

**Literacy, Orality and Recontextualization in the
Parliament of the Republic of South Africa:
an Ethnographic Study**

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*To Jesus Christ, the Word-become-Flesh
and all those who have faithfully recontextualized his life in mine.
John 1:1-18*

Abstract

In parliaments, the tasks of drafting legislation and conducting oversight are accomplished by means of complex chains of spoken, written and multimodal texts. In these genre chains, information is recontextualized from one text to another before being debated in sittings of the houses of parliament. This study employs the point of view afforded by linguistic ethnography to investigate critically the ways in which meanings are recontextualized in one section of such a genre chain, namely the process by which committees of South Africa's National Assembly oversee the budgets of government departments and state-owned entities. It does this to identify possible sources of communication difficulties in this process and suggest ways in which these can be minimized. In so doing, it develops a theoretical model of the discursive effects of recontextualization informed by Latour's (1987) notion of black-boxing as well as Maton's (2011) Legitimation Code Theory. This model uses Interactional Sociolinguistics and elements of Systemic Functional Linguistics, including APPRAISAL and Transitivity as tools to describe the realization of these effects in language. This study finds that ideational and interpersonal meanings are condensed and decondensed at particular points in the genre chain in ways that lead to some MPs' voices being recontextualized more accurately than others'. It also shows that common sources of communication difficulties in the committee process include differences in political background and understandings of committee procedure and participant roles. It recommends that representatives of departments and entities reporting to the committees should receive a fuller pre-briefing on their roles; that MPs should receive training on asking clear, focused questions; and that the role of committee secretaries as procedural advisors should be strengthened.

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Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1.	Overview of chapter	2
1.2.	Motivation for the study	2
1.3.	Research questions	5
1.4.	Key concepts in the study and their relevance	6
1.4.1.	Literacy and orality	6
1.4.2.	Intertextuality and recontextualization	6
1.4.3.	Ethnography and linguistic ethnography	7
1.5.	Context of the study	9
1.5.1.	The macro-context: culture, language and politics in South Africa	10
1.5.2.	The meso-context: Parliament and the committee process	13
1.5.3.	The micro-context: Parliamentary committees	16
1.5.4.	Entering the context	18
1.6.	Overview of the thesis	18

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1.	Introduction	20
2.2.	Spoken and written language, orality and literacy	21
2.2.1.	Formal characteristics of spoken and written language	21
2.2.2.	The New Literacy Studies: a plurality of literacies	25
2.2.3.	Multimodal literacy events and recontextualization	26
2.3.	Institutional discourse	28
2.3.1.	Defining institutional discourse	28
2.3.2.	Institutionalizing meanings	29
2.4.	Parliamentary discourse	32
2.4.1.	Intertextuality in parliament	32
2.4.2.	The contribution made by this study	35
2.4.3.	South African parliamentary discourse in transition	36
2.5.	Acquiring and co-producing parliamentary discourse conventions	38
2.5.1.	Learning parliamentary literacy	40
2.5.2.	Discourse acquisition through legitimate peripheral participation	40
2.5.3.	The role of identity construction	41
2.5.4.	Acquiring implicit discourse conventions	42
2.5.5.	Multiple communities of practice	43
2.6.	Intertextuality and recontextualization	45
2.6.1.	Bakhtin and the dialogicality of texts	45
2.6.2.	Bernstein and recontextualization	47
2.6.3.	Recontextualization and the production of knowledge	47
2.7.	Conclusion	55

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1.	Introduction	57
3.2.	Linguistic ethnography as a point of view	57
3.2.1.	Basic epistemology	57
3.2.2.	Power, knowledge and ideology	59
3.2.3.	Convergence between analysts' and participants' perspectives	61
3.2.4.	Use of linguistic tools of analysis	65
3.3.	Data collection	66
3.3.1.	Field entry	67
3.3.2.	Observing communication in parliament	69
	3.3.2.1. <i>Observing committee meetings</i>	70
	3.3.2.2. <i>Observing committee secretaries at work</i>	72
3.3.3.	Eliciting participants' perspectives	74
	3.3.3.1. <i>Eliciting committee secretaries' perspectives</i>	74
	3.3.3.2. <i>Eliciting MPs' perspectives</i>	76
3.4.	Data analysis	79
3.4.1.	Selecting and subdividing data for analysis	79
3.4.2.	Analysing differences in ideational meaning: Transitivity	85
3.4.3.	Analysing differences in interpersonal meaning: APPRAISAL and Politeness Theory	86
3.4.4.	Analysing indexicality: Interactional Sociolinguistics and the use of participants' perspectives	92
3.4.5.	Presenting the analysis	95
3.5.	Conclusion	96

Chapter 4: Analysis

4.1.	Introduction	98
4.2.	“Be careful of percentages”: Epistemological (de)condensation in a budget presentation	98
4.2.1.	Stage 1: Opening questions	101
4.2.2.	Negotiation over number of speakers per round of questions	106
4.2.3.	Stage 2: A2's answers	111
4.2.4.	Stage 3: Follow-up questions	116
4.2.5.	Conclusion	119
4.3.	“The example that I can relate to”: Epistemological (de)condensation in MPs' stories from their constituencies	122
4.3.1.	TD1 and TC's discussion on co-ordination	123
4.3.2.	TC's utterance on rural transport	132
4.3.3.	The report	136
4.3.4.	Conclusion	140
4.4.	“We're talking about semantics here”: Axiological (de)condensation in inter-party debate	142
4.4.1.	Stage 1: Discovery of a difference of opinion over wording	144
4.4.2.	Stage 3: Proposal and rejection of changes in wording	152
4.4.3.	Stage 7: Recording of the decision	162
4.4.4.	Conclusion	164
4.5.	Summary of findings	167

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1.	Introduction	171
5.2.	Theoretical implications: Recontextualization and its realization in language	172
5.3.	Key findings: Recontextualization in the parliamentary committee process	176
5.3.1.	Spoken recontextualization: the committee meetings	177
5.3.2.	Written recontextualization: the committee reports	179
5.3.3.	Ideational and interpersonal meaning lost and gained in the committee process	180
5.4.	Practical applications: Strengthening the genre chain	182
5.4.1.	Strengthening communication in presentation meetings	182
5.4.2.	Strengthening committee reports	185
5.4.3.	Strengthening committee procedure	185
5.4.4.	Summary	186
5.5.	Conclusion	187

List of references	188
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Appendices

Appendix 1:	Committee secretaries' answers to general interview questions	194
Appendix 2:	Committee secretaries' consent form	200
Appendix 3:	General MP interview plan	201
Appendix 4:	MPs' answers to general interview questions	203
Appendix 5:	Data discussed in 4.2: "Be careful of percentages"	220
Appendix 6:	Data discussed in 4.3: "The example that I can relate to"	228
Appendix 7:	Data discussed in 4.4: "We're talking about semantics here"	232
Appendix 8:	Committee secretaries' commentary on data	241
Appendix 9:	MPs' commentary on data	245
Appendix 10:	Maps showing TD1 and TC's constituencies	255

List of Tables

Chapter 1

Table 1.1.	Distribution of South Africa's population by home language	11
-------------------	--	----

Chapter 2

Table 2.1.	Situational and grammatical characteristics of spoken and written language	24
Table 2.2.	The structure of PowerPoint presentations in parliamentary committee meetings as a multimodal genre chain	27
Table 2.3.	Teacher-centred and student-centred learning as two opposing constellations	53

Chapter 3

Table 3.1.	Chronological outline of stages of data collection and analysis	67
Table 3.2.	List of recordings of committee meetings	71

Chapter 4

Table 4.1.	Comparison of the three episodes of interaction discussed in this thesis	98
Table 4.2.	Participants in "Be careful of percentages" section	99
Table 4.3.	Engagement choices in Extract 1	103
Table 4.4.	Engagement choices in Extract 5	104
Table 4.5.	Engagement choices in Extract 6	105
Table 4.6.	Engagement choices in Extract 2	107
Table 4.7.	Engagement choices in Extract 3	108
Table 4.8.	Engagement choices in Extract 4	108
Table 4.9.	Engagement choices in Extract 7	110
Table 4.10.	Engagement choices in Extract 8	111
Table 4.11.	Engagement choices in Extract 9	113
Table 4.12.	Engagement choices in Extract 10	116
Table 4.13.	Engagement choices in Extract 11	117
Table 4.14.	Engagement choices in Extract 12	118
Table 4.15.	Participants in "The example I can relate to" section	122
Table 4.16.	Participants in "We're talking about semantics here" section	142
Table 4.17.	Engagement choices in Extract 20	145
Table 4.18.	Engagement choices in Extract 21	146
Table 4.19.	Engagement choices in Extract 22	147
Table 4.20.	Engagement choices in Extract 23	149
Table 4.21.	Summary of analysis of Stage 1: Discovery of a difference of opinion over wording	151
Table 4.22.	Engagement choices in Extract 25	152
Table 4.23.	Engagement choices in Extract 26	155
Table 4.24.	Engagement choices in Extract 27	155
Table 4.25.	Engagement choices in Extract 28	157
Table 4.26.	Engagement choices in Extract 29	158
Table 4.27.	Engagement choices in Extract 30	158
Table 4.28.	Engagement choices in Extract 31	159
Table 4.29.	Summary of analysis of Stage 3: Proposal and rejection of changes in wording	160
Table 4.30.	Constellation produced through the opposition MPs' axiological condensation	161
Table 4.31.	Constellation produced through the ruling-party MPs' axiological condensation	161
Table 4.32.	Engagement choices in Extract 36	162

List of Figures

Chapter 1

Figure 1.1.	The relationship between text and context in the parliamentary committee process	9
Figure 1.2.	The budget oversight process in the NA as a genre chain	15
Figure 1.3.	Layout of a typical committee room	17

Chapter 2

Figure 2.1.	The institutionalization of meanings in institutional discourse	31
Figure 2.2.	The parliamentary process as a chain of communities of practice	44
Figure 2.3.	Recontextualization as black-boxing in the process of compiling a government department budget	48
Figure 2.4.	Recontextualization as opening the black box of a government department budget	49
Figure 2.5.	Recontextualization in the production of hierarchical knowledge structures	50
Figure 2.6.	Recontextualization in the production of horizontal knowledge structures	54
Figure 2.7.	Preliminary model of the discursive effects of recontextualization	54

Chapter 3

Figure 3.1.	Sketch map of the parliamentary precinct	68
Figure 3.2.	Layout of committee secretaries' cubicle	72
Figure 3.3.	The committee process, showing the recontextualizations illustrated by the data selected for analysis in this thesis	82
Figure 3.4.	Structure of Portfolio Committee on Public Works meeting, 1 July 2009	84
Figure 3.5.	Structure of Portfolio Committee on Transport meeting, 1 July 2009	85
Figure 3.6.	An overview of APPRAISAL systems	87
Figure 3.7.	The APPRAISAL system of Attitude	88
Figure 3.8.	The APPRAISAL system of Engagement	89
Figure 3.9.	Decision tree for FTAs according to Politeness Theory	91

Chapter 4

Figure 4.1.	The genre chain discussed in the "Be careful of percentages" episode	100
Figure 4.2.	Sample slide from Agrément SA's presentation	102
Figure 4.3.	PC's choice between a narrow knowledge structure (allowing few questions from MPs per round) and a broad knowledge structure (allowing many questions per round)	121
Figure 4.4.	The SD/SG continuum in TD1's utterance	126
Figure 4.5.	The SD/SG continuum in TD1 and TC's discussion	130
Figure 4.6.	The SD/SG continuum in TC's utterance	136
Figure 4.7.	TR and TC's discussion on provision of rural transport compared with TD1 and TC's discussion on co-ordination as knowledge structures	141
Figure 4.8.	Progression of Process types referring to the report in Stage 1	146

Chapter 5

Figure 5.1.	Model of the discursive effects of recontextualization	176
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List of Abbreviations

ACDP	African Christian Democratic Party
ANC	African National Congress
BRT	Bus Rapid Transit
CAG	Competitiveness Action Group
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CFO	Chief Financial Officer
COPE	Congress of the People
DA	Democratic Alliance
EPC	Extended Public Committee
FTA	Face-Threatening Act
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IS	Interactional Sociolinguistics
LCT	Legitimation Code Theory
LE	Linguistic Ethnography
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
MP	Member of Parliament
NA	National Assembly
NCOP	National Council of Provinces
NDR	National Democratic Revolution
NLS	New Literacy Studies
PMG	Parliamentary Monitoring Group
SD	Semantic Density
SG	Semantic Gravity
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
UDM	United Democratic Movement

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1.	Overview of chapter	2
1.2.	Motivation for the study	2
1.3.	Research questions	5
1.4.	Key concepts in the study and their relevance	6
1.4.1.	Literacy and orality	6
1.4.2.	Intertextuality and recontextualization	6
1.4.3.	Ethnography and linguistic ethnography	7
1.5.	Context of the study	9
1.5.1.	The macro-context: culture, language and politics in South Africa	10
1.5.2.	The meso-context: Parliament and the committee process	13
1.5.3.	The micro-context: Parliamentary committees	16
1.5.4.	Entering the context	18
1.6.	Overview of the thesis	18

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Overview of chapter

Parliaments are extremely complex and interesting contexts in which to study literacy, orality and recontextualization between these different modes of communication. In this first chapter of this thesis, I lay out the direction I have taken in this study, providing a metaphorical sketch map for this study which is then elaborated in later chapters. I begin by explaining what motivated this study (1.2.), before laying out my research questions (1.3.). Following this, I turn to a brief explanation of some of the key concepts in this thesis, including those mentioned in its title (1.4.). Then I describe the context of the study (1.5.). Finally, I outline the way in which the remainder of the thesis develops (1.6.).

1.2. Motivation for the study

The discourse of parliament is a fertile area for applied linguistic research for many reasons: it is a site of much complex negotiation between people and political parties with competing interests, and it exhibits complex interrelations between instances of language usage at various points on the continuum from orality to literacy, as is demonstrated by Hibbert (2003). Furthermore, as I demonstrate here and in Chapter 5, research on recontextualization in parliament not only illuminates sources of communication difficulties within parliament itself, but also has theoretical implications applicable to processes of communication in many other contexts.

My interest in studying the discourse of parliament began when Nomonde Keswa, the South African parliament's divisional manager: legislation and oversight, alerted me to a need for linguistic research that could shed light on several problems that she observed on a day-to-day basis in her work. One concern she had was to find out whether the meanings encoded in draft legislation (bills) were being distorted in any way as these bills progressed through parliament's legislative process before being signed into law. I was not able to observe the legislative process for this study, because the period in which I collected data for this thesis was directly after the election of Jacob Zuma as state president as well as the inauguration of South Africa's Fourth Parliament in 2009 when, understandably, no new legislation was being processed by parliament. However, the inauguration of the new parliament presented an even greater opportunity for research.

One of the first tasks of the Fourth Parliament was to oversee the drawing up of the Zuma administration's first budget. This budget was a particularly significant one, as it signalled the economic policy direction which Zuma's government took. Also, many new members of parliament (MPs) from the various parties elected into parliament had an interest in using the budget oversight process to express their own political positions and orientations to government's new policies.

These new MPs were also newcomers to parliamentary discourse, making this an opportune time to study their progress in acquiring the conventions of this discourse type, as well as the process by which newly-formed committees arrived at a common understanding of the discursive conventions they would observe.

The budget oversight process, like the legislative process, consists of a chain of written texts and spoken discussions in committee meetings. In this chain of written and spoken texts, meanings may be distorted in the process of summarizing the spoken interaction of committee meetings in written reports on the committee's deliberations, which is accomplished by parliamentary committee secretaries. Thus I decided, in discussion with Mrs Keswa, to study this budget oversight process and the meanings that were gained, lost or otherwise distorted in it. I lay out this process in more detail in 1.5.2.

When I began my data collection for this study, I found that the budget oversight process began with government departments and state-owned entities giving presentations on their budgets and strategic plans before committees of parliament. In these presentations, a variety of different modes of communication are used: spoken explanations, written texts and PowerPoint presentations which combine writing with other visual means of presenting information. Thus these presentations can be considered multimodal chains of texts. I discuss the theory surrounding this type of multimodality in 2.2.3.

Committee members reflect their interpretations of the texts before them in their discussions of these texts in committee meetings, and then the committee secretaries reflect their interpretations of the spoken text of the debate in the reports they write on the committee's deliberations. Both of these actions are instances of recontextualization, in which meanings are taken out of one context, and placed into a different one (Bernstein 2003). This term is explained more fully in 1.4.2. Recontextualizations also form what Fairclough (2003) terms a genre chain of texts referencing each other: the texts presented by the government departments and state-owned entities are recontextualized in the spoken discourse of the committee meeting, and these in turn are recontextualized in the committee's report on this debate compiled by the committee secretaries. The study of recontextualization is of significant theoretical interest not only because it sheds light on the different ways in which speakers interpret texts, but also because it shows how meanings can become institutionalized as they pass from one text to another (Iedema 1999). This process of institutionalizing meanings is an important theme of this thesis, and I discuss the theory surrounding it in more detail in 2.3.2. and 2.6.

This research contributes to a small, but rapidly growing body of research on recontextualization. Recent linguistic studies by Hibbert (2003) in the South African parliament have focused on how Hansard, the official written record of spoken parliamentary debates in the houses of parliament,

has come to reflect more fully the range of English varieties used in these debates. I extend Hibbert's work by concentrating on processes of recontextualization in the committees of the South African parliament, in which matters are discussed prior to being raised in the houses of parliament. Internationally, Wodak (2000) has investigated the role of recontextualization in the drafting of a policy document by a committee linked to the European Parliament. I discuss both of these studies in more detail in Chapter 2, as part of a much larger body of work that has influenced the approach I have taken in this study.

In this study, I do not repeat Wodak's (2000) research in a South African context, but develop an entirely new theoretical model to describe the discursive effects of recontextualization. This model is a product of my interest in the role of recontextualization in the production of knowledge, which was sparked by the work of two sociologists, Latour and Maton. Latour's (1987) concept of black-boxing provides a powerful metaphor to describe how recontextualization can be used to cast meanings as unquestionable facts. Maton's (2011) Legitimation Code Theory offers an even more powerful set of concepts that can be used to describe how recontextualization can be used to build influential knowledge claims. I encountered these two sociologists' work when this study was well under way: I was introduced to Latour's work by British sociologist Martyn Hammersley in a personal consultation with him in September 2009, nine months after beginning this study, and I learned of Maton's work in seminars he gave at my university in November 2010. However, the theoretical tools they provide have allowed me to reinterpret my data in a unique way that allows me to draw strong conclusions about the nature of recontextualization itself. These are articulated in 5.2.

One of the most stimulating aspects of this study has been the way in which its theoretical alignments have changed over its course and contributed fresh insights to it. At its beginning, I intended to draw mainly on theory concerning intercultural communication and interlanguage pragmatics, but my data pointed me away from cultural and linguistic differences as sources of communication difficulties towards differences in participants' political stances and roles in particular communicative contexts. This shift is explained further in 5.3.

In addition to these findings, this study has important applications which could help to improve communication in the committee process of the South African parliament, and therefore the quality of its legislation and oversight. These recommendations are all summarized in 5.4. I will write a report based on the findings presented in this thesis for Mrs Keswa, and will run a workshop for the parliamentary committee secretaries, explaining my findings and their implications for their work of facilitating communication in the committees. Thus one final, important motivation for this study is that it allows me to contribute to the quality of South African democracy by giving recommendations on how parliament can fulfil its role more effectively.

1.3. Research questions

There is one overarching question which this study aims to answer: How well does the committee process fulfil its role as a means of communicating concerns about particular areas of governance to the houses of parliament? Since this thesis is focused on language, I aim to identify linguistic factors that help or hinder the communication of these concerns through the committee process.

In order to accomplish this, I ask the following six questions:

1. What type of ideational and interpersonal meanings are altered in the genre chain of the South African parliament's committee process?
2. What model can best depict the ways in which ideational and interpersonal meanings are changed through processes of recontextualization in the South African parliament's committee process?
3. How do MPs take meanings from the spoken, written and multimodal texts presented to them in parliamentary committee meetings and recontextualize them in spoken language during these meetings?
4. Is there evidence to suggest that their spoken recontextualizations of these meanings reflect differences in the interpretation of these texts, and if so, what is the nature of these differences?
5. How is the spoken, written and multimodal discourse of parliamentary committee meetings recontextualized in official written reports on these meetings?
6. What applications do the answers to the above questions have in improving communication at and between various stages in parliament's committee process?

In the first question, “ideational” and “interpersonal” refer to two different types of meaning deriving from two of the three metafunctions that language serves, according to the framework provided by Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). Ideational meaning expresses the sender's ideas and experiences; while interpersonal meaning refers to the way we use language to negotiate relationships with other people.

I ask the second question because a model of the discursive effects of recontextualization can provide us with a theoretical perspective on the effects of recontextualization, which can aid in understanding why recontextualization has these effects.

The third, fourth and fifth questions focus on describing the processes of reinterpretation that occur in the two types of recontextualization I study: recontextualization of meanings into spoken language, and recontextualization of meanings into written language. These questions assist in providing the answers for the first question through examining these two types of recontextualization. The final question draws the answers to the first five questions together in seeking to strengthen communication in the committee process.

1.4. Key concepts in the study and their relevance

Several of the key concepts in this thesis are mentioned in its title: “literacy” and “orality”, “recontextualization” and “ethnographic”. In what follows, I explain what is meant by each of these terms and their significance to this study.

1.4.1. Literacy and orality

At a superficial level, the concepts of literacy and orality may appear straightforward: “literacy” refers to writing and reading and “orality” to speaking. Street (1984) typifies the commonsense Western view of literacy and orality as the “autonomous model”: spoken and written language are two separate modes of communication, completely separate, or autonomous, from each other.

This view has been challenged by the New Literacy Studies (NLS), a perspective on literacy which emerged out of anthropological research conducted from the late 1970s onwards, and gave rise to the “ideological model” of literacy (Street 1984:6). This model informs the view of literacy and orality I will adopt in this thesis, although for reasons that are explained in 3.2.2, this study deviates from the NLS perspective in other respects. According to the “ideological” model, literacy is not something that can always be easily separated from orality or other types of communication: a PowerPoint presentation in a parliamentary committee meeting is as much a literacy event as reading a newspaper, even though it involves far more spoken language than reading a newspaper does.

Halliday (1989:87) typifies spoken language as being “grammatically intricate” (comprising a large number of short clauses in complex sets of logico-semantic relations to each other), while written language is “lexically dense” (packing much lexical information into fewer, longer clauses using devices such as grammatical metaphor, and especially nominalization). I use Halliday's model to identify the different lexicogrammatical characteristics of spoken and written language, and so understand the processes that are followed in recontextualizing a spoken text as a written text. These processes are discussed in more detail in 2.2.1. They bring me to the second set of key concepts in this study, intertextuality and recontextualization.

1.4.2. Intertextuality and recontextualization

The term recontextualization derives from the literature on the related phenomenon of intertextuality. Fairclough (2003:218-219) defines intertextuality as follows:

The intertextuality of a text is the presence within it of elements of other texts (and therefore potentially other voices than the author's own) which may be related to (dialogued with, assumed, rejected, etc.) in various ways.

(Emphasis from original)

This view of intertextuality is grounded in Bakhtin's (1981) view of texts as dialogical: a text exists in a constant dialogue with other texts.

Recontextualization is, in effect, the process by which intertextuality is brought about. Every time an idea is recontextualized, it is also reinterpreted by the person doing the recontextualizing. In 2.3.2, I explain how recontextualization in genre chains plays an important role in legitimizing institutional meanings. I provide a detailed discussion of the theoretical work on recontextualization that has informed this study in 2.6.

1.4.3. Ethnography and linguistic ethnography

This section introduces the type of research I have conducted in this study, which could be classified as a linguistic ethnography (LE). Duranti (1997:85) defines ethnography as

the written description of the social organization, social activities, symbolic and material resources, and interpretive practices characteristic of a particular group of people. Such a description is typically produced by prolonged and direct participation in the social life of a community and implies two apparently contradictory qualities: (i) an ability to step back and distance oneself from one's own immediate, culturally biased reactions so to achieve an acceptable degree of "objectivity" and (ii) the propensity to achieve sufficient identification with or empathy for the members of the group in order to provide an insider's perspective – what anthropologists call "the *emic* view".

(Emphasis from original)

Language has been an important concern in ethnographic studies since the time of Malinowski (1922/61) who was interested in, among other things, gathering a corpus of stories, formulaic utterances and magical chants from the communities he studied, as a way of studying the mentalities of his participants. Much later, Gumperz and Hymes (1972) developed the idea of the ethnography of communication to investigate the ways of speaking in different communities, and the connections between culture and language use in them. This research orientation is one of the predecessors of linguistic ethnography, an emerging field which seeks to apply linguistic analysis to ethnographic studies of language in context (Creese 2008). LE seeks means of "tying ethnography down" (Rampton et al 2004:4) by focusing it firmly on the language used in specific speech events, or specific linguistic phenomena such as recontextualization, while "opening linguistics up" (Rampton et al 2004:4) by recognizing the influential role that many layers of context play in language use, the relevance of participants' perspectives and the fact that real-life language usage is often far more unpredictable than linguistic theories take into account.

Because it combines ethnographic observation with linguistic analysis, LE is eclectic by nature. It is not a unified theoretical framework on its own, but draws on a wide variety of compatible frameworks (Rampton 2009). Thus in this study I do not align myself with any one theoretical framework, but instead view discourse analysis and indeed, applied linguistics as a whole, as having matured to the point where points of contact between various theoretical frameworks can be explored. The model of the discursive effects of recontextualization that I have developed in this

study (see 5.2.) illustrates how such points of contact can be found.

