analysis. The chapter first investigates discourse and discourse analysis; a broad scientific field that looks closely at language in its social context. Then, I

\(^{73}\) Moran, *Journalism*, 392.
\(^{75}\) Ojo, *Journalism*, 343-361.
\(^{76}\) Idem.
explain the news discourse: news is presented in such a way that it seems natural and common sense to us, although it is a representation of reality. But how to go about performing discourse analysis? To this, I devote a section of the chapter. Handbooks and guides provide some pointers of what to look for in analysis and what approach fits with being a discourse analyst. I also include an exemplary study of a discourse analysis on nationalism in British tabloids by Martin Conboy. The chapter is concluded by an account which characterizes the South African diaspora in London.
3 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis provides an appropriate method to research the discursive functions The South African performs for its readership. It looks at texts and its language use to discover the discourses in those texts. It analyses which representations of the social world predominate, what kind of interactions media texts set up between people and the world and between the powerful and the rest. It also analyses how meaning is made differently in different media texts and therefore what different ways of thinking can be found there. 

I use a form of discourse analysis which is more descriptive than critical, as it stays focused on a diasporic paper and its meaning to its readers, while critical discourse analysts, like Van Dijk, aim to show how social inequality is reproduced through the media and reveal the forms of domination that is reflected within it; critical discourse analysis "should deal primarily with the discourse dimensions of power abuse and the injustice and inequality that result from it." 

A nation and a diasporic community are both imagined communities. Research on them in the media has many substantive similarities, such as the significant role of newspapers in them and the importance of rhetoric in analysis. Some corresponding techniques and rhetoric found in studies on nationalistic discourse can also be applied to this research, such as Conboy’s research on nationality in British tabloids, and also Billig’s approach to ‘banal’ nationalism in news reports. 

Billig argues that nationalism may be reproduced by mediated discourse in ways that go unnoticed. “The metonymic image of banal nationalism is not a flag which is being consciously waved with fervent passion; it is the flag hanging unnoticed on the public building.” The use of words, the way of writing, the advertisements, the images – all of which are elements considered in these types of studies – can help us to investigate how The South African creates and narrates a transnational, multilocal sense of belonging. 

This chapter first investigates discourse and discourse analysis; a broad scientific field that looks closely at language in its social context. Then, it explains news discourse: news is presented in such a way that it seems natural and common sense to us, although it is a representation of reality. The world is constructed and understood through discourse. But how to go about performing discourse analysis? To answer this, section 3.3 considers handbooks and guides to provide some pointers of what to look for in analysis and what approach fits with doing discourse analysis. Much of this section is also based upon an exemplary study of a discourse analysis on nationalism in British

79 Conboy, Tabloid Britain, 39.
tabloids by Martin Conboy, which relates closely to the study I conduct. Conboy’s method has inspired the analysis and presentation of the results of this thesis, because many similarities are found between the analysis of nationalism in tabloids and discursive functions in a diasporic newspaper.

As is important in a methodological chapter, I explain and motivate some of the choices I made concerning the selection of the material, the sample. It also gives an insight into my choice for this subject. The chapter concludes with a brief characterization of the South African diaspora in London, in order to get an idea of this group as the audience of The South African.

3.1 Discourse

Many who practice discourse analysis are linguists, but there are anthropologists or psychologists who engage in discourse analysis as well. It is also extensively applied in journalism studies.\(^1\) There is no one version or definition of discourse analysis, therefore it is often described in general terms: the study of language and its social effects. For this thesis, I rely on the meaning of discourse and discourse analysis as described by Matheson. A culture, the shared ideas of what is real, interesting, beautiful, moral and other meanings that are attached to the world, is created by each and every member of that culture and by institutions like the media and existing ideas. “Discourse analysis of the media allows us to describe and assess this sharing of meaning in close detail. It analyses which representations of the social world predominate. It analyzes what kinds of interactions media texts set up between people and the world and between the powerful and the rest.”\(^2\) It also analyzes how meaning is made differently in different media texts, and therefore what different ways of seeing and thinking can be found there.

This more ‘descriptive’ side of discourse analyses aims to analyze language in order to understand it. Teun van Dijk is considered to be the first scholar who provided a systematic exploration of mediated language, using methods from different fields, such as linguistics, anthropology, psychology and speech communication.\(^3\) Different from linguistics, discourse analysis looks at cohesion and the context of words and sentences on various levels.

Although discourse analysis has some of its roots in linguistics and conversation analysis, they are quite different. Discourse analysts look at language in its social contexts, while linguists take language itself as the starting point and the primary sphere of analysis. Conversation analysts only

---

\(^1\) See for example Teun van Dijk, *News analysis: Case studies of international and national news in the press*; Anne O'Keeffe, *Investigating media discourse* and Donald Matheson, *Media discourses: Analysing media texts*.


analyze naturally occurring conversations, whereas discourse analysis also includes texts in a broader sense and unnatural conversations such as research interviews.\(^84\) For this research, discourse analysis is appropriate to research *The South African* to look at the influence it has in social contexts, on the South African diaspora.

Van Dijk combined text linguistics, narrative analysis, stylistics and rhetorical analysis to analyze the various levels of text. It incorporates analyses taken from structural and generative linguistics: “grammatical description of phonological, morphological, syntactic, or semantic structures of isolated words, word groups or sentences. Discourses also have more complex, higher-level properties, such as coherence relations between sentences, overall topics, and schematic forms, as well as stylistic and rhetorical dimensions.”\(^85\) The ‘texts’ in discourse analysis are monological, printed or spoken. It also includes dialogues. Media discourses are thus analyzed from a more general perspective as well as their more distinctive organization. A news report in the press can then be analyzed by describing the structures and functions of headlines or leads, as well as its style, ordering and thematic organization.

Van Dijk refers to discourse as the language patterns that are associated with social action and the ways in which people interact in real situations.\(^86\) Using discourse analysis, one can investigate how social relations and processes are constructed through routine practices at a micro level. These practices include everyday conversations, books, newspapers, television, advertising and so on.

His approach was based on an unequal power distribution in society. He “provided a highly interdisciplinary theoretical and methodological approach to language and language use that was concerned primarily with group-based forms of inequality in the news.”\(^87\) The focus on inequality in society and the news is associated with critical discourse analysis, a subdivision of discourse analysis, with Van Dijk as the founder. Critical discourse analysts believe that newsmakers can never evade the power structures underlying news making. The definitions, interpretations and inferences of the powerful are embedded, to varying degrees, into the “everyday” language of the public. A “consensus of values” is practically the same as “the interests of the powerful”, voices which tend to be over-accessed by news organizations.\(^88\) In this way, Van Dijk shows that news is still imbued by racism, nationalism and sexism. Only the elite with access to the content and structure of public

discourse can control and maintain the formation and reproduction of their own ideologies. Critical discourse analysis demonstrates this and takes an activist stance: “ultimately, its success is measured by its effectiveness and relevance, that is, by its contribution to change.”  

Discourse analysis could be viewed as less activist than critical discourse analysis, still recognizing the inequality in power distribution, but focusing on the relation between language and culture rather than power structures. This thesis uses the methodological approach of discourse analysis, rather than critical discourse analysis. It takes ideas of Van Dijk, but this research is not directed at uncovering how inequality in society is supported in a diasporic newspaper by the language it uses on for instance gender or race. The focus of this research is on the discursive functions of TSA performs for its readers. Critical discourse analysis is too broad and activist for this research.

I use descriptive discourse analysis as a method to look at *The South African* to describe and assess the culture and representations within it. The newspaper targets the South African diaspora in London, so the question is what representations of South Africa, London, and the South African community in London can be found inside TSA? Twelve editions of TSA are analyzed on different levels: on words, sentences, but also on style, ordering and thematic organization. Discourses namely have more complex, higher-level properties, such as coherence relations between sentences, overall topics and schematic forms, as well as stylistic and rhetorical dimensions. These are further discussed in section 3.3 on how to do discourse analysis.

As noted in the previous chapter, national identities and a sense of belonging have some interfaces in research. National identities are discursively, by means of language and other semiotic systems, produced, reproduced, transformed and destructed. “The idea of a specific national community becomes reality in the realm of convictions and beliefs through reifying, figurative discourses continually launched by politicians, intellectuals and media people and disseminated through the systems of education, schooling, mass communication, militarization as well as through sports meetings.”  

This research is directed at how the media work in constructing discourses. Matheson explains how discourse works in the media in ways that go unnoticed: 

> Journalists, talkshow hosts, soap opera script writers, among others, all seek to construe the world in ways that will make sense to the wider public, mixing together specialist voices and translating them into common knowledge. […] The seemingly a-political, no-nonsense, common-sense view of

---


“everyone” is more often than not the view of those with most power in society to impose their perspectives, and to make them appear natural and beyond dispute.91

So analysis of language use in media, such as the vocabulary, is often used to collect evidence about power relations at the core of the culture of that particular language. Critical linguists therefore suggest that journalists and other people working in the media can never evade the power structures behind the language we use. The powerful impose their ideas on society, described by Gramsci as the ‘hegemonic’ power. The ruling class is able to convince the rest of us in society that their ideas, their way of thinking is right, while the ideas of the ruling class are designed to maintain the unequal distribution of resources in society. Hegemony is constantly contested though. Therefore, common sense should be theorized as “the site upon which the hegemonic rules of practical conduct and norms of moral behavior are reproduced and – crucially – also challenged and resisted.”92 Hegemony is constantly struggled over, but gives the powerful – those who have material power - the power to impose their ideas on society.

Hegemony is found everywhere, and therefore also in The South African and within the South African diaspora in London. By looking at the diasporic identity in TSA, when the diaspora is more or less forced to follow the South African identity of being in South Africa, this could be perceived as hegemony. The ‘powerful’ coming from South Africa, impose their ideas on South Africans in London that they should follow the South African identity, in other words: cultural preservation in TSA could come from hegemonic groups in South Africa.

3.2 The discourse of the news

Much of what we know about the world around us, comes to us through news in papers, on the radio, television and increasingly via the internet. We trust journalists to give us an ‘objective’ report of reality. Therefore, we expect news reports to be an exact reproduction of ‘reality’. However, we accept the news report as natural, objective and real because it follows a set of normative rules by which social life as well as news is to be understood.93 An event will only make sense when it can be situated within “a range of known social and cultural identifications or maps of meaning about the social world.”94 Therefore, news reports are never entirely free of meaning.

91 Matheson, Media Discourses: Analysing Media Texts, 6.
92 Allan, News Culture, 80.
93 Ibidem, 77-78.
94 Ibidem, 81.
Making news - through which reality is represented - is done in certain preferred ways. These ways of classifying reality seem to us as natural, obvious and commonsensical. A newspaper account works to “construct a codified definition of what should count as the reality of the event.”\textsuperscript{95} Headlines, leads, the inverted pyramid style and writing for an imagined, implied readership is something all news workers apply. This does not mean that all newspapers construct their stories in the same way. Instead, their organizational, technical and commercial constraints, as well as taking into account their target audience, make them different.

Newspapers differ in their intended audience and this determines largely the vocabulary it uses, the form of the actors in the news, transitivity and modality. Transitivity is about making apparent who is responsible or who gets blamed. Modality is “the ways journalists convey judgments concerning the relative truthfulness (or not) of the propositions they are processing.”\textsuperscript{96} When the model expressions are minimal, meaning the journalist does not convey judgment on the truthfulness of the event they are reporting, the news account comes across as ‘objective’; that is when the audience believes the journalist is someone who does not have subjective, emotional involvement or an opinion about the news account. Newspapers and other media pour unfamiliar, problematic ‘realities’ into familiar, comprehensible definitions of how the world works.

Besides their professional techniques such as quotes, eye-witness accounts, photographic illustrations, etcetera; rhetoric, imagery and an underlying common collection of knowledge are used to make these familiar, comprehensible definitions of how the world works. Bell has contributed to this thinking by systematically analyzing the way news misrepresents news events. A structural transformation between source discourse and news discourse is called rhetorical. Rhetoric is about the way certain information is emphasized or de-emphasized, for various reasons. An example of rhetoric is the overstatement. It falls under the same category as overgeneralization known from stereotypes and prejudices or ‘extreme case formulation’. Media discourse uses rhetoric to emphasize good and bad characteristics of the respective in and out groups, but also for its dramatic effects. Media discourse is more categorical and exaggerated than source or scholarly discourse. It is assumed the audience is more interested in ‘exaggerated’ news, furthermore it is assumed the audience has a better recollection of the news when it is ‘overstated’.\textsuperscript{97}

So far, we have seen how news discourse works in the media, and how it reinforces the voices of the powerful. Discourses are common cultural understandings found in patterns of language, text and images. They should be analyzed, because it tells us much about underlying

\textsuperscript{95} Allan, News Culture, 81.
\textsuperscript{96} Ibidem, 84.
\textsuperscript{97} Van Dijk, The Handbook of Journalism Studies, 191-204.
patterns of power and how they unconsciously force us to think only of certain things in certain ways.

In nationalist ideologies, identity is crucial and associated with a complex system of positive characteristics on who we are, our history and customs, our language and culture, our national character and so on. Nationalist ideologies influence news and news making. For example, wars are not described in terms of a simple conflict, but rather in strongly polarized terms between ‘us’ (good) and ‘them’ (bad). Nationalism not only manifests itself in war or conflict, but also in daily news events. So, the nation may be flagged in everyday ways in daily discourse and the media. Conboy has shown this extensively in his research.

3.3 Performing discourse analysis

Media discourse can be summarized as the representation of reality in media. Discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary method, using mostly textual methods, such as semiotics, semiology and content analysis. It is about texts in its broadest sense: written texts, conversations, pictures, illustrations and ads are all options for analysis. The literature on discourse analysis is extensive, but there are not many clear-cut guides on how to perform it. Because of the diversity of the approaches to discourse analysis, such a book is hard to write, argues Matheson. However, Matheson did write a chapter on discourse analysis with the intention to provide a guide to students who find discourse analysis a “large and messy hotchpotch”. According to him, discourse analysis appears to be this messy because it allows us to study media discourse in ways that show the media’s connection to other parts of social and cultural life. This is both discourse analysis’ strength and weakness. Matheson’s methodological insights into the flexibility of discourse analysis are quite instructive as he shows several approaches to several types of media texts.

In doing discourse analysis it is important to look at the use of labels and the vocabulary of the news. Labels that are generalizing or simplifying are meaningful to the analysis. Concerning vocabulary: repeated words, contrasting words, the strength of words are important, but it is most important to think about what is not being paid attention to.

Although my analysis looks for a transnational, multilocal sense of belonging, it has many similarities with the reproduction of national identity in the press, for instance the reproduction of a South African, British or diaspora identity could occur in The South African. They are all imagined

---

98 Van Dijk, The Handbook of Journalism Studies.
100 Matheson, Media Discourses: Analysing Media Texts.
101 Idem.
communities. The South African could possibly create a sense of belonging to South Africa, London/UK and the South African community in London. National identity is a discursively constructed classification, reproduced through standardized languages, within the family, at school and in the media.