Instead of being a theoretical framework, LE is an epistemological position that

generally holds that language and social life are mutually shaping, and that close analysis of situated language use can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity. (Rampton et al 2004:2)

This epistemology, and particularly the perspective which I adopt in this study, is enlarged upon in 3.2.1. My study demonstrates the advantages of “close analysis of situated language use” (Rampton et al 2004:2) in revealing insights about recontextualization. This fine-grained analysis allows me to point out with precision exactly how meanings change as they are recontextualized from one text to another. As a linguistic ethnography, my study draws on Transitivity and APPRAISAL theory from SFL, as well as Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS), to analyse the spoken and written texts under investigation. Lillis (2008) places linguistic ethnographies on a continuum from those which are most focused on text and therefore emphasize the “linguistic” component of LE to those which are most focused on context and emphasize the “ethnography” component of LE. My study belongs close to the “linguistic” end of this continuum.

This study also has a critical dimension to it, in that it seeks to evaluate the effectiveness of communication in the South African parliament's committee process. Hence it has some of the characteristics of a critical ethnography. According to May (1997:197), “Critical ethnography arises... out of a specific concern to combine a critical conception of social and cultural reproduction with the study of particular organisational or social settings.” My study is critical in that it acknowledges that asymmetries in power relations have an effect on the way in which meanings are recontextualized from one stage of the committee process to the next, and may be responsible for some of the communication difficulties experienced in this process. In 3.2.2. I outline the perspective on power and ideology that I adopt in this thesis. I do not only criticize problematic aspects of communication in parliament, but also seek to provide recommendations on how communication in parliament's committee process can be improved. This is in keeping with the principles of critical ethnography in that “the aim of critical ethnography is not simply to *describe*... settings as they appear to be – as in conventional ethnography – but to change them for the better” (May 1997:197, emphasis from original). Thus as a critical ethnographer I am committed to attempting to bring about change for the better in parliament through the report that I will write to Mrs Keswa and the workshops I will run for committee secretaries, as mentioned in 1.2. Improved communication in the committee process would allow MPs to represent their constituencies more effectively, thus making this process more open to a diversity of viewpoints, and more democratic.

1.5. Context of the study

The previous section has shown that context plays a crucial role in linguistic ethnographers' treatment of spoken and written texts. Linguistic ethnographers view different layers of context as influencing the language under investigation, and at the same time being influenced by these layers of context (Rampton et al 2004). This relationship between text and context is illustrated with reference to the parliamentary committee process in Figure 1.1.

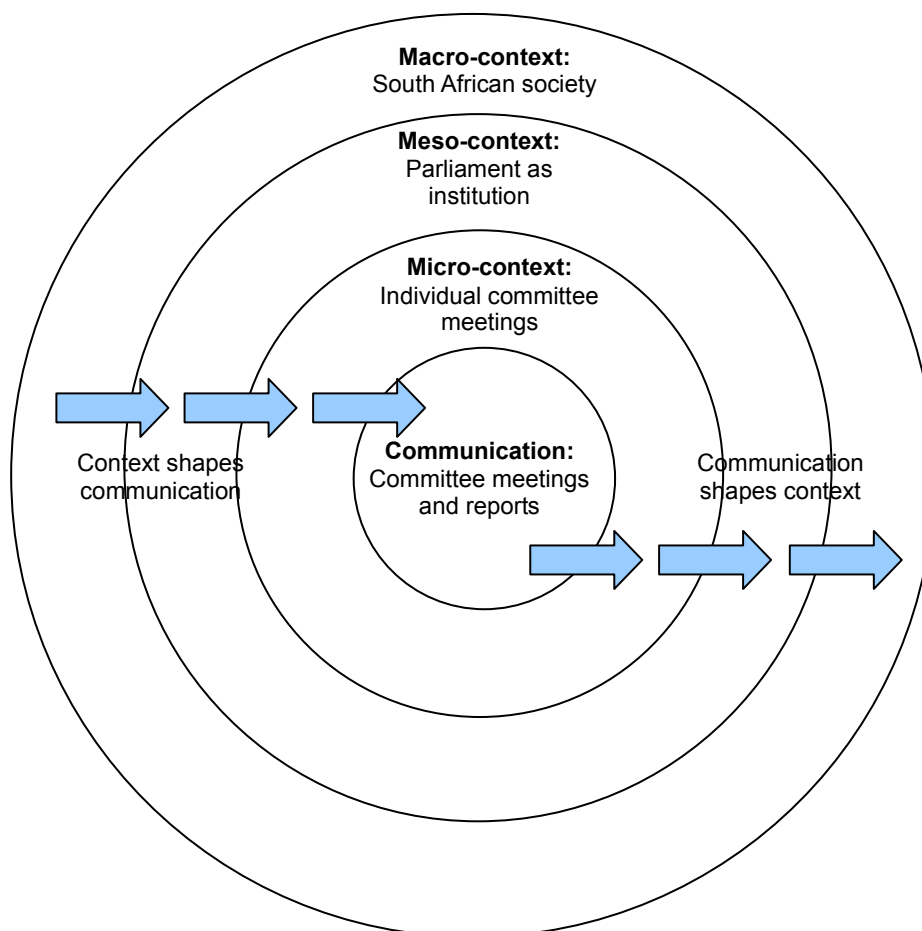


Figure 1.1: The relationship between text and context in the parliamentary committee process

In view of this relationship it is necessary, briefly, to describe the context of the texts studied in this thesis. I begin with the macro-context, describing the diversity of cultures found in South Africa, and the country's current political situation. This contextual level is important for understanding firstly the impact of linguistic and cultural differences on my data, and secondly the power relations between the different parties represented in the committees I have studied. From there I zoom in to consider the meso-context of parliament as an institution, showing the structure of the committee process and how it fits into the broader parliamentary process. Lastly, I examine the micro-context of parliamentary committee meetings to show how the layout of the committee rooms and the discursive conventions of committee meetings influence the interaction that takes place in them.

1.5.1. The macro-context: culture, language and politics in South Africa

The post-apartheid South African parliament is intended to be an institution in which people representing the full range of the country's cultural, linguistic and political diversity gather to discuss and make decisions on matters of national significance. This means that an understanding of the dynamics of communication in parliament is virtually impossible without reference to this diversity: most communication in parliament is either intercultural, occurs between people with different first languages or between people with different political affiliations, if not all three. Thus this section will briefly outline the complexities firstly of South Africa's cultural and linguistic situation, and secondly of its recent political history.

One consequence of South Africa's emergence from apartheid is that defining exactly what is meant by "culture" is a contentious task in South Africa, since a simplistic equation of "culture" with "ethnicity" was one of the ideological tools used by the apartheid government to keep different "races" apart (Chick 1987). In post-apartheid South Africa, the classification of people into essentialized categories of culture, "race" or language is a highly problematic enterprise: while identities appear to have become more fluid, many people, including MPs, still arrive at a variety of conclusions about people based on the colour of their skin, whether consciously or not. This is illustrated in 4.3.1, in which a white MP tells a story about his son growing up on "the other side of Soweto", South Africa's largest historically black residential area. In an interview, I found out that a black MP immediately assumed that his son lived in a rural area outside Soweto, finding it implausible that the white MP should have a son living in this black residential area (see Appendix 9). Thus in this thesis, I use the apartheid-era racial labels "white", "black", "coloured" and "Indian" when necessary to refer to macro-contextual realities in which these terms are, regrettably, still salient.

In fact, in the post-apartheid era, South African cultures are constantly in a state of flux, with a seeming struggle between local, traditional cultures and globalizing influences having an uneven impact on the people of South Africa. Although there is a general consensus that traditional African cultures are to be valued as crucial components of South Africa's cultural mosaic, the processes of Westernization and globalization have continued apace, hastened by urbanization as many people head to urban areas seeking employment. In some ways, I found that South African parliamentary discourse has moved on from differences of race and culture. As mentioned in 1.2, my analysis revealed that political differences were more salient as a source of communication difficulties than 'racial' and cultural differences. Interestingly, in 4.4. I trace a disagreement between MPs from the ruling party and those from opposition parties about different understandings of how to further democracy in South Africa: while the ruling-party MPs sought to further democracy by ensuring that government was enabled to deliver services, the opposition MPs sought to advance it by

protecting their right to disagree with government's policies. This can be interpreted as a sign that the country's political discourse has normalized to a degree, after its post-apartheid preoccupation with race and culture.

Linguistically, there is a tension between official acknowledgement of South Africa's diversity of languages, and the growing use of English as a lingua franca in many spheres of society, including business, education and government (Kaschula and Anthonissen 1995, Chick and Wade 1997). Parliament is no exception to this. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) gives "official language" status to 11 of the country's languages. Table 1.1 depicts the composition of South Africa's population by first language, as distributed across these 11 languages.

Language	Percentage of total population
isiZulu	23,8
isiXhosa	17,6
Afrikaans	13,3
Sepedi	9,4
English	8,2
Setswana	8,2
Sesotho	7,9
Xitsonga	4,4
siSwati	2,7
Tshivenda	2,3
isiNdebele	1,6
Other	0,5

Table 1.1: Distribution of South Africa's population by home language (Statistics South Africa 2003)

Because MPs are broadly representative of the entire country's demographics, parliament is expected to have a similar composition by home language. Parliament provides interpreting services in all 11 official languages as well as South African Sign Language (SASL), and as a result, MPs are free to use whichever of these languages they want to in the houses of Parliament.

However, in the committees, the only interpreting available is between SASL and English, to enable parliament's one Deaf MP to interact with the committees of which she is a member. Communication in the committees occurs almost entirely in the lingua franca of English, apart from very brief occasional codeswitches. This limits these participants' ability to express themselves unhindered in committees, and introduces the possibility of misunderstandings due to uneven levels of competence in English and interference from the MPs' various first languages, among other factors. Many MPs are aware of this. For example, in one of the meetings discussed in this thesis, an MP said to a presenter from a state-owned entity, "if I can be able to put it in- in siSwati (0.86) or isiZulu you'd underSTAND or uSotho (0.21) I don't know" (See Appendix 5 for the full context of

this quotation), suggesting that the presenter would be able to understand him better if he could use a language other than English. However, I have found that differences in participants' linguistic backgrounds or their use of English as (in most cases) a common second language appear not to be as much of a source of communication difficulties as I expected them to be when I began this study, as mentioned in 1.2.

Politically, the post-apartheid era has been marked by the dominance of the African National Congress (ANC), the strongest liberation movement in the struggle against apartheid. In 1994, it gained 62,65% of the national vote (IPU 1994). This increased to 69,68% in the 2004 general election (IPU 2008), before dropping to 65,9% in the 2009 elections (IEC 2009). The official opposition is the Democratic Alliance (DA), a liberal party with a mainly white and coloured support base, which increased its share of the vote from 12,37% in 2004 (IPU 2008) to 16,66% in 2009 (IEC 2009).

While dissatisfaction with the ANC's governance has been an influence in the slow decrease in its support and the growth of the DA, another important factor in the political context has been a struggle for the leadership of the ANC, and its aftermath. In 2005, South Africa's president, Thabo Mbeki, fired his deputy, Zuma, when Zuma was implicated in a corruption case (Gumede 2008). Then in December 2007, Zuma defeated Mbeki in a hard-fought election for the presidency of the ANC (Gumede 2008). The corruption case against Zuma was dismissed in September 2008, with the trial judge ruling that Mbeki may have been involved in a political conspiracy against Zuma. Shortly after this the ANC decided to "recall" Mbeki from the country's presidency, and he accordingly resigned (Mail & Guardian Online 2008). Kgalema Motlanthe was appointed interim president. Following this move, a number of ANC members loyal to Mbeki broke away from the party to form the Congress of the People (COPE), a new party (Ramagaga 2009). COPE won 7,42% of the vote in the 2009 elections, making it the third largest party after the ANC and the DA (IEC 2009).

All three of these parties are represented in the committees whose interaction I have analysed in this study. Another party that is represented is the Zulu nationalist Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), which gained 4,55% of the vote (IEC 2009), down from the 6,97% it received in 2004 (IPU 2008).

Zuma, who was elected as the country's national president after the 2009 elections, garnered support in his power struggle with Mbeki particularly among those disaffected with Mbeki's seemingly high-handed leadership style and his administration's neo-liberal economic policies, which were seen to be hampering poverty alleviation and service delivery to the poor (Habib 2009). As a result, many have identified Zuma's rise to power in the ANC with a shift to the left in the party's economic policies; however, in the post-election period in which the main data collection for this study was done, it remained to be seen whether this seeming leftward shift in the party itself

would translate into action at a governmental level (Habib 2009).

In his inauguration speech, Zuma (2009) identified the time in which data collection took place as “a time of renewal” for South Africans. This thesis shows that the newly-elected ANC MPs spoke of having a fresh commitment to strengthen the role of parliament, which was widely believed to have been undermined during the Mbeki administration (Hasson 2010). This commitment is a particularly salient contextual feature in at least one of the episodes of interaction analysed in this study (4.2.). This is simply one example of how discourse in parliament is influenced by broader political discourse in South Africa. In 2.5.4, I give a more detailed discussion of how the discourse of parliament has changed as a result of the macro-contextual shifts that have happened in South Africa since the apartheid era.

The cultural, linguistic and political factors mentioned above have all been shown to have an impact on parliament as an institution (the meso-context of the interaction studied in this thesis) and communication in parliament's committee process (the micro-context). In my analysis, I observe that in general, political differences were more salient than cultural or linguistic differences as sources of communication difficulties.

1.5.2. The meso-context: Parliament and the committee process

Since I describe the way in which information is recontextualized through the parliamentary process in this thesis, it is necessary to explain what the goal of communication in parliament is, and to outline what the structure of the parliamentary process is.

The Parliament of the Republic of South Africa (2009a) defines its mission as follows:

As the freely elected representatives of the people of South Africa, our mission is to represent, and act as a voice of the people, in fulfilling our constitutional functions of passing laws and overseeing executive action.

My main focus is on parliament's role of “overseeing executive action” through holding government departments and state-owned entities accountable for their decisions. As mentioned in 1.3, this thesis evaluates the extent to which communication in the committee process enables MPs to “represent, and act as a voice of the people” through observing how their voices are recontextualized through this process. If parliament is meant to act as “a voice of the people”, then communication is obviously crucial to its mission.

Communication in parliament flows through complex genre chains in parliamentary process, in which matters are discussed in various committees before being raised in the houses of parliament. Draft legislation is introduced through a clearly defined process (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa (2009c), while oversight is accomplished through a slightly different process. In order to understand this process, it is necessary to know how parliament is structured. In the following

paragraphs I explain this structure briefly before outlining the process by which parliament oversees the budgets and strategic plans of government departments and state-owned entities. This process is the focus of this thesis.

The South African parliament is divided into two separate houses: the National Assembly (NA) and the National Council of Provinces (NCOP). According to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) “The National Assembly is elected to represent the people and to ensure government by the people under the Constitution” (Section 42(3)). Meanwhile, “the National Council of Provinces represents the provinces to ensure that provincial interests are taken into account in the national sphere of government” (Section 42(4)).

Members of each house are allocated to specific committees, which are delegated different responsibilities such as debating the merits of particular bills and amending them, or overseeing a particular government department (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa 2009b). Each committee has to report back to a plenary session of the house of parliament it belongs to, giving its recommendations (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa 2009b). This study focuses on portfolio committees of the NA.

The process by which the NA oversees the budgets of government departments and state-owned entities is outlined diagrammatically in Figure 1.2 on the following page. These budgets also undergo a similar oversight process in the NCOP. The process begins with departments compiling their annual strategic plan, in which their budget is given. This budget is then also tabled in a document called the *Estimates of National Expenditure*, produced by the National Treasury, which combines the budgets of all the departments. Committee members are issued with copies of both of these documents. A researcher employed to assist the committee is often asked to write a confidential report on the department's budget, highlighting possible areas of concern that MPs may want to ask questions on. Employees of the government department recontextualize the strategic plan and budget into a multimodal presentation for the parliamentary committee, and then make these presentations before the committee in what I have labelled a “presentation meeting”. In that meeting, MPs have an opportunity to ask questions about aspects of the presentation and related written documents, and the presenters may answer them. Following this, the committee's secretary compiles its report on the budget, including all the concerns that MPs raised in the meeting as they asked their questions. In a subsequent meeting, which I have labelled an “adoption meeting”, the committee is given a chance to propose amendments and corrections to this report before adopting it. The committee secretary then makes the required changes, and the report is tabled for debate in what is known as an Extended Public Committee (EPC), a larger meeting which functions as a sitting of the NA. This body debates the department's budget and strategic plan, as well as the committee's report, and votes on whether or not to pass the budget.

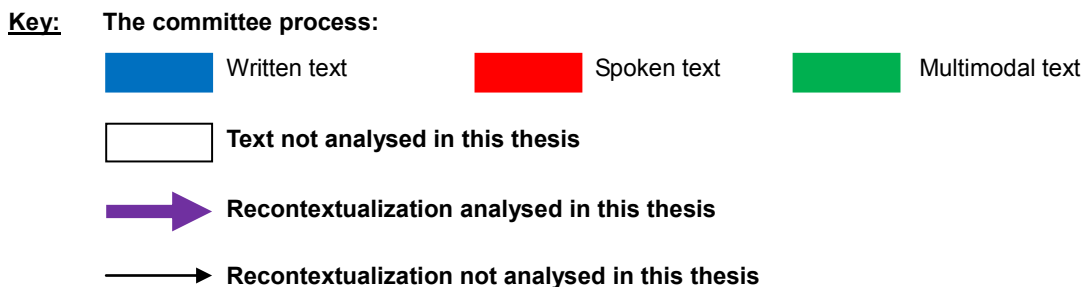
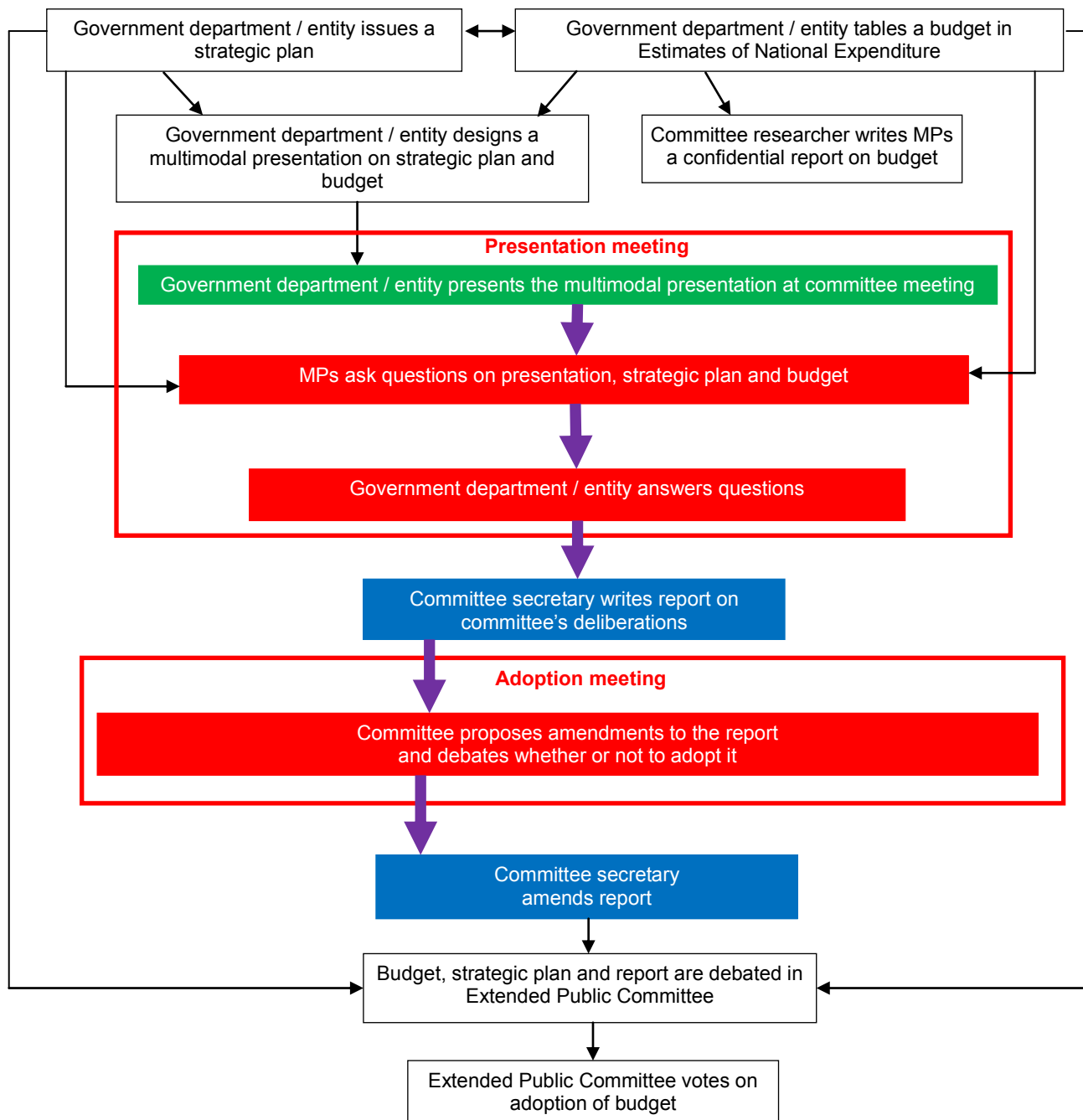


Figure 1.2: The budget oversight process in the NA as a genre chain

The section of this genre chain which this thesis investigates is indicated on Figure 1.2. This is the section of the genre chain which I refer to as the “committee process” in this thesis, while I use

the term “budget oversight process” to refer to the entire genre chain illustrated in Figure 1.2. The committee process has been selected as the focus of this research because it is the section in which MPs first raise concerns about the budgets and strategic plans, which are then recontextualized to a greater or lesser extent into the report which is submitted to the EPC for debate. Thus this is the section of the genre chain in which the micro-context of the committee meeting plays a crucial role. The three sections of data I have selected for fine-grained analysis in this thesis are arranged in an order that follows this genre chain. The first section (4.2.) shows how MPs recontextualize meanings from a presentation in their questions on it, and how the presenter answers these questions. The second section (4.3.) shows how MPs’ questions and concerns are recontextualized into a draft committee report, and the third section (4.4.) shows how MPs recontextualize this draft report in an adoption meeting, and how proposed amendments to the report are recontextualized into the final version of the report. The data discussed in 4.3. and 4.4. originate from the same committee, allowing one to observe how the genre chain followed by this committee unfolds over two meetings and two versions of its report.

1.5.3. The micro-context: Parliamentary committees

As explained in the previous section, committees are constituted of varying numbers of MPs from a specific house of parliament. Committees are typically set up so that they are broadly representative of the composition of parliament as a whole according to political parties. In each of the committees whose interaction is analysed in this study, there were approximately eight ANC representatives, two DA representatives, and one representative each from COPE and the IFP. One committee, the Portfolio Committee on Public Works, also had a member from a smaller party, the United Democratic Movement (UDM). Larger parties tend to share out their members evenly so that each committee has the same number of representatives from that party, while small parties like the UDM only have enough members to be represented on certain committees, according to the individual members' particular interests. All portfolio committees are chaired by one of its ANC members. This means that the ANC members usually have by far the most power in most committees. In addition, each committee has its own committee secretary assigned to it, and most also have a committee researcher.

The rooms in which the committees meet vary in shape and seating arrangement: in some, participants are seated around one long, rectangular table; in others, there is a U-shaped arrangement of tables and chairs facing inward toward the chairperson’s table. Figure 1.3 shows the layout of a typical committee meeting room, namely the one in which the meeting discussed in 4.3. took place.

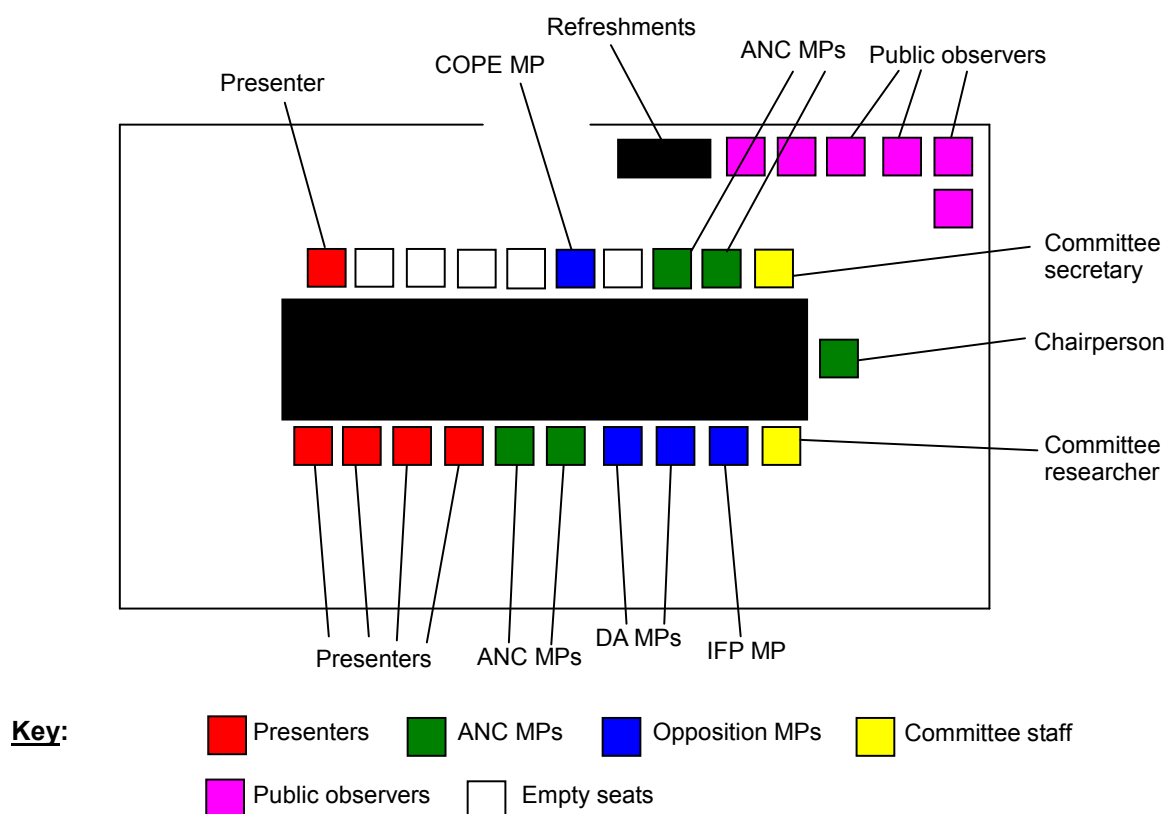


Figure 1.3: Layout of a typical committee room

The most noticeable spatial divide in the seating arrangement is between the committee members and support staff, clustered at one end of the table, and the presenters, clustered at the other. This spatial divide reflects the power relations of committee interaction in that it creates a hierarchy of power that extends from the chairperson downwards to the rest of the committee, with the presenters at the bottom. The committee members have power to constrain the presenters' speech by asking them questions, and the chairperson has the power to interrupt a presenter (as shown in 4.3.2.) or even a fellow MP (as shown in 4.4.2.). A row of chairs is arranged around the wall of the room, where members of the public who want to observe the meeting may sit. These were the vantage points from which I observed the meetings. Public observers usually do not have any rights to speak in the committee.

Despite the power differentials evident in committee meetings, interaction in them is far less formal than in sittings of the houses of parliament. Committee meetings are also perceived to be less adversarial in tone than the houses of parliament: far more collaboration between parties occurs than in house sittings. In 2.5. I discuss how MPs acquire and co-produce the specific discourse conventions which are active in the micro-context of committee meetings.

1.5.4. Entering the context

The methodological principles of ethnography demand that the researcher enter the context of the research in order to discover it from an outsider's (etic) perspective while eliciting insiders' (emic) perspectives (Duranti 1997). As a South African, I shared with my participants the macro-context of South Africa's cultural, linguistic and political make-up before the beginning of my fieldwork in parliament. Thereafter, my process of data collection was a process of entering the meso-context of parliament as an institution, and the micro-context of committee meetings. In 3.3.1. I record how I entered the meso-context with the assistance of various people in parliament and observed its institutional culture by attending Zuma's State of the Nation Address at the official opening of the Fourth Parliament. Following this, I entered the micro-context of ordinary portfolio committee meetings by attending them as a public observer, and acting as a participant observer in the committee secretaries' offices as they arranged these meetings and compiled reports on them. More detail about this process of data collection as participant observation is given in 3.3.2. While entering the context in this way allowed me to interpret the interaction analysed in this study with a greater deal of validity, I nevertheless found that my interpretations differed from those of the MPs participating in the interaction in certain instances. This illustrates the importance of eliciting participants' perspectives on the interaction, as discussed in 3.2.3. Through this combination of entering the context as an outsider and elicitation of perspectives from insiders, I was able to achieve an understanding of the interaction analysed in this study that does justice to the reciprocal relationship between text and context depicted in Figure 1.1. (Rampton et al 2004).

1.6. **Overview of the thesis**

In the subsequent chapters, I outline and discuss literature relevant to my study, show what methodology I used in collecting and analysing the data, report on my analysis of selections from this data and provide a conclusion to the thesis.

In Chapter 2, I describe in depth the relationship between literacy and orality, the type of discourse found in parliament and how this discourse type is acquired and co-produced by participants. I also introduce the model of the discursive effects of recontextualization I have developed in this study. Chapter 3 describes how I have adapted the basic methodological principles of linguistic ethnography for use in the collection and analysis of data for this study. In Chapter 4 I report on my analysis of the data collected in parliament. Chapter 5 concludes by summarizing the findings of the study and explaining their implications for theory on recontextualization as well as their applications for improving communication in parliament.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1.	Introduction	20
2.2.	Spoken and written language, orality and literacy	21
2.2.1.	Formal characteristics of spoken and written language	21
2.2.2.	The New Literacy Studies: a plurality of literacies	25
2.2.3.	Multimodal literacy events and recontextualization	26
2.3.	Institutional discourse	28
2.3.1.	Defining institutional discourse	28
2.3.2.	Institutionalizing meanings	29
2.4.	Parliamentary discourse	32
2.4.1.	Intertextuality in parliament	32
2.4.2.	The contribution made by this study	35
2.4.3.	South African parliamentary discourse in transition	36
2.5.	Acquiring and co-producing parliamentary discourse conventions	38
2.5.1.	Learning parliamentary literacy	40
2.5.2.	Discourse acquisition through legitimate peripheral participation	40
2.5.3.	The role of identity construction	41
2.5.4.	Acquiring implicit discourse conventions	42
2.5.5.	Multiple communities of practice	43
2.6.	Intertextuality and recontextualization	45
2.6.1.	Bakhtin and the dialogicality of texts	45
2.6.2.	Bernstein and recontextualization	47
2.6.3.	Recontextualization and the production of knowledge	47
2.7.	Conclusion	55

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

Parliamentary discourse is a distinctive way of doing things with words (Austin 1962) which combines speaking and writing, literacy and orality in tightly regulated, but often contested, ways. It is political discourse which is housed (in more ways than one) within an institutional structure regulated by long-standing conventions. Despite its distinctiveness from other discourse types, it is mostly acquired “on the job” by members of Parliament (MPs) and staff who, as members of a parliamentary community of practice, reproduce and transform the conventions which define and regulate this discourse type. It is within this community of practice that a wide variety of texts are drawn on in the everyday work of parliament, and are recontextualized through complex genre chains as legislation is drafted and oversight of the executive arm of government takes place.

There are thus four main goals that I aim to fulfil in this chapter. Since this study concerns shifts between orality and literacy, or spoken and written language, the first of these is to explore the properties of these modes and the ways in which they are brought together in multimodal genre chains. This is necessary to observe how recontextualization between different modes affects language usage. This goal is addressed in 2.2.

The second goal is to examine critically the existing body of theory and research about the types of linguistic activity that happen in parliaments and show how it informs my research. In doing this, I begin with a broad discussion of institutional discourse (2.3.) before narrowing the focus to examine parliamentary discourse (2.4.).

The third goal of this chapter is to examine the ways in which MPs acquire competence in parliamentary discourse. In 2.4.3, I argue that in practice, this process of discourse acquisition in parliament is intertwined with the way in which MPs reshape the discourse conventions of parliament, particularly in its committees. I use the word “co-production” to describe this process: MPs and parliamentary support staff are constantly engaged in co-producing parliament’s rules of procedure. A theoretical perspective on the process of discourse acquisition and co-production of discourse conventions is laid out in 2.5. The workings of these processes are demonstrated in Chapter 4 of this thesis (especially 4.4.), and in 5.4. I suggest that the effectiveness of communication in the committee process could be much improved through attention to the ways in which these two processes are accomplished.

The fourth goal of this chapter is to survey what is known about the mechanics of the particular discourse phenomena that are studied in this thesis, namely intertextuality and recontextualization. In 2.6. I tap into a rich body of sociological theory concerning the prevalence of these two phenomena in human language, as well as explaining what effects recontextualization has been

found to have in discourse, so as to develop a model of these discursive effects. This model is applied and further developed in my analysis of linguistic data in Chapter 4, and fully articulated in 5.2.

2.2. Spoken and written language, orality and literacy

The title of this section has deliberately been worded as two binary contrasts in order to highlight and counteract the commonsense notion that literacy and orality are two separate entities, each with a clearly defined set of characteristics. A description of these characteristics is important as part of any work aiming to study the interaction between these different modes. In discussing the differences between them, this section argues that they exist as clusters of characteristics that are mixed and matched creatively as resources for meaning-making, often in texts and genre chains which can be described as “multimodal”.

This section seeks to deconstruct both the binary contrast between “orality” and “literacy” and the terminological distinction between “spoken and written language” and “orality and literacy”. This distinction reflects two different ways of viewing language: “spoken and written language” portrays language as a thing that can be frozen in time to be analysed, while “orality and literacy” portrays it more as a process of communication, involving the processes of text production and interpretation. The terms “spoken language” and “written language” tend to be used by those interested in viewing language as text, such as systemic functional linguists (e.g. Halliday 1989) or even by some discourse analysts, even those who are committed to viewing language, or “linguaging” as Becker (1995, quoted in Tannen 2007:11) prefers to call it, as a communicative process. The second set of terms, “orality” and “literacy”, is preferred by researchers who have taken a more ethnographic approach to the investigation of linguistic practices, following the lead of the New Literacy Studies (NLS) (e.g. Street 1984, Finnegan 2007). In this section I show that both perspectives have merit, in that the text is one component of the communicative process that is easily presented for examination, and therefore texts can be used to reveal much about the social processes that they are a part of. Thus in this section, “spoken and written language” is used when discussing the work of those authors who use these terms, and “orality” and “literacy” when the authors discussed use those terms. Elsewhere in this thesis, “orality” and “literacy” are used with reference to communicative processes as a whole, and “spoken and written language” with reference to the texts that form part of those communicative processes.

2.2.1. Formal characteristics of spoken and written language

With this terminological note in mind, one can return to the task of characterizing spoken language/orality and written language/literacy in relation to each other. This section describes the

differences between these two modes, so as to develop a view of the type of changes that commonly occur in recontextualization between these two modes. This view is an essential part of the model of the discursive effects of recontextualization which is developed in this chapter, and applied and developed further in the analysis reported on in Chapter 4.

Orality tends to be far more context-dependent than literacy is, or, in other words, it is possible to convey meanings in speech through reference to the micro-context in a way that is not possible with writing (Halliday 1989). Also, in orality speakers can talk back to each other easily, leading to the common perception that speech is dialogic, while literacy is monologic.

Chafe (1982) takes these ideas further by suggesting that because speakers can interact easily with their listeners, spoken language tends to include more grammatical markers of involvement, such as use of pronouns, discourse markers (such as “well” and “you know”) and emphatic particles (such as “actually” and “of course”), than written language has. On the other hand, he argues that written language has more grammatical markers of detachment, distancing writers from their readers, such as use of the passive voice.

Another important modal difference between spoken and written language pointed out by Chafe (1982) is that speakers have a very short time to compose their messages, and so tend to convey their meaning through a succession of short clauses or idea units, each of which contains only a little ideational meaning, while writers have the time to pack far more information into longer clauses.

Chafe (1982) identifies nominalization, the use of nouns to express information usually conveyed by other parts of speech, as one of the most important devices that writers use in order to do this. For example, in spoken language one may say “We would like to recommend that the budget be passed”, where the process of passing the budget is expressed by the verb “passed”. This means that the grammar of this sentence is regarded as congruent with its meaning: grammatical structures are used to convey the type of meaning they are usually associated with. However, this example sentence may be recontextualized in writing as “We would like to recommend the passing of the budget.” In this sentence, there is a tension between the grammar and the meaning of the sentence, in that whereas Nominal Groups¹ are usually used to refer to objects, here a Nominal Group, “the passing of the budget”, has been used to refer to a process instead. While there can be only one lexical verb in a clause, there may be many nouns, so this device allows writers to pack many processes into the same clause, as well as to modify and compare these processes as objects.

¹ This term is used in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) to refer to constituents that are often labelled as noun phrases in traditional approaches to grammar. For ease of identification, all grammatical labels from SFL in this thesis are written with initial capital letters.

Grammatical categories that convey circumstantial information, such as adjectives and adverbs, can also be nominalized: in the phrase “the immediacy of the passing of the budget”, the adverb “immediately” has been converted into a noun. Conjunctions can undergo nominalization too (Gerot and Wignell 1994). For example, “because” in the sentence “They passed the budget because they thought it was reasonable” can be converted to the noun “reason” in “The reason they passed the budget was that they thought it was reasonable.” Nominalization allows for denser packing of meaning. Chafe (1982) concludes from this denser packing of meaning that written language is integrated, and spoken language is fragmented.

Because nominalization converts various constituents into Nominal Groups, it allows greater control over the meanings expressed by those constituents: one is able to modify them using adjectives and express their relationship to other processes in more economical way than if one were expressing them using verbs in separate clauses. Nominalization is also well-known for its ability to disguise or remove agency from a text, since a Nominal Group, unlike a verb, does not require a subject (Harrison and Young 2005).

In fact, Martin (1993), following the systemic-functional tradition, demonstrates how nominalization is a type of grammatical metaphor, which like all metaphors, works to condense meaning into short stretches of text. Just as conventional (lexical) metaphor requires interpreters to think on two levels, the literal and the figurative, so grammatical metaphor requires interpreters to strip away layers of meaning to get from the nominalized expression to a version of it that is grammatically congruent, that is, in which the process is expressed as a verb, the circumstance as an adverbial group or prepositional phrase, or the logical connector as a conjunction (Bloor and Bloor 2004). Both lexical and grammatical metaphor work to condense meaning into fewer words or symbols by associating one word's meaning with that of another (lexical metaphor) or making one grammatical structure fulfil the role of another (grammatical metaphor).

As is shown in 2.3.2, nominalization is a crucial process in recontextualization from spoken to written language, and thus in the institutionalization of meanings. Martin (1993) goes so far as to argue that the use of nominalization in written language is essential to the production of uncommonsense knowledge, that is, knowledge that is only accessible to those who have acquired the discourse types associated with that particular discipline or profession. This uncommonsense type of knowledge is primarily associated with written, rather than spoken texts. Nominalization makes language more difficult to comprehend for those who are not experts in the subject matter being discussed, meaning that it is a factor that may negatively affect the ability of some MPs without specific expertise in particular subject areas to comprehend particularly the written and multimodal texts put before them.

Moreover, Halliday (1989) takes Chafe's (1982) observation that spoken language is fragmented and written language is integrated a step further by observing that the many short, semantically sparse clauses of spoken language require a complicated array of grammatical resources to link them together in order to convey a meaning similar to that of a few densely-packed clauses of written language. For instance, the written sentence, "In a meeting on 24 June, the committee recommended the passing of the budget" might be recontextualized in spoken language as "The committee met on 24 June, and recommended that the budget be passed." Whereas the written version is a simple Clause Complex consisting of one clause, the spoken version consists of three different clauses, with a variety of lexico-grammatical relations existing between them. Thus Halliday (1989:87) characterizes spoken language as being "grammatically intricate", while written language is "lexically dense".

Maton (2011), drawing on Halliday's typification of spoken and written language, has developed an extremely useful set of tools of analysis, which summarize several of the characteristics of spoken language and written language. This set of tools, called Semantics, is part of his theoretical framework known as Legitimation Code Theory (LCT). According to Semantics, spoken language can be seen as possessing semantic gravity (SG), while written language possesses semantic density (SD). SG is the extent to which a discourse is related to its context. As has already been noted, spoken language is much more context-dependent than written language. Meanwhile, SD is the extent to which the meanings of a discourse are condensed into a relatively small number of words or symbols. This corresponds to Halliday's (1989) observation that written language is lexically dense: it is able to pack many meanings into a short stretch of language. The concepts of SG and SD are drawn on extensively as part of the theoretical model of the discursive effects of recontextualization developed in this thesis. In 2.6.3. I show how these concepts fit into this model.

The variety of situational and grammatical characteristics of spoken and written language that have been mentioned in this discussion are summarized in Table 2.1, a set of binary oppositions which are crucial to bear in mind in any study investigating recontextualization between the spoken and written modes.

Spoken language	Written language
Participants co-present in space and time	Participants distant in space and time
Context-dependent	Context-independent
Focus on interpersonal relationships	Focus on content
Dialogic	Monologic
Involved	Detached
Integrated	Fragmented
Grammatically intricate	Lexically dense
Semantic gravity	Semantic density

Table 2.1: Situational and grammatical characteristics of spoken and written language

2.2.2. The New Literacy Studies: a plurality of literacies

The problem with the set of binary oppositions outlined in Table 2.1. is that they assume what is regarded as an “autonomous” model of literacy and orality (Street 1984) in which these are seen as two discrete, unitary modes.

By contrast, a variety of more recent ethnographic and discourse-analytic studies have found that characteristics of literacy can be found in communicative processes typically categorized as “oral”, and characteristics of orality can be found in communicative processes typically categorized as “literate”. These include Finnegan (2007), who examines one group of genres that is particularly interesting as an example of orality fulfilling “literate” functions: oral literature, including folktales, praise poems and songs. Oral literature in Seneca, an American Indian language, has also been found to have many of the characteristics of written language, as observed by Chafe (1982). Ilie (2003) points out that plays (and indeed, the same could be said of drama on television or at the cinema) are written to be spoken: an author writes a script, which is then mediated to the audience by actors. On the other hand, Lakoff (1982) shows that most novels and other narrative written genres borrow extensively from spoken language.

In addition, the ways in which literacy is accomplished in various cultures can often appear as much oral as literate. Heath (1982) was one of the first to notice this when studying the literacy practices of different communities in the Piedmont area of North and South Carolina in the USA. For example, she found that in one working-class African-American community she studied, reading was not primarily a solitary practice: one person would often read a written text aloud, and then interpretation would occur through a collaborative discussion about the contents of the text among whichever family members and neighbours happened to be around at the time. Often, little attention would be paid to the details of the text in this discussion as an object, with members instead drawing on their experience of happenings linked to the subject-matter of the text. Through this discussion, literacy changed from a monologic practice to a dialogic one.

Subsequent to Heath's findings, an entire research tradition, the NLS, has grown up around the study of literacy as a social practice in different cultures, providing far more examples of ways in which oral characteristics form crucial parts of the literacy event, and in the process, redefining literacy. Instead of seeing literacy as a unitary phenomenon, separate from orality, researchers in the NLS acknowledge that there are many different literacies, some of which do not even involve writing, such as visual literacy or the reading of American Indian smoke signals (Gee 1996). While school education tends to focus on teaching one particular type of literacy, academic/expository literacy, many others are acquired outside the realm of formal education, through socialization by family members and peers (Street 1984).

In this study, I adopt both the NLS's conception of literacy as plural and socially situated, as well as its methodological commitment to ethnography as a means by which to explore the different uses of literacy in context. This means that I view parliamentary committee meetings as a particular socially situated literacy event, an occasion in which literacy is used to interpret spoken, written and multimodal texts and negotiate procedure (Barton 1994). In this literacy event, participants draw on their literacy practices, the sets of ways in which they have learned to use literacy in context (Barton 1994). In 2.5. I return to this notion of literacy practices, and discuss how it relates to the particular discourse type used in parliamentary committees, which is specified in 2.3. and 2.4. In 3.2.2, however, I explain where I differ with the epistemology adopted by many researchers in the NLS.

2.2.3. Multimodal literacy events and recontextualization

In recent years, some linguists have taken the understanding of literacy developed in the NLS one step further by considering the extent to which texts and literacy events are multimodal, that is, the extent to which they combine speech and writing, as well as visual design, which can be seen as a third mode of communication in many literacy events (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001).

An excellent example of such a multimodal literacy event comes from parliament itself. In the presentations made by representatives of government departments and state-owned entities in parliamentary committees, participants in these meetings often need to process information from three different channels of communication: words spoken by the presenter, written words on PowerPoint slides and paper handouts, and visual information on the same PowerPoint slides and paper handouts. I report on my analysis of one such presentation in 4.2.1.

Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001) characterize such presentations as multimodal texts, which make one meaning through multiple articulations in different modes. However, for the purposes of this study I have found it more helpful to view such a presentation rather as a multimodal literacy event which is engaged in by both the presenters and the MPs who form the audience for the presentation. In this literacy event I view the PowerPoint slides, handouts and spoken words as distinct texts recontextualizing one meaning through multiple links in a genre chain. The PowerPoint slides serve as a summarized recontextualization of a longer written document, which is reorganized according to a visual syntax and discourse rather than a verbal one, with devices such as bullet points and typography used to show meaning relations (Van Leeuwen 2008). Paper print-outs of the PowerPoint slides are typically distributed to MPs prior to a committee meeting, and then again to participants at the meeting to enable them to write further notes on them if they so wish, and keep a copy of “the presentation” for future reference. Finally, the presenters recontextualize either a copy of these print-outs or their own written notes into spoken language as they make the presentation.

Van Leeuwen (2008) postulates that these presentations gain their coherence from the visual organization of the PowerPoint slides, rather than the structure of the spoken language used in these presentations. This is definitely the case in the presentation discussed in 4.2.1, where the presenter simply reads off the slides in front of him for a large proportion of the presentation. Thus the multimodal presentation is a literacy event forming part, first of all, of the larger literacy event of the committee meeting, and secondly, part of the genre chain of the parliamentary oversight process.

As a genre chain, this presentation structures the use of the three modes in a particular way: the written and visual communication of the PowerPoint slides is seen as prior to the spoken communication delivered by the presenter. This holds true even if the presenter's speech was prepared before the PowerPoint slides, because in most cases, MPs have received copies of the PowerPoint slides prior to the presentation and may have studied them. This means that one can characterize the structure of multimodal presentations in parliamentary committee meetings as a shift from written to spoken language, or from strong SD to stronger SG, as shown in Table 2.2. The direction of this shift is important, as is shown in 4.2, because it entails that the literacy event of a PowerPoint presentation is a process of unpacking the details and implications of the information on the PowerPoint slides. When this unpacking fails to occur according to the MPs' expectations in the episode discussed in 4.2, communication difficulties result. The type of literacy required to interpret information presented in this literacy event is a multimodal literacy.


PowerPoint presentation		
<i>Source of coherence</i>	Visual	
<i>Sequence of texts</i>	PowerPoint slides Printed handouts	Spoken presentation 
<i>Primary mode</i>	Written	Spoken
<i>Semantics</i>	Semantic density	Semantic gravity

Table 2.2: The structure of PowerPoint presentations in parliamentary committee meetings as a multimodal genre chain

The combination of spoken, written and visual modes found in parliamentary committees makes them a rewarding place to study how the characteristics of both orality and literacy are drawn on by participants in a variety of ways, often in service of members' strategic ends.

In many cases, oral and literate characteristics are intermingled in situations where intertextuality and recontextualization take place, linking the spoken and written modes in multimodal communication. This demonstrates that, as Finnegan (2007:191) points out,

Concepts of 'textuality', 'entextualisation', 'recontextualisation' and 'intertextuality' have brought out processual and relativistic dimensions and unsettled the picture of 'text' as a decontextualised and solidly enscribed entity with its own autonomy, hard edges and stability.

The converse is also true: just as these concepts help us to see written text as process, they allow us to see that spoken language, despite its dynamism, can be viewed as text and take on the characteristics of written language. This is not to say that the differences between spoken and written language enumerated in Table 2.1. are irrelevant; in fact, they are crucial to the model developed in this study of how language changes as it is recontextualized between spoken and written modes. In this model, further articulated in 2.6, the concepts of SD and SG are used to characterize the spokenness or writtenness of particular texts or portions of texts.

2.3. Institutional discourse

Having accomplished the first aim of this chapter, namely typifying the differences between literacy and orality, I move on to the second aim of describing the type of discourse that is found in parliament. I also show what competencies need to be acquired in the process of acquiring this discourse, as described in 2.5. Parliamentary discourse is inherently institutional, as it occurs within the boundaries of the institution of parliament. In the following section of this literature review I identify what institutional discourse is (2.3.1.) and further discuss the roles that nominalization and recontextualization play in producing institutional discourse by institutionalizing meanings (2.3.2.)

2.3.1. Defining institutional discourse

Institutional discourse is not easy to define because it is not easy to demarcate the boundaries of an institution. Institutions are not limited to certain geographical locations or speech events such as meetings; instead, as Drew and Heritage (1992) point out, linguistic activity is institutional if it involves a participant whose identity as a member of an institution is salient at that moment. This means that, for instance, house calls by nurses or social workers are covered in the definition of institutional discourse. This underscores the important role that individual identities play in institutional discourse.

In parliament, there are more often than not multiple layers of these identities: an MP represents parliament, but (s)he also represents a particular political party. What is more, since context and language are mutually-shaping, discourse is an important influence on each of these institutions, and these institutions shape the discourses to which they contribute (Iedema and Wodak 1999). This means that institutional discourse is inherently dialogical: it is the meeting place or nexus, in Scollon and Scollon's (2007) terms, of a wide variety of individuals and institutions and their discourses.

What complicates the picture further is that institutions have two faces, or areas of activity, identified by Goffman as the frontstage and backstage (Sarangi and Roberts 1999). The frontstage is the part of an organization most visible to the public eye, such as the House sittings and

committee meetings of parliament, while the backstage includes areas normally closed to the public, such as the offices of committee secretaries and MPs' caucuses. Or, to be more accurate, there is a continuum of micro-contexts stretching from the House sittings, which are the most public frontstage area of parliament, to the confidential conversations which take place in the privacy of individual MPs' offices in the backstage. On this continuum, committee meetings are further backstage than the House sittings, as they are not typically broadcast live on television or reported in the media as widely as the "grand politics" (Wodak 2009:194) of the houses of parliament. Often, the most important knowledge and policies are produced backstage before being brought out to the frontstage: in Latour's (1987) terms, what is open to debate in the backstage is recontextualized in the frontstage as a black box. So in order to understand how institutional discourse is produced, one must investigate not only the frontstage but also the backstage. Ethnography is one means by which to do this (Van Praet 2010).

Wodak (2009) conducted an ethnography of the European Parliament which focused on the backstage. For instance, a member of her team followed a particular member of the European Parliament (MEP) around for a few days, observing how his interactions in the backstage of his office and in the corridors of parliament influenced his talk in the frontstage. Wodak's study is valuable for demonstrating how this MEP recontextualized his political agenda in different ways in different speech events at different points on the frontstage – backstage continuum, from a committee meeting to a lunchtime appointment with some diplomats to an evening lecture. In this thesis, my focus lies more on the committee meetings as a relatively frontstage context, with reference made to backstage contexts such as the committee secretaries' offices and individual parties' caucuses to explain what happens in the committee meetings. In 3.3. I describe the extent to which I was able to collect data in both the frontstage and the backstage in order to gain this perspective.

2.3.2. Institutionalizing meanings

Two linguistic processes are crucial to the production of institutional discourse: nominalization and recontextualization. In 1.4.2. I introduced the concept of recontextualization, and in 2.2.1. I introduced the concept of nominalization and explained its relation to processes of recontextualization between the spoken and written modes. In this section, I explain why these two processes are so essential to institutional discourse, beginning with nominalization and then considering recontextualization.

As mentioned in 2.2.1., Martin (1993) has argued that nominalization is crucial in the production of uncommon-sense knowledge. This means that it is also vital in taking "lay", or non-institutionalized knowledge, and turning it into the type of knowledge that can be processed by

institutions.