One way in which national identity is reproduced in the press, is through a process called 'banal nationalism'. Billig suggests that national identity in the press can also go unnoticed, it does not have to be marked by words like "Britain" or "British". Billig looks at the ways a text points to its context (linguistic deixis). This pointing is realized through personal pronouns ("I", "you", "we"), demonstratives ("this", "those") and markers of time and place ("here", "now", "today").

Even the use of the definite article can function deictically in noun phrases such as “the nation” or "the Prime Minister", pointing to the country where the utterance takes place. The reader is expected to identify which nation is referred to because s/he belongs to the same national community. Such implicit references maintain and reproduce nationhood through a process of "homeland-making".

This type of analysis, of linguistic deixis and particularly of personal nouns, is recognized by many scholars as a valuable tool to discover how identity is constructed for the audiences of the press. However, deictic language may point to the national, but the national may be multiple. This holds for British and Scottish nationalities in their respective newspapers, and should also be remembered in the analysis of The South African.

Rhetoric signifies important elements of discourse. Signals of rhetorical structures are: hyperboles, also known as the unbridled exaggeration applied through overstatements and exaggerations, understatements, contrast, the build of a climax and the activation of particular scripts or attitudes i.e. references to war vocabulary. Overgeneralization is known from stereotypes and prejudices. Extreme case formulations are expressions using extreme terms such as all, none, most, every, least, absolutely, completely, and so forth, whose uses are to defend or justify a description or assessment, especially in case of challenge. The "us versus them" rhetoric is known to emphasize good characteristics of the in group and bad characteristics of the out group, creating a strong national or other identity through news media. Conboy finds that in creating a

---

national identity in the British tabloids, the world is divided into the British and the rest, the rest being approached with hostility in the tabloids.

More signals of rhetorical structures include metaphor, analogy and irony. These techniques lie in articles of TSA and also in the advertisements. They can only be recognized by reading every word and sentence in the newspaper carefully and keeping them in mind or on a schedule of what to look for. Furthermore, a discourse analysis on nationalism in British tabloids by Conboy provides a good example of how identity is constructed in the media and how to present the results of the research.

In order to do a well-founded discourse analysis, I read many handbooks on this method. One of the books that provided a step-by-step guide is Linda Wood and Rolf Kroger's "Doing Discourse Analysis". They emphasize the importance of the agent-patient distinction. An agent is someone who is seen to make choices, follow plans, and orient to rules. A patient is someone who is considered to suffer the consequences of external forces or internal compulsion. In other words, it is the distinction between what is done by a person and what is done to a person. This does not indicate how the people involved actually acted, but how they are seen in the news account. In a diasporic newspaper, it is important to know who or what is seen as an agent or patient. It indicates which 'side' the newspaper chooses. It could tell something about the identity within such a newspaper.

Another important feature according to Wood and Kroger is "being alert for the ways in which the language of one domain can be appropriated for use in another by both everyday members and analysts." It helps the researcher to notice for example metaphors that are used so often that they often go unnoticed.

Besides studying handbooks on discourse analysis, researches using discourse analysis as a method provided useful examples. Martin Conboy analyzed British tabloids on how they reinforce the national community. He found many ways in which the tabloids reinforced those national feelings. Conboy looks at examples where the jargon (or lexicon) of the nation occurs in normal, 'banal' ways in the tabloids. In this way, the jargon is present in the background daily and influences how readers view the nation in a sophisticated way. More explicit examples of national identity construction are also mentioned, namely reporting on national tragedies or big news events.

Considering news selection, the tabloids only covered topics on the homeland or topics linked to the homeland, thus foreign news is only important when it relates to Britain. The us versus them paradigm is used, portraying the rest of the world with hostility. National symbols are being

---

110 Ibidem, 108.
used to form identity, especially flags are often present. National decline is regularly a topic in the tabloids, as even decline binds a nation together. Sports is another binding factor, where according to Conboy decline, or loss, is a binding factor, contrasting to, in the British case, a historical tradition of victory. Sports stars, both on and off the field of play, are seemingly perennial targets. Conboy thus analyzes how language and rhetoric construct the narrative of a nation. Like a nation, the South African diaspora is also an imagined community. The national feelings constructed in the tabloids, is expected to have some similarities to how national feelings, a sense of belonging or community are constructed in *The South African*. The rhetorical structured and jargon that influences how the readers view the nation can be applied to *The South African* as well as British tabloids.\footnote{Martin Conboy, "The Semantics and Narratives of Nation," in *Tabloid Britain: Constructing a Community through Language*, ed. Martin Conboy (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 46-68.}

Discourse analysis allows us to study media discourse in ways that show the media’s connection to other parts of social and cultural life. This is both the strength and weakness of discourse: the interdisciplinary approach has great benefits, but also makes it appear a large and messy method of research. There are diverse approaches to doing discourse analysis. I have chosen a descriptive version of discourse analysis, following the ideas of Matheson on discourse analysis. This method has both a micro and a macro level of analysis. Each newspaper is analyzed at the level of words, sentences, headlines and leads as well as style, ordering and thematic organization.

Discourse analysis is about language, and Matheson indicates that labels and vocabulary are crucial to this analysis. Labels which generalize or simplify signify importance and repeated words, contrasting words and the strength of words is also important. Billig takes the idea of banal nationalism to see how nationality is constructed by how personal nouns, demonstratives and markers of time and place point to its context.

Rhetoric signifies important elements of discourse in a text. Hyperboles, unbridled exaggeration which is accomplished in numerous ways, together with extreme case formulation, metaphors, analogies and irony are all rhetorical structures to be watched. They can only be recognized by reading every word and sentence in the newspaper carefully and keeping them in mind or on a schedule of what to look for. Furthermore, the distinction between agent and patient can indicate which ‘side’ the newspaper chooses. Conboy’s research on nationalism provides an example of how identity is constructed in the media and how to present the results of the research.
3.4 Choices and sample

Migration has always been a topic of interest to me. In 2008, I stayed in London to research South Africans living there. Talking to South Africans and visiting every South African bar and shop, I came across two newspapers for South Africans, containing mostly South African news at the time. I collected them, and later found their websites. More recently, as a journalism student thinking about my thesis, I knew I wanted to analyze these papers. Unfortunately, at this time, one of the papers had been turned into a glossy and then went quiet. It left me with just one of the two papers, The South African, because The SA Times had stopped producing newspapers.

When I first read The South African in 2008, it seemed a newspaper that keeps the reader up to date with the latest news in its home country. Years later in 2011, a closer look at more issues of the newspaper taught me that some of the front page stories were about Londoners, more specifically South Africans in London. Wondering what the aims of the newspaper are, to inform, to make South Africans somehow feel at home, or even to get South Africans to come home, I started thinking how I could research the identity aspect of the newspaper.

The newspapers of The South African are all available online, from 14 October 2008 onwards. These online versions are copies, or perhaps originals of the papers that are distributed. They are complete, including images, advertisements etcetera.

Because discourse analysis is a time consuming and labor-intensive work, it is not possible to analyze all 164 available weekly editions of The South African. Therefore, a sample of the newspaper was taken, selecting every second newspaper of each month in the year 2011. Consecutive newspapers may present a distorted image of the paper in its entirety, because they may be dominated by certain news stories that follow paper after paper.

Also, taking the second newspaper of the month emphasizes the randomness of the sample. It could also have been the third newspaper of the month for example, however first and last of the month papers have been avoided to prevent including features that are only in these particular editions. By taking the second paper from every month, a structured yet random sample is chosen in which twelve newspapers represent an entirety of 48 newspaper in 2011. 2011 is the most recent, completed year at this time. It will narrow the analysis down from 164 to twelve newspapers. The sample for this research consists of the editions presented in the figure below.

---

112 The newspapers can be viewed and downloaded via http://www.thesouthafrican.com/news/newspapers/the-south-african.
Every article and advertisement of these 12 editions is analyzed at the level of words, sentences, headlines and leads as well as style, ordering and thematic organization. Starting with the discursive roles to be expected in TSA, derived from earlier literature on diasporic media, each article and advertisement is carefully read and analyzed. Words, sentences, style and themes are all considered in the light of the roles taken from literature. Inspired by Conboy, the results are presented and ordered first by discursive roles and second by how they appear in the pages of TSA.

### 3.5 The South African diaspora in London

The South African community in London is relatively mysterious: no-one knows how many South Africans are living in London, why they leave their country, how long they will stay or whether they have intentions to return. Estimates of the size of their group are anywhere between 100,000 and a million in the London area alone.

An initiative called the Homecoming Revolution helps and encourages South Africans to go back their homeland. News reports on the ‘brain drain’ from South Africa – the migration of well-educated professionals to other countries – have reached *The South African*. This pull from the

---

113 [http://www.homecomingrevolution.co.za/] 10 July 2012.
government and other initiatives to get South Africans home, creates tensions which could be further reflected in TSA.

In an explorative research on South Africans in London, Hofman and Hettinga found that amongst the South Africans, four groups could be distinguished based on their reasons for emigration, the duration of their stay in London, race, age and future plans concerning migration.\textsuperscript{115} It provides a brief characterization of South Africans living in London.

The first group is characterized by the temporary nature of its migration. They are white South Africans between eighteen and 27, who are in London for a ‘gap’ year. They have a working/holiday visa which allows them to travel for one year and work another in the UK. They intend to go back to South Africa after one or two years. This group travels to London to have fun, but members do express concerns about the state of the country considering crime, falling standards and job opportunities as a consequence of the affirmative action policy of the government.

Members of the first group all intend to go home after being in the UK for five years. Yet, the second group proves that probably not all of them will. This group stayed in London and found a well-paid job. The members of this group are white South Africans between twenty and 35 years old. It seems job opportunities played a role in their decision to leave South Africa. Whether they want to go back to South Africa is uncertain: they weigh the positive and negative consequences and still doubt. Two of the informants in this research bought a house in SA and have intentions to return with their respective partners, however at the time of interviews, they still doubt this decision.

The third group consists of those who came to London for better job opportunities. The group includes mostly white South African men who saw their job opportunities decrease dramatically when affirmative action policies in SA started having effects. They were over 21 when they came to London to work and many intend to become UK citizens. Most of them do consider returning to SA someday, but have no concrete plans or time frames for this.

The last group consist of non-white South Africans. They left SA purely for job opportunities and economic reasons; crime or falling standards did not play any role in it. Members of this group are between 23 and 40 years old. What distinguishes them from the other group is their determination to return, though not all of them have concrete plans for this. The non-white South Africans send money to their families and communities back in SA and intend to use their knowledge and some of their capital to help and improve the lives of their families and communities in SA.\textsuperscript{116}

Hofman and Hettinga’s research helps paint a picture of the South African diaspora in London. However, the sample of informants is not representative of the entire South African


\textsuperscript{116} Ibidem.
community. First, because the sample is restricted to people between seventeen and forty years old. The informants are predominantly white, although they have reached at least some black and colored South Africans. Another limitation concerning their informants is that most of them have only been in London less than a year.

The research question – what discursive functions does The South African perform for its readership? - is answered by four sub questions. In the next chapters, the themes I have taken from existing literature on diasporic papers are presented as the discursive functions they perform in The South African. Each theme has multiple subthemes. Based on the analysis from Conboy in Tabloid Britain, they include rhetorical patterns and semantics and narratives that construct a community. The discursive functions analyzed in TSA are:

- providing detailed information about the homeland
- promote a sense of community
- act as a source to help the integration of South Africans in London
- to craft an identity around The South African diaspora in London

Chapters 4 and 5 will discuss the discursive functions. They answer the sub questions:

- How are these discourses crafted and presented within it?

After the different discursive functions of The South African are discussed, the results and conclusion brings these findings together to get an overall image of the publication. This final chapter looks at which discursive functions dominate and how the different discourses come together and interweave. Accordingly, it answers the remaining sub questions:

- Do any specific discourses predominate?
- Does it try to create a sense of community or of belonging? If so, how?

The following chapter first gives a profile of The South African. Its general characteristics are described in order to give an impression of the newspaper.
4. The South African: format

In order to get a general picture of *The South African* (TSA), I have chosen to describe the content and lay-out of the newspaper before diving into the analysis. For this, I have taken the 11 October 2011 edition (issue 433), which falls within the sample I have analyzed. The editions analyzed in this project varied in length; some consisted of 28 pages, others contained 16 pages. This particular edition falls within a range of editions which are all consistently twenty pages long (September, October, November and December). The sections are also consistent with each other. This issue is thus somewhat average in length and consists of sections that are generally constant, which makes it a good example of the 'look' and 'feel' of a typical issue of TSA.

The newspaper opens with a controversial story: “SA REFUGEE DENIED ASYLUM – Canada no longer buys ‘racist attack’ story”. Opening articles generally concern news about South Africa or a South African. News on the South African community in London gets attention in pages five to eight, which fall into the section entitled 'Community'. The front page also shows a large picture belonging to an article inside. The chosen edition has a picture of Pieter-Dirk Uys (a South African satirist, active as a performer, author, and social activist). He is dressed as his well-known character Evita Bezuidenhout. The caption explains Pieter-Dirk Uys is performing his latest show for one night only in London. Articles on South African bands, musicians, actors, etcetera who are playing in London are very common in TSA. At the right of the front page, three articles are announced which continue inside.

TSA is a free newspaper, which is compensated for by the ads that appear on every page. Some ads cover 1/16 of a page, others are as big as an entire page, although the editions from September onwards no longer contain full page advertisements. Almost all ads apply to the situation of South African expats. There are ads from immigration consultants, banks (to transfer money to SA), removal services (to ship or fly possessions to SA), shops and restaurants who specialize in South African food, bars and restaurants who show rugby and cricket games, phone companies (to cheaply call SA), a South African dentist, a travel credit card, accountants, travel agencies (who offer trips to SA, but also to other travel destinations), a book written by a South African and even ads that offer jobs to South Africans if they return to South Africa.

But the sponsoring of TSA does not consist of ads only, each edition has two or three pages which are 'sponsored' by a company. Instead of the usual ads on pages, it is indicated above the page: ‘This page is kindly sponsored by Global Career Company’, or: ‘This page is proudly sponsored by Wimpy’. The bottom of the page contains a regular ad from the sponsoring company. The
contents of those pages are actually reporting. For example, page 18 is “kindly sponsored by Wimpy”, but contains the usual Sports articles. The bottom of the page has an ad for Wimpy’s.

Figure 4.1: ‘Sponsored’ page, indicated above the page and a larger ad from the same company at the bottom of the page.

The newspaper incorporates advertorials, which are advertisements that are presented as articles, they are actually advertising messages written in the guise of journalism. It is easily recognized by the contact information and logo of the particular company who wrote the advertising message. For example, Legally speaking is a recurring piece in which a firm specialized in immigration law answers questions about immigration. The contact information of this firm is presented at the bottom of the article. In this way, there is also a piece on the exchange rate of the Rand. On page 13, in the Business section, is another ad presented as an article, but indicated with the word PROMOTION at the top (see figure 4.2). This is an even clearer advertising message. It is also poured into a question-answer style. This particular one is about how to grab attention when you are presenting or pitching. The message is from a company specialized in communication, called ‘Communication and Transformational Creativity’.
All the clichés that you will read about in TSA concerning the weather, the tubes and the crowdedness are used to reinforce recruiting company’s ads. These general complaints are randomly featured in TSA, for example when readers are asked to complain to their MP about overcrowded tubes, or the column called ‘The Optimist’ writes about being obsessed with the weather in London, whereas in SA she did not. Unintentionally though, these complaints and such promises made in the ads of recruiting agencies work together to create a sense of not belonging. Stylistically, the ads and articles are clearly separated and mostly have no similarities concerning topics. However, there are five ads from different moving companies in the exemplary edition of October, more than any other topic in ads. Combined with ads from recruiting agencies, suggestive questions in interview articles about returning and the many charity articles, it feels like these things contribute to a sense of guilt and not belonging. This is extensively discussed in section 5.4 of this thesis.

On the second page of The South African we can read the colophon, which shows there is an editor, and a production and sports editor. Ads from TSA itself in which it is looking for staff, indicate that most contributors work part-time and are volunteers, because in the ad there is no mentioning of a salary. Furthermore, the sentence “this is the ideal opportunity for students or recent graduates to build up a portfolio of published work,” is another clue that writers and photographers mostly work as volunteers.

Stories in TSA, especially those on the news in SA, are mostly taken from SAPA, the South African Press Association, which is the main supplier of domestic and foreign news in SA. Often, this is indicated at the end of the article. In some articles, the names of the reporters are mentioned, others have no indication of a reporter, or just read: STAFF REPORTER. In the articles that are not provided by SAPA, sources are often South African newspapers, and rarely British newspapers. On page two we also find some practical information, like the exchange rate of the Rand, the weather in London, Johannesburg and Cape Town, and the tube closures for the upcoming weekend.
Pages one to three fall under the section News. Page 4 is the opinion page, called Comments. On this page, comments by readers are published. The comments are taken from the Facebook page, or TSA website. They are reactions to articles which are either published in an earlier edition of this newspaper, or on the website. They are usually about controversial topics, but could also include a discussion on which airline is best to fly to SA. This time, the page is filled with comments on two articles, one of which is: “On: ‘what is Dewani afraid of?’” The Dewani case is one of the most common recurring stories in the editions of TSA I have analyzed.

The Dewani case revolves around Shrien and Anni Dewani: a British citizen and an Irish born woman who lived in England at the time. They were a newlywed couple who went to Cape Town for their honeymoon. While driving in a taxi in a notorious township of Cape Town, Anni was kidnapped and murdered. At the time of writing this thesis, Shrien Dewani stands accused of hiring the people who raided the taxi and killed Anni Dewani. The taxi driver admitted to being involved and claims Shrien Dewani had offered him 15,000 Rand to murder his wife. He has been sentenced to eighteen years in jail. Two other men face charges for their involvement. Many discussions are published in TSA on whether Dewani is guilty of arranging the contract killing of his wife and whether he should be tried in the UK or in SA. At the time of writing this thesis, Shrien Dewani is staying at a mental hospital and has appealed against the order to extradite him to South Africa. On 30 March 2012, the High Court judge said it would be unjust and oppressive to send Dewani back to SA in his present condition.

Pages five to eight are themed Community. It includes a column called ‘The Local’ written by Rob Boffard, who lives in London and – judging by the accompanying photo – is in his twenties. He writes about his experiences in London, but also covers politics and controversies from SA. There is also the page which is titled ‘Have you been spotted?’ It includes pictures taken at an event or gathering of South Africans in London. It can be a network breakfast meeting or a speech and in this issue it is an event hosted by the South African business club attended by a panel of four Springboks (players of the national rugby team). One of the people in the pictures has a yellow circle around his or her head. This person is ‘spotted’ and can collect a meal voucher from Spurs, a restaurant which has, amongst others, branches in SA and the UK. The page includes an ad from Spurs.

The section Community also has a column written entirely in Afrikaans. Looking through the issues of TSA spanning January to December 2011 it appears this feature began in July 2011. This will be analyzed in the next chapter. An article found in the Community pages is titled: ‘Mayor loves South Africans’, about the mayor of Wandsworth, just outside of London, who has many South Africans living in her town. In the article, she emphasizes what amazing people South Africans are: “You know, I’ve always loved South Africans. They are always so polite and helpful. I am always helped by South Africans at Southfields tube station if I have a heavy bag.” Further in the Community
pages there is a report on the celebration of a South African writer, who's book has been republished. The author is due to speak at the South Africa House in London.

Pages nine to eleven are *Entertainment*. In this section, there is another column. 'The Optimist' is written by Karen de Villiers, another South African in London. She writes about what happens in her daily life, such as going on a holiday, being homesick, etcetera. The name of the column says it all. Even though the writer can be critical of political issues, she always ends with a positive message to the readers.

‘What’s On’ gives an overview of activities. These are in or around London, and all have a link to SA. Dates, times and locations are presented at the bottom. In this edition, there is a South African wine tasting, a talk on South African women's writing, a monthly networking breakfast meeting, a South African musician performing in London and an alumni gathering of the Pretoria University. Other articles in *Entertainment* are an interview with one of SA’s most successful authors, Wilbur Smith, and a report on the South African films selected for the London film festival. What is missing this time in *Entertainment* is an interview with a South African band, instead there are interviews with famous authors.

The next page is *Zimbabwean community*, which first appeared in the May edition of the analyzed sample. This section consists only of one page, and in this case there is just one article on Zimbabwean musicians performing at a festival in London. The rest of the page is filled with ads, which do not specifically target Zimbabweans, these ads are also found on other pages sometimes.

The *Business* section of the paper has gone through some changes from January to December 2011, but since September 2011 it has a consistent pattern. The first *Business* page, *Business: News*, contains short business stories, a column and two sponsored articles. Another article provides information on copyright, “What is a copyright?” The name of the company providing the information is given at the end, including the name of a contact person and a phone number.

The next page is *Business: Careers*, an interview with a South African who has built a good career. In interviews like these, questions like “Why did you want to move back to South Africa” are always present. This is also the place where paragraphs like *Legally Speaking* and a story on the exchange rate of the Rand are placed. In *Business: SA Power 100*, a South African living in London, or both in London and SA is interviewed about his or her achievements. They are always highly placed people in good careers. The *Business* section has one last page: *Classifieds*. They are small ads on anything South African: dentists, grocery shops, cafés, bars and wines. Strikingly, this is the one page where the location is larger than the London area. For example, there is an ad for a South African bar in Edinburgh. There are also classifieds from immigration consultants and from South African venues that are looking for staff.
Page 17, the Travel page has little to do with SA. This travel page is interspersed between a standard travel report that may just as well be taken from a travel brochure from a travel agent, which is just a listing of touristic places and has nothing to do with South Africa, compared to a more personal travel report written by a South African. This edition has a slightly more personal travel report. It is characterized by ‘we’ and ‘I’, but also by a chronological report on the activities the writer participated in and what local people told the writer. For example: "After washing off in the freezing river (it runs down from the gorge) we piled back into the jeeps and headed off to the ancient Lycian city of Xanthos (pronounced ‘Santos’).” This section is surrounded by ads from airlines.

Concluding TSA are three Sports pages. The first Sports page has one story, with a large picture. In this edition, the story is ‘BOKS DEVASTATED’. Boks refers to the Springboks, the national rugby team. In this article it is reported that the team lost in the World Cup rounds, while it was the defending champion. The picture is of the player who had the chance to turn things around during the game, but could not. The next page has three articles on sports related issues. The final page of TSA has a huge ad from The Savanna, a shop that sells South African and Zimbabwean food. They have a special sale because of the Rugby World Cup. The article on this last page is about quitting rugby coach Pieter de Villiers, there is an overview of his most remarkable quotes: FROM THE MOUTH OF DIVVY. Also, there are two tweets shown from Springbok players.

Each edition of the newspaper is different. During the year 2011, a new editor came to The South African and sections of the newspaper discussed here were all placed in the typical newspaper of October. However, some sections have been added and others have been removed. Because some of them will be mentioned in the analysis and also because I want to provide a complete description of the editions in 2011, they will be described below. The column in Afrikaans is something which was added in the year 2011. A short description of some sections that have disappeared and have not been mentioned yet, follows.

In earlier editions, the editor gave her comments on the news and highlighted a story from the newspaper. Furthermore, a section called This Day in South African History featured on page four, is a small section with three to six historical events summed up and explained from South African history, that happened in the week TSA is distributed. The last disappeared section is Only in South Africa. A short article, about two paragraphs about strange things that happened in South African, for example one article is on a bird causing a power outage in SA. Some of these sections will be discussed in the analysis.

All-in-all, The South African is a paper which presents both news on South Africa and on the South African community in London. It focuses upon South Africans, in South Africa and in London. There is a specific section appointed to South Africans in London and the reader is also represented in the Comments section of the paper. The columnists all live in London and talk about their life as a
South African in London, while also touching on purely South African news. Advertisements play a crucial role as it is a free newspaper. The advertisements also appear as advertising messages, disguised as journalistic articles though easily recognizable. They are all directed at the ‘needs’ of the South African in London. Advertisements, articles on returning and charity events work together to create a sense of guilt and not belonging in TSA.

In the upcoming sections in chapters four and five, the discursive roles of TSA are analyzed. Based on the roles of diasporic media in other research, it is investigated how four roles or themes are reflected, constructed and promoted in The South African. The roles or themes are: providing detailed information about the homeland, act as a source to help integration, promote a sense of community and craft an identity for the South African diaspora in London. However, a fifth role needs to be discussed as well. It did not derive from literature on diasporic media, but is significant to this research; how the newspaper creates a sense of not belonging for its readership. This is discussed in the final section of chapter 5.

4.1 How SA appears within the pages of TSA

One of the roles or functions of The South African, like other diasporic papers, is to provide detailed information about the homeland. Keeping readers up to date on current events in the homeland is typical of all diasporic papers. While some claim this is meant to create a sense of belonging, to others it is meant to satisfy readers’ longing for their homeland. News on the homeland is also seen to preserve the cultural identity, opposed to assimilation or integration of the immigrant into the host society. But how is the news on South Africa’s current events presented? And how important is it compared to other content in the paper?

First, the front page is studied to determine what kind of news dominates The South African and what news is deemed to be the most important. Then, it is analyzed how TSA brings news, emphasizing a source which is clearly biased because it only brings good news about SA. TSA expects the readers to be up to date with important events, because the backgrounds of stories are not always provided. Further, the role of TSA itself in the newspaper is discussed: through organizing news events which they later report on, the newspaper assigns itself a central role in the news. Finally, references to South African history create a sense of belonging and cultural preservation.

As Cheng argued in her research, the front page of a diasporic newspaper is important because it is the soul of the newspaper. The front page is where the paper puts big and interesting

---

117 Elias, Israeli Affairs, 73.
news and the content on the front page is always negotiated.\textsuperscript{118} So if TSA opens with stories on purely South African news, for example on the policy of the ANC, one might conclude that if all editions open with South African news, that the center of attention of the newspaper is on SA and on providing South Africans news on their homeland. However, if the South African community or British news dominates the front pages, they will probably also dominate the rest of the newspaper. In the twelve editions of TSA that were analyzed, it turns out that there is no dominance specifically on either the homeland, or the current location of the expats. Five stories were on South African news, that could just as well have been published in a newspaper in SA. They are:

ZUMA: NO FOREIGN LAND OWNERSHIP (January)
[President Zuma wants to limit foreigners from buying land in SA, because the government’s land redistribution policy which aims to compensate black South Africans for the seizure of their property under apartheid rule, is given priority]

ZUMA MEETS WITH GADDAFI, NOT REBELS (April)
[The African Union visits Gaddafi to start peace talks before meeting with the rebels. President Zuma did not attend the latter visit with rebels, his spokesman explains he had to prepare for a trip to China]

GOVT TO ‘BRIBE’ MEDIA (June)
[The SA National Editors Forum (SANEF) claims that the advertising budget of the government is a plan to bribe newspapers to only publish the government’s views on news and current affairs]

FUR FLIES IN KRIGER DEBATE (August)
[On the expansion of Kruger national park]

SHOCK EXECUTION – “Framed” South African drug mule in China learns of impending death on execution day. (December)
[A South African woman was arrested in China for smuggling drugs. She has been executed, but only learned of the execution on that day. She claims she was innocent and that someone framed her]

Some of the headlines apply specifically to the South African expats in London:

SA EXPAT MURDER: ONE YEAR LATER (March)

\textsuperscript{118} Cheng, \textit{Journal of Communication Inquiry}, 151.
[the front page has been dedicated to the one year anniversary of the disappearance of a South African expat who lived near Bristol. Police believe he was murdered, but are still searching for his body]

SAVE THE AFRICA CENTRE (July)
[The Africa Centre in Covent Garden, London is a historical centre because it has been a refuge, meeting place and cultural beacon for Desmond Tutu, Walter Rodney and other important South Africans. Its trustees are planning to sell the property and the reader is asked to sign a petition to save it]

UNONDABA PRESS CLUB LAUNCHED (September)
[report on the first meeting of a South African press club in London, aimed to bring journalists together to network and enhance their professional development]

Some opening stories touch on both SA and London:

UK STALKER TORCHES CLIFTON MANSION (February)
[A city banker who stalked a PR executive from the UK to Cape Town, and firebombed her parents’ mansion, was denied bail in Cape Town]

'LUXURY' JAIL FOR DEWANI? (May)
[On the possible extradition of Shrien Dewani to SA. The article writes that if he is extradited, SA has pledged he should get five-star prison facilities to protect him]

SA REFUGEE DENIED ASYLUM (October)
[A South African who successfully argued he should get asylum in Canada in 2009, has been denied asylum. According to the South African, because he is white, he is a target for blacks in SA. Canada does not buy the 'racist attack' story anymore.

CHARLIZE IN LONDON (November)
[successful South African actress Charlize Theron is visiting London. Readers get a chance to see her because she will be talking about her life and films at a special event]

The first opening story about both SA and London concerns a man stalking a woman, and eventually torching her parents’ home in Cape Town. The woman is probably South African, although in the entire article this is not clearly stated. The man is both an Indian and Australian citizen, but met the woman in the UK. The man is however portrayed as a UK citizen in the headline. The woman's
parents live in Cape Town, so it could be assumed that she is a South African, especially since no other nationality is assigned to her in this article. So the story started in the UK, but ended in SA. TSA uses two newspapers as sources for the story, explicitly mentioning that The Star is a South African newspaper while the British Daily Mail is also mentioned.

The second story is about Dewani, who allegedly hired a couple of men to stage a taxi robbery, where his newlywed wife was kidnapped and killed. The two people involved both have British nationalities, and Dewani is being held in London, but the killing happened in a township in Cape Town, on South African soil. Throughout the editions of TSA, lively discussions are found on where Dewani should be tried: in SA because the alleged crime was committed in SA, or in the UK where Dewani and his murdered wife lived.