Martin (1993) shows how institutional discourse exploits these characteristics of nominalization to establish and manipulate its technical terms, many of which are nominalizations (such as “dismissal” and “acquisition”). In this way, he argues, scientific and technological discourses are able to control the non-human, non-discursive world. In this process, knowledge from this world is institutionalized. This is roughly analogous to what happens in the discourse of other professions, in which nominalization is also used to produce uncommonsense knowledge.

A further step of nominalization occurs in the conversion of this professional discourse to bureaucratic discourse, which is typified by Martin (1993) as controlling the discursive world of human beings, including the discourse created by scientists. As a result, bureaucratic discourse may discuss the already nominalized discourse of the professions using still more nominalizations, adding further layers of metaphor to be stripped away before the congruent meaning of the text can be arrived at.

In most cases, however, bureaucratic discourse such as this is the least nominalized type of discourse used in the parliamentary oversight process. This type of discourse is used by the government departments and state-owned entities that report to parliament, since they are mostly bureaucratic institutions, administering government activities such as providing transport and built infrastructure. As MPs discuss the presentations that these departments and entities make, they may well add another layer of nominalization to the discourse as they seek to regulate the activities of these regulatory bodies. An example of this extremely nominalized parliamentary discourse appears in the Portfolio Committee on Transport's report on the Department of Transport's strategic plan and budget for 2009/10, which is discussed further in 4.3. and 4.4. of this thesis. It reads, “The implementation of programmes do not accommodate integrated planning and integrated service delivery which is a concern.” In this sentence, one nominalization, “the implementation of programmes” is the subject of the main clause, which acts on a Nominal Group Complex consisting of two nominalizations, “integrated planning” and “integrated service delivery”. All three of these nominalizations express processes which are the responsibility of the Department of Transport. If one were to rewrite each of them in congruent form, the sentence would read, “The Department of Transport is implementing programmes in a way that does not allow it to plan in an integrated manner or deliver services in an integrated manner, which is a concern.”

In addition, the portfolio committee's comment on this state of affairs is given as yet another nominalization, “a concern”. If one were to rewrite this nominalization, the sentence would read as follows:

The Department of Transport is implementing programmes in a way that does not allow it to plan in an integrated manner or deliver services in an integrated manner, which concerns the Portfolio Committee on Transport.

Thus one can view professional discourse, bureaucratic discourse and parliamentary discourse as three rungs on a ladder of institutional discourse, with a layer of nominalization being added onto the discourse at each rung. Each step up on this ladder represents an increase in the institutionalization of the meanings conveyed in the text. Nominalization, as grammatical metaphor, works to condense meaning, strengthening the SD of the discourse. Conversely, the lower rungs of the ladder have stronger SG than the upper rungs. This ladder can be represented diagrammatically, as shown in Figure 2.1.

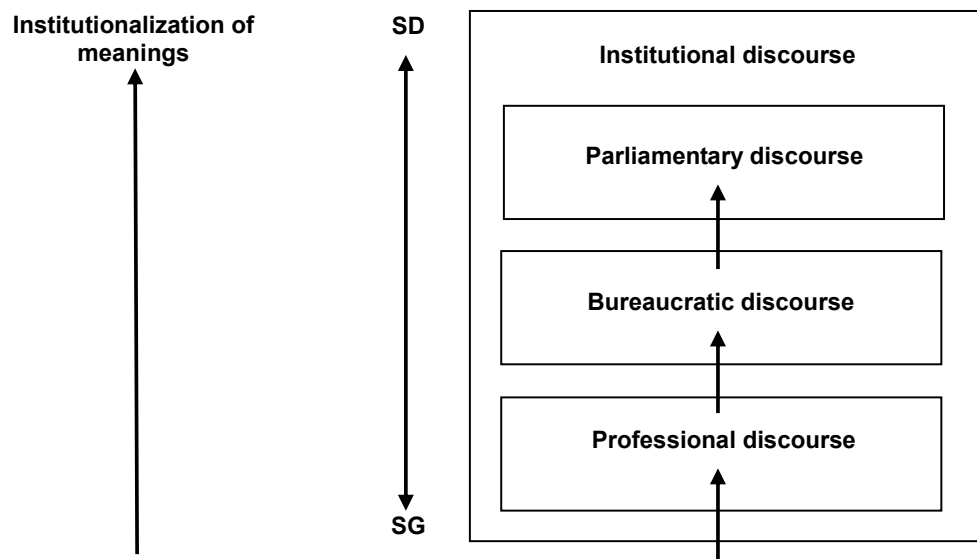


Figure 2.1: The institutionalization of meanings in institutional discourse

There are similarities between this diagram and the diagram of the genre chain in parliament's committee structures presented in Figure 1.1. In both diagrams, arrows represent discourse processes linking together a number of different items in a chain. This is so because nominalization is in fact one process by which recontextualization happens: it takes information from one context and recasts it in a different form in a new context.

As mentioned in 1.2, Iedema (1999) shows that recontextualization plays an important role in legitimizing and institutionalizing meanings. In 2.6.3., I show how the term “black-boxing” provides a powerful metaphor for describing the process of institutionalizing meanings through recontextualization. In that section, the role of recontextualization in the institutionalization of meanings is discussed in more detail. In the following section, however, I move into a narrower discussion of the properties of parliamentary discourse as the specific discourse type under investigation in this thesis.

2.4. Parliamentary discourse

The word “parliament” is derived from the French word *parler*, “to speak” (Ilie 2006). Thus discourse is crucial to the business of parliaments, as is true of politics in general. Chapter 1 included a brief explanation of the institutional goals and structure of the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, and Chapter 3 introduces readers further to this institution as a research context, so it falls to this section of the thesis to describe the functions and characteristics of the discourse that occupies this institutional space. I begin with a critical discussion of research into intertextuality in parliament, including forays into issues in the intertextual context of parliament (2.4.1.). Following from this, I outline the contribution that this study makes to the body of literature on parliamentary discourse (2.4.2.) Finally, I examine South African parliamentary discourse in a context of change (2.4.3.). In this process, I describe what type of discourse new MPs and parliamentary support staff must acquire on entering the institution for the first time, setting the scene for 2.5, which gives a more detailed theoretical perspective on this process of discourse acquisition.

2.4.1. Intertextuality in parliament

The variety of micro-contexts in which parliamentary discourse is used is a reminder that intertextuality plays a crucial role in parliamentary discourse, with discourse in one of these micro-contexts constantly cross-referring to discourse in the others. Individual MPs' utterances in parliamentary sittings or meetings comment on previous utterances, such that Bayley (2004:24) can call parliamentary discourse “a sequence of monologues which are intertextually and contratextually interwoven as MPs respond to what has been said previously, not just in the House but elsewhere”. I would argue that this characterization is too narrow, because it does not include the reams of written discourse which parliaments produce and which, as I have shown in 1.5.2., is intertextually interwoven with its spoken texts in genre chains. Neither does it include the multimodal discourse of presentations before parliament. Indeed, one serious inadequacy in the literature on parliamentary discourse is that it focuses almost exclusively on spoken discourse in sittings of the houses of parliament, often without acknowledging the influence of the complex genre chains through which meanings are circulated in parliament before being discussed in these sittings. This section discusses how intertextuality has been treated in a variety of studies of parliamentary discourse, in order to illustrate how my study draws on a methodological progression of studies examining the role of intertextuality in this discourse type.

At the beginning of this progression lie studies which utilize corpus linguistics on its own as a methodological set of tools. These studies typically trace the usage of single words in sittings of the houses of parliament, such as “work” in the case of Bayley, Bevitori and Zoni (2004) or “threat” and “fear” in the case of Bayley and San Vicente (2004). This enables these authors to locate

interesting extracts from their data which recontextualize various discourses, and to show how these words acquire certain meanings through intertextual reference. However, corpus linguistics alone does not equip them to say much about these extracts that is helpful in developing theory about parliamentary discourse.

The second step on this progression is occupied by studies which combine corpus linguistics with use of a broad functionalist perspective, drawing (sometimes rather vaguely) on aspects of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Examples of such studies include Vasta (2004), Dibattista (2004) and Bevitori (2004). These studies offer closer linguistic analysis, and so are able to reach more helpful conclusions about how particular linguistic features are used strategically by different actors, and how debates in the houses of parliament form part of intertextual networks embracing texts from other genres such as newspaper articles.

The third step on the progression is represented by the work of Miller (2004, 2007), who uses corpus linguistics along with APPRAISAL, a specialized set of analytical tools from SFL aimed at analysing interpersonal meanings in texts. While this work, like that of those who use corpus linguistics alone as a methodological tool, concentrates on the meanings of individual lexical items, Miller's use of APPRAISAL enables her to pinpoint far more precisely how the interpersonal meanings of these words are affected by their intertextual context. A good example of this effect in one committee meeting I have analysed is the word "rubberstamping", which has strong negative judgements attached to it due to a general perception that the role of parliament had been weakened during the Mbeki administration from 1999 to 2008. A fuller explanation of this use of the word is given in 4.4.2. In this thesis, I also use APPRAISAL as a tool to analyse how interpersonal meanings change from one text to another in the genre chains of the South African parliamentary committee process. More detail about how I use this tool is given in 3.4.3.

Ethnographic research represents the final step in the methodological progression outlined above in that ethnographers not only theorize the intertextual context of the texts they analyse, but enter that context in order to achieve a thick explanation of the practices they investigate (Watson Gegeo 1992).

One example of such research is the work of Shaw (2000, 2006), who has studied differences between men's and women's interactional styles in the British House of Commons and Scottish Parliament. She used Conversation Analysis to examine the turn-taking patterns in debates in both these houses of parliament, and found that women made virtually no illegal interruptions (that is, interruptions that flouted the houses' rules of procedure) in these debates, while men frequently did. Then she conducted a series of interviews with woman MPs, which revealed that they did not engage in illegal interruptions because they were determined to hold to a higher procedural standard than the men, and often saw their illegal interruptions as being juvenile. Thus in effect, there were

two sets of discourse norms in the parliaments Shaw studied: one for men and one for women. Shaw concluded that this state of affairs excluded the women from access to the power which men gained through use of unprocedural strategies. While Shaw may have been able to point to a trend in parliamentary discourse through Conversation Analysis of sittings of the house of parliament on its own, she could not have reached her stronger conclusion that there were different discourse norms for the different genders in parliament without establishing a convergence between her analyst's perspective and her participants' perspectives through ethnographic research (Tannen 1984). This type of convergence is a hallmark of ethnographic research, and an ideal to which I have aimed in this study, as shown in 3.2.3.

Another researcher who has done an extensive amount of work on parliamentary discourse is Wodak. As mentioned in 2.3.1, Wodak (2009) conducted an ethnographic study in which she describes how one of her research collaborators followed an MEP around for a day observing how he took his own political agenda and recontextualized it differently in different micro-contexts. This study was able to access the backstage micro-contexts of parliamentary discourse in a way that has not been matched by any other studies I am aware of. While my study was not as focused on the backstage as Wodak's was, it shares this study's use of participant observation as a means of understanding the discursive workings of parliament as a meso-context.

A further ethnographic study by Wodak (2000) is even closer to my study in its approach. This study examines the way in which a European Union committee called the Competitiveness Action Group (CAG) recontextualized voices from competing factions in the committee into a policy document. This process mirrors that of compiling a committee report in the South African parliament in some respects. In the CAG, the two competing factions are representatives of employers' organizations, and trade union representatives.

In the theoretical background to her analysis, Wodak introduces a useful distinction between two types of conflicts: conflicts of interests, which have to do with the way resources are distributed among different stakeholders; and conflicts of values, in which participants contest the ideologies underpinning a certain action or text. In Chapter 4, this distinction is used to categorize a number of conflicts that arise in my data. Wodak typifies the conflict between the employer representatives and the trade union representatives as a conflict of values: while the employers' main goal is to position Europe for greater competitiveness in international trade, the trade union representatives are concerned about maintaining "social cohesion" (Wodak 2000:196) in European countries.

While the initial drafts of the policy document that Wodak examined were heavily slanted toward the business representatives' goal, Wodak shows how the trade union representatives' voice was worked into later drafts of the policy paper. This resulted in a consensus position in which the employers' and trade unions' voices were black-boxed together into a text which retains an

appearance of monologicality. This study is interesting to compare with my analysis of a meeting discussed in 4.4, in which ruling-party MPs and opposition MPs debate the wording of a committee report. In this meeting, no consensus is reached and the opposition MPs' voices are eventually recontextualized as a minority opinion tacked like a label onto the black box of the report, rather than being incorporated into the body of the report as the trade unions' voices were in Wodak's (2000) study.

This study also highlights the extent to which recontextualization in parliament serves to reinforce or challenge asymmetries of power in institutional contexts. Wodak's research, like this study, adopts a critical perspective on recontextualization in political discourse, recognizing that some groups, such as the business representatives, have more power to ensure that their meanings are recontextualized into the next text in the genre chain than others, such as the trade union representatives, do. In 3.2.2. I outline the approach to power asymmetries that is adopted in this thesis.

Thus there is a clear progression in treatments of intertextuality in parliamentary discourse from studies that concentrate on individual texts and observe their intertextual links to other texts to ethnographic studies that embed the analysis of wide varieties of texts in an understanding of parliament as a complex meso-context fraught with asymmetrical power relations. My study is an example of the latter, and in the following section I explain how it fills a gap in the extant literature on parliamentary discourse.

2.4.2. The contribution made by this study

A significant difference between all of the studies referred to above (with the exception of Wodak's research) and this study is that while the former are focused on interaction in sittings of houses of parliament, my research is focused on the genre chains which precede these sittings, namely the committee process of parliament. As noted above, committee meeting discourse tends to be more spontaneous than that of house sittings, and offers an opportunity to view the discursive work that occurs in the process of developing the positions from which participants debate in house sittings. Secondly, by focusing on a chain of texts, rather than on a single point on the genre chain, my research provides a view of how matters for discussion develop and change as they are recontextualized through the parliamentary process. The genre chains which constitute the parliamentary process are under-researched from a linguistic perspective: as far as I am aware, Wodak is the only other linguist to research this process, and this in the European Parliament which, as a supranational body, is quite different from national legislatures like the South African parliament.

2.4.3. South African parliamentary discourse in transition

Thus far, I have observed that parliamentary discourse is quite heterogeneous and hybrid mainly in a synchronic dimension: it brings together elements of different discourse types, and functions as a platform on which discourse norms, grammatical structures and identities are both drawn on as rhetorical resources and negotiated as obstacles to effective communication. In this section, I follow the lead of Carbó (2004) by considering how this intertextuality also occurs in a diachronic dimension, by examining the ways in which South African parliamentary discourse has undergone shifts associated with its transition to democracy and subsequent political developments. This account is intended to give some historical context to my study, and demonstrate how MPs and parliamentary officials in South Africa's new democratic parliament have co-produced the conventions of parliamentary discourse in the process of acquiring them.

In most postcolonial parliaments such as the South African parliament, this intertextuality is amplified through the interaction of old, colonial rituals and discourse norms with the new rituals and discourse norms of the modern independent state (Rai 2010b). South Africa's first democratic constitution occasioned dramatic changes both in its parliament's powers and in its structure. A book published by the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa (2006), *Parliament since 1994: Achievements and Challenges*, is used as a basis for the following discussion of this transition.

South Africa's new democratic constitution, promulgated in 1996, gave parliament a far stronger role in overseeing the executive arm of government, and remoulded the old institution, which was based on the Westminster model of parliament inherited from the colonial era, into a new structure with far more committees that had more far-reaching powers (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa 2006). In the same year, parliament's Joint Rules Committee charged a sub-committee with the task of redrafting the entire body of rules of parliament to make them comply with the new constitution (Hasson 2010). In the following paragraphs, I examine how this redrafting has had effects on parliamentary discourse in two areas pertinent to this study. The first is the range of linguistic varieties considered acceptable in parliament. The second is the development of procedure in parliament's committees, which is an ongoing and at times, quite problematic process, as is shown in 4.4.

As explained in 1.5.2, the South African parliament is a multilingual forum, with all eleven official languages and South African Sign Language being used not only in the halls of parliament, but also in sittings of the houses of Parliament. However, parliament does not have the capacity to provide simultaneous interpretation for all committee meetings, which means that in practice, these occur in the *lingua franca* of English apart from small codeswitches into other languages.

Hibbert's (2003) ethnographic study on Parliament found that the range of varieties of English that are deemed 'acceptable' in South African parliamentary discourse has broadened over the

course of the transition to democracy. She found that in the apartheid parliament, frontstage discourse was restricted to a standard English that was barely South African in lexicon and syntax, and standard Afrikaans. By contrast, the first democratic parliament explicitly encouraged more South Africanized varieties. In the new dispensation, the non-native speaker variety contentiously labelled “Black South African English” is commonplace, and may even be considered to be the dominant variety in committee discourse. Since MPs are free to use a wider range of varieties and styles from their repertoires, to use colloquialisms and to codeswitch in parliamentary meetings, they have more resources at hand with which to make meaning in committees, even if they still cannot use any languages apart from English in the committees for long periods. An example of how MPs use these meaning-making resources is shown in 4.3.2, where an MP uses codeswitching to express meanings in complex and subtle ways.

Moving from linguistic variation to discourse-level trends, Hasson (2010) has documented the ways in which transformation of parliament’s rules with regard to committee structures has affected discourse in South African parliamentary committees. In the following paragraphs, I discuss her findings in order to provide a background for understanding the ways in which the discourse conventions of committees are co-produced in the meetings discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis. The new rules of procedure instituted in 1997 expanded the number of committees from 13 to 36 portfolio committees, seven joint committees and a range of ad-hoc committees convened on different issues as necessary. Members of the public could now observe and make submissions to parliamentary committees. These changes were designed to ensure that the work of parliament became more deliberative and transparent. As mentioned in 1.5.3, committees are conceived of as spaces for collaboration and constructive engagement, as opposed to the more adversarial politics of the houses of parliament.

In the new dispensation, committees were left to determine their own procedures to a large degree. This is extremely important to the interaction analysed in this thesis, as it means that procedural disputes often arise, especially in newly-elected committees, and these committees must co-produce solutions to these disputes without recourse to detailed rules of procedure in committee meetings. Because committees are given much latitude to develop their own procedure, in reality a committee chairperson wields much power to shape the discourse of his/her committee. This comes to the fore in two sections of analysis in Chapter 4, namely 4.2.2. and 4.4.

Hasson’s interviewees pointed to the first democratic parliament (1994-1999) as a ‘golden age’ for committee discourse, in which members from different parties worked together on refining legislation and holding the executive arm of government to account. By contrast, a gradual decline in the quality and rigour of committee discourse was perceived under the Mbeki administration (1999-2008). As mentioned in 1.5.1, this perception has been confirmed in my interviews with

individual MPs during the course of my research. These MPs spoke of the Fourth Parliament, elected in 2009 at the beginning of the Zuma administration, as signalling a new commitment once again to strengthen the oversight role of parliament in general and committees in particular. They spoke of this commitment having a direct impact particularly on the discourse of the committee meeting examined in 4.2 (see Appendix 4).

Whether or not these perceptions of shifts in committee discourse have any basis in the day-to-day work of the committees, they illustrate that parliamentary discourse is subject to influence not only from rules of procedure imposed in the meso-context of parliament as an institution, but also from macro-contextual political shifts which are reflected in the actions of individual MPs and the leaders of the parties to which they belong.

Each new cohort of MPs arrives at parliament with knowledge from different backgrounds shaped, in part, by the political conditions in their contexts, and synthesizes this knowledge in new ways with the parliamentary discourse that they acquire. This in turn influences parliamentary discourse so that the parliamentary discourse acquired by the following cohort of MPs is different from that acquired by the previous one. In this way, MPs are responsible for influencing the conventions of parliamentary discourse to a large degree. In fact in the committees, where fewer external rules of procedure are imposed than in sittings of the houses of parliament, it is accurate to say that the MPs co-produce these discourse conventions in the process of acquiring them.

This section on parliamentary discourse has covered a broad sweep of research undertaken through a variety of methodologies and observing a variety of characteristics of this discourse type. I have observed the hybrid, intertextual nature of parliamentary discourse, combining aspects of many different discourse types. Research that examines not only frontstage parliamentary discourse but also its intertexts in the backstage and in the broader political context highlights the need for MPs to draw on their repertoires of identities in negotiating this intertextual maze in a way that gains them political advantage. In 4.3.1. and 4.3.2. I illustrate how two different MPs do this. In addition to this synchronic hybridity and variation, I have observed that diachronic variation in rules of procedure and political conditions is a significant influence on parliamentary discourse, especially in the South African context of transition. This enables one to understand how MPs and parliamentary officials co-produce this type of discourse as they acquire it, and in the following section I outline a theoretical perspective on how these processes of co-production and acquisition occur.

2.5. Acquiring and co-producing parliamentary discourse conventions

Becoming competent in producing and interpreting the texts that constitute a specialized discourse such as parliamentary discourse is by no means a simple process: in some ways it mirrors the

process of acquiring a language for the first time, so that we can speak about acquiring parliamentary discourse. In other ways it mirrors the way in which reading and writing is learned in school, so that we can speak about learning a parliamentary literacy. This section shows how these two perspectives complement each other to give a fuller picture of how competence in a specialized discourse is gained. Such a picture is necessary in order to understand the extent to which this process of acquiring and co-producing parliamentary discourse is involved in the communication difficulties in parliament's committee process identified in Chapter 4, and to inform my recommendations about how communication in the committee process can be improved in Chapter 5.

In order to develop an understanding of how discourse conventions are acquired and co-produced, one must first develop a language for describing how these conventions are stored in the mind. Widdowson (1983) gives the name "schemata" to the structures that we use to store and categorize knowledge in the mind. According to him, there are two types of schemata: frames of reference, which carry factual information about the world, and rhetorical routines, which carry readers' knowledge of typical ways of structuring communication. Participants may find texts easy to interpret if they conform easily to these schemata, and difficult if they do not (Widdowson 1983). Thus when MPs first enter parliament, they may find that both factual knowledge of the way parliament as a meso-context is structured and the discourse conventions of parliamentary discourse are quite foreign to their schemata. However, as they acquire the discourse conventions of parliament, these will become part of their rhetorical routines, and factual knowledge about the way in which parliament operates will become part of their frames of reference. As shown in 3.4.4, this is important because communication difficulties arise when one interactant's schemata fail to overlap with those of another. Thus many communication difficulties may occur in the process of acquiring and co-producing parliamentary discourse conventions.

There are at least two ways in which interactants' schemata can be brought into alignment with each other: through continued interaction, and through intervention of a third party. Continued interaction over time builds up a store of common experiences which become part of both interactants' schemata, as well as a store of knowledge about one's interlocutor's schemata. This means of schematic alignment is illustrated in the interviews I conducted with various MPs from the Portfolio Committee on Transport in September 2011, over two years after the formation of their committee. My notes from these interviews (see Appendix 4) give the impression that communication in this committee improved as its members became better acquainted with each other, and co-produced the rules of procedure which the committee follows in its meetings. This process of co-producing the committee's procedure is crucial to schematic alignment between parliamentary committee members. Third-party intervention, on the other hand, can assist

interactants to align their schemata with each other by encouraging them to consider their interactions from their interlocutors' perspectives, and by bringing in an additional perspective on the interaction, which may shed light on where the interactants' schemata fail to overlap. I plan to achieve such an intervention through the report on my findings which I will write to Mrs Keswa, as well as the workshops which I intend to hold with the committee secretaries.

2.5.1. Learning parliamentary literacy

As discussed in the introduction to this thesis and earlier sections of this chapter, I use the word "literacy" to refer to more than the skills of reading and writing in isolation. Instead, a literacy is the ability to produce and interpret both spoken and written texts in a particular domain of life in which one is involved (Barton 1994). Christie (1998) shows how the learning of a literacy accompanies and encodes a gradual shift of focus from the commonsense knowledge of everyday discourses to the uncommonsense knowledge of a specialized discourse such as parliamentary discourse. Christie argues that this shift is far from natural and thus must be explicitly taught. In the same way, the literacies of parliament require explicit teaching and learning for them to become part of MPs' schemata. This is accomplished through compulsory members' information sessions which take place every time a new parliament is constituted in South Africa (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa 2009d), as well as documents like the *National Assembly Guide to Procedure* (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa 2004) which explicate some of the conventions of South African parliamentary discourse. The fact that this explicit learning occurs is evidence that parliamentary discourse, like academic discourse, entails the production of uncommonsense knowledge as part of a literacy which must be learned.

2.5.2. Discourse acquisition through legitimate peripheral participation

From another perspective, though, gaining competence in parliamentary discourse is done through a process of what Lave and Wenger (1991) call legitimate peripheral participation. This process entails taking a position on the margins of the literacy events constituting a particular discourse, and using this vantage point to learn through observation and practice what its discourse conventions are, and how to negotiate these discourse conventions to one's advantage. This process begins before MPs are elected to parliament, through their political socialization in the structures of the parties they belong to. In parliament, it continues as MPs observe the actions of more senior colleagues in committees and sittings of the houses of Parliament.

This context for legitimate peripheral participation is provided by a community of practice, an "aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992, quoted in Meyerhoff 2002:527). Through legitimate peripheral

participation, members' schemata come to incorporate the discourse conventions of parliament, causing them to gain in competence in the discourse of the community of practice and as a result move from the periphery towards the core of the community of practice. Parliament as a whole could be seen as a community of practice, but it also comprises many smaller communities of practice. These communities of practice are not only responsible for aiding members in acquiring discourse conventions, but also are the bodies which co-produce these discourse conventions in the first place. Wenger (1998) explains in detail how learning takes place in the context of a community of practice.

In the following sections, I demonstrate how both of the perspectives on becoming an effective communicator in parliament that I have introduced are intertwined: "learning the literacies of parliament" and "acquiring parliamentary discourse" are two descriptions for the same process. I examine the roles of identity construction, linguistic and cultural diversity and a multiplicity of communities of practice in this process. When there is no particular reason to choose one of the above descriptions over the other, I refer to "acquiring parliamentary discourse" by convention, since it fits in better with the progression of this chapter, seeing as the previous section describes the language of parliament as a discourse and the next examines intertextuality and recontextualization as discourse phenomena.