The third story concerns a South African expat in Canada, although this person claims to be a refugee. He applied for asylum in Canada based on the claim that as a white man, he is targeted by black criminals. He claims to have been robbed seven times, although local police have no evidence of this. Canada has reviewed its decision and the man is going to contest the decision at the Supreme Court. This story has nothing to do with London or the UK, but might appeal to the readers because the man in the article is an expat like them. Readers may also have a strong opinion on whether it is justifiable that this man considers himself a refugee, as they know the situation in SA all too well.

The last story reports on Charlize Theron coming to London. Charlize Theron is a successful South African actress and now readers get a chance to see her. Charlize Theron, along with princess Charlene of Monaco, are two women who appear to carry a great deal of pride for South Africa, as will be further discussed in 5.3.

Front pages tend to focus upon news stories that have a link to both South Africa and London or stories specifically about the South African diaspora in London. News from the homeland, which increases a sense of belonging to it, is also present in The South African. These articles are taken from the South African press agency and copied into the paper. These stories constitute a majority of the front pages of The South African, however the stories which centralize the South African expat in London or that have topics relating to both SA and London together dominate the front page.

But soft news oftentimes is given priority over hard news when both are of interest to its readers, as we can see in two of the papers. TSA of December (442) contains a story on a protest by South Africans in London at the South African High Commission against the Protection of Information Bill in SA. Page four and a section of page five, namely the column 'The Local' are dedicated to this story.

The coverage of the protests in London could have come on page three, as the front page was occupied by the story of the woman executed in China, and the second page contains short news stories on SA and the established features like the colophon and info on the weather, tubes and
exchange rate of the Rand. However, page three consists of a report on a breakfast meeting with John Smit, a famous South African rugby player who - when TSA was reporting on the story - recently moved to England to play for the English team, the Saracens. It is striking that the protest in London comes after this, especially after the report on John Smit. It would be expected that the London protests have more ‘news value’ to the reader, than the report on John Smit. It appears that the softer news stories concerning the South African community have a preference over a hard news story on protests in London.

This is also shown in another edition, where an article on a South African dog ‘acting’ in a British comedy is placed on page two, while the memorial service of Anton Hammerl, a South African (and Austrian) photographer, who was shot and killed in Brega, Libya, appears on the next page. It seems the positive, softer news stories get a more prominent place in the newspaper when both stories relate to SA and London. The front pages of The South African suggest most of the stories have its focus on both SA and London. The first couple of pages show a preference for softer news stories in the beginning of the newspaper, over harder news stories that also involve the South African community in London.

Earlier in this chapter, it has been explained that many of the stories on SA are taken from the SA press agency, SAPA. Another source that provides the news for TSA is SA - the good news, a South African website. It is not often used as a source, but the stories are, as promised, all good news. For example, one of these positive stories is about the first black, female South African marine pilots. It is one of the articles contributing to the salute for International Woman’s Day. This good news source is very biased to put SA in a good spotlight, only bringing news on positive developments in South Africa. On their website, they explain their motivation:

Why does South Africa need a 'good news' website?
Bad news sells. That is a global reality and it is no different in South Africa. Arguably, the news mass media tend to focus on the bad news and largely ignore the positive developments in this county, creating an “information imbalance”. This imbalance fuels the perception that bad news is predominant in South Africa, whereas the reality is that we have many reasons to be exceptionally proud of our country’s recent past and optimistic about our future.
Our goal is to address this reality/perception gap that is often more negative than positive as well as 'sell' South Africa as a country of positive development, excitement, opportunity, interest and as a potential travel and investment destination.

---

119 TSA, 429, 2-3. (The South African, issue number, page number)
120 TSA, 424, 2.
Even this explanation is full of positive words and emphasis on those words, such as ‘exceptionally proud’. By copying articles from this website, it shows that the editors of TSA want a particularly positive article on SA. Together with a preference for soft news stories on SA and London in the early pages of TSA, positive news on SA and soft news in stories on SA and London indicate that TSA mixes softer with harder news and that particular sources are being used to provide a positive image of SA, the homeland. Using sources like SA – the good news, makes the paper far from objective. However, Sun et al. argue this is not their most important responsibility. They find it more important to promote a sense of community and to forge cultural pride and identity through diasporic media.\(^{122}\)

Big stories that recur in TSA, like murder cases, provide an example of how it handles these cases and what it assumes from the reader’s knowledge. Stories like murder cases, sometimes can have many follow-ups, including reports on the court case, new evidence, testimonies, appeals, etcetera. TSA sometimes assumes that the reader knows about this story. In some articles, it is not explained what happened. One front page, for example says: SA EXPAT MURDER: ONE YEAR LATER. A South African expat living in England disappeared exactly one year ago, when the newspaper story was published. When TSA was reporting on the story, the suspect denied killing the expat and the police had not found his body. As a non-informed reader on this topic, more questions than answers arise when reading this story, for example: if there is no body, how can the police assume he was murdered? The story continues by explaining there is a court date, in which many witnesses will be called. But why are these people witnesses?\(^{123}\)

The Dewani case is a good example of this. In one issue on the front page there is a headline about a political decision made by Jacob Zuma, but next to this is the article: “Anni’s uncle lashes out at Dewani”. As a follower of the news, a reader might be up to date on this case, but for those who are not, it is difficult to understand.

THE uncle of murdered bride Annie Dewani has lashed out at her husband for allowing her to “suffer a worse death than a dog”, the UK-based Mail Online reported. Ashok Hindocha told the publication on Sunday he could not understand why millionaire Shrien Dewani had not “put up a fight” after the couple’s taxi was ambushed by two gunmen in Cape Town. “I would not even have allowed my dog to be left like that. I would fight for the dog”.\(^ {124}\)

Someone who knows the background of this story knows exactly what happened, but as a reader who hears about this story for the first time, this needs some extra information. In later issues, more attention is given to this developing case, but only in the July edition, it exactly becomes clear what

\(^{122}\) Sun et al., Media International Australia, 143.

\(^{123}\) TSA, 402, 1.

\(^{124}\) TSA, 394, 1.
happened and why TSA is paying so much attention to it. The two main characters, Anni and Shrien Dewani both lived in England. The murder took place in Cape Town, but the court case is being held in London. Later Shrien Dewani is accused of paying assassins to kill his wife.

The paper only sometimes gives the background of the story while other times it does not. Details and other background information are often missing in these recurring articles. It could mean TSA assumes some kind of foreknowledge on this recurring news; assuming the average readers keep themselves up to date by reading this paper or getting their news from another source.

Not only does TSA provide news to its readers, it assigns itself an active role in the news. TSA organizes meetings amongst South Africans, which it also reports on in the newspaper. The paper is keen to be seen as playing a role in the news to its readership. In the editions analyzed, it emerges that TSA co-organizes a breakfast- and network meeting. And they are honest, even proud of this role:

So how did breakfast with John Smit come about? The event was held by the TheSouthAfrican.com and the South African Chamber of Commerce. The aim is to promote business networking opportunities within the South African community here, through events such as these.125

With this move, TSA makes their own news, and so they have something to write about every month, when there is another meeting. It is not the only event they initiated. In the September issue (429), the front page story is on the First South African Press Club, proudly TSA announces this event: “HISTORY was made last Thursday evening”. TSA explains their involvement, just like the breakfast meeting: “unondaba SA Press Club is an initiative by The South African which aims to bring together journalists to network and enhance their professional development”.126 The newspaper deliberately gets involved in organizing these events and therefore it has an active role in the community. It is keen to be seen in this way, as an actor in the community. It can also be seen as making their readers see them as a prominent part in making the news. Organizing these events, makes them visible as an actor.

A parallel can be drawn here with Conboy's work on nationalism in tabloids. Here, Conboy found that tabloids want to be seen by their readers as playing an important role in making the news. This can the form of a ‘salute’, where individuals are singled out for the tabloid’s own distinct brand of populist praise. “Saluting’ characters which it selects from the everyday is a tabloid speech act which demonstrates how involved the newspapers are in activating news stories which foreground

125 TSA, 442, 3.
126 TSA, 429, 1.
themselves as protagonists as much as personalities they single out for praise. In one issue we find such a ‘salute’ on the front page.

SA WOMEN MAKING WAVES: In honour of Women’s Day today, 9 August, we salute South African women. From the first female ship pilots in SA (page 3), to London, where we chat to an actress (page 6), the managing editor of the FT (page 17), and attend the first African Women in Business conference in the UK (page 14).

This salute sends a positive message and also it demonstrates how involved TSA is. Organizing network meetings and setting up the SA press club is a way for TSA to make their own news. More importantly, it enhances their role in the community and they are proud of this role in the news. Therefore, they emphasize this role in the newspaper.

TSA is proud of their active role in the news, but it also reinforces pride in the national history of SA to its readers. A specific section is devoted to the history of SA, creating a sense of belonging and cultural preservation. The section This Week in South African History takes the reader back to the national history, something that is familiar, that reinforces the South African identity, maybe calls up some childhood memories. It could help maintain shared language and culture. The historical events are a reminder of the reader’s background.

In the historical events, national hero Nelson Mandela gets more attention than others. One of the events highlighted in this section is the day Nelson Mandela was released from prison. This event gets extra attention in the sense that it has a larger piece than usual and it includes a picture of Nelson Mandela. One month later there is also a story on Mandela, and again he is the only one to get a picture to accompany the story.

In regular articles and especially in some of the discussions in the Comments section, Mandela is assigned a heroic status. In one comment he is even described as a person who sacrificed himself for the South African people: “Let’s keep our democracy alive and

---

127 Conboy, Tabloid Britain: Constructing a Community through Language, 41.
128 TSA, 424, 1.
129 Elias, Israeli Affairs, 79.
130 TSA, 398, 4.
honor Mr Mandela for the time he spent in jail for democracy for SA and for the people of SA.”

Springbok ‘legend’ John Smit is quoted saying: “This has been a change I have been so very proud of and it all has its origins with Madiba who wore a Springbok jersey and supported the team in the early days of democracy.” Nelson Mandela is often referred to as Madiba, which is his Xhosa clan name. This name is used as a pet name by South Africans. The editor of TSA, in her own comments, calls Mandela “Tata Madiba” in wishing him a happy birthday [tata means ‘father’]. Tata is also used as a pet name, and father refers to his role in creating freedom and democracy in SA, of being a spiritual father in the sense that he created democracy.

Mandela Day is also celebrated in TSA, with a huge photo of Mandela smiling on the front page, accompanied by the text: ‘What are you doing on Mandela Day?’ Inside, an article explains Mandela Day:

ON Monday 18 July South Africa’s beloved icon, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, turns 93 years old. In 2009 his birthday was officially made Mandela Day, an international day to honor his legacy and values through volunteering and community service.

Words like ‘beloved icon’, ‘honor’, ‘his legacy’ all indicate the heroic and iconic status of Nelson Mandela in TSA. In this way, readers are reminded of their homeland and it could create a sense of belonging to South Africa.

References to South African history and the iconic status of Nelson Mandela in particular, create a sense of pride of being South African. Moreover, references to history encourage the cultural preservation function often assigned to diasporic media. A sense of belonging to South Africa is hereby created in TSA. Providing detailed information does not only include information on current events in SA, but also the historical events.

Concluding, TSA provides detailed information about the homeland. Stories that are about South African expats or have both a link to SA and the UK, have a majority over purely South African news on the front page. Researchers argue that stories on current events in the homeland are meant to create a sense of belonging to the motherland.

It seems TSA sometimes prioritizes soft news over hard news in the beginning pages of the news. News stories on the homeland are mostly provided and copied from the South African Press Agency. However, there is also another source which is much less objective. A website which only

---

131 TSA, 442, 4, Comments: Leonora Kruger.
132 TSA, 442, 3.
133 TSA, 420, 6.
134 TSA, 420, 1.
135 TSA, 420, 2.

55
cares about good news from SA. But objectivity is less important to diasporic media, as Sun et al. argue. They serve a more important function of a cultural representative. This is discussed in section 5.3.

References to South African history and specifically to Mandela’s role in it, all reinforce the cultural preservation function which is another important function of diasporic media. TSA is not shy about its own role in the community and in the news. It organizes events where South Africans get together, which create a sense of community.

TSA thus plays an active role in the way South Africa is being represented in the newspaper. It creates a sense of belonging by publishing the news on SA and this is sometimes bend in a positive way. Clearly, a sense of belonging to SA matters to TSA. Cultural preservation is what is accomplished by this.

After discussing how TSA provides detailed information on the homeland, the following chapter now goes into the other discursive roles or themes TSA performs for its readership: helping integration into society, promoting a sense of community, craft an identity around the diaspora and how it creates a sense of not belonging through a combination of advertisements and articles.
5. Issues of community and diaspora

This chapter focuses on the news about and services for South Africans in London. It investigates how TSA performs the roles of helping integration, crafting an identity for the diaspora and creating a sense of 'not belonging'.

The first section investigates TSA’s role in helping its readership to integrate into the host society. This is performed in articles on visa news and articles that guide the reader through their new city in the guise of tourism. Then, this chapter analyzes how TSA promotes a sense of community in the different sections of the newspaper, taking the four components of a sense of community - membership, influence, integration and shared emotional connections - as a guidance. Section 5.3 concerns cultural pride and identity of the South African and how this is represented and crafted by TSA. The final section concerns the way articles and advertisements work together to create a sense of 'not belonging' for the readership.

5.1 Act as a source to help the integration of South Africans in London

Researchers have found that the integration of immigrants into their new society can be helped by crucial, practical information they find in diasporic newspapers. The South African also acts as a source to help the integration of South Africans in London. Examples mentioned in the literature on ethnic or diasporic media include new rules and regulations regarding immigration, how the healthcare system works, what kinds of health insurance overseas students can purchase, routine procedures and protocols they must know in renting a property or how to prepare for job interviews.

In TSA, some of the ways it helps integration are similar to these examples, but I have found some other topics that help integration too. Crucial, practical information on rules and regulations regarding immigration are given every week in a special section. Another way South Africans are helped to integrate into the host society, is through articles that quite literally guide them through the city. In particular articles, it lists where to go and what to do for the holidays, for example.

A recurring section is Legally Speaking. It is supplied by the company Breytenbachs Immigration Consultants. As illustrated in figure 5.1, the information is made more accessible by choosing the form of question-answer. This is practical information concerning immigration that

---

136 Elias, Israeli Affairs, 77.
137 Viswanath and Arora, Mass Communication and Society, 54.
readers of *The South African* can use. It warns them when the visa rules change and gives them advice on what to do. This section is published every week in TSA.

**Legally Speaking**

Q: I am currently on a work permit and able to apply for Indefinite Leave to Remain during February next year. However, during October 2010 I was found guilty on a charge of drunk driving and was given a driving ban of 12 months and a fine of £300. This bothers me as I am not sure how it will affect my application for ILR next year?

A: The rehabilitation period for such an offence unfortunately is five years.

This means that you will not qualify for Indefinite Leave to Remain for five years from the date of your sentence. Your only option will be to apply for an extension of your current permit under the Points Based System until the five year rehabilitation period has passed. You will only then qualify for ILR. Please contact our offices to assist you with extending your Tier 2 General work permit.

---

From time to time, there is another article on visa information to be found in TSA. “UK visa changes you must know before April”. And: “Important visa news,” there is nothing concrete in the following article, but if this changes, readers are promised to be kept up to date in TSA.

Breytenbachs is not the only company publishing on visa news, the Sable Group has also published an article, titled “A case of mistaken identity”. A misleading title, because it is not about mistakes made with identities: “a new law means that if your mother was born in Britain, you are now eligible for British nationality. Sable Group explains why.”

Both Sable Group and Breytenbachs inform readers about visa rules and changes to those rules. They do so in an accessible, comprehensive way, by using language that is not so much legal language. The presentation in a question-answer style also fosters this. It helps the expat integrate because it is up-to-date with the visa rules. TSA thus acts as a source of integration for its readers. The articles on this all concern visa news and while they take ¼ of a newspaper page, it is an important function. It adds to the reasons to read the newspaper for an immigrant. Based on this information being given, TSA assumes its readers need this information and therefore publishes it. By providing this information, TSA gives the reader crucial, practical information it needs and it acts as a source to help readers integrate.

Another way in which *The South African* acts as a source of integration, is by performing a guide function, almost like a tour guide in the new home of the South African reader. During

---

138 TSA, 402, 5.
139 TSA, 416, 3.
140 TSA, 429, 13.
holidays, TSA gives tips on where to go and what to do in London. It highlights some places and activities for the reader. With this, TSA functions as a guide and it has the same contents a tourist guide would have, including the practical tips one would expect here. It could help readers find their way in their current town during the holidays. The February edition (398) for example, has a special on what to do for Valentine's Day in London. Prices and addresses are given, and there is even thought of particular romantic situations readers are in. There are places for a first date, or something more romantic or expensive indicated. The St. Patrick's Day special in the March edition is even more like a (tourist) guide. It explains why St. Patrick's Day is celebrated, the cultural traditions and where to best celebrate this day in London, or in Dublin.

Saint Patrick’s Day needs little introduction. But how much do you know about the real reasons behind the ritual where everyone drinks Guinness, wears crazy green outfits and sings along to cheery Irish music? The day has significant importance to all Christians, particularly Roman Catholics. [...] Also, don’t forget to take wet-weather gear. This city rains almost as much as it does in Edinburgh.141

The last sentence could save the reader a lot of trouble. These practical tips that guide South Africans through London and beyond, help them to integrate in their ‘new’ environment. TSA acts as a guide to its readers. This is called service-oriented journalism. The South African news audience is apparently understood as people who need this practical information.142

South African’s democratic rights in the UK are also explained: “Casting your vote on 5 May”. It is a very comprehensible piece on how readers can vote on a referendum: “there are three different ways you can vote.”143 The mayor of Wandsworth is interviewed about South Africans, because so many live in her town. The interviewer asks what she would like to say to The South Africans in Wandsworth:

Many South Africans are not aware they can vote in the UK, and as members of the Commonwealth, they can. As South Africans in my experience tend to be so civic minded, I want to encourage them to participate in the local and regional elections.144

Integration is promoted by the practical information in TSA. Knowing the democratic rights is something the paper makes their readers aware of by publishing articles and columns on this, explaining the rights of the reader. And they also explain how to vote.

141 TSA, 402, 17.
142 Moran, Journalism, 398.
143 TSA, 407, 10.
144 TSA, 433, 7.
Practical information on visa news, touristic places in the readers’ new home and explaining holidays, as well as information on their democratic rights, all act as a source to help integration of the South African reader in its new environment. The paper itself acts as a guide in the unknown, unexplored or complicated new society that is the metropolis London. The next section will go into other roles of diasporic media, namely promoting a sense of community. How TSA does this, is analyzed based on four components of a sense of community and theories on diasporic media.

5.2 Promoting a sense of community

The South African promotes a sense of community among the South African diaspora in London. To analyze this, I hold on to the four components of a sense of community, as defined by McMillan and Chavis. Membership, influence, integration and shared emotional connections construct this idea. Membership is when members actually feel like they belong to the group and to each other. In TSA membership is reflected in the use of Afrikaans in the paper. Following Conboy, people who share a language feel like they have other things in common, attributions and political interests. The use of Afrikaans thus creates membership, one of the components of a sense of community.

Influence is a sense that the individual is important and that the group matters to the individual. This is reflected in the sections and articles when readers are asked to give their opinion or to take action by signing a petition, for example. The paper stresses that the individual is important by claiming they welcome their opinions. The group matters to the individual in a way that the reader keeps up to date with them (the diaspora) through the newspaper.

A shared emotional connection is the sense that the community members “share a common history and similar experiences.” The meetings The South African proudly organizes between South Africans in London can establish these shared emotional connections among South Africans. A chance to meet other expats and connect with them creates a chance to share a common history of living in SA and similar experiences of emigration.

The component that is left, is the integration which includes a sense of trust that the community can meet the needs of its members. In other words, whether the individual trusts the community to fulfill their needs. In a way, The South African can be seen as a platform where South Africans in London get their information on their community and feel like the newspaper represents this community, because in the thinking of imagined communities, readers can imagine other

---

146 Bathum and Baumann, *Family & Community Health*, 168.
readers, consuming the same stories at the same time. Integration as a component of a sense of community can be explained as whether the reader trusts that the newspaper can fulfill their needs.

Besides these four components, one more important idea must be discussed in this section. Diaspora’s, like nations are imagined communities. Therefore, research on creating a national identity can also be compared to creating a sense of community for expats. According to Conboy, what creates a sense of community is amongst others, national decline. It binds people together when times are bad, and they feel they have a common ‘enemy’.

The South African can also act as a community booster, providing information on the success of members of the diasporic community in the host society. This is found in articles and especially in a particular page of the Business section, where successful South Africans living in London are interviewed.

In the following section, I argue that language creates membership, one of the four components of a sense of community. Membership is when members actually feel like they belong to the group and to each other. In TSA, membership is created through the use of Afrikaans. Afrikaans is a language spoken by part of the South African population as a mother tongue (13.3%).

It is one of the eleven official languages of South Africa. The use of Afrikaans in the newspaper varies: in one edition there is only one word in an interview or an ad, and in another a complete sentence. The July edition (420) is the first that features a column in Afrikaans, which would come back every edition from there on. Conboy argues that language creates a sense of community:

Local languages enhanced the feeling that each linguistic community had its own specific attributes and political interests. Language has been the medium for the broadening of a popular sense of community. In matters of national identity, it is style, not substance which is the ultimate guarantor of success.

The use of Afrikaans in TSA, or a language other than English, can broaden the popular sense of community, though it may also have the opposite effect of creating a divide because those who do not understand Afrikaans feel left out. However, since it concerns only one column, the effects of it will not be so dramatic. The use of Afrikaans will thus enhance the feeling that South Africans have their own specific attributes and political interests and create a sense of a South African identity through this. The Afrikaans language is also something that makes South Africa unique. Other English

149 Conboy, Tabloid Britain: Constructing a Community through Language, 2.
speakers would not understand it. As it originates from the Dutch colonists, it does not have many similarities to English.

The Afrikaans column features on page 12, in the section Community. The column looks like the other columns: the column has a name, the author’s name is mentioned, together with a picture and the title for this week’s column. The columnist is Fanie van der Merwe and the column is called ‘Fanie os oppie jas’.150 Fanie os oppie jas is a play on the phrase ‘van die os op die jas’ which roughly means ‘speaking of which’.151 His columns are all very personal, for example the first one is how he became a father. In one of the columns, he write about having a relative over from SA and the adventures they have together on a trip to Scotland. This columnist, like the others, lives in the UK.

Figure 5.2 demonstrates there is no translation offered for these columns, and it is difficult to say how readers receive this column. However, for the analysis I stay with Conboy’s point that ‘local languages’ give readers the feeling that they are a unique group, because others would not understand Afrikaans, and that they have specific attributes and shared interests. A good way to create a sense of community with the South African expats in London. In only one instance there is a translation offered by TSA to a piece of Afrikaans:

150 TSA, 420, 12.
QUOTE OF THE WEEK

"Ons beter ytstiek en opskud, voor’ie kinders byrie huis siek en vrot sit, van’ie benzene, formaldehyde en diesmeer, weggestiek innie water supply deur’ie pompe.

[We better stand up and wake up, before our children are sick at home, from benzene, formaldehyde and more, hidden in the water supply by the pumps]."152

A hip-hop song by Quintin Goliath warning of the dangers of hydraulic fracturing in the Karoo.

Here, there is a translation offered, while columns in Afrikaans are not translated. This is an exception though, only these two sentences in twelve editions of TSA are translated.

Now following are some examples of the occasional use of Afrikaans in The South African. In an ad from a moving company, a stuffed springbok animal wearing a rugby shirt has a talking cloud, which says: 'ons praat die taal' ('we speak the language'), accompanied by a text: ‘call our shipping office and speak to a real South African’ and: ‘owned and run by South Africans’ (see appendix 1).153

This company, Five Oceans worldwide movers, is emphasizing the South Africanness of their company. It is recognizable, and by saying that they speak the language, they might hope to attract South Africans who prefer to speak Afrikaans, but in any way it separates them from other movers. There’s a South African flag on the top of the ad and the bullet points which represent their service are round South African flags. Also, there’s a picture of a South African airlines plane flying against the unmistakable background of Cape Town.154 Another moving company also goes Afrikaans: ‘Find a quote cheaper than ours, and we will match it! ’Kom stuur jou bokse in Afrikaans’ (‘Come on and send your boxes in Afrikaans’).155

Ads for traditional South African events or festivals especially contain Afrikaans words. The May edition (411) has an ad for a ‘dankfees’ (‘peace festival’), a South African festival involving food, sports and entertainment. Most of it is explained in English, but the ad is surrounded by Afrikaans words like: ‘pannekoek, vetkoek, boereworsrolle’ (‘pancake’, and two other South African delicacies). The date of the event is also indicated in Afrikaans: ‘junie’ (‘June’). On the background there is a ‘tente dorp’ (camp site).156

This means readers of The South African like to be addressed in English and Afrikaans. Readers of TSA, and so the South African diaspora in London are assumed to understand Afrikaans. The language originates from the Dutch colonists and is associated with the white part of the South African population. Research by Hofman and Hettinga confirms that the diaspora in London consists

152 TSA, 424, 5.
153 TSA, 398, 9.
154 See appendix 1
155 TSA, 442, 14.
156 TSA, 411, 9.
of mostly white South Africans. The use of Afrikaans in ads indicates a large part of its readers is expected to understand Afrikaans.

Some Afrikaans words are just occasionally mentioned in articles, like they are common words or expressions everyone knows. In an article titled 'Police search for missing South African painter', there is one South African word: "Bosch's bakkie and cell phone were missing." Bakkie is an Afrikaans word for pick-up truck. The columnist Karen de Villiers suddenly includes some Afrikaans in her column. This column is about the rugby world cup.

"This jong mannetjie [young little man] is going to have the best World Cup ever!"
"Die man is trots, ek sé nou vir jou" [The man is proud, I'm telling you now!]
"Groen en Goud, lekker, lekker!" [Green and gold, nice!]

Green and gold are colors of the South African flag, and they are also the national rugby team's colors. This is the only column of De Villiers in which she writes anything in Afrikaans. Apparently rugby is associated with Afrikaans.

Apart from Afrikaans, there are some words mentioned in the articles of TSA, which are not common in English, but seem natural and common in SA. Like Afrikaans words which are also casually mentioned in articles, these words are only completely understood by South Africans. They act as local languages just as Afrikaans. The word 'ubuntu' is sometimes mentioned in TSA, like the following example: "There is a tremendous feeling of Ubuntu in our country, even though we know about the negative side - positive breeds positive, success breeds success." Ubuntu has its origins in Bantu languages and is a classical life philosophy or worldview. It means "I am what I am because of who we all are." This word is often heard in SA, and is something many South Africans would recognize as typically South African, a unique word that has a specific meaning to a South African.

In a fragment of the column 'The Local' we find a Zulu word. But contrary to Afrikaans or the word 'ubuntu', the writer of the column believes this is a word that needs explanation: "the author Ndumiso Ngcobo says that there is a Zulu word, bibiza. It means, quite literally, to backhand-slap someone across the lips mid-sentence." This shows there are words from languages other than English that not everyone would understand.

So TSA is aware of which words are regular in SA and which ones demand an explanation. It assumes the reader has no problem with the column written in Afrikaans and this implies many readers are white South Africans. The use of Afrikaans and other languages and terms that are not

---

157 TSA, 411, 2.
158 TSA, 429, 8.
159 TSA, 437, 13.
160 TSA, 424, 11.
English give the community a sense of being unique as a community and being one community with the same interests and attributions. It binds them together to have language in common and suggests they share other things, like political interests and common attributions.

While the use of language creates a sense of community, a second component of a sense of community, influence is reflected in how readers are motivated to share their opinions on the website or Facebook-page of TSA or by asking them to sign a petition. Influence is a sense that the individual is important and that the group matters to the individual.

Readers are specifically asked to share their opinions: “Have something to say? The South African welcomes your views”. By writing the paper ‘welcomes your views’, the individual is directly spoken to and given the idea that the individual matters. The opinions are published on the Comments page. Readers are encouraged to participate and rewarded when their opinion is published. Their name and opinion is published in a newspaper specifically for them and other South Africans in London. They feel like they belong to the community of South Africans in London, and the publication of their name proves this. A reader is welcome to participate. The South African emphasizes that the readers’ opinion matters. It gives readers a sense of being accepted and being welcome to join the community.

At times, TSA asks more just an opinion of its readers: to take action. The July edition (420) opens with: SAVE THE AFRICA CENTRE! Join the petition to save this cultural landmark in London. Unlike Conboy’s take on charity in tabloids, it does not take a sad and weepy story to ask readers to participate. The title is very direct. The two page article is written by Chipo Chung; she is an actress, activist and a member of the Save the Africa Centre Campaign team. So a guest writer in a way. The article ends with: “To encourage the trustees to consider the opportunity presented for 38 King Street, visit www.thesouthafrican.com for a link to sign the petition. Send us your ideas for the new Africa Centre. We’ll choose the best one to publish in the paper.” This time the reader is invited to make a difference and help save the Africa centre. It does not take a lot of trouble for a reader, because the petition can be signed online. But a reader who signs takes a stand on whether the Africa Centre stays. Signing a petition is symbolic in creating a sense of community, because it means you are part of a greater force, and that you assume others will also sign. In this case, other South Africans in London. In the same edition, the editor of TSA has something to ask of the reader. Some fragments of this are placed underneath:

IT has been said that a South African has lived in London too long when she starts complaining about the public transport.