2.5.3. The role of identity construction

Discourse acquisition through legitimate peripheral participation involves identity construction to a large degree. For this reason, Wenger's (1998) book on the role of communities of practice in facilitating discourse acquisition is subtitled "Learning, meaning and identity". In Wenger's theory, learning is as much a process of becoming and belonging as it is a process of doing and experiencing. This is encapsulated in the idea, already mentioned, that the acquisition of a discourse constitutes a steady shift in identity, from being a peripheral member of a community of practice to becoming a core member of that community. In parliament, at the same time as one's identity shifts in relation to the larger community of practice that is the institution as a whole, one will probably switch between various subsidiary identities on a daily basis. One reason this is important is that, as Roberts (2001) points out, literacy practices are closely linked to identities. A committee chairperson needs a slightly different set of literacy practices to those of a chief whip, for example. In communities of practice, peripheral members tend to have fewer responsibilities than core members (Lave and Wenger 1991), and so it is in parliament: peripheral members such as new MPs and "backbenchers" need less competence in parliamentary discourse than do core members such as committee chairpersons.

Identity construction is not a process that occurs only in parliament; rather, MPs bring their pre-

existing identities with them when they arrive at parliament, as part of their schemata. These include their identities as speakers of particular languages, members of particular cultural groups and of particular genders. These identities contrast with those of others in parliament in ways that are often conceived of as a barrier to discourse acquisition.

In 1994, when South Africa's first democratic parliament was instituted, an almost completely new cohort of MPs from a diversity of cultures, races and gender replaced the old parliament with its racial divisions. This new group had to acquire and co-produce the discourse of parliament together, with little opportunity, or desire, for mentorship from MPs of the old regime (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa 2006). For most MPs, this had to be done in their second language, English, in a setting that may be culturally unfamiliar to them, although it is now more likely that newcomers will encounter other MPs from their culture, whose schemata overlap with theirs, to assist them to adapt to the culture of parliament.

As pointed out in 1.5.1, while a variety of languages are used in house sittings, English is used almost exclusively in committees. It is difficult to ascertain what languages are used in caucuses and study groups, since these are closed to public observation. However, what is clear is that all MPs require a specialized competence in English in order to participate in committee meetings.

2.5.4. Acquiring implicit discourse conventions

In addition to language barriers, all people who need to acquire a new discourse, whether in their first or second language, must come to terms with the implicit nature of many discourse conventions. At this point, it is important to differentiate between parliament's explicit discourse conventions, as codified in texts such as the MPs' information sessions or the *National Assembly Guide to Procedure* (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa 2004), and a range of implicit discourse conventions which are not codified in these texts. It is these implicit discourse conventions that are co-produced by MPs and parliamentary support staff on a daily basis, and may be far more difficult to acquire than the explicit conventions. For instance, there were no specific modules focusing on committee interaction in the information sessions held for MPs at the beginning of the Fourth Parliament in 2009 (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa 2009d); MPs were left to discover the conventions of committee discourse through legitimate peripheral participation. This may be linked to the idea that committees should have freedom to co-produce their own procedures.

Acquiring implicit discourse conventions is a competency in its own right: participants can possess varying degrees of what Canale and Swain (1980) term strategic competence, the ability to use communication to discover information that other interactants leave implicit, such as these discourse conventions, as well as to achieve one's communicative goals more broadly. A good

orientation programme for new MPs, or anyone else learning a new literacy, should therefore help participants to develop better strategic competence. Political parties also stand to gain by coaching their MPs in strategic competence, as I recommend in 5.4.1.

2.5.5. Multiple communities of practice

A final trend that emerges from the literature is the importance of a multiplicity of smaller communities of practice in aiding discourse acquisition. Gravett and Petersen (2007) found that new academics learn the literacy practices required of them best in a variety of different mentorship groups. Likewise, foundation-year university students find tutorials as small communities of practice more helpful for acquiring academic discourse than lectures, as meetings of a broader class that constitutes a larger community of practice (Van Schalkwyk et al 2009).

The distinction between lectures and tutorials in university is not unlike that between plenary sittings of houses of parliament, which can be extremely intimidating environments for new MPs, and committee meetings, which are smaller and in which the discourse is usually less competitive and more co-operative. Furthermore, discourse in committees and house sittings is itself undergirded by discourse in other communities of practice, including caucuses and study groups, which take place further in the backstage of parliamentary life. Caucuses are weekly meetings for all of the MPs representing one particular political party, in which these MPs develop strategies and official positions on matters to be discussed in the parliamentary process (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa 2006). Study groups are opportunities for MPs to research and discuss the matters being discussed in a committee together in a more informal, co-operative setting. They tend to consist of either all of the members of a particular committee that represent a particular party, such that one might have an African National Congress (ANC) study group on transport, for instance. Party caucuses and study groups can both be crucial communities of practice that aid in socializing peripheral MPs into the conventions of parliamentary discourse.

Thus one can view the parliamentary process as being made up of a chain of communities of practice extending from the backstage to the frontstage of parliament as an institution. These roughly form a cline from study groups, which tend to be the smallest, most co-operative and most homogeneous communities of practice in parliament, to the houses of parliament, which are the most adversarial, largest and most diverse communities of practice. New MPs can use this chain of communities of practice as a bridge to discourse acquisition: gaining confidence in one community of practice can encourage them to engage more actively in the next in the chain. This chain of communities of practice is presented diagrammatically in Figure 2.2.

In Figure 2.2, the party caucus has intentionally been positioned alongside the linear progression from study group to committee to house of parliament. Some MPs may find their caucuses to be

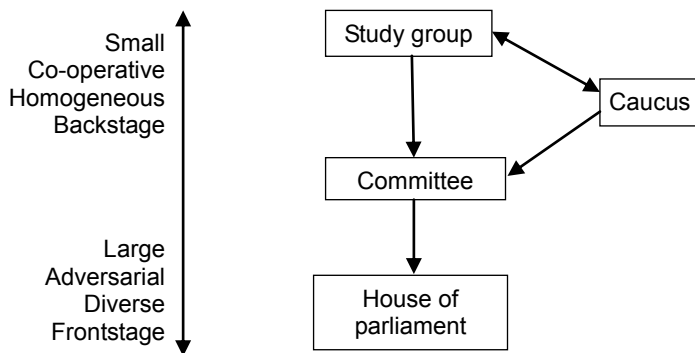


Figure 2.2: The parliamentary process as a chain of communities of practice

more co-operative communities of practice than committees, since party members usually subscribe to a shared set of political ideologies; in other cases if there is much party infighting, caucuses may be less co-operative than committees.

However, caucuses have been positioned above committees in this diagram because this illustrates that the cline of communities of practice mirrors the structure of the genre chains through which meanings are recontextualized in the parliamentary process, such as that depicted in Figure 1.2. Items for discussion are frequently raised first in study groups, or become aspects of a party's agenda and are therefore raised in caucuses. Issues raised in caucuses may be recontextualized in study groups before being discussed in committees, or may bypass the study groups to be recontextualized in the committees. From there, MPs recontextualize these items for discussion in their committees, after which they are taken to the houses of parliament for final decision-making. This means that even peripheral MPs can have an influence in shaping the discourse of parliament through discussion in the smaller, more supportive communities of practice where they can have a larger influence than in the larger, less supportive ones.

To summarize, this section on discourse acquisition and co-production has shown how becoming a competent communicator in parliament is not a commonsense, or unproblematic, process: even when there is some training available, many of the conventions of parliamentary discourse remain implicit and must be intentionally learned as a part of a new literacy. These implicit rules are often learnt through legitimate peripheral participation in communities of practice. In these communities of practice, the conventions of parliamentary discourse are co-produced and new MPs are socialized into these discourse conventions in a process which mirrors the acquisition of a first language, which is why it makes sense also to speak of acquiring parliamentary discourse. The communities of practice within parliament are arranged in a cline from those most supportive to discourse acquisition to those that are least supportive to it, and this cline follows the genre chain by which meanings are recontextualized through the parliamentary process. This means that an important component of acquiring parliamentary discourse is learning how to recontextualize meanings from

one point on this genre chain to another. In the next section of this chapter I examine the dynamics of this process of recontextualization and the ways in which it can influence discourse.

2.6. Intertextuality and recontextualization

The concept of recontextualization draws on a rich tradition of literature on intertextuality, which views texts as inevitably and inextricably linked to each other. In this section I only have space to discuss a few key works from this tradition. I begin by tracing the concept of intertextuality from its theoretical roots in work attributed to the Russian philosopher Bakhtin (1981), to its current use, particularly in anthropological linguistics and discourse analysis (2.6.1.). Following that, I show how the concept of recontextualization has developed to describe one way in which intertexts reference each other (2.6.2.), and how this concept has been particularly helpful in explaining the processes of knowledge production that take place in academic disciplines as well as institutional domains such as Parliament. This is done in order to produce a theoretical model of the discursive effects of recontextualization in 2.6.3, which is drawn on and developed in the analysis of my data from parliament in Chapter 4.

2.6.1. Bakhtin and the dialogicality of texts

The views on the dialogicality of texts attributed to Bakhtin are remarkably prescient and have laid a foundation for almost all the theorists and researchers I cite in this section. The following discussion draws on two of his later essays, “The Problem of Speech Genres” and “The Problem of the Text in Linguistics, Philology and the Human Sciences: An Experiment in Philosophical Analysis” (Bakhtin 1986)². As these two titles show, Bakhtin’s points of departure are the questions “What is the nature of (particularly spoken) genres?” and “What properties define a text?”

For Bakhtin (1986), the unit of speech which is most helpful in genre analysis is the utterance. An utterance is a particular stretch of language produced in a specific context, and is unrepeatable; in spoken language, its boundaries “are determined by a change of speaking subjects” (Bakhtin 1986:71), that is, a change from one speaker to another. This definition can be extended to written texts: an utterance is a stretch of text authored by one distinct person or group of people. Thus utterances vary in length from a spoken one-word rejoinder to an entire novel. Since in written communication the interpretation of a text usually happens in a different context from its production, Bakhtin argues that each reading of a written text is in some ways a separate utterance. The utterance is such a crucial unit of analysis for Bakhtin because it consists of real language in context, and he argues that language only has the properties of genre and meaning in context.

² Bronckart and Bota (2011) have argued strongly that many of the ideas found in Bakhtin’s later essays, including “The Problem of Speech Genres” were plagiarized from Vološinov. I reference these ideas as Bakhtin’s, but acknowledge that he may not have been the original source of many of them.

Bakhtin divides genres into primary or simple genres and secondary or complex genres. Primary genres are direct, transactional forms of communication between people, such as casual conversation and letters or emails; secondary genres are longer and more highly-developed types of text such as literary works or academic research.

While spoken utterances often invite an immediate spoken response, written utterances also are composed to provoke some kind of response, even if this response may be delayed. A spoken answer responds to a previous question, but an academic work also responds to the works that it references. Thus all utterances exist in dialogue with previous utterances and their senders.

In fact, Bakhtin writes that “any utterance is a link in the chain of speech communion” (1986:84) formed by utterances referencing each other. This means that both the notion of a genre chain as a chain of texts / utterances that intertextually reference each other (Fairclough 2003) and of recontextualization as the process of taking meanings out of one context and placing them in a new context (Bernstein 2003) have their theoretical roots in work attributed to Bakhtin.

Bakhtin even has something to say about the way one should analyse the utterance as a unit of communication: he writes,

[T]he utterance, its style, and its composition are determined by its referentially semantic element... and its expressive aspect, that is, the speaker's evaluative attitude toward the referentially semantic element in the utterance. (1986:90)

The “referentially semantic element” of an utterance corresponds usefully with what is called its ideational metafunction in SFL, and “the speaker's evaluative attitude” corresponds similarly to the interpersonal metafunction, particularly the systems of APPRAISAL (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, Martin and White 2005). Bakhtin seems to indicate that if one wants to discover the semantic differences between one utterance and another, these are the two areas to which one must pay attention. Thus my research questions for this study investigate these two components of meaning, as shown in 1.3. In 2.6.3, I show how the model of the discursive effects of recontextualization I develop in this thesis addresses both of these types of meanings.

One can consider prior texts that are referenced by a current text to be part of that text's intertextual context. According to this view, then, each intertextual reference in the text also points to an aspect of the text's context, or in other words, is indexical (Silverstein 2003). This is made obvious in Silverstein's example of indexicality in oinoglossia, or “wine talk”. Users of oinoglossia, whether professional wine critics or amateur enthusiasts, intertextually reference prior examples of this discourse type which they have read or heard in the past, and in so doing index their levels of competence in oinoglossia, which in turn indexes their identities as people with ‘breeding’ or ‘trainability’ in the art of wine-tasting. This demonstrates two important things. Firstly, the prior texts referenced by a current text and the manner in which they are referenced index the authority of

the current text and its producer, and thus intertextuality is often involved in reproducing asymmetrical power relations, as found in 2.4.1. Secondly, because intertextuality is indexical, the concept of indexicality is a useful methodological tool to use in tracing the discursive effects of intertextuality. This is one of the reasons why I draw on Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) to investigate indexicality in the data from parliament that I have analysed, as explained further in 3.4.4.

2.6.2. Bernstein and recontextualization

The term “recontextualization” was first theorized by Bernstein (2003), a sociologist of education, who used it initially to describe the process by which knowledge is taken from texts in an academic discipline and used as content to be taught to learners. Bernstein writes that texts or portions of texts undergo two different transformations in the process of recontextualization. The first transformation is the process of delocating the knowledge from the original text, taking it out of its old context. The second transformation is the process of putting this freshly delocated knowledge into its new context in the pedagogic process, or wherever else the recontextualized knowledge will be put to work.

This process not only occurs within a particular discourse, but also often occurs across discourses. Thus one can speak not only of intertextuality but also of interdiscursivity, the extent to which a text draws on other discourses and transforms them to fulfil its own ends. As an example, Candlin and Maley (1997) show how the discourse of conflict mediation is shaped by both therapeutic discourse and legal discourse and draws on these as resources for solving problems. In 2.4.1. I demonstrate how parliamentary discourse is richly interdiscursive in this way.

2.6.3. Recontextualization and the production of knowledge

Two other sociologists have contributed greatly to my understanding of the role of recontextualization in the production of knowledge and the dynamics of ideological contestation over the processes of knowledge production: Latour, a sociologist of science, and Maton, a sociologist of education. In the following section I draw on their theorizing to develop a model of the role of recontextualization in the production of knowledge, and show how this model can be applied to the analysis of recontextualization in parliament.

Latour (1987) introduces a procedure which he calls “black-boxing” to explain how knowledge is produced in the sciences. A black box, according to Latour, is a process or idea which is presented as something that works and is so well-established that there is no need to ‘open the box’ and pull out its contents to question them; in fact, if one does, one will upset a complex and delicately-constructed system, causing consequences every bit as chaotic as those of opening

Pandora's fabled box. This means that when scientists, or any producers of knowledge, want to make their conclusions as uncontested as possible, they will present them as a black box.

This process of taking ideas and fixing them in texts is also referred to as entextualization (Park and Bucholtz 2009). Figure 2.3. charts how this might occur in the context of a budget drawn up by a South African government department for consideration in parliament. First, sets of ideas form in the minds of officials in charge of strategic planning at a government department. They may meet together and recontextualize their thoughts into spoken words, and then write them down as notes from their meetings. These notes may be used to form a draft strategic plan on a computer. Eventually they will become part of the department's final official strategic plan, and then its budget as set out in the *Estimates of National Expenditure*. This entire genre chain is a precursor to the genre chain of the committee process examined in this thesis.

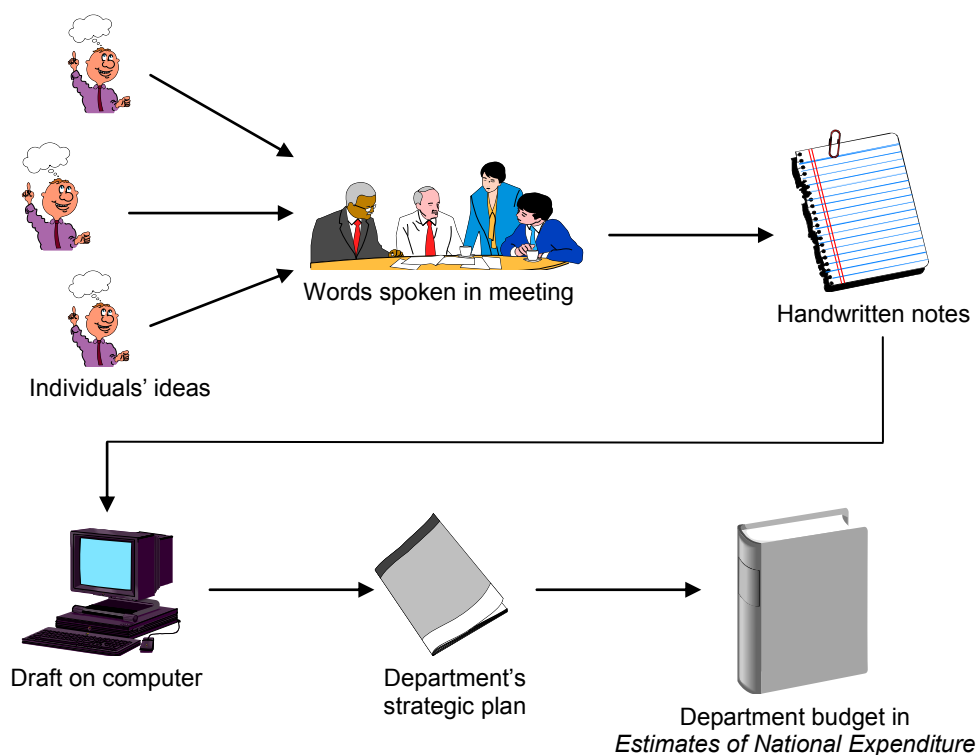


Figure 2.3: Recontextualization as black-boxing in the process of compiling a department budget. Adapted from Latour (1987)

In this process, recontextualization solidifies these ideas into official plans set out in tables and figures or printed on glossy paper. These tables and figures and the glossy paper are cues by which the department implies that this is information which has been well thought through; it stands as part of an integrated plan which is ready for implementation, and to question any part of it would be to obstruct the department's efforts at service delivery.

Interestingly though, Latour (1987) points out that recontextualization can be used not only to blackbox information in the way described above, but also to open black boxes and question their

content. Figure 2.4. shows how this process frequently occurs in parliamentary committee meetings, especially those similar to the one discussed in 4.2.

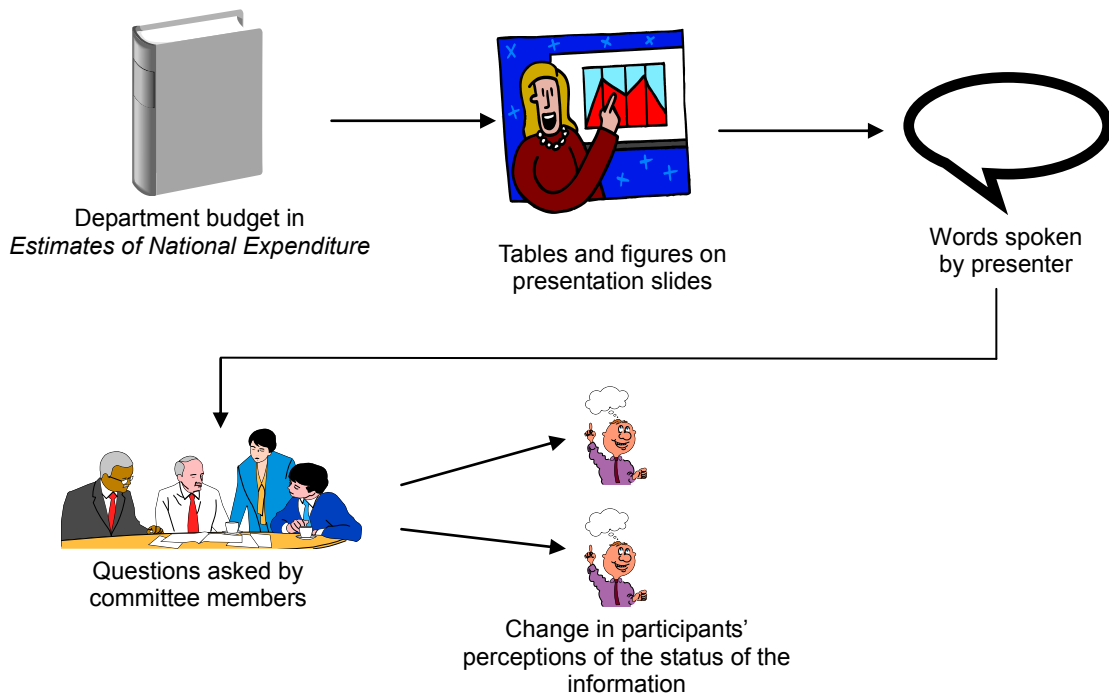


Figure 2.4: Recontextualization as opening the black box of a department budget. Adapted from Latour (1987)

While Latour (1987) gives us the term “black-boxing” to describe the way in which recontextualization is used in the production of knowledge and the process of challenging the status of that knowledge, Maton (2011) builds on Bernstein's theories of the production and recontextualization of knowledge in education to demonstrate two mechanisms by which black-boxing takes place: epistemological condensation and axiological condensation. These two mechanisms are crucial components of the model of the discursive effects of recontextualization that I develop in this thesis.

Bernstein (2000) postulates two ways or dimensions in which knowledge structures can be built: hierarchically or horizontally. Hierarchical, or vertical, extension of knowledge structures is typical of the sciences: they focus on seeking explanations for a particular set of phenomena in the world, and then seek to recontextualize those explanations together to form integrated theories of how those sets of phenomena function. These explanations are then recontextualized into more abstract explanations, which in turn are recontextualized and integrated into still more abstract explanations, creating a hierarchical knowledge structure that can be represented by a pyramid shape. To produce knowledge in a hierarchical fashion, then, one needs to extend current theories to apply to more empirical data (extending the base of the pyramid) by creating more abstract and more all-encompassing theories (making the pyramid taller). Maton (2011) refers to this process as

epistemological condensation because it condenses the knowledge from the base of the pyramid into progressively denser and more abstract theories. This is a condensation of ideational meanings (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004), because epistemological condensation is concerned with the ideas expressed in a text and their reference to objects in the world.

As mentioned in 2.2.1, Maton (2011) has developed an extremely useful framework, named Semantics, to describe how knowledge production is realized socially and linguistically in terms of semantic density (SD) and semantic gravity (SG).

Maton (2011) conceives of SD and SG as existing on two separate continua, but since weak SD often correlates with strong SG, and vice versa, at times also represents the two concepts on a single vertical continuum. This is illustrated in Figure 2.5, which is a schematic representation of the role of recontextualization in the production of hierarchical knowledge structures.

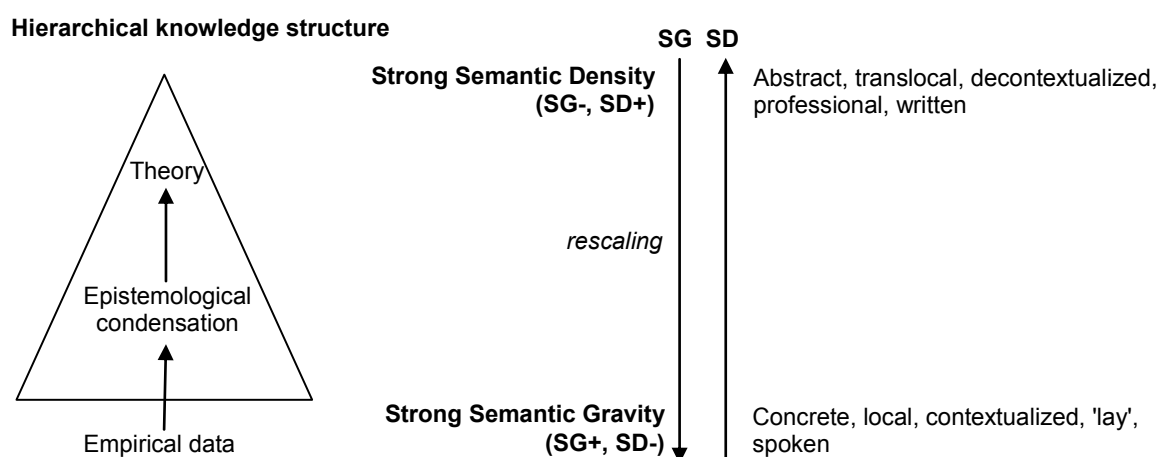


Figure 2.5: Recontextualization in the production of hierarchical knowledge structures. Adapted from Maton (2011)

As shown in this diagram, semantically dense information tends to be not only abstract, but applicable to larger areas (whether geographic areas or domains of study) than information with strong SG. For instance, one of the MPs in the interaction discussed in 4.3.2. says, “There are people in Harding that have been travelling on wheelbarrows because... they are physically challenged.” Here she uses strong SG to speak about people in a specific rural town who use a particular mode of transport, wheelbarrows. However, when she recontextualizes this statement at a stronger level of SD she talks about “the problem that we are talking about in the rural areas”, thereby labelling the situation she described earlier as a “problem” and generalizing it to all of “the rural areas” in South Africa on a national scale. Thus the process of recontextualizing up or down a vertical knowledge structure can be termed “rescaling”: recontextualizing from one scale to another, such as from a local scale to a national scale, or from the scale of a few specific individuals to a more general “problem”.

The term “rescaling” is borrowed from an emerging research movement which investigates what is sometimes called the sociolinguistics of mobility (Collins, Slembrouck and Baynham 2009). Fairclough (2006) has studied some instances of recontextualization as examples of rescaling; however, in this thesis I regard all instances of recontextualization as involving rescaling of some kind. The sociolinguistics of mobility provides a variety of interesting examples of epistemological condensation and also of its opposite, recontextualization from strong levels of SD to strong levels of SG. Maton does not give this opposite direction of recontextualization a name, so in this thesis, I refer to it as “epistemological decondensation”. I use the term “epistemological (de)condensation” to refer to recontextualization of ideational meanings in either direction. The sociolinguistics of mobility demonstrates that processes of epistemological (de)condensation are active not only in academic knowledge production but also in a variety of other discourse types.