---

161 TSA, 402, 5.
If you are a Saffa in London, chances are you’ve been forced to join fellow south west Londoners crowding and sweating on to the cattle commute that is Wimbledon to Earls Court.

Well dear friends, it would seem that there is hope! [...] Lend your support to this campaign. Email your local MP or fill in the TfL online consultation at: www.tfl.gov.uk/districtlineconsultation.\textsuperscript{162}

This story includes three names of local MP’s and their email addresses at the end. The editor appeals to South African identity of the readers. She even calls South African ‘Saffa’s’, which is short for South Africans. She also calls the readers ‘friends’. She appeals to readers by giving them something familiar, something every Londoner hates, which is the crowded tubes in London. And she offers a very simple solution. This is a problem readers will recognize and TSA offers a solution to their problems.

The component of ‘influence’ is found in the way TSA asks their readers to give their opinion. It does so in a way that makes individuals feel like they matter to TSA and to the diasporic community in London. But the newspaper sometimes asks for more than just giving their opinion. It also asks readers to sign petitions and stand up against issues like overcrowded tubes. It can be argued that within these more dramatic requests from TSA, a shared emotional connection is underlying this.

A shared emotional connection is the sense that the community members “share a common history and similar experiences”.\textsuperscript{163} The paper is made by South Africans in London for South Africans in London, so a shared common history can be assumed. Similar experiences are the things readers are asked to stand up about. A request in TSA to all readers to complain to their MP’s about overcrowded tubes means the diaspora with a common history also shares similar experiences, namely the overcrowded tubes. This all creates a sense of community, knowing there are more people out there, going through the same things, have similar opinions or caring about the same things. Finally, influence is not only that the individuals matters to the group, but the group also matters to the individual. With TSA, the group matters to the individual in a way that the reader keeps up to date with them (the diaspora) through the newspaper.

The meetings The South African proudly organizes between South Africans in London can establish more shared emotional connections among South Africans. A chance to meet other expats and connect with them creates a chance to share a common history of living in SA and similar experiences of emigration. Discussing what it is like to emigrate, to adapt to a new country and people, dealing with homesickness and guilt is all been done in the twelve analyzed papers. One very specific example is a report on a lecture by professor Robert Bor. It is called: “Ja, Well, No Fine:

\textsuperscript{162} TSA, 420, 3.

\textsuperscript{163} Bathum and Baumann, Family & Community Health, 168.
Managing the Transition to Work and Life in the UK.164 Ironically, the professor was born in South Africa and emigrated with his family to the UK only to return at the age of 11. Whether he lives in the UK now, is unclear. The event is announced in the section Have you been spotted?, showing pictures of those present at the lecture: “For the many expats present it was a chance to share similar stories and discuss solutions.” A perfect way to create a sense of community.

Sharing stories and experiences, knowing you are not the only one, is what builds a shared emotional connection between people. What further creates a mutual connection between readers of TSA, is national decline. Even over things that are wrong with the country, people bond over the idea of a community under attack, from various forces within and without. It is the idea that in bad times, with a common enemy, people have to stick together. “Perceived threats of national stability appear to trigger a range of narratives which act as a cry for assistance in maintaining the resilience of the national community under attack.”165 Conboy finds that national decline creates nationalism in the British tabloids:

Even alerting the collective community to anxieties of decline fits with a sort of progress or a desire for it as fundamental to the continuity of the narrative of a nation with all its peaks and troughs. They too provide a marker of hope in the transcendence of the nation through adversity. For all of their patriotic pride, the tabloids are quick to jump on various populist bandwagons. One of these claims that the country is in decline. It fits with many of the scripts of a community under attack from various forces within and without.166

Stories of national decline present themselves in TSA’s regular articles. On the front page of the June edition, there is an article on the possible bribing of the media by the government. It is written in a factual, pragmatic style and is largely taken from SAPA.167 Fitting into the narrative of national decline, because it is another piece of evidence that SA is not free of corruption and bribery. Controversy around Jacob Zuma, the president, fits into this narrative as well.

‘ANC’s ticket to heaven’

PRESIDENT JACOB Zuma has courted controversy yet again, for remarks he made at Mthatha in the Eastern Cape on Saturday, to drum up support for the ANC in the run up to local government elections. “When you vote for the ANC, you are also choosing to go to heaven,” Zuma said. “When you are carrying an ANC membership card, you are blessed.”168

164 TSA, 437, 8.
165 Conboy, Tabloid Britain: Constructing a Community through Language, 60.
166 Ibidem, 58-59.
168 TSA, 398, 2.
The phrase ‘yet again’ emphasizes that the president makes many mistakes and often courts controversy. It seems like it is hardly a surprise anymore. Considering national decline, the reputation of the president and therefore the country is extremely harmed by these kind of utterances. The column The Local puts this sense of shame into words:

The ANC has been behind some pretty slimy, nasty stuff in the past ten years. But this is about one of the nastiest. They’ve finally proven beyond any doubt that, to them, politics and scoring points is more important than people. Jacob Zuma, you have shamed us. Just as Thabo Mbeki shamed us over HIV/Aids, so you have shamed us over the Dalai Lama. In fact, this is worse. At least with Thabo, you can blame stupidity and ignorance. There was nothing ignorant about this. It was just evil. I never thought my country’s leaders would be so eager to lick the boots of a totalitarian state, but that’s exactly what happened.

And then there was Kgalema Motlanthe. He went to China a couple of weeks ago, and in the aftermath of the Dalai Lama’s cancellation he strenuously denied that he’d received any pressure from Beijing to bar their old enemy. Really, Kgalema? ... Not once? You, sir, are a crushing disappointment to South Africa.169 (emphasis by author, not original)

The columnist says exactly what he feels and thinks. Here, we find the great contrast between the regular articles written in a very pragmatic style, and the columnist is not holding back to describe his thoughts. He talks about shame and disappointment and is embarrassed by how those people represent his country, SA. In this, he personally addresses the president, saying to him: ‘you have shamed us’. He keeps calling it ‘my country’. The final sentence in this fragment is the strongest and speaks directly to Kgalema, who’s been to China: ‘You, sir, are a crushing disappointment to South Africa’. This style, where political issues are addressed in columns and comments resembles the style described by Ojo in the Montreal Community Contact although it generally concerns South African issues in TSA and also includes community issues in Ojo’s research.170

The president Jacob Zuma and the ANC are often the subject of shame and embarrassment: “‘The Botswana comments are a major embarrassment to our foreign policy. I expected more from the ANC,’ said University of Johannesburg Centre for the Study of Democracy director Steven Friedman.”171 The columnist also does not spare the ANC Youth League, with its president Julius

---

169 TSA, 433, 5.
170 Ojo, Journalism, 356.
171 TSA, 424, 4.
Malema, who is also a controversial figure. “A more deeply stupid move you will not find anywhere outside of an ANC Youth League brainstorming session.”

The national decline here is described mostly in terms of political blunders and failures in SA. Where Conboy argues people can bond over a common threat from outside or inside, this is not really a threat to the diaspora, because they are in London. However, it does concern the homeland and message after message on their political leaders is a threat to national stability in SA. Therefore, it is also something the diaspora could bond over, these negative messages of politics in SA.

Another way in which TSA offers a narrative of national decline is in the section Only in SA. It is an ironically written recurring article about bizarre stories and unusual events in SA. The first story in April (407) is about a lawyer who got irritated with a judge and started swearing and calling the judge names. This might just as well have happened in another country. The June edition (416) has a story about power outages which occur regularly in SA, but this article reports about a bird causing the problems, instead of the local government or the power factory. Though these types of stories are not typical to SA, they emphasize the imperfection of the home country, while being stories that are easy to digest. They are narratives of national decline. Lawyers who lose their temper and birds that cause power outages, not serious national issues, but more of a conversational topic for the readers of TSA about bad or weird things happening in SA. Conboy categorizes these types of stories as ‘other news’: “full of strange happenings, freak events, larger than life characters, endearing eccentricity or the grotesque. Some of these stories can be categorized as simply bizarre.”

In this case, the decline speaks from all the weird things that seem to be going wrong in SA. They may be unintentional, but do add to a bad name for the country. This decline in SA is something readers can bond over just like the stories on political blunders.

*The South African* can also act as a community booster, providing information on the success of members of the diasporic community in the host society. This is done in diverse articles, where for example successful South African bands, actors and businesspeople are interviewed about their success in the UK. More structurally, in the Business section, from the August edition (424) onwards, a page is especially devoted to these stories. It is called ‘SA Power 100”, and consists of interviews with South Africans in London who have achieved high positions in their careers.

Though the articles on these pages focus on the careers of the interviewed, the personal is also mentioned, to make them relatable. For instance, in a separate text box the birth date, education and qualifications of the interviewed are briefly summed up. However, then there is also room for the personal; family, hobbies, cars, favorite music, favorite beer (this particular example

---

172 TSA, 429, 5.
173 Conboy, *Tabloid Britain: Constructing a Community through Language*, 33.
concerns someone who runs a beer company), dislikes and the choice between lunch or dinner. A general life story focused on the career is described and then some interview questions follow:

What's the most interesting project you've worked on?
What drives you to succeed?
You have worked in various power ad agencies. What comes to mind as the craziest moment you've ever witnessed in advertising?

The last few questions concern the South African identity in London:

What do you like most about life in South Africa?
Any particular 'something' you miss from South Africa?
Which South African business people have most impressed you in the UK?
Operationally, what was the most difficult adjustment you had to make when moving from SA and UK?
Do you plan to return home at some stage?
What do you love about London?
What advice would you give South Africans who want to achieve professional success in the UK?

Some of these questions relate to the reader, because they are also emigrants and might struggle to make the decision to go home or stay in London. They relate to the reality of the readers, remembering what it was like to live in SA, missing things from their previous lives, adjusting to a new life, while also trying to achieve professional success. Comfort is given to readers in a sense that other South Africans have achieved their goals of becoming successful, while although successful, these people are just like them: missing life in SA and deciding whether to stay in London or return to SA.

The interviews with successful South Africans in London act as a community booster, showing that some South Africans are successful in the new community: they have achieved high end positions in mayor companies. At the same time, TSA emphasizes the things readers and the interviewed have in common: being an emigrant and struggling with questions about returning.

---

175 TSA, 424, 17.
176 TSA, 429, 15.
177 TSA, 442, 13.
178 TSA, 437, 13.
179 TSA, 437, 13.
180 TSA, 429, 15.
181 Ibidem.
Some of the interviewed have decided whether to stay in London or go back to SA, which can give readers an example.

In this section, the ways in which TSA promotes a sense of community were discussed. This is focused around the four components of a sense of community. Membership is created through the use of Afrikaans. This language is unique to the South African community and makes them feel accordingly. The arguments of Conboy are followed concerning languages; when people share a language, they feel connected and because of this connection via language they also feel like they have attributions and political interests in common. The use of Afrikaans in articles and advertisements suggests most readers understand Afrikaans, which implies many of the paper’s readers are white South Africans.

The second component of a sense of community is influence, where the individual matters to the group and the group to the individual. TSA achieves this through asking and appreciating readers’ opinions and asking them to become more involved by signing petitions. Reading about something which annoys more South African expats in London, assumes another component of sense of community: a shared emotional connection. As South African expats, readers of TSA share a common history of living in SA and similar experiences like being on the tubes and being annoyed by the over crowdedness. Influence is not only that the individuals matters to the group, but the group also matters to the individual. With TSA, the group matters to the individual in a way that the reader keeps up to date with them (the diaspora) through the newspaper.

The meetings The South African proudly organizes between South Africans in London can establish more shared emotional connections among South Africans. A chance to meet other expats and connect with them creates a chance to share a common history of living in SA and similar experiences of emigration. Sharing stories and experiences, knowing you are not the only one, is what builds a shared emotional connection between people. What further creates a mutual connection between readers of TSA, is national decline. Even over things that are wrong with the country, people bond over the idea of a community under attack, from various forces within and without. It’s the idea that in bad times, with a common enemy, people have to stick together.

The South African can also act as a community booster, providing information on the success of members of the diasporic community in the host society. This is done in diverse articles, where for example successful South African bands, actors and businesspeople are interviewed about their success in the UK. The interviews show that some South Africans are successful in the new community: they have achieved high end positions in mayor companies. At the same time, TSA

---

emphasizes the things readers and the interviewed have in common: being an emigrant and struggling with questions about returning.

5.3 Craft an identity around the South African diaspora in London

Diasporic media make their own news and reportages which show the cultural diversity and sometimes present this in different ethnic languages.\(^{183}\) Especially when a diasporic community is invisible in mainstream media in the host country, it is seen as the responsibility of the diasporic media to promote a sense of community and to forge cultural pride and identity through the diasporic media. Sun et al. perceive this role of a cultural broker or representative to be more important than the role of independent reporter.\(^{184}\)

Diasporic media are thus perceived by researchers to carry a responsibility to promote a sense of community. The ways in which TSA promotes a sense of community is just been discussed in the previous section. The way that they forge cultural pride and identity, is analyzed in this section. This is also regarded as one of the responsibilities and roles of the diasporic media. Diasporic media represent the diaspora as a group. But how do they do this? How is the South African diaspora represented in The South African?

Cultural pride and identity are represented by and in diverse ways. I start with the thing that gives South Africans extreme pride in their country: the organization of the World Cup in 2010. In articles on this, ‘pride’ is explicitly mentioned and expressed. But what makes South Africans so proud of this? And what does it do for the South African diaspora in London? Besides the World Cup, South African celebrities and cultural habits also engender pride in SA. They will be discussed in this section.

South Africa hosted the FIFA soccer World Cup 2010. In all analyzed editions of TSA (from January to December 2012), organizing the World Cup is a topic which speaks of pride the most and in an explicit way. In TSA, the World Cup featured in four out of twelve editions analyzed, sometimes mentioned in more than one article per edition. For example, in one newspaper in the section This Day in South African History, one of the items is 2004: “South Africa wins the 2012 bid to host the Soccer World Cup”.\(^{185}\) An article in this same edition has an interview with a South African alternative rock band ‘Springbok Nude Girls’. In this interview, the following question is asked: “having recently opened for U2 in South Africa, what do you think has brought an increase in big international acts to

\(^{183}\) Ojo, Journalism.
\(^{184}\) Sun et al., Media International Australia, 143.
\(^{185}\) TSA, 411, 4.
the country?" One band member thinks it has to do with the World Cup: "Arno C: The World Cup has made our country more desirable I think [...]".  

In an article where TSA looks back one year after the World Cup, the CEO of SAFA (South African Football Association) Danny Jordaan explains why organizing this event meant so much to South Africans:

The 2010 Fifa World Cup was a time when South Africa dispelled doubt in its ability and invited the world to witness the reality, rather than believe the perceptions of what they thought South Africa was really about," said Jordaan.  

Jordaan emphasizes that SA has shown the world that it is capable to organize such an important, international event. In this account, it appears that there was a perception that SA was not ready to host the World Cup. As a country, SA has shown a different side of them to the world, different from what the world expected of the country. This quote reads as if SA has finally gotten rid of a bad reputation by successfully organizing the World Cup. The success is emphasized more than once.

"Africa’s first World Cup was Fifa's best ever, its most commercially successful ever and arguably its most socially important ever, seen as it was in a developing country and continent with so much to prove."

"As we reflect, we do so with great pride in what was achieved by all South Africans, at the legacy of world-class sporting infrastructure, improved transport and road networks, but most importantly at the social cohesion the event generated and the pride felt by South Africans and all Africans as we successfully hosted the biggest event in world sport," he said.

Here, it becomes clear what reputation SA wanted to get rid of, one of a developing country. The words 'best' and 'ever' emphasize how good the World Cup was, according to Jordaan. Sports is a binding factor for a nation, and above Jordaan states all South Africans should be proud of hosting this sporting event, how it brought people together and how proud South Africans should be of hosting the biggest event in the world.

In the section This Day in South African History about the World Cup, pride is also reflected: “Possibly one of the biggest events to ever take place on the African continent [...]. It went on to become one of the most well received World Cups and showcased what Africa had to offer.” This is

---

186 TSA, 411, 8.
187 TSA, 416, 29.
188 Ibidem.
189 TSA, 411, 4.
The success of the 2010 World Cup is still fresh in the minds of most travelers so I believe the attitude is still very positive. I’m looking forward to connecting with people here. There is no doubt the World Cup was a huge boost for SA tourism. Are we still benefiting from hosting this event, or do we need to re-energise interest in our country in new ways? (...) There is a tremendous feeling of Ubuntu in our country, even though we know about the negative side – positive breeds positive, success breeds success.190

This shows although the interviewed woman brings up the World Cup herself, the interviewer brings it up as well. Articles and interviews in TSA write about the World Cup as something that has brought pride to all South Africans. Furthermore, an image is created of a country perceived as a developing country with all its problems, who against the odds hosted the biggest event in the world successfully. In this way, TSA makes its readers proud of being South African.

Besides the World Cup, TSA reflects on other things South Africans in London should be proud of in their home country. As we have seen, Charlize Theron appears to carry the pride of SA. Her coming to London, fills the front page and a part of the second page. A successful South African actress that represents her country. Princess Charlene is even more adored in TSA. Born in Zimbabwe, but later becoming an Olympic swimmer for South Africa, she is also honored for her accomplishments. President Zuma is quoted on Charlene, princess of Monaco, when he welcomes her and her husband, prince Albert of Monaco: "Our own Princess Charlene. We continue to treasure the pride that Charlene brought to South Africa as an Olympic swimmer. She continues to be our wonderful ambassador to the world."191 Celebrities like Charlize and princess Charlene are presented as examples of good South Africans, because they have achieved success and thereby represent their country.

Apart from people representing the country, South African habits and products also engender this pride. The South African organizes the Biltong Taste Awards 2011. This competition is about who makes the best biltong in London.192 A panel of esteemed South Africans will judge the biltong. "Last year, the group of talented taste-budders included South African chefs, celebrity..."
caterers, restaurant managers, media and sports personalities. However, there is also a People's Choice category, see figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3: Biltong Taste Awards 2011

In an article about the Biltong Taste Awards 2011, one of the competitors is quoted:

Damion Hazel from Bushmen’s Delight, who won the Best Beef Biltong and Overall Best Biltong Awards at last year’s event under the name Chili Biltong, reckons it’s only a matter of time until biltong is as popular in the UK as it is in South Africa. "Biltong is not only a great tasting snack but it also carries the pride of the nation," says Hazel. "South Africans identify themselves with braai and biltong. We do both better than anyone else". (emphasis by author, not original)

TSA has spent a couple of articles on the Taste Awards in the editions analyzed. One of the articles consists of an interview with a couple of the contenders. It asks for memories they have of eating biltong:

Tell us about your earliest memory of the mouthwatering meaty delight that is biltong

Niall: Watching rugby with my dad.
Avi: I left South Africa initially when I was 16 to live in the US, and biltong was something that I missed more than home itself.

Asking for childhood memories of the interviewed, makes the readers think back to their first memory of biltong. The South African identity is poured into these familiar cultural traditions of for example eating biltong. They are familiar to all South Africans. It creates a sense of belonging

---

193 TSA, 402, 10.
194 Ibidem.
195 TSA, 407, 10.
amongst the South African diaspora in London. Especially these Taste Awards where South Africans come together to judge the best of these snacks which represent South African culture. Organized partly by TSA itself, it establishes the South African culture in London, and contributes to its visibility. Not being represented in the British media, South Africans celebrate their cultural traditions through TSA, preserving the culture, while at the same time fulfilling their responsibility to forge cultural pride and identity. The Taste Awards are an opportunity to carry out their cultural pride.

Another call for preserving cultural traditions from TSA is done by the editor itself: “One last thing. The UK is gloriously warm at the moment, so why not make the most of it - stoke up the braai and get in touch with your inner South African this week.” The braai, or barbecue, is another cultural tradition that every South African knows. The fragment ‘get in touch with your inner South African’ is significant, because the call for performing South African cultural acts like a braai is a direct fulfillment of the cultural preservation function often assigned to diasporic media.

So these cultural traditions portrayed in TSA act to preserve the South African culture amongst the diaspora. It emphasizes how important it is to keep in touch with the ‘inner’ South African by having pride in the cultural acts. But what kind of a picture of the South African is painted in TSA?

From all the different stories, interviews and columns an image of the South African is created. Especially, the South African in London. Interviewed people are often asked how being South African has helped them in their job or what they miss about SA, out of these answers comes an image of ‘the’ South African that is surprisingly unambiguous. Interviewed people and lecturers that appear in TSA’s stories, often talk of ‘the’ South African in London which is perceived by English people as arrogant, but they consider it a positive feature: “their attitude is one of a ‘bullish nature’, in London we often get referred to as arrogant, I disagree, I believe it’s this hunger to seek out opportunity that makes us seem arrogant!”

Another South African puts it like this: “South Africans can be very ambitious and competitive by nature, which can create challenges in the workplace.” It is interesting this person says ‘by nature’, because it suggests this is more than a cultural attribution. This person also says ‘challenges’ in the workplace. Using challenges is a positive way to put this, because it could just as well have been ‘problems’. Negative characteristics of South Africans such as arrogance are bend to make it positive attributions.
South Africans are also characterized as ‘polite and helpful’; hospitable and warm and as having a good work ethic: “South Africans have a good reputation for having a solid work ethic, and for being willing to turn their hand to anything.”

Characteristics of the South African in London are only mentioned in a positive way. Even when they might be perceived as ‘arrogant’ by people in their host country, it is explained in a way which bends it into a positive trait. In TSA, only positive images of the South African in London are portrayed, this is to reinforce the South African identity to South Africans who left their country. It is a reminder of their original identity.

Sports can bind a nation or community together. The Sports section of TSA covers the final pages of the paper. The two main sports in South Africa dominate the sports pages: rugby and cricket. Elaborate reports on what happened in a certain game and interviews are most common. There are always possibilities for a South African to see a particular rugby or cricket game. South African, Australian and/or New Zealand bars and cafés advertise with their big screens and access to games that are not broadcast by the England channels. Usually, a typical South African drink is offered with the game.

Some articles are accompanied by pictures of individual players who played a large role in a victory or a loss. The players are singled out and sometimes seen as heroes, like John Smit. He is a rugby player who just moved to the UK to play for the Saracens, a successful English rugby team. In a report on an event in London where Smit spoke to South African expats, his heroic state is repeated. He is called 'Springbok hero John Smit' and 'The Springbok legend'.

TSA does not have a celebrity section, and the closest to this is the way it writes of their athletes. For example, in a small item there is a report of a cricket player getting married and the tweets he sent. It says how and where the couple got married. This is as celebrity as TSA gets. The sports players are thus regarded as celebrities.

Sports can bind a nation together, and this is reflected in TSA. Like national decline, loss in sports can also act as a binding factor. It triggers a range of narratives which act as a cry for assistance in maintaining the resilience of the national community at loss.

The next phrase is about losing an important match for the rugby World Cup: “We all remember what happened there and the pain is still tangible!”

‘We all’ refers to all South Africans, referring to ‘the pain’ means it is to be taken seriously. But there is also a positive side to the course of the rugby World Cup:

---

199 TSA, 433, 7. TSA, 429, 6. TSA, 424, 17.
200 TSA, 442, 3.
201 Conboy, Tabloid Britain: Constructing a Community through Language, 60.
202 TSA, 402, 22.
That's because our Springbok team has been embraced by all South Africans in a way I have never experienced before. 2011 was the year that fans from all backgrounds stood behind the Boks from the moment the squad was announced. In the past, that kind of affection was dependent on the delivery of a trophy.203

The ‘Boks’ stands for the Springboks, the name of the national rugby team. The sports team apparently brought fans from all backgrounds together. It unified the country, like sports has always played a big role in unifying South Africa after apartheid. This shows how loss in sports can act as a binding factor which pulls all South Africans together.

As we have seen, there are many factors over which expats bind together as a community. But how is their home country portrayed in The South African? As a developed or developing country? And how do the South Africans react to this in the Comments section?

In TSA the position of SA compared to the rest of the world changes according to the subject. Like South African identity in TSA, it is bend in a way which is most positive for South Africa. In an article on climate pollution, SA is put in the role of a developing country, who is the victim of rich, developed countries guilty of pollution, while SA now has to face the consequences:

The richest and most developed countries have over-used their share of the earth’s resources. Our agriculture is suffering. Our health services are overwhelmed. The poor nations have a responsibility to act but we can’t be given the same level of responsibility as the developed nations.204

The use of ‘we’ and ‘our’ brings the viewpoint of SA close, while the rich and developed nations are distanced from. The us versus them paradigm is used to create a distance between the developed and developing countries. The “us versus them” rhetoric is known to emphasize good characteristics of the in group and bad characteristics of the out group, creating a strong national or other identity through news media.205 South Africa is depicted as a victim of the rich and developing countries’ use of resources.

In praising the performance of South Africa of organizing the soccer World Cup, it is also being displayed as a developing country. This makes the performance appear even more extraordinary. “Africa’s first World Cup was Fifa’s best ever, its most commercially successful ever and arguably its most socially important ever, seen as it was in a developing country and continent

203 TSA, 437, 20.
204 TSA, 437, 3.
205 Van Dijk, The Handbook of Journalism Studies, 191-204.
with so much to prove.\textsuperscript{206} Here, as in the article on the climate, South Africa is called a ‘developing country’, it victimizes the country and in case of the World Cup, enhances the performance of SA.

But a discussion illustrates how South Africans desperately want SA to be counted as a developed country which is capable of fairly trailing a murder suspect. It concerns a discussion on the Dewani case, and where he should be trailed. On the Comments page, readers give their opinion on current events. The first commentator is not convinced that he will get a fair trial in SA:

Dewani is worried about facing a judicial system that is biased and inept. South Africa is a third world country with third world ideologies. I have no doubt he is guilty but deserves a fair trial. ... Dewani has reason to be worried. Deal with the murderers in your country and let us deal with the case as only English legislation can.\textsuperscript{207}

From the last sentence, it seems like the person who wrote this, is or feels British. Just as a reminder, these comments all come from the Facebook page of TSA or their own website and it makes it remarkable that a British person would visit this website. Basically, this person claims SA is incapable of giving the Dewani a fair trial because it is a developing country. What follows are reactions from South Africans all trying to prove this person wrong.

Do you think his trial will not be monitored by all and sundry including Europe and the UK? Of course he will get a fair trial.

So as far as corruption and racism are concerned I suggest you examine this country’s record, before sitting in judgment of a country you obviously know very little about.

You begin with a series of uncalled for and unsubstantiated slurs and insults against South Africa, its institutions, its people, and the whole of the third world, displaying the very opposite of that multiracial tolerance you claim to be so proud of.\textsuperscript{208}

What is interesting about these fragments is the insult from a British person being refuted by four South Africans living in London, defending South Africa by depicting Britain as a country with its own flaws of corruption and racism. The commentators bring down their current home to defend their homeland. TSA shows here the loyalty of its readers to their homeland, because they feel a sense of belonging to it. In this way, the South African identity is preserved.

\textsuperscript{206} TSA, 416, 29.
\textsuperscript{207} TSA, 433, 4.
\textsuperscript{208} TSA, 433, 4.
The ways in which TSA crafts an identity around South Africans in London is reflected in the cultural pride and South African identity which appears from its pages. The identity of South Africans in London which is constructed in TSA, is made up entirely out of the South African culture and South Africa’s achievements. The World Cup, famous nationals and typical South African snacks and barbequing habits all preserve the South African culture and identity. The negative things like national decline and bad sport achievements have proven to be binding factors to a community. And the comments above show South Africans feel very strongly about their homeland, because they strongly defend it. The next section discusses how South Africans, contrarily, are made to feel unwelcome or out of place in London though The South African.

5.4 Sense of not belonging

Although I started out looking for ways in which TSA creates a sense of belonging, the analysis of the data also revealed a sense of not belonging in the newspaper. In this section I discuss the different sections of TSA that emphasize this sense of not belonging. This is the strongest in advertisements of companies that recruit for South Africans in SA. The ads try to convince readers to return to SA.

Some ads in TSA are responding to the idea that expats would like to return to SA. The recruiting agencies use this idea in their ads, such as Talent Anywhere:

Fed up with grey London skies?
Had enough of overcrowded tubes?
Why not speak to Talent Anywhere?
Our aim is to bring skilled and qualified IT professionals back home.209

All the clichés that you will read about in TSA concerning the weather, the tubes and the crowdedness are used to reinforce the company’s ads. These general complaints are randomly featured in TSA, for example when readers are asked to complain to their MP about overcrowded tubes, or the column ‘The Optimist’ writes about being obsessed with the weather in London, whereas in SA she was not. Unintentionally though, these complaints and such promises made in the ads of recruiting agencies work together to create a sense of not belonging. Stylistically, the ads and articles are clearly separated and most have no similarities concerning topics. However, there are five ads from different moving companies in the exemplary edition of October (433), more than any other topic of ads. Combined with ads from recruiting agencies it feels like a sense of not belonging.

209 TSA, 429, 14.
Returning to the advertisement above, instead of ‘back home’, the designers of the ad could also have chosen for ‘to South Africa’, which is much more neutral, but to respond to feelings of homesickness, guilt and regret, ‘back home’ is a way to emphasize the message.

Another ad from Incredible Connection takes it even further. The ad contains three job openings and their qualifications. Above it, in large letters it says: “Welcome back to South Africa, we’ve been waiting for you”. It speaks directly to the reader, letting him/her know that the country is waiting for them. Exactly what an expat wanting to return would like to hear.