For example, Kell (2009) studies recontextualization in genre chains related to local residents’ involvement in a self-help housing project in Cape Town. In these genre chains, residents must recontextualize their concerns about their housing at ever-larger scales and stronger levels of SD in order to receive the assistance they need in building their houses, moving in “meaning-making trajectories” (2009:259) from local discussions in their new neighbourhood to presentations at meetings of national organizations or consultations with city planners. Kell’s research is particularly important to my study in two respects. Firstly, it traces rescaling through an extremely long genre chain, providing an example of how this can be done in a principled way, as I do in Chapter 4. Secondly, it illustrates the value of ethnographic research in eliciting extremely specific and localized knowledge of the research context and participants’ perspectives. While my study is more focused on text and less on context than her work, I argue in 5.1. that future research on parliamentary discourse could benefit from the intensive attention to participants’ perspectives that she pays.

Research by Scheuer (2001), a Danish sociolinguist, explores the ways in which candidates rescale their backgrounds in job interviews. Scheuer found that the successful candidates were those who were able to style-shift more adeptly between formal, impersonal, professional discourse and casual, personalized, conversational styles. Significantly for the purposes of this thesis, such people were able to use a broad stylistic repertoire to recontextualize aspects of their personal, non-professional experience (at strong levels of SG) in such a way that they were integrated with aspects of their professional background and made relevant to them at stronger levels of SD. In unsuccessful interviews, on the other hand, there seemed to be discord between candidates’ references to their personal lives and their accounts of their professional lives. A similar phenomenon is found in my analysis in 4.3, where one MP succeeds at bringing her point across because she is able to shift adeptly between an example she gives and an explanation of its

significance to the committee, while there appears to be discord between another MP's example and the point he is making.

In summary, epistemological (de)condensation is one dimension or axis along which recontextualization is manifested in discourse, and this dimension is crucial to knowledge production in a variety of discourse types. One can predict that MPs who are more adept at rescaling up and down this continuum will be more effective communicators in parliament, placing them in a position of greater discursive power than other MPs, and indeed, the analysis reported on in 4.3. confirms that this is the case. In 4.2. I discuss a meeting in which epistemological decondensation is at issue, because a presenter does not recontextualize his presentation at a stronger level of SG so that the MPs can subject it to greater scrutiny.

While Bernstein (2000) typified sciences as having hierarchical knowledge structures, he classed the humanities as having horizontal knowledge structures. In other words, knowledge in the humanities is not typically produced through a few theories with a strong degree of explanatory power, but through many smaller theories with weaker explanatory power. While the sciences have hierarchical knowledge structures, the humanities have hierarchical structures of knowers (Maton 2004). This means that in the humanities, gaining a correct perspective, or a "cultivated gaze" (Maton in press:5) on the data one analyses is more important than integrating one's knowledge about the data into a pre-existing theory. Thus the humanities are not too dissimilar from Silverstein's (2003) example of oinoglossia cited above: one recontextualizes the work of leaders in the field to authenticate one's own point of view.

Furthermore, according to Maton (in press), a different type of condensation of knowledge is active in the humanities from that which is active in the sciences. This type of condensation, named axiological condensation, clusters knowledge together into groupings called constellations and infuses them with political, moral or emotional significance. Just as astronomical constellations are groups of stars which trace out a particular pattern from the perspective of Earth but may not even be in the same galaxy as each other, so constellations of ideas are groups which may not be related in reality according to empirical evidence but which, when viewed from a certain perspective, appear to belong together.

Maton (in press) points out that axiological condensation often clusters concepts into two diametrically opposed constellations, and then gives each constellation a particular moral value as either right or wrong. As an example he cites the debate between teacher-centred and student-centred approaches to education. Table 2.3. gives some examples from a much longer list of concepts which are clustered under these two types of approaches. In 4.4.2, I use similar tables to show how MPs from the ruling ANC and the opposition parties both set up mutually-opposed constellations in a debate over parliamentary procedure in order to defend their positions.

In the process of axiological condensation, all of the connotations of the concepts clustered under each accrue to these headings, so in the example portrayed in Table 2.3, “teacher-centred” education is ideologically presented as conservative and always inimical to student learning, and “student-centred” education is ideologically presented as progressive and always beneficial to student learning. In 4.4.4. I show that in the debate between the ANC and opposition MPs over parliamentary procedure, axiological condensation works through indexicality to link the constellations set up by the two opposing sides with semantically dense labels that are salient in the macro-context of the interaction.

Teacher-centred	Student-centred
abstract, symbolic	contextualized, authentic, experiential
idealist, rational	pragmatist
transmission / acquisition	interpretation, construction
mastery, performance	meaning-making
individually interpreted	socially negotiated, co-constructed
individual	collaborative
external reality	internal reality
internal, mental	social

Table 2.3: Teacher-centred and student-centred learning as two opposing constellations. Adapted from Maton (in press)

The dichotomization of a semantic field into two constellations in opposition to each other that often results from axiological condensation makes it extremely difficult to argue selectively in favour of some characteristics from one constellation and some from the other: this is seen as traitorous and as threatening the purity of the “correct” constellation. In order to avoid these accusations, one would need to engage in some axiological decondensation by recontextualizing from the strong level of SD of labels such as “teacher-centred” and “student-centred” education down to a stronger level of SG at which one could discuss and dispute the evidence for grouping concepts under those particular headings. Thus axiological (de)condensation, just like epistemological (de)condensation, is a possible strategy available to recontextualizers. In 4.4. I examine this strategy at work in a debate between ruling-party and opposition-party MPs in a committee meeting, in which both sides of the debate use axiological condensation to bolster their points, generating a great deal of interactional asynchrony in the process. Figure 2.5. depicts how axiological condensation works in the context of horizontal knowledge structures.

Maton offers a rich set of concepts, then, with which to describe processes of recontextualization as processes of epistemological or axiological condensation or their opposites, and a scale (SD/SG) on which to plot the directions of these recontextualizations.

It is worth mentioning at this point that none of these processes are necessarily employed with sinister intent or necessarily mean that the points proved in a text are irrational or lacking in an

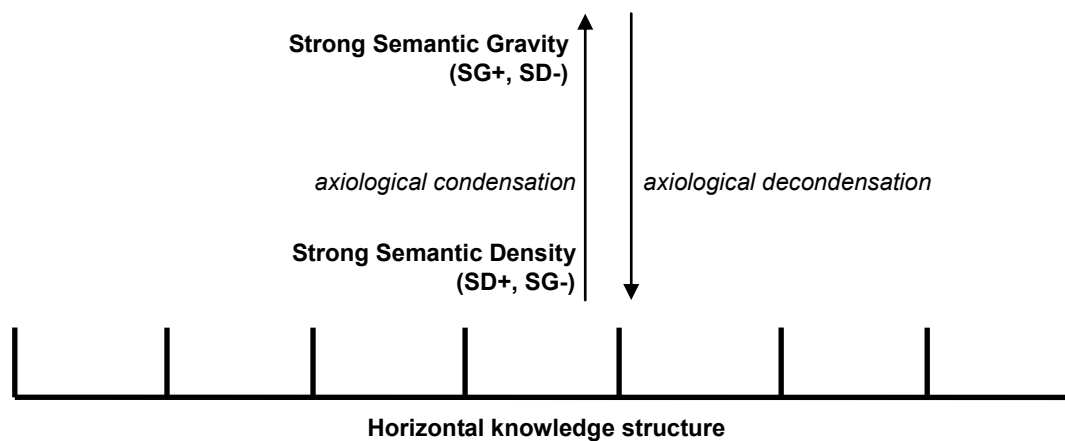


Figure 2.6: Recontextualization in the production of horizontal knowledge structures. Adapted from Maton (in press)

evidential basis; they simply make explicit the learned conventions by which text producers use intertextuality and recontextualization to reinforce their points.

This account of concepts from Maton and Latour's work provides some useful analytical tools with which to discuss how meanings are altered and knowledge is produced in processes of recontextualization. These tools can be synthesized to form a theoretical model of the discursive effects of recontextualization, which is represented diagrammatically in Figure 2.7. In this diagram, epistemological (de)condensation and axiological (de)condensation on the right hand side are intended to be read as hyponyms of recontextualization. The diagram depicts that both of these types of condensation are means by which rescaling from one level of SD or SG to another can occur, or means by which black boxes can be opened or closed. In 3.2.4, different tools of linguistic analysis are introduced as means of describing these discursive processes. Following that, this model is applied to some linguistic data from parliament in my analysis in Chapter 4. Based on the findings of this analysis, it is developed further in 5.2., where it is presented as the chief theoretical contribution made in this thesis.

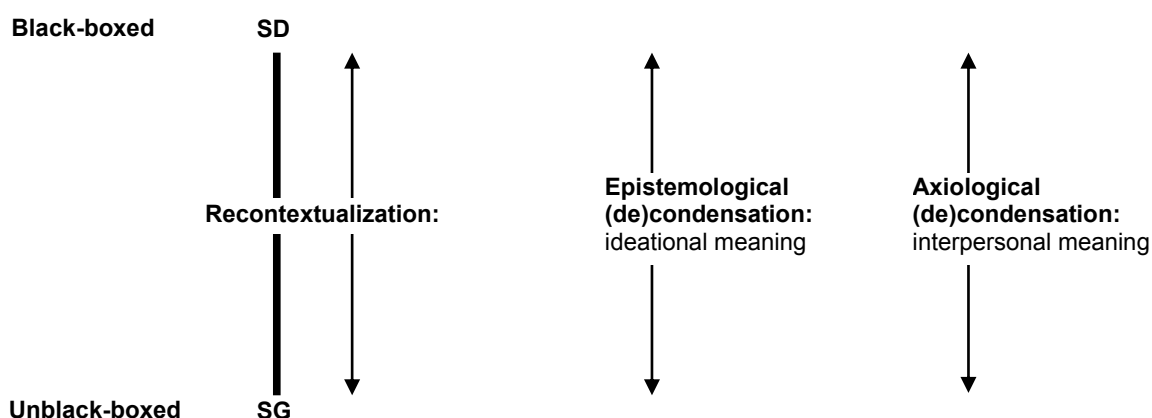


Figure 2.7: Preliminary model of the discursive effects of recontextualization

2.7. Conclusion

This literature review has covered a vast sweep of discursive territory, beginning with the formal differences between spoken and written language, continuing through a description of the type of discourse examined in this thesis and a look at the way this discourse is acquired, and ending with an explanation of my particular object of study within this discourse, the phenomenon of recontextualization. My intention in doing this has been to present the intertextual context in which this study is located, and also to demonstrate why intertextuality and recontextualization in the South African parliament is such an interesting topic of linguistic study with considerable theoretical significance for linguists interested in discourse.

In the following chapter of this thesis, I show what methods can be used to examine communication in parliament's committee process, identifying difficulties, finding various participants' perspectives on them and using the concepts introduced in the previous section of this literature review to shed light on why these communication difficulties happen and how they can be ameliorated. Then in Chapter 4, I apply the model of the discursive effects of recontextualization sketched out in 2.6.3. to data from parliamentary committee meetings and committee reports, so that this model can be developed further and used to generate recommendations of ways in which communication in parliament's committee process can be improved. This is necessary to ensure that concerns raised by ordinary South Africans and recontextualized by their representatives, the MPs, make their way through the complex genre chains of the parliamentary process and are eventually acted on.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1.	Introduction	57
3.2.	Linguistic ethnography as a point of view	57
3.2.1.	Basic epistemology	57
3.2.2.	Power, knowledge and ideology	59
3.2.3.	Convergence between analysts' and participants' perspectives	61
3.2.4.	Use of linguistic tools of analysis	65
3.3.	Data collection	66
3.3.1.	Field entry	67
3.3.2.	Observing communication in parliament	69
	3.3.2.1. <i>Observing committee meetings</i>	70
	3.3.2.2. <i>Observing committee secretaries at work</i>	72
3.3.3.	Eliciting participants' perspectives	74
	3.3.3.1. <i>Eliciting committee secretaries' perspectives</i>	74
	3.3.3.2. <i>Eliciting MPs' perspectives</i>	76
3.4.	Data analysis	79
3.4.1.	Selecting and subdividing data for analysis	79
3.4.2.	Analysing differences in ideational meaning: Transitivity	85
3.4.3.	Analysing differences in interpersonal meaning: APPRAISAL and Politeness Theory	86
3.4.4.	Analysing indexicality: Interactional Sociolinguistics and the use of participants' perspectives	92
3.4.5.	Presenting the analysis	95
3.5.	Conclusion	96

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1. Introduction

In this study, I bring together various methodological resources to examine the discursive effects of recontextualization in the South African parliament's committee process. I begin this chapter by outlining how I have adapted the basic principles of linguistic ethnography (LE) to provide an overarching point of view from which this study is undertaken (3.2.). Thereafter I show how these principles have been applied in the collection of data for this study (3.3.). Finally, I describe how I have drawn on a variety of linguistic tools of analysis, namely Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS), Politeness Theory, and Transitivity and APPRAISAL theory from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), to trace the changes in meaning brought about in my data through recontextualization (3.4.).

3.2. Linguistic ethnography as a point of view

In this section I explain the basic methodological principles underpinning this study, and show how they are adapted from, or are compatible with, the stance of LE, the developing research area of which this study forms a part. In 3.2.1. I consider the epistemology, or view of knowledge, adopted in this study. The epistemology I adopt informs my approach to ideology and power, and the extent to which this study is a critical ethnography, as shown in 3.2.2. Following this, I explain two other key concerns of LE: its aim at achieving a convergence between analysts' and participants' perspectives (3.2.3.) and the rationale for its use of linguistic tools of analysis (3.2.4.). This last section shows why LE is particularly suited to answering the type of research questions I ask in this study (see 1.3.)

3.2.1. Basic epistemology

Scollon (1998:276) points out four defining elements of the “point of view” afforded by ethnography, namely fieldwork, participant observation, ‘strange making’ and contrastive observation. Ethnography produces knowledge about human interaction by going out to where the interaction occurs (fieldwork), immersing oneself in it as a participant (participant observation), while questioning the assumptions that underlie the interaction (‘strange making’) and comparing the context with other settings of interaction (contrastive observation). In short, ethnography holds that social interaction cannot be fully understood apart from the context in which it occurs.

Ethnographers, along with exponents of many other research paradigms in the humanities, have often chosen between two competing epistemologies which influence their views of the relationship between language and context: positivism and constructivism. In this section, I argue that neither of these epistemologies is completely satisfying, and introduce an alternative epistemology, social

realism, which shapes the approach to knowledge and the view of context I adopt in this thesis.

As mentioned in the introduction, linguistic ethnographers believe that language and its context, the social world, shape each other, and so detailed analysis of language use in context can yield important insights into how societies function (Rampton et al 2004). By contrast, positivism reifies human language as an object to be studied exhaustively, just as one studies any object in the natural sciences: by isolating it and analysing it to reveal its inner workings (Tsitsipis 2007). This may also include a process of idealization, by which stretches of language are decontextualized and altered into what the analyst believes to be their underlying form before being studied (Chick 1987). Such approaches ultimately fail to describe language adequately because they neglect the fact that language exists as a means of communication between specific people in specific contexts.

In place of the positivistic paradigm, Chick (1987) and Erickson (1986) advocate a broadly interpretive or constructivist epistemology, as do many others working in the theoretical frameworks that have influenced LE. This epistemology holds that context is always being actively constructed by the participants in an interaction as they make sense of what is around them (Chick 1987). It also holds that exhaustive knowledge of the meanings of others' interactions (or even one's own interaction with others) is impossible, but one can gain a suitable approximation through participant observation and seeking the participants' perspectives on their interaction. This is the position that most linguistic ethnographers take (Creese 2008).

Hammersley's (2007:692) contribution to the debate between positivists and constructivists is worth considering:

Here, we must ask: in what sense does any particular individual (or any group or organisation) *produce* the social phenomena that they confront? One answer to this is that it is the individual who makes sense of and gives meaning to those phenomena. While this may be true, it is not the individual who gives *existence* to those phenomena. In other words, there is a difference between seeing a mirage or an illusion and seeing a real object, and, similarly, between constructing a fiction and aiming to produce an account of what is actually the case. Moreover, this is a difference that we all acknowledge in our everyday activities and could not avoid acknowledging. So, we do not 'produce' our surroundings, for the most part, by making sense of them. Nor do we produce them through our actions, either in the sense of consciously intending to bring them into existence, or even in the sense that our actions cause most of the features and the underlying tendencies of the world we confront.

(Emphasis from original)

I find this argument to be a convincing entry point to a hybrid epistemological stance that views social interaction interpretively but allows us to see it within a context that can be critiqued because it really exists outside the minds of the participants in the interaction. Such a stance is more clearly articulated by Maton and Moore (2010), and given the name "social realism". The following explanation of this stance is based on their work.

Social realism is based on three principles: "ontological realism", "epistemological relativism" and "judgmental rationality" (Maton and Moore 2010:4). Ontological realism refers to the position that the context is objectively real, and therefore not simply a discursive construct. This is not to

say that aspects of the context are not socially constructed: in parliament, the meso-context consists almost entirely of social creations, such as the parliamentary rules of procedure, the way parliament as an institution is structured into houses and committees, and even the physical buildings that make up the parliamentary precinct. It simply holds that this context is not entirely of the participants' own making, but is a reality that participants are able to alter to varying degrees through their interactions. This allows one, for instance, to view parliamentary discourse conventions as being at the same time real knowledge that participants need to acquire, and something that these participants co-produce over time, as was argued in 2.5. Thus a social realist can agree with the linguistic ethnographers' position "that language and social life are mutually shaping" (Rampton et al 2004:2), while disagreeing with the stronger claim that language constructs its context. At the same time, Tusting and Maybin (2007) point out that LE's goal of "tying ethnography down" by using linguistic tools of analysis to provide a stronger methodological warrant for its claims suggests an external linguistic reality which can be 'tied down' and studied in this way. I demonstrate this in my study by emphasizing this linguistic reality and subjecting it to fine-grained analysis, as explained in 3.4.

By contrast, "epistemological relativism" refers to the idea that it is not possible for human actors to know anything exhaustively, but rather that different actors can have different perspectives on the same object without necessarily threatening the validity of one perspective or another. This epistemological relativism implies that it is still an important part of linguistic ethnographers' task to gather knowledge from a variety of perspectives, and come to a convergence between their perspectives and those of other participants in the interactions they observe. The importance of this task is enlarged on in 3.2.3.

Lastly, "judgmental rationality" means that there are standards by which to evaluate one truth claim in comparison to others, and these standards are those of rational argument.

I adopt social realism as an epistemological position in this thesis for two main reasons. Firstly, it appears more plausible to me than either constructivism or positivism. Secondly, it lends itself well to one of the tasks of this thesis, namely critiquing the way in which recontextualization is used to produce knowledge in parliament, and recommending ways in which this process can be improved. In the following section I explain why this is the case.

3.2.2. Power, knowledge and ideology

Maton and Moore (2010) argue that social realism implies a specific orientation to both knowledge and power. If there is an external basis for rational, objective knowledge against which to measure knowledge claims, then it is possible for some knowledge claims to be closer to the truth than others, or in Maton and Moore's (2010:3) words, more "epistemologically powerful". Thus while

traditional critical approaches such as that of Fairclough (2001) focus on social power, social realism also acknowledges the existence of epistemic power. These two types of power are interlinked: in 4.3. I show that a member of parliament (MP) with greater social power is able to produce knowledge with greater epistemic power than that produced by a less powerful MP. Conversely, greater epistemic power may confer greater social power on an individual. Thus Maton and Moore (2010) observe, along with Foucault (1980), that power is intimately bound up with knowledge, and so epistemology is political.

For example, Martin (1993) argues that constructivist education policies, which deny that some knowledge claims are more powerful than others, have in fact disempowered learners by removing the motivation to teach them ways of accessing and producing powerful forms of knowledge through resources such as nominalization. This leaves these learners without the resources they need to acquire jobs in positions of greater social power. Much of the work done in the New Literacy Studies (NLS) is constructivist in precisely this way: it suggests that there is no external basis by which to judge some literacies as better than others, and therefore there is no reason why learners should acquire some literacies rather than others. Conversely, a social realist perspective recognizes that some literacies, such as academic or expository literacy, allow access to more powerful forms of knowledge than others. Thus I part company with the mainstream NLS perspective in this respect.

Social realism also affords quite a different epistemological basis on which to conduct critical ethnography (May 1997) from that given by neo-Marxist critical theorists. Neo-Marxist theorists observe the ways in which power relations are reinforced or transformed through ideologies, systems of ideas and beliefs which are encoded in texts by means of assumptions portrayed as common sense (Fairclough 2001). By contrast, this study observes who has the power to open or close black boxes, in other words, who is able to produce the most epistemologically powerful claims to knowledge, and who has the most power to question these claims. This is not to say that the data analysed in this thesis is ideology-free; social realists would acknowledge that because every text is socially-produced, every text conveys ideology of one kind or another. However, I have chosen to focus my study on struggles over epistemic power because these have a greater effect on the ways in which meanings change as they are recontextualized through the genre chain of the parliamentary committee process.

Another advantage that social realism brings to this study is that because it holds that certain knowledge claims are more powerful than others, it can be used not only to critique the ways in which unequal power relations are reinforced through discourse, but also to provide recommendations as to how all participants can be enabled to produce more epistemologically powerful knowledge. Thus while most types of critical ethnography seek to work towards the

transformation of the power relations in their research contexts (May 1997), social realism provides a solid epistemological basis on which to do this. In this study, the practical outworking of this is evident in the recommendations this study produces about how the genre chain of the committee process can be strengthened and made more equitable (see 5.4.). These recommendations will in turn be recontextualized in the report which I will write for parliament's divisional manager: legislation and oversight, and the workshops which I plan to hold with the parliamentary committee secretaries on my findings. In these ways, my commitment to critical ethnography extends to a positive commitment to improving my research context, thereby hoping to improve parliament's capacity to function as a channel for representative democracy.

3.2.3. Convergence between analysts' and participants' perspectives

The need to take into account participants' perspectives on their own interactions (also known as emic) perspectives is a foundational tenet of LE. As Rampton et al (2004:2) put it,

Ethnography tries to comprehend the tacit and articulated understandings of the participants in whatever processes and activities are being studied, and it tries to do justice to these understandings in its reports to outsiders.

In this section I explain further the influences behind this preoccupation with participants' perspectives, and some of the critiques of it that have been put forward. I argue that what is needed in LE is a convergence between participants' and analysts' perspectives, and then explain some of the factors that shape my perspective as an analyst, before discussing some methods by which a convergence between analysts' and participants' perspectives is achieved in this thesis.

Linguistic anthropologists of education argue that viewing data through the lens of participants' categories allows analysts to interpret what happens in the interaction as the participants do (Wortham 2003).

Another research tradition that has influenced LE, conversation analysis, in its 'pure' form, goes so far as to dictate that whatever contextual factors are not indexed by the participants in their conversation should not be considered for the purpose of analysis: only the contextual factors that are mentioned as salient in the interaction should be regarded as salient for the purposes of analysis (Van Dijk 1999). The analyst is not to interpret the context, but analyse the participants' interpretation of the context (Wetherell 2007).

A third research tradition which places an emphasis on participants' perspectives is IS. As Rampton (2001) points out, interactional sociolinguists seek as much information as possible on an interaction to be analysed. Recordings of interactions which are to be analysed are usually played back to the participants, or at least to people with similar backgrounds to the participants. These people are then asked to comment on various aspects of the interaction, such as how they

interpreted individual utterances, and how well the participants understood each other at different points in the interaction. The information gathered from such playback sessions enables interactional sociolinguists to find out what each participant understood the contexts of the interaction to be, and of what cues pointed them to this understanding. Rampton (2001) points out that this enables interactional sociolinguists particularly to find out how participants with less power in an interaction are able to signal their intentions in indirect ways which more powerful participants might easily miss. Thus eliciting participants' perspectives becomes an integral part of interactional sociolinguists' project of democratizing communication.

Interactional sociolinguists' interest in participants' perspectives is also bound up with their commitment to constructivism: similar to the conversation analysts, they seek to identify the ways in which participants construct the context for their interactions (Chick 1987).

In fact, linguistic ethnographers' emphasis on participants' perspectives has been criticized by realists such as Sealey (2007). She argues that if too much importance is placed on the participants' perspectives, then there is no point in analysts being there, since there is no room for their perspectives. On the contrary, analysts' perspectives are needed because they have additional expertise that participants do not have, and so they can explain, for example, why certain communication difficulties occur, in a way that the participants cannot. Sealey (2007) also argues that participants are often not aware of the pre-existing structural conditions which affect their communication, and therefore linguistic ethnographers are not able to access insights about these conditions by interviewing participants. These arguments have merit, and serve as a caution to analysts that slavish adherence to participants' perspectives in analysis will logically produce no more insights than those which the participants themselves are able to reveal in interviews. Many linguistic ethnographers would counter that while participants' perspectives on their own may not be too helpful in solving structural problems, a convergence between participants' (emic) and analysts' (etic) perspectives (Tannen 1984) can be, since it brings together the validity of an insider's perspective with the additional insights that a trained analyst is able to bring.

At this point, it is helpful to disclose exactly what shapes my perspective as an analyst, and how it may differ from the perspectives of the participants in my study. The first consideration that informs my perspective is, naturally, my training in linguistics, which has conditioned me to approach language use in a certain light as a subject of study. In particular, a background in SFL and various types of discourse analysis has given me an appreciation of the value of fine-grained linguistic analysis in interpreting texts. As an analyst, my work is informed by a particular theoretical orientation to language in context, which is explained in this section of this chapter (3.1.). Secondly, I am a white, middle-class first-language English speaker. This means that I am a member of an ethnic and linguistic group that was advantaged under the apartheid regime, whereas

many of the participants in this study have not had these advantages. As non-native speakers of English, many of them would have different interpretations of the English used in committee meetings from those that I have. While I am not loyal to any one political party, I have a strong commitment to the Evangelical stream of Christianity, which strongly influences various aspects of my worldview, including my epistemology and political views. I believe that God does not favour any one political party or point on the political spectrum, and so I am not a card-carrying member of any party. However, I tend to agree with aspects of the policies of a variety of opposition parties, including the Democratic Alliance (DA), Independent Democrats (ID) and African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), and believe that representative democracy is the best form of human governance. I have tried to be as even-handed in my analysis as possible, but these political leanings may nevertheless have biased my interpretations against members of the ruling African National Congress (ANC). This renders it still more important that I aim to arrive at a convergence between my perspectives and those of my participants from this party.