These ads seem to reflect and respond to a sense of not belonging in London. For those who want to leave London, this could be their opportunity to return while remaining assured of a job. Talent Anywhere also wrote an article-like story, indicated with ‘promotion’ called: “Do you have IT-skills and want to go home?” It is very explicit about the job opportunities and the considerations for expats: “... meaning there are many more job opportunities than you might have imagined for skilled staff wanting to return.” This sentence is trying to refute the thought that there are no jobs in SA. It tries to change the perception of the expat about job opportunities, which is important especially if the expat left because the job opportunities were better in London. Hofman and Hettinga’s research shows that many South Africans leave for better job opportunities. Their imagination of jobs apparently needs to change into thinking they can get a good job in their home country. It ends with: “We look forward to welcoming you home.”

The ads in TSA seem like they want South Africans to return home. The way the articles in TSA contain suggestive questions and fragments on returning enhances this sense of not belonging. A newspaper for South Africans in London, logically also makes the dilemma of staying in London or returning to South Africa a topic in their stories. But where TSA is neutral and pragmatic in most articles, the questions asked in the interviews have a clear opinion in them.

- What has made you stay in SA when so many have moved overseas?
- There are lots of SA creatives working in London, how do you feel that so much SA talent is not being utilized for the country that trained them?
- Would you like them to come back and what would you like to say to sell the benefits of coming home?
The first question asks for reasons for the interviewed to stay in SA. The second question implies creative South Africans in London should feel guilty for not letting the country that invested in their education utilize their talent. The next question asks the interviewed to do a sales talk to convince South Africans to come home. The answer: “Come home, it’s all forgiven, and we love you still. How can you say no to making a difference and making a great living, not forgetting our incredible climate and warm people!” By indicating that all is forgiven, it is again emphasized that South Africans should feel guilty for leaving. Furthermore, ‘making a difference’ equals ‘in SA your life has meaning’, opposed to the UK, where apparently your life has less meaning. It is emphasized that readers can make a good living in SA too, and the positive things that are not related to the UK are mentioned: the warm climate and the warm people.

A story in the February edition (398) also has a clear message attached to it. It is an interview with a South African woman who is a recruiter for South Africans in London. The title is ‘Considering a career back home?’ The woman talks of ‘our talent’ and ‘our country’, but when the conversation leads to the problems of the country, she says that ‘they’ have a lot to learn. She distances herself from the negative sides of SA, but continues to promote SA with its positive sides, and motivates the expats by saying how she enjoys doing something back for her country. It ends with: “I love South Africa”.

These interviews filled with questions and passages on the positive sides to living in SA and speaking to underlying guilt feelings creates a sense of not belonging to the readers of TSA. Adding to this, are the many stories about charity which also invoke guilt feelings with the South African expat in London.

The charity events reported on in TSA are all about people making an effort to raise money for a good cause, usually in South Africa. There are fundraising events, like the Braai en Potjie festival, a charity fundraiser with lots of South African cultural characteristics: a braai/barbeque cook off; Super Rugby on big screen and an ‘evening sokkie dance’ (Sokkie dance is a style of social ballroom dance with a partner). But there are also private initiatives such as a South African runner who is aiming to do the Virgin London Marathon in a personal best time, while raising funds for a charity that tries to help people in hard to reach areas, not specifically referring to SA.

This discursive function promotes a sense of not belonging amongst the readership of TSA by organizing these charity events which try to help people in SA, while the readers have left the country. It could increase their guilt about not being able to help by being in the country. On the

---

216 TSA, 398, 16.
217 TSA, 416, 15.
218 TSA, 407, 17.
other hand, charity events can also create a sense of community amongst the readership of TSA. Readers can participate by donating and sometimes by joining in for example, a spinning marathon.

In a story called ‘Hope amongst the hardship,’ on two documentaries about SA, one of these feelings is perfectly described by the author: "...to believe that all things are possible: hope exists. It’s consoling to know that when the lights go out there are indeed good Samaritans looking after our children." It also describes what it is like to be a South African living in another country, in the opening line: “BEING South African it’s often difficult viewing the hardships of our country through an outsider’s perspective - it sometimes borders on depressing.” This sentence certainly portrays the sense of guilt an expat might have. It’s not only difficult, but it “borders on depressing”, makes it even stronger and powerful.

There is also an ad in TSA, which tries to motivate readers to send money to SA, responding to possible guilt feelings. It features a large image of a young black boy, who is changing teeth, smiling broadly, accompanied by the text: “Can’t wait to start school!” He holds up a thumb too, and is already wearing his school uniform. More text: "New term. New books. New uniform." It is an ad for a bank where you can transfer money abroad, even though it looks like an appeal from a charity organization. This bank is trying to appeal to guilt feelings. The ad is included in appendix 2.

While the amount of stories devoted to charity events in the editions of TSA varies, the March edition (402) has an extreme amount of charity events covered inside it. In the March edition alone, there is a story about a South African/UK couple who are going to drive from Cape Town to London for charity, there is an exposition to raise money for the endangered flamingos, someone is riding a bike to raise money for research on childhood cancer and the reader is encouraged to buy cloths made by South African woman to support the UN women. This last one has an explicit call to get involved: "Check out the website, and get involved. Make a difference, think globally and act locally!" Yet another charity in the March edition: a spinning marathon for a ‘much-deserving charity’.

Another aspect which makes this interesting is that in the article it is explained that readers can sign up to form a team of spinners, or to sign in individually. This is an event where South Africans can meet and bond. It creates a sense of community. One if its components, shared emotional connections can be built based on meetings that take place for charity in this case. It is similar to an earlier mentioned meeting at a lecture on emigration.

Concluding this section, The South African is creating a sense of not belonging in different sections. First of all, the ads of recruiting agencies take all of the negative points generally known

---

219 TSA, 416, 14.
220 TSA, 429, 2.
221 TSA, 402, 12.
about living in London, but also mentioned in TSA, and use them in a way that makes their advertisements stronger and convince South Africans in London to go back to SA and work for them. Some of the suggestive questions in interviews enhance this sense of not belonging which is created, by implying South Africans should feel guilty about leaving or should go back. Then the many charity stories in the editions enhance the feelings of guilt even more, because the charities aim to help people in SA, while the South Africans are no longer there. The charity stories can also have the effect of promoting a sense of community, because like other meetings analyzed in this thesis, some of the charity events are festivals or other ways to meet and contribute to the charity. This is a chance for the expats to get together and share their stories and experiences in London.
Results and Conclusion: The discourse of TSA and diasporic media

What discursive roles does *The South African* perform for its readership? Through a literature review based upon other research on the roles of diasporic media, possible themes were distinguished to help answer this question. Based on literature four themes were derived, which were analyzed by a discourse analysis of twelve randomly selected editions of the newspaper from 2011. The main question on the discursive roles of TSA were supplemented by related sub-questions: What different discourses around ‘South African-ness’ and the London-based South African diaspora appear in *The South African*? How are these discourses crafted and presented within it? Do any specific discourses predominate? Does it try to create a sense of community or of belonging? If so, how?

What this thesis finds is that *The South African* provides detailed information about the homeland. Generally speaking there are news stories on SA and they are taken from either the South African Press Agency or South African newspapers. They are written in a factual, neutral way. In the analyzed editions, stories on the diaspora and stories relating to both SA and the UK make for a majority of the front page stories, which are usually the most important and most debated stories in the newsroom. So South African news is not necessarily always deemed the most important.

According to Elias, news reports on the homeland are meant to create a sense of belonging to the former homeland.²²² TSA clearly tries to do this since many of its stories are providing news about the homeland. It also preserves the cultural identity of its readers. Though most news stories on SA appear neutral and factual, soft news stories play a role on the pages after the front page and often appear before the more serious, hard news accounts. News on SA is sometimes taken from a source which only provides positive news on SA. This makes the earlier described factual and neutral way of reporting on SA crumble. However, diasporic media have other responsibilities and considerations. Sun et al. consider forging cultural pride and identity the most important responsibility of such media who represent groups that are often invisible in society and regular media in the host country.²²³

In a way, it could be argued that TSA itself acts as the diasporic community. It plays an active role in the community by organizing all kinds of meetings between South Africans to do business, meet or network. And then it reports on those meetings in the newspaper. Conboy argues papers like to appear to be important to the news.

---

²²³ Sun et al., *Media International Australia*. 
References to South African history in a specific section with a particularly large role for Nelson Mandela also work to create a sense of belonging to SA and functions as cultural preservation, by digging up these historical events.

A recurring section on visa and immigration news, information on democratic rights, and articles written like a tourist guide act to help with issues of integration for the TSA audience. The section *Legally Speaking* provides the latest developments in visa news, presented in a question-answer style. This is an accessible item that helps South Africans meet the requirements to stay in the country. TSA also provides tourism articles about specific holidays in the UK. It lists, for example, romantic places to go in London for Valentine's Day. These items help South Africans explore London and find their way around their current home town. TSA acts as a guide for the unknown, unexplored or complicated new society that is metropolitan London.

How *The South African* creates a sense of community, is described by the components of the concept: membership, influence and shared emotional connections. Additionally, national decline can create a bond between people and diasporic media can act as a community booster by providing stories of successful members of the community in the host society.

Membership is created through the use of Afrikaans. The Afrikaans language is part of what makes South Africans unique. Afrikaans words are occasionally found in English articles and advertisements in TSA, but mostly in the recurring column written entirely in Afrikaans. As Conboy argues, the use of local languages gives readers a strong sense that they have other things in common, like attributions and political interests. Having Afrikaans in *The South African* strengthens the sense of a community amongst readers. Following Conboy, who argues that the use of local languages makes people assume they share other attributes and political beliefs, I believe that the use of Afrikaans can create a sense of community. The use of Afrikaans in articles and advertisements suggests most readers understand Afrikaans, which implies many of the paper’s readers are white South Africans.

The second component of a sense of community is influence, where the individual matters to the group and the group to the individual. TSA achieves this through asking and appreciating readers’ opinions and asking them to become more involved by signing petitions. Reading about something which annoys more South African expats in London, assumes another component of sense of community: a shared emotional connection. As South African expats, readers of TSA share a common history of living in SA and similar experiences like being on the tube and being annoyed by the over crowdedness. Influence is not only when the individuals matter to the group, but when the group also matters to the individual. With TSA, the group matters to the individual in a way that the reader keeps up to date with them (the diaspora) through the newspaper.
The meetings *The South African* proudly organizes between South Africans in London can establish more shared emotional connections among South Africans. A chance to meet other expats and connect with them creates a chance to share a common history of living in SA and similar experiences of emigration. Sharing stories and experiences, knowing you are not the only one, is what builds a shared emotional connection between people.

What further creates a mutual connection between readers of TSA, is national decline. Even over things that are wrong with the country, people bond over the idea of a community under attack, from various forces within and without. With their community under attack a strong drive emerges to show the resilience of the community. In *The South African* the narrative of national decline is told through political failures and blunders made by the president Jacob Zuma, or the ANC. A specific section also narrates national decline in the sense of bizarre stories that give the country a bad name.

*The South African* acts as a community booster, providing information on the success of members of the diasporic community in the host society. This is done in diverse articles, where for example successful South African bands, actors and businesspeople are interviewed about their success in the UK. The interviews show that some South Africans are successful in the new community: they have achieved high end positions in mayor companies. At the same time, TSA emphasizes the things readers and the successful people have in common: being an emigrant and struggling with questions about returning.

TSA crafts an identity around the South African diaspora in London by forging cultural and national pride on its pages. The World Cup, famous nationals and typical South African snacks and barbequing habits all forge pride in the South African culture and identity. A recurring image of the South African is of a friendly, hospitable person. However, Londoners sometimes seem to perceive them as arrogant, but this is bent in a positive way by South Africans quoted in TSA: “I disagree, I believe it’s this hunger to seek out opportunity that makes us seem arrogant!” The negative things like national decline and disappointing sports achievements have proven to be binding factors to a community. In discussion on the justice system in SA, all readers defend their homeland.

Thus, these findings illustrate how TSA creates a sense of community and of belonging within its pages. However, what is also interesting is the way in which TSA simultaneously creates a sense of ‘not belonging’ in London. A combination of ads from recruiting agencies in SA, suggestive interview questions in regular articles and articles on charity events constructs this sense of not belonging. The ads of recruiting agencies take of all of the negative points generally known about living in London, but also mentioned in TSA, as a way to make their advertisements stronger and convince South Africans in London to go back to SA and work for them.

---

225 TSA, 442, 13.
Some of the suggestive questions in interviews enhance this sense of not belonging, which is created by implying South Africans should feel guilty about leaving or should go back. Then the many charity stories in the editions enhance the guilt feelings even more, because the charities aim to help people in SA, while the expats are no longer there. The charity stories can also have the effect of promoting a sense of community, because like other meetings analyzed in this thesis, some of the charity events are festivals or other ways to meet and contribute to the charity. This is a chance for the expats to get together and share their stories and experiences in London. Ironically, part of belonging to the South African diaspora, it appears, is having a sense of ‘not belonging’.

Two discursive roles of The South African predominate in the newspaper. The discourses which promote a sense of community and create a sense of not belonging in London are found in many different sections of the newspaper. What specifically makes them interesting and dominant is the way these discourses are constructed and reflected in articles as well as advertisements in The South African.

This research has aimed to show the discursive functions within a diasporic newspaper, considering the many ways in which The South African is able to create a sense of community. Moreover, discovering a sense of not belonging in London was unexpected, but nonetheless important and intriguing. Although it may be a small contribution, this research has analyzed a diasporic newspaper to add to other researches on diasporic media. Hopefully, the discursive roles found here are an inspiration for further research on other diasporic media.

Diasporic newspapers cannot be compared with mainstream newspapers. They are different in many ways, including their target audience, their role in the community and their own goals. Their lower level of professionalism makes it that they are taken less seriously in the academic world. However, diasporic media should be viewed as different from mainstream media. Mainstream media want to make a profit or write for their target audience. Diasporic media’s main function is forging cultural pride and identity, because diasporic communities are often invisible: in their host society as well as its media. Having different goals and working in different ways, should make the diasporic media a more interesting field of research in journalism and anthropology studies.
References


Appendix 1: Ad from Five Oceans

OWNED & RUN BY SOUTH AFRICANS

- FULL HOUSEHOLD RELOCATION
- GROUPAGE/ PART LOADS
- AIR FREIGHT
- VEHICLE SHIPPING
- CUSTOM CLEARANCE
- MARINE INSURANCE
- STORAGE IN THE U.K & S.A
- FINE ART & ANTIQUES

FREE PACKING SERVICE
CALL OUR SHIPPING OFFICE AND SPEAK TO A REAL SOUTH AFRICAN

TEL: 01865 349017

Email: Sales@fiveoceansmoving.co.uk
Unit 49 - Lower End – Oxford – OX29 9QH
Appendix 2: Ad from Western Union

Send money to your loved ones around the world and across the UK together with your best wishes for a successful school year.

The money you send will be available to pick up in cash at more than 424,000** Western Union Agent locations in over 200 countries and territories, including the UK.

**Money Transfer**

*Please consult Western Union money transfer exchange. Subject to terms and conditions of service.** Agent locations subject to audit. June 2011-2015.