There is much discussion on how one can achieve such a convergence between analysts' perspectives, such as mine, and those of participants. Lillis (2008) suggests that researchers need to move beyond simple interviews with participants (which she describes perceptively as 'talk around texts') to more sophisticated ways of gaining a convergence between analysts' and participants' perspectives. She proposes that building up sustained relationships with participants also allows participants' and analysts' perspectives to feed into each other through a process of cyclical talk around text. In this process, analysts play back their data to participants for comment, and then continue with their analysis, informed by these comments from the participants. Following that, they present their analyses to participants for comment, to see to what extent the participants share their interpretations. Subsequent to presenting the analysis to participants for comment, the analysts can take their comments into consideration when refining their analysis, and then present the refined analysis to the participants, continuing the cycle.

There are, however, two problems with this concept of cyclical talk around text: one which is theoretical in nature, and one which is practical. The theoretical problem is that such cyclical talk around text can, if not managed carefully, tend to draw analysts too close to the participants' perspective, until all the useful insights which analysts are able to bring to the communicative situation, or any aspects of the analysis that for whatever reason might be offensive to the participants or question their competence, are watered down, or removed from the analysis. The practical problem is that participants, particularly in a busy workplace setting such as parliament, usually do not have the time or patience to listen to and comment on analyses *ad infinitum*, placing a limit on the number of times one may be able to engage in talk around text with them. Thus in this study I have had only one interview with many of the participants whose perspectives I have

elicited, and in certain cases where I have needed additional insights to check the validity of my analyses, a second interview.

One instance in which achieving a convergence between my perspectives and those of my participants has aided my analysis is described in 4.3. In the meeting discussed in the section, I perceived one MP to be contradicting another, but interviews with one of these participants and a variety of other MPs present at the meeting revealed that they perceived the exchange between these two MPs as being quite harmonious. I resolved this tension between my perspective and those of the participants by finding that even though the participants may have perceived the exchange as harmonious, one of the MPs was able to package her concerns in a more epistemologically powerful way than the other, resulting in her concerns being recontextualized into the committee's report in a way that the other MP's concerns were not.

Apart from talk around text, another way in which to achieve a greater convergence between participants' and analysts' perspectives is the technique which has been used throughout the history of ethnography: sustained periods of participant observation. Participant observation allows a researcher to be present at the nexus of action in a communicative setting, the place where all the participants' backgrounds and contexts converge to produce the unique communicative events one is analysing (Scollon and Scollon 2007). Participant observation also allows for something of a check on the veracity of the comments of participants in talk around texts: it allows analysts to gain a richer understanding of the communicative event to be analysed and its context, so that they share some aspects of the participants' schemata.

Participant observers can record their observations through a number of resources, including video recordings, audio recordings and field notes. However, because participant observation takes place over an extremely long period, it is usually not practicable to make video or audio recordings of the entire process of participant observation. Thus participant observers tend to rely heavily on field notes to record their observations. These observations can then be reported to readers in a variety of forms, including "analytic narrative vignettes" and "synoptic data reports" (Erickson 1986:145). I use both of these in my thesis. Analytic narrative vignettes are narratives which are usually carefully recontextualized from field notes in such a way as to illustrate a particular point about the observer's findings. I use one of these in 3.3.2.2. to describe the ways in which I was able to collect important contextual data by meeting new participants in parliament's Committee Section. Synoptic data reports refer to tables and diagrams in which the participant observer synthesizes data from some aspect of his findings. These are the most prevalent means that I use of reporting data from participant observation. Examples include the diagram of the genre chain of the budget oversight process in 1.5.2. and the seating plan of a committee meeting venue in 1.5.3, along with many others from this chapter. These means of reporting participant observation allow readers of

an ethnographic study mentally to enter the research context with the analysts and allow their perspectives to overlap more with those of the analyst, so that these perspectives become closer in turn to those of the participants in the study.

In summary, achieving a convergence between analysts' and participants' perspectives is an essential goal for good LE, since this convergence lends validity to the account it gives of the communication under investigation, while presenting insights that are truly helpful in solving communicative problems and empowering participants.

3.2.4. Use of linguistic tools of analysis

A defining characteristic of LE is its use of linguistic tools to analyse communication. As mentioned in 1.4.3, my study relies particularly strongly on these linguistic tools of analysis, foregrounding the use of linguistics in LE. In this section, I explain the reasons why this is helpful in my study.

Linguistic tools of analysis provide an etic, or analyst's point of view to counterbalance the emic views gathered from participants and through participant observation, thus aiding the very convergence between these two perspectives that I described in the previous section of this thesis.

Linguistic ethnographers use tools of analysis derived from linguistics particularly because they believe

that analysis of the internal organisation of verbal (and other kinds of semiotic) data is essential to understanding its significance and position in the world. Meaning is far more than just the 'expression of ideas', and biography, identifications, stance and nuance are extensively signalled in the linguistic and textual fine-grain. (Rampton 2007:585)

I make extensive use of fine-grained analysis to trace the discursive effects of recontextualization in my data, as stated in 1.4.3.

While using these linguistic tools of analysis, it is easy to become engrossed in micro-analysis at the expense of the attention to context which linguistic ethnographers regard as crucial. Lillis (2008) speaks of the need to view the micro-analysis through a more ethnographic lens that pays attention to context. This is why LE tends to use frameworks that are amenable to the study of context as well as text (Creese 2008). These include methods that were initially developed in anthropological approaches to the study of language, such as the ethnography of communication and IS (Rampton 2007).

In the following paragraphs I show the reasons why I have chosen the two main frameworks I draw on in this thesis, namely SFL and IS.

IS is the logical framework to begin with, since it is the most clearly 'ethnographic' of these two frameworks. It was pioneered by Gumperz (1982), who also pioneered the ethnography of communication together with Hymes (Gumperz and Hymes 1972). IS also draws heavily on

conversation analysis (Rampton 2001). The detailed and nuanced treatment of context that IS offers has contributed many insights to LE (Creese 2008). IS is widely used to study matters which linguistic ethnographers are interested in, such as intercultural communication, codeswitching and the role of language in discrimination. I initially chose IS particularly to investigate the subtleties of intercultural communication in parliament, but in the course of my analysis discovered that these intercultural misunderstandings were less salient than the way in which MPs used indexicality to indicate shifts from strong semantic density (SD) to strong semantic gravity (SG) and vice versa. As I explained in 1.2, one of the most interesting findings in my study is the way in which tools of analysis which I intended to use to answer particular questions instead were useful in giving answers to other questions.

If IS is a very ‘ethnographic’ theoretical framework, then SFL, on the other hand, is very ‘linguistic’. It specializes in investigating the meaning-potential of language in a meticulous way, which is why I have chosen to use SFL to compare the meanings of texts linked together by recontextualization into a genre chain. The main criticism that is raised against SFL by some linguistic ethnographers is that because it tends to be used to analyse longer stretches of written text, it neglects the dynamic process of contextualization that occurs in spoken interactions (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000). A linked problem is that because written language is less context-dependent than spoken language, SFL (at least in its original Hallidayan formulation) tends to assume that all meaning inheres in the text, rather than being a product of interaction between text and context (Hammersley 2009). These two problems, the neglect of the dynamic processes of contextualization in SFL and the impression that all meaning inheres in the text, can be avoided by using IS, with its extremely dynamic view of the relationship between text and context, in conjunction with aspects of SFL, as I do in this thesis.

Considering the basic epistemology that I use in this thesis, my approach to context, means of attaining a convergence between analyst’s and participants’ perspectives and my choice of linguistic tools of analysis, it should be clear that I use LE is a “site of encounter” (Rampton 2007:585) for a variety of different approaches to researching communication.

3.3. Data collection

In this section I move to a systematic explanation of my process of data collection. This process unfolded in three main stages, which are listed below:

1. Field entry
2. Observing communication in parliament
 - a. Observing committee meetings
 - b. Observing committee secretaries at work
3. Eliciting participants' perspectives
 - a. Eliciting committee secretaries' perspectives
 - b. Eliciting MPs' perspectives

The last of these main stages occurred in a repetitive fashion over the course of several field visits to parliament. This was partly because I was not able to interview all the participants I wanted to during my initial field visit for this purpose, but also because I engaged to a limited extent in what Lillis (2008:357) calls “cyclical talk around texts” (as explained in 3.2.3.): after analysing the interaction in one committee meeting and its corresponding committee report (the ones discussed in 4.3.), I needed to check my analysis against participants’ perspectives of the meeting and the report, which meant returning to parliament to interview these participants on them. In this way my data collection and analysis were interwoven. Table 3.1. outlines in chronological order the stages of data collection and analysis that I completed, and gives the section of this thesis in which each stage is discussed.

Date	Stage of research	Section of thesis
June / July 2009	Field entry	3.3.1.
	Observing committee meetings	3.3.2.1.
	Observing committee secretaries at work	3.3.2.2.
	Eliciting committee secretaries' perspectives	3.3.3.1.
November 2009	Eliciting MPs' perspectives	3.3.3.2.
December 2009	Initial analysis of “We're talking about semantics here” episode	4.4.
March 2010	Eliciting MPs' perspectives	3.3.3.2.
December 2010	Initial analysis of “The example that I can relate to” episode	4.3.
June 2011	Initial analysis of “Be careful of percentages” episode	4.2.
September 2011	Eliciting MPs' perspectives	3.3.3.2.
	Eliciting committee secretaries' perspectives	3.3.3.1.
October / November 2011	Final analysis of all three episodes	4.2 – 4.4.

Table 3.1: Chronological outline of stages of data collection and analysis. Stages of data collection are shaded in blue, and stages of analysis in red.

This section comprises a combination of narrative from my fieldwork in parliament, using quotations from my field notes as a source, and explanation of the methods I developed to collect data. In the process, I endeavour to be self-reflexive, recognizing the limitations and mistakes in my data-collection processes and the influences they may have had on the data.

3.3.1. Field entry

I conducted some preliminary observations in meetings of an ad-hoc parliamentary committee during January 2009, in which I discovered that literacy, orality and recontextualization in the committee process was an interesting topic for study and one in which I could make a contribution to improving the communication process in parliament. However, I consider my true period of field entry to have occurred during a field visit in June/July 2009, when I met most of the people who

would become focal participants in this study.

This section gives a narrative account of the first week of this field visit in order to describe my process of field entry and give a richer description of parliament as the meso-context of the interaction I analyse in this study.

Mrs Keswa arranged for me to meet one of her assistants, whom I refer to as KA in this thesis³, who assisted me with my process of field entry. On the first day of my field visit, he took me to the Committee Section offices on the third floor of 90 Plein Street (see Figure 3.1.) for the first time, where I requested an appointment to see a unit manager in the Committee Section to request his permission to collect data in the committee secretaries' offices.

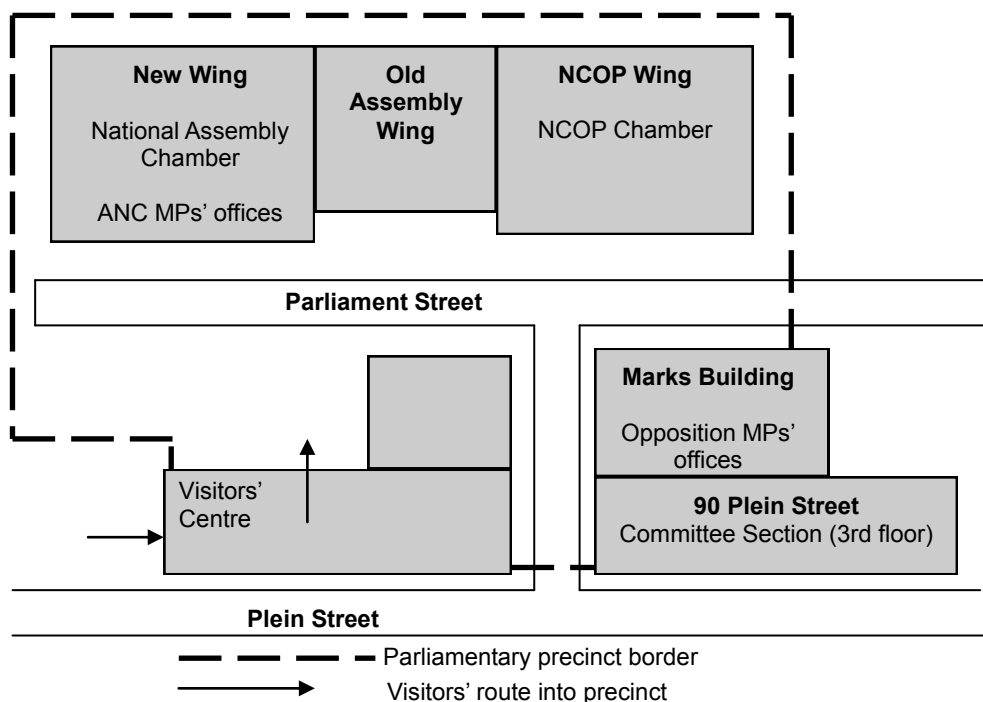


Figure 3.1: A sketch map of the parliamentary precinct

On my second day in parliament, I attended my first meeting of a regular committee of parliament (as opposed to the ad-hoc committee I had observed in my preliminary observations), the Portfolio Committee on Public Works. Because it was the committee's first meeting, all the MPs usefully introduced themselves, as did the committee secretary and representatives from the Department of Public Works. Thus this meeting was helpful in introducing me to the committee, and so I decided to make it one of the committees whose progress I would follow through the genre

³ All participants in this study apart from Mrs Keswa are referred to using pseudonyms. Committee secretaries are referred to by the letter 'S' and a number. MPs are referred to using a letter to denote the committee they belong to ('P' for Portfolio Committee on Public Works or 'T' for Portfolio Committee on Transport), another letter (or two) to denote their party affiliation (e.g. 'A' for ANC, 'D' for DA, 'Co' for COPE) and, where there is more than one MP from the same party in a committee, a number. For example, PA1 is an ANC MP in the Portfolio Committee on Public Works. The chairpersons of the meetings discussed in this thesis are referred to as 'PC' and 'TC'. Further naming conventions are described in Chapter 4 as the relevant participants are introduced.

chain of the budget oversight process.

That afternoon I had my meeting with one of the unit managers in the Committee Section. Once I had told him what I planned to research, he suggested that I shadow one or more of the committee secretaries. He said he would contact various secretaries and ask them if they would be prepared to participate in the study. I thought that shadowing three secretaries would provide me with a variety of different perspectives on committee work, while still allowing me to spend a large amount of time observing each secretary's work, so that my attention was not spread too thinly.

The next day, Wednesday 3 June, I arrived at parliament early to observe the beginning of the procession preceding the Opening of the Fourth Parliament and attend Zuma's inaugural State of the Nation Address. The policy objectives announced in this address were later recontextualized in committee meetings which I attended. They were used as a standard against which different departments' and entities' strategic plans were to be measured.

The following afternoon I observed the National Assembly (NA) debates on the State of the Nation Address. What I saw confirmed my decision to focus on interaction in committees rather than in sittings of the houses of parliament: debate in the houses seemed far more scripted than in committees, giving less room for the spontaneous sort of recontextualization of written texts that I was interested in studying.

On Friday 5 June, the last day of my first week in parliament, the unit manager in the Committee Section introduced me to the first committee secretary I would be working with, whom I refer to as S1. We had a pleasant and productive first conversation as she told me about the ways in which she processed the documents relating to her committee's meetings.

I was given a chair and an empty desk to work from in the same cubicle as S1, and spent the rest of the working day there. By the end of the day, I had settled into the Committee Section fairly comfortably and the committee secretaries seemed relaxed around me; my week of field entry was completed.

3.3.2. Observing communication in parliament

The following section follows on from my account of field entry by describing how I went about the process of observing communication in the two micro-contexts in which the texts investigated in this thesis are produced. First I describe my methods of observation in the committee meetings (3.3.2.1.), which are a frontstage micro-context in which MPs recontextualize information from the multimodal texts put before them into spoken comments and questions. In this section I pay particular attention to explaining the background of the three meetings discussed in Chapter 4. Following this, I describe the way in which I observed the workings of the committee secretaries' offices, a backstage micro-context in which the committee secretaries recontextualize information

from notes taken during the committee meetings as they compile the committees' reports (3.3.2.2.).

3.3.2.1. Observing committee meetings

As mentioned in 2.4.3, all committee meetings in the South African parliament are open to the public, unless substantial reasons are given as to why they should not be. Since I was interested in seeing how committees worked through the genre chain of the budget oversight process, I chose to follow three committees through this process, attending as many of their meetings as possible, as well as the debate on their departments' budgets in an Extended Public Committee (EPC) before the National Assembly (NA).

The three committees I chose were the portfolio committees on Public Works, Transport and Rural Development and Land Reform. These three committees constituted a 'convenience sample', since they were the easiest committees for me to follow for a variety of reasons.

Unfortunately, I was ultimately only able to attend one of the meetings of the Portfolio Committee on Rural Development and Land Reform due to clashes with other meetings. Hence I have chosen to focus my analysis in this thesis only on the meetings of the Portfolio Committee on Public Works and the Portfolio Committee on Transport.

I planned to arrive at each committee meeting ideally 30 minutes before its start, both to give myself time to familiarize myself with the venue and set up my recording equipment, and to observe some of the interaction that occurred before the meeting. At each meeting, I collected data from three sources: audio recordings, written documents and field notes.

I made my own audio recordings of the meetings which I attended, and supplemented these with recordings made by the Parliamentary Monitoring Group (PMG), which are available for download from its website (www.pmg.org.za).

Table 3.2. lists all the meetings of the three committees I followed during my period of observation, and the lengths of the various recordings that I collected from each of them.

In most meetings all the documents handed to the MPs for consideration are also handed out to every public observer, including paper copies of the PowerPoint slides used in the meeting and departmental strategic plans and annual reports. However, if I had not received a particular document during the meeting and a committee secretary was unable to supply me with it, I was able to download a copy from the PMG website.

I designed my field note-taking strategy to supplement these audio recordings and written documents as sources of data. One of the first things I did when entering a committee room was to draw a layout plan of it in my field notebook if I had not previously been in that room, numbering the chairs in the room on the plan so that I could later identify participants by the chairs in which they sat. Before and after the meetings, I wrote field notes on when people entered and left the

Date	Committee	Attended by author	Length of recording (hr:min:sec)	
			From author	From PMG
2 June 2009	Public Works	✓	N/A	N/A
9 June 2009	Public Works	✓	Rec 1: 1:03:16 Rec 2: 0:04:28	N/A
9 June 2009	Rural Development and Land Reform	✗	N/A	3:00:07
11 June 2009	Public Works	✓	0:27:57	0:29:02
11 June 2009	Rural Development and Land Reform	✗	N/A	N/A
17 June 2009	Transport	✓	1:16:22	2:38:50
17 June 2009	Rural Development and Land Reform	✓	1:07:07	N/A
23 June 2009	Public Works	✓	0:49:59	1:49:59
<i>24 June 2009</i>	<i>Transport</i>	✓	<i>Rec 1: 1:02:36 Rec 2: 0:57:50</i>	<i>Rec 1: 1:34:45 Rec 2: 0:45:53</i>
<i>1 July 2009</i>	<i>Public Works</i>	✓	<i>0:46:08</i>	<i>1:22:36</i>
<i>1 July 2009</i>	<i>Transport</i>	✓	<i>Rec 1: 0:03:19 Rec 2: 0:30:56</i>	<i>1:13:19</i>
1 July 2009	Rural Development and Land Reform	✗	N/A	1:29:12

Table 3.2: List of recordings of committee meetings. “Rec 1” and “Rec 2” refer to instances where two subsequent recordings were used to cover the entire length of the meeting. The three meetings from which data was selected for fine-grained analysis in Chapter 4 are marked in italics.

committee room, where they sat, and snippets of their conversations with other participants whenever I could overhear these. This helped me to capture as much of the micro-context of the meetings from the MPs’ perspectives as possible, and observe how they related to each other outside the formal, on-record speech event of the meeting itself.

For each turn at speaking taken during the meeting, I wrote down the seat number of the speaker according to my seating plan, the name of the speaker if I knew it, as well as some of the speaker's words. This was to aid with identifying the speaker on the audio recordings during my analysis. I also wrote down any noticeable gestures or large movements that the speaker or other participants made in order to compensate as far as possible for the fact that I was not able to make video recordings of the committee meeting.

One major obstacle I faced in collecting data during meetings, and in parliament generally, is that there is no institutionally-sanctioned subject position (Wetherell 2007) for external researchers in parliament's organizational framework, meaning that my official status was that of a ‘public observer’. As a ‘public observer’ I was prohibited from making any video recordings of the committee meetings, as I had hoped I would be able to do in order to analyse the visual, non-verbal cues used by participants in the meetings. This means that this study focuses mainly on verbal and other audible cues in its use of IS to analyse committee meeting interaction.

3.3.2.2. *Observing committee secretaries at work*

When I was introduced to each of the secretaries who had agreed to participate in my research, I told them that I would be in parliament for four more weeks during my June/July 2009 field visit, and asked them if I could spend time observing their work in their offices during that period. All the secretaries said they were amenable to this.

In these first interactions with the committee secretaries, I tried to project the identity of a fellow language practitioner who was interested in communication in parliament and wanted to find out more about how the parliamentary process worked. However, I found over time that I slipped into the social identity of a curious but harmless student. This social identity emerged to be quite successful in gaining goodwill and good data from most of the secretaries. Although this identity-shifting may have been expedient, I did not consider it dishonest in any way, since I was a student whose task was not necessarily to critique the MPs themselves but the effectiveness of the parliamentary process in which they participated, and thus could be considered harmless. Erickson (1986) discusses the paradox that ethnographers need to demonstrate to participants that their purpose is not evaluative of them as individuals, while ultimately all ethnographies, especially critical ethnographies, are evaluative in some sense. I negotiated this paradox by demonstrating to my participants (both MPs and committee secretaries) that my chief concern was to improve the way in which the committee process worked as a communicative system.

As explained earlier, I was given a vacant desk in a cubicle in the Committee Section from which to work and observe. The layout of this cubicle is shown in Figure 3.2.

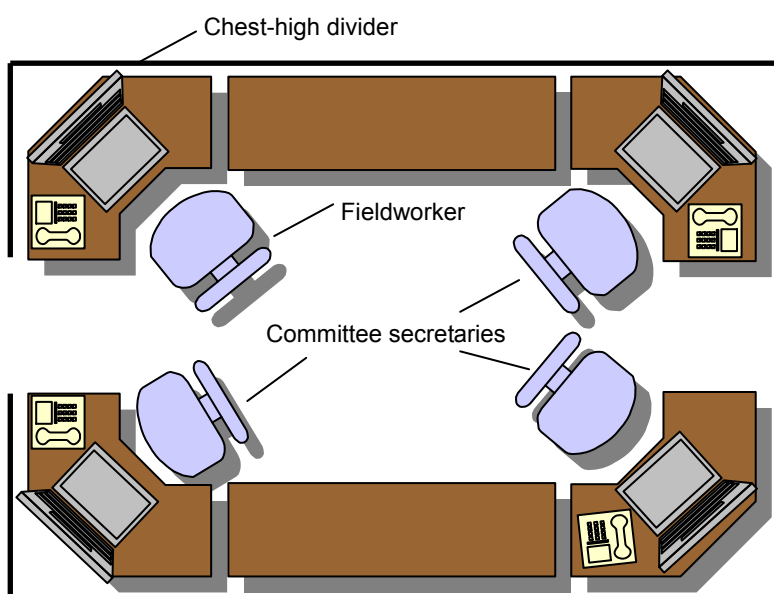


Figure 3.2: Layout of committee secretaries' cubicle

The Committee Section consisted for the most part of shared cubicles like the one depicted in the diagram, separated by chest-high dividers. This meant that many of the other committee secretaries

were visible to me as I observed, and I was visible to many of them. An outsider coming into the Committee Section would only have been able to distinguish me from the other secretaries by the fact that I was usually taking notes in my big A4 field notebook, while the other secretaries worked on their computers.

One of my first requests to each committee secretary I worked with was for copies of all the documents presented to members of their committees in preparation for their committee meetings on the budget oversight process, either on loan or to keep. For each committee there was a sizeable stack of these documents. Below I list those pertaining to one committee alone:

Budget vote document	28 pages
Fact sheet from committee researcher	9 pages
Departmental strategic plan presentation	31 pages
Departmental one-year strategic plan	179 pages
Departmental three-year strategic plan	176 pages
Departmental annual report	171 pages
Memorandum by department's minister	74 pages
State-owned entity no. 1's annual report	136 pages
State-owned entity no. 2's annual report	85 pages
State-owned entity no. 3's annual report	226 pages
State-owned entity no. 4's annual report	24 pages

I spent much of my time in the committee secretaries' offices reading through these documents, giving me some idea of the discourse types they employed, and hence what types of literacy are demanded from the MPs who have to read them, while also helping me to familiarize myself with the work done by the secretaries' committees.

Occasionally I was asked to edit documents for the secretaries, including a few committee reports and sets of meeting minutes. This was particularly helpful, as it enabled me to engage closely with the process of revision which the written documents in the genre chain of the budget oversight process undergo, and develop some idea of what it must be like to work as a committee secretary. Over time, the committee secretaries came to trust me as a language professional and general helper, and some would ask my advice on the meanings of words or on how to do something on the computer. This naturally helped to build my rapport with these secretaries.

Often, when visiting a new place on some errand, I had the opportunity to meet new participants and gather some new information about the operations of the Committee Section, or access more data. An example is recorded in the following vignette:

I ask a committee secretary for a printout of her report, and she prints a copy of the final report out for me. At the printer, two men introduce themselves to me; they seem to be technical support officers for the Committee Section. They take me into their office opposite the printer and give me a book on parliament, *Parliament Since 1994: Achievements and Challenges* as well as a copy of a recent compendium of South African statistics, both for me to keep, free of charge. They also show me where to find the *Estimates of National Expenditure* (in which all the departmental budgets are found) online: at www.treasury.gov.za. I learn that one of them did a BTech mini-thesis on the Committee Section, and wants to do his Master's next year on something else. I tell them I'm looking at spoken and written language in the parliamentary budget votes process, from the committees to the House. They ask for my name and ask if I'm from SA. We have a very friendly chat before I return to my desk.

The field notes I wrote during my times of observation in the Committee Section aided me in forming a general understanding of how the communicative infrastructure supporting the committees operates and of the secretaries' roles within the parliamentary process.

Although I shared the cubicle with two of the secretaries who had agreed to participate in my study, namely S1 and S2, the third secretary participating in my study, S3, sat some distance away, and was often away from her desk when I wanted to ask her a question. Thus I did not have much of a chance to observe her work and was ultimately unable to have any substantial interviews with her. However, I had built up a good rapport with a secretary sitting across the cubicle wall from my desk, and since his work was easily observable from where I was sitting, I approached him to participate in the study, and he agreed to do so. I refer to this committee secretary as S4. Thus by the end of my June/July 2009 field visit I had gathered detailed observations of the work of these three secretaries, and conducted interviews with the same three secretaries.

3.3.3. Eliciting participants' perspectives

Once I had observed communication in the committee meetings and the committee secretaries' offices, I set about the task of eliciting participants' perspectives on this data. I elicited the committee secretaries' perspectives (3.3.3.1.) through conversations and interviews during my June/July 2009 field visit, and then later through emails and an interview during a subsequent field visit. By contrast, the MPs' perspectives (3.3.3.2.) were all elicited some months, or even years, after these committee meetings had taken place, and so different methods were required in these interviews in order to encourage the MPs to reconstruct their interpretations of these meetings and reports. This section describes what these methods were.

3.3.3.1. *Eliciting committee secretaries' perspectives*

I gained much useful data out of casual conversations with the committee secretaries, and had at least one structured interview with each of the secretaries who had agreed to participate in my study. My notes from some of these interviews are reproduced in Appendix 1.

I soon discovered that the period directly after a committee meeting presented one of the best opportunities to elicit committee secretaries' perspectives on that meeting through casual conversation.

The following vignette gives an example of a post-meeting conversation in which I was able to check my understandings of two meetings which had occurred that day:

After a committee meeting, I waited for the MPs to walk out, and then stood at the door of the committee room with the secretary and a technical assistant as we prepared to leave. She asked me what had happened in another meeting I had attended earlier. I told her what had happened in it, and we had a short discussion in which the secretary shared with me some details about the history of that committee which I had not been aware of. Then the secretary moved on to comment about her own meeting. Some more

technical assistants came in to sort something out and asked if our committee meeting was beginning or ending. We said "Ending."

We talk about who'll carry what pieces of equipment out of the room. The secretary said "I have two gentlemen with me [referring to the first technical assistant we had chatted with and me], so I'll take the paper box and my documents; you can take the drinks." The technical assistant took a full box of drinks and I took a half-full box. As we walk out of the building, the technical assistant calls the secretary a strong African woman, saying to me jokingly, "In the old days, the woman would have a baby on her back and a bundle of firewood it would take two men to carry, on her head. Then the man would come, carrying only his coat and ask 'Are you keeping up with me?'"

We continued to talk about the more recent committee meeting as we walked into the street. There we saw the committee's researcher talking with a bunch of the presenters from the meeting, but walked past them. The secretary said she was disappointed in her; it was a new committee and she wasn't doing anything to help them understand the problems associated with this particular government entity. If two members of the committee had not been financially literate enough to pick up discrepancies in their budget, it would have gone through the committee process without anyone batting an eyelid, she complained.

Back at the Committee Section, the technical assistant and I dropped the drinks in a cubicle that the secretary had shown us to, and then I went back to my desk to finish writing up the meeting in my notes.

I planned to have two structured interviews with each committee secretary who had agreed to participate in the study once I had received permission to interview them: one focusing on the reports they had written for each of their committees during the budget oversight process, and one "wrap-up" interview near the end of my period of observation.

In my first interview on the reports, I asked the secretaries what sources they referred to while writing the reports. I found that they usually compiled their reports from handwritten notes which they had written during the meetings as well as a paper copy of PowerPoint slides presented during the meeting, rather than working from an audio recording or notes typed during the meeting. It emerged that there are no pre-established guidelines on how these reports must be structured; committee secretaries simply acquire the discourse conventions of committee reports through on-the-job training. In the interviews, I showed them particular sections of their reports, asking them to clarify or explain expressions that I did not understand, or what the result would be if I substituted a particular phrase with another wording. I also asked why the secretaries chose to structure their reports the way they had, and what processes of proofreading and editing the reports had been through before being presented for adoption at a committee meeting.

In the "wrap-up" interviews, I asked a more standard set of questions, which is listed below:

1. What qualifications, training and experience did you need to become a committee secretary?
2. How long have you been working as a committee secretary?
3. What's your home language?
4. What part of being a committee secretary do you most enjoy?
5. And what part do you least enjoy?

I had made a decision early in my fieldwork to leave the more face-threatening questions regarding committee secretaries' qualifications to be asked at the end of my field visit, after I had an opportunity to build a stronger rapport with the secretaries.

I approached secretaries for these more structured interviews simply by asking them at their desks if I could talk with them about some things relating to their reports (for the report interviews), or if I could ask them some general questions (for the “wrap-up” interviews), when they were not busy. In practice, I found myself rather pressed for time towards the end of my field visit, and so took my planned questions for the report interview and the “wrap-up” interview and put them together to make one longer interview in the cases of two of the secretaries participating in my study.

One of the chief conditions under which I was allowed to conduct participant observation was that the anonymity of the committee secretaries who participated in my study be preserved in this thesis and all other outputs resulting from the study. In order to achieve this, I have identified the committee secretaries using pseudonyms only. All the committee secretaries participating in my study signed a form consenting to participate in this study under condition of anonymity. The text of this consent form was negotiated with the unit manager in the Committee Section that I worked with, and is reproduced in Appendix 2.

I have kept in touch with S1, S2 and S4 by email and by visiting the Committee Section on subsequent field visits. This proved especially useful when, in June 2011, I needed to elicit additional information from the committee secretaries on their understandings of the data discussed in 4.3. Appendix 8 presents S2 and S4’s answers to my questions on these stretches of data.

3.3.3.2. Eliciting MPs’ perspectives

In a series of interviews, I elicited the perspectives of MPs on the effectiveness of communication in parliament’s committee structures in general, and their interpretations of some episodes from the meetings under investigation in this thesis. I did this through conducting interviews with 13 MPs: eight from the Portfolio Committee on Public Works and five from the Portfolio Committee on Transport. I interviewed some of the MPs from the Portfolio Committee on Transport a second time in order to elicit their perspectives on the data discussed in 4.3.

In preparation for these interviews, I emailed the secretaries of these two committees to ask them for contact information for the members of their committees. I then emailed these secretaries letters addressed to each MP whom I had recorded as having attended one or more of the meetings that I observed, asking for a 30-minute appointment to interview them. The secretaries agreed to print these letters out and place them in the relevant MPs’ pigeonholes in parliament for me.

In this way, I was able to elicit a fair number of MPs’ perspectives from across the political spectrum. The one significant gap in the corpus of interviews I built up was that I was not able to interview the chairperson of the Portfolio Committee on Transport (referred to as TC in chapter 4) despite attempting to schedule an appointment with her in each of my three field visits to interview

MPs.

All of my interviews with the MPs were structured into three sections. In the first section, I asked general questions about the MPs' perceptions of communication in the committee process. The second section was dedicated to eliciting perspectives on specific committee meetings I had observed, and their corresponding reports. The third section gave MPs an opportunity to ask questions about my research and give any additional comments they felt like giving. Appendix 3 contains a sample of one of the plans I had prepared for these interviews. Appendix 4 gives a summary of the different MPs' answers to the general questions I asked them about communication in parliament, while Appendix 9 presents MPs' comments on the data I presented to them from the episodes discussed in Chapter 4.

All of the MPs I interviewed were happy to speak with me without a guarantee of anonymity; there seemed to be a general understanding that since they were public figures, they were expected to take public ownership of their views on committee meeting interaction.

Below I give more details about the three sections of the interviews:

- *The first section* gave MPs an opportunity to express their opinion on how communication in the committees could be improved, while giving the impression that I as a researcher valued and sympathized with these opinions, setting the MPs at ease. In this section I elicited anecdotes of situations in which meetings ran smoothly or with difficulty.
- *The second section* consisted of me playing one or more snippets from recordings of the committee meetings under investigation to the MPs and giving them a rough transcript of sections of those snippets, asking them to tell me to stop the recording when they wanted to comment on something that they perceived to be a communication difficulty or a misunderstanding. This practice is considered to be an essential part of the interactional sociolinguistic method (Gumperz 1982) and was also recommended to me by Hammersley (2009). For each interviewee, I selected snippets from meetings at which (s)he was present and which contained either an utterance by the interviewee which I wanted him/her to clarify, or an exchange between other speakers which I had some questions about. I drew on a set of questions which I had devised for use during this section, asking whichever questions I thought would be appropriate for the particular utterances that had been played back. This set of questions drew from those that Gumperz (1982) reports asking participants in his interactional sociolinguistic data playback sessions, as well as the questions which I planned to ask myself during the process of data analysis described below. Samples of these questions are included in Appendix 3.
- *The third section* gave the MPs a chance to ask questions about my research, as well as to give additional comments about anything that had been discussed in the interview. Many of

the MPs interviewed used this opportunity to speak their mind about communication in committees. In this section I asked the interviewees if I could contact them again if I had any further questions.

In most of the interviews, I tried to project the image of a young, but knowledgeable, academic commissioned to complete this study for parliament's division of legislation and oversight, although at times I shifted to the identity of a curious, harmless student when I perceived that the MP felt slightly threatened by my questions or sceptical about the reasons for my study. As with my identity-shifting in the company of the committee secretaries (see 3.3.2.2.), I did not consider this identity-shifting to be disingenuous in any way, since my aim was not to evaluate the MPs as individuals, but rather to provide recommendations on how the committee process as a whole could be improved.

Unsurprisingly, the interviews which I felt were the most harmonious and successful were those with MPs whose cultural and linguistic backgrounds were similar to mine, and one of the most difficult interviews was the one with the Deaf MP who spoke through a South African Sign Language (SASL) interpreter. This MP is referred to as TA3.

TA3's perspectives on interaction are particularly helpful because she uses a unique set of modes of communication in order to interact with the committee. Whatever other participants say in the meetings must first be recontextualized by her interpreter in order for her to understand them, and whatever she says must also be recontextualized by her interpreter before it is interpreted by other committee members. She thus has a uniquely mediated relationship with the rest of the committee. Certain nuances of meaning may well be altered unintentionally in the process of interpreting, and instances of indexicality probably suffer the most in this process. This has an effect equivalent to that which would result if there were a larger cultural distance between her and the rest of the committee than there was between other members of the committee.

Despite this, the difference between TA3 and other MPs must not be overemphasized. She is an ordinary member of the Portfolio Committee on Transport, but her unique, mediated experience of the committee can reveal insights into the quality of the communication in the committee that other MPs are unable to give, because she has to focus on one source of information at a time and may miss some of the instances of indexicality that are apparent to other MPs.

Many of the MPs I spoke to seemed to take the interviews as an opportunity not only to talk about communication in parliament, but also explain their own parties' positions on the issues discussed in the data recordings that were played back. Their individual political motivations must thus also be borne in mind when interpreting their comments.

As mentioned in the introduction to 3.3, my interviews with MPs demonstrated the cyclical

nature of ethnographic research. My preparation for the interviews with the MPs involved some preliminary analysis of the recordings of the meetings that I attended, and I let further analysis of these recordings in the light of what the first MPs said in their interviews lead me in my selection of data for discussion in later interviews.

The wide-ranging and adaptive means of data collection I have used in this study has produced an equally wide diversity in my data. In such a study, the task of data analysis, as described in the following section, is a process of focusing the wide range of different kinds of contextual data (such as field notes and interviews with MPs) that one gathers from such an exercise and bringing it to bear on the texts at the heart of the communicative process under investigation.

3.4. Data analysis

Just as a wide variety of data was collected in this study, so a variety of linguistic tools of analysis were brought to bear on it. In 3.2.4. I state my reasons for using tools of analysis from SFL and IS as theoretical frameworks. In this section I describe how these frameworks, as well as Politeness Theory, were used to analyse the data I collected. I begin by explaining how I selected specific sections of my data for fine-grained analysis, and describe how each of the sections discussed in Chapter 4 fits into the broader genre chain of the committee process (3.4.1.). Following that, I describe the different sets of tools of analysis I have used, and how I have used them. Firstly, I describe how Transitivity is useful in analysing differences in ideational meaning from one text to another in a genre chain (3.4.2.). Secondly, I describe how I have analysed differences in interpersonal meanings using a combination of APPRAISAL and Politeness Theory (3.4.3.). Thirdly, I show how IS has been used in conjunction with participants' perspectives to analyse the ways in which participants index their contexts in the data under examination (3.4.4.). The last part of this section (3.4.5.) explains how I have presented my analysis in Chapter 4.

3.4.1. Selecting and subdividing data for analysis

In this section I describe firstly the guidelines I set down for the transcription of my data, and then the procedure I followed in segmenting this data into episodes and stages for analysis. Thereafter, I explain why I chose three particular sections of data for fine-grained analysis and discussion in this thesis, and describe the immediate temporal contexts in which these three sections occurred.

The first step in my analysis was transcribing the total of nine hours of recordings of spoken interaction from the meetings of the portfolio committees on Public Works and Transport which I attended. The set of transcription conventions which I decided on is set out below, as well as at the beginning of Appendices 5, 6 and 7, in which the data discussed in Chapter 4 is reproduced in full.

Transcription conventions

CAPS	Syllables receiving phrasal stress
<...>	softer “off-mic” utterances
[.....]	overlaps
(0.9)	pauses (measured in seconds)
()	unclear speech on recording
(())	non-linguistic sounds
?	rising tone
O:	unidentified speaker

This set of transcription conventions is fairly standard except for my transcription of phrasal stress. The most prominent syllable in each “burst” of speech (demarcated by pauses) is capitalized as carrying phrasal stress. There are a number of examples of phrasal stress conveying indexicality in the data, and so this convention proves useful.

In selecting and subdividing the spoken data into analysable units, I followed standard practice in IS (McDermott et al 1978), which encourages the division of interaction into specific episodes, which can be further subdivided into stages.

I defined an episode as extending from the time a particular stretch of language from a previous text is first referred to or recontextualized in a meeting, to the time when discussion on this particular stretch of language is closed. Use of this definition allowed me to limit my analysis only to instances in the data in which recontextualization occurs, and to describe all the discussion surrounding that particular recontextualization as one unit. In the committees, chairpersons often take questions from several MPs consecutively before asking the presenters at the meeting to answer all of those questions *en masse*. In cases where this occurs, the entire round of questions and the presenters’ replies to all of them together constitute one episode.

In IS, long episodes are understood as being made up of a number of stages, demarcated by factors such as subtle shifts in topic or in speakers’ physical orientation to each other (McDermott et al 1978). Since I had very limited evidence of visual cues that may demarcate such stages, I relied mostly on topic shifts and lengths of pauses to demarcate stages. The stretches of committee interaction discussed in 4.2. and 4.4. come from selected stages of a particular episode, but 4.3. concentrates instead on a few selected utterances, for reasons explained below.

My basic unit of analysis in the written data is the paragraph, since this provides a compact semantic unit: in most cases, each new paragraph in a committee report recontextualizes a discrete point or topic of discussion from a meeting. When it came to selecting what written data from committee reports or multimodal data from presentations to analyse, I concentrated only on paragraphs and PowerPoint slides which are referred to in the spoken data I have analysed, or those which recontextualize what has been said in the spoken data I have analysed. This written data has been analysed in conjunction with the spoken data which is intertextually linked to it.

Since written language tends to have much stronger SD than spoken language, as shown in 2.2.1,

this has meant that the amount of written language analysed in this thesis is far less than the amount of spoken language. However, it has been necessary for reasons of economy to select data for analysis in this way: if I selected a certain stretch of written language to study, and then looked for all the spoken language that it recontextualized or was recontextualized by it, it would have been far more difficult to control the total amount of data to be analysed.

For the purposes of this thesis, I have chosen to do a fine-grained analysis of three sections of data from three different parliamentary committee meetings. I have named each of these sections using a quotation from that section. These sections were selected for three reasons.

The first of these reasons is that the selected sections illustrate the operations of recontextualization at different points on the genre chain of the committee process. In 4.2, I discuss an episode from a meeting in which a state-owned entity presents its budget and strategic plan to the Portfolio Committee on Public Works, focusing on the ways in which the MPs and one of the presenters recontextualize meanings from this multimodal presentation. This episode is named “Be careful of percentages”. Following that, in 4.3, I focus on how the concerns and comments of two members of the Portfolio Committee on Transport are recontextualized into the committee’s draft report by the committee secretary. This section is named “The example that I can relate to”. Lastly, in 4.4, I discuss an episode from a meeting at the next point on this genre chain, in which meanings from the draft report are recontextualized by MPs in a discussion on whether or not to adopt of the report. In this section I also discuss how meanings from this discussion were recontextualized into the final version of the report. This episode is named “We’re talking about semantics here”. Figure 3.3. shows the genre chain of the committee process, and marks on it the recontextualizations addressed in each of the sections mentioned above.

The episode discussed in 4.2. does not, strictly speaking, belong to this genre chain, since it occurred after the budget of the Department of Public Works had been approved by the NA. This meeting was called as an opportunity for the committee to engage with the budget and strategic plan of one state-owned entity, Agrément SA, because there was not enough time for committee members to ask questions on the budget and strategic plan of each state-owned entity reporting to it during the process preceding the Extended Public Committee meeting in which the department’s budget was approved in the NA. Thus, it forms part of an extension of the genre chain of the budget oversight process, and illustrates similar types of communication difficulties to the presentation meetings that may be found in the body of this process.

The second reason for selecting these three sections of data for fine-grained analysis is that each of them illustrates some form of communication difficulty in the committee process. The episode discussed in 4.2. illustrates the ways in which differences in understanding can develop between two groups of participants in the parliamentary oversight process: the representatives of government

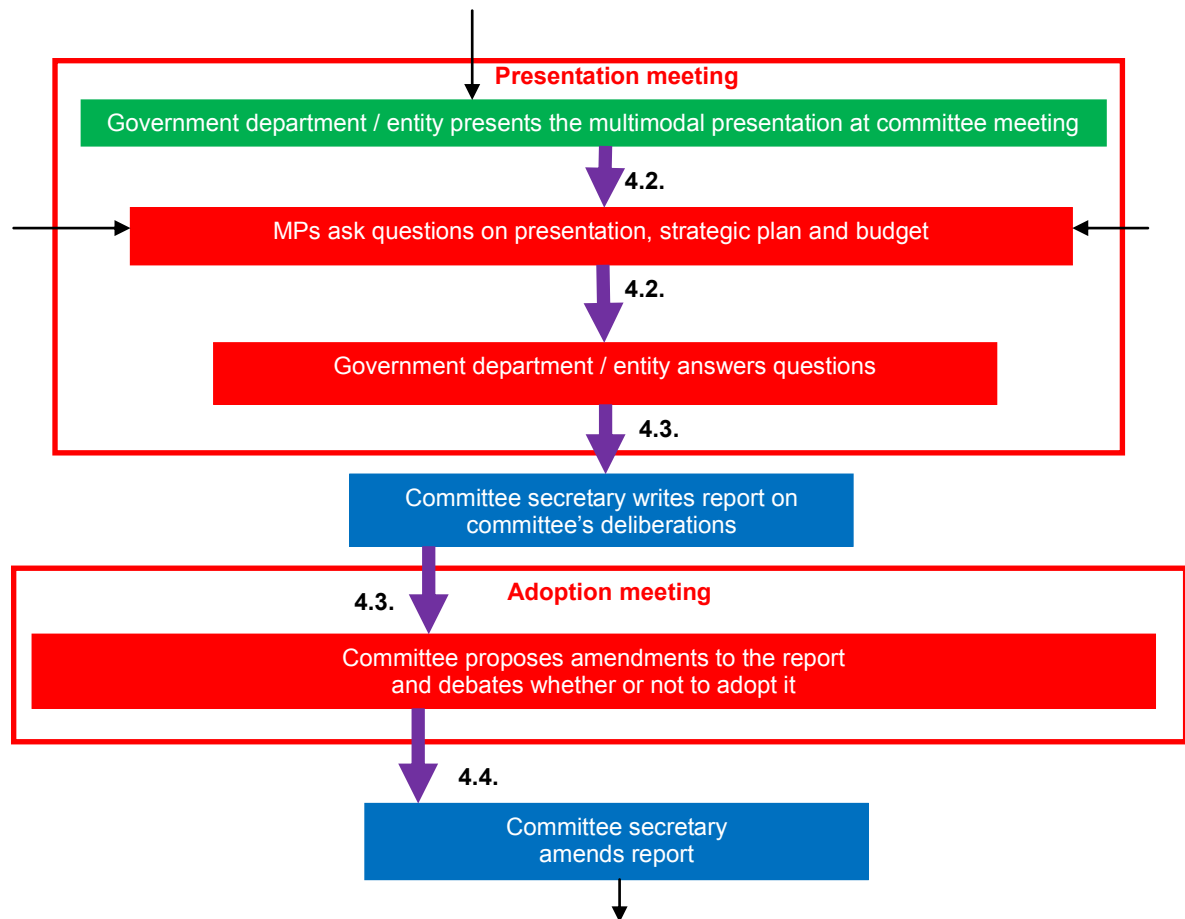


Figure 3.3: The recontextualizations in the genre chain of the committee process illustrated by the sections of data selected for analysis

departments and state-owned entities who are called on to present their budgets and strategic plans to parliamentary committees, and the MPs who constitute those committees. In this episode, these differences in understanding resulted in interactional asynchrony, which produced considerable tension between these two groups. The spoken data presented in 4.3, on the other hand, was initially selected not because of obvious interactional asynchrony, but as examples of ways in which MPs recontextualize concerns from their geographical constituencies in parliamentary committees. However, communication difficulties emerged in the ways in which this data was recontextualized into the committee's report: the concerns of the committee chairperson (referred to as TC) were reported with far more accuracy than those of another committee member (referred to as TD2). The episode discussed in 4.4. includes a conflict between MPs from the ruling ANC and those from opposition parties over the wording of a draft committee report. This conflict arises due to differences in participants' schemata (see 2.5. for an explanation of this term) dictating what procedure the committee should follow, causing immense interactional asynchrony.

The third reason for the selection of these three sections of data is that they illustrate the workings of both epistemological condensation and axiological condensation (see 2.6.3.). In 4.2.

and 4.3, I show the workings of epistemological condensation in the processes of recontextualizing MPs' questions into spoken answers to those questions by a presenter, and in the process of recontextualizing MPs' talk in committee meetings into a written report. The episode discussed in 4.4. shows axiological condensation at work in debate between MPs from different parties. This is not to say that there is no evidence of the other type of condensation in operation in each of these episodes, but that these are the predominant types of condensation that are active, and they can reveal helpful details about the way in which meanings are recontextualized through the parliamentary oversight process. The differences between the three sections of data selected for fine-grained analysis for this thesis are summarized in Table 4.1.

The episodes discussed in 4.2. and 4.4. are both lengthy, and so space constraints and the fine-grainedness of my analysis has precluded me from discussing these episodes exhaustively in Chapter 4. Instead, I have chosen to concentrate on particular elements within these episodes. In 4.2, I have chosen to describe how three particular threads of discussion are developed through the episode, while in 4.4, I have chosen to focus on those stages within the episode where participants engage most directly with the written committee report they are considering. The transcripts in Appendix 5 and 7 contain the full transcripts of the episodes discussed in 4.2. and 4.4. respectively, so that one can observe how these stages fit into the episode as a whole. These appendices reveal that there is much interesting material in these episodes that is not discussed in Chapter 4, owing to space constraints, but the elements that have been chosen for fine-grained analysis in both cases form coherent units and provide plenty of insights that may also apply to the parts of the episode which are not discussed in detail.

In addition, the utterances discussed in 4.3. were selected as examples of the ways in which MPs recontextualize concerns from their constituencies, so they do not form a coherent episode, but instead are selected from particular stages of one episode, which focused on the need for integration between different departments and spheres of government in ensuring service delivery. Appendix 6 contains the transcript of these selected utterances only.

Each of these sections occurs in a specific temporal context in the meetings of which they form a part. The following paragraphs briefly describe each of these temporal contexts.

The meeting of the Portfolio Committee on Public Works discussed in 4.2, which took place on 1 July 2009, begins with a lengthy presentation on Agrément SA's vision, mission and strategic plan, given by its Chief Executive Officer, whom I refer to as A1. Following this, he hands over to his Chief Financial Officer, A2, who speaks on the entity's budgets. Both of these presentations are accompanied by PowerPoint slides, and two versions of copies of these slides are handed out to those present at the meeting as paper handouts. After the presentations, the chairperson opens the floor for what is called "a round of questions" from MPs, which are answered by A1.

The episode I concentrate on in 4.2, named “Be careful of percentages”, occurs in the form of a second “round of questions”, which mainly concerns Agrément SA's budgets. Some of these questions are answered by A2, and then MPs ask a wide range of “follow-up questions”, which also constitute part of this round of questions. A2 was only able to answer one of these questions before the time allocated for the meeting ran out. Figure 3.4. presents a schematic outline of the meeting's structure, indicating the main section of the meeting under investigation.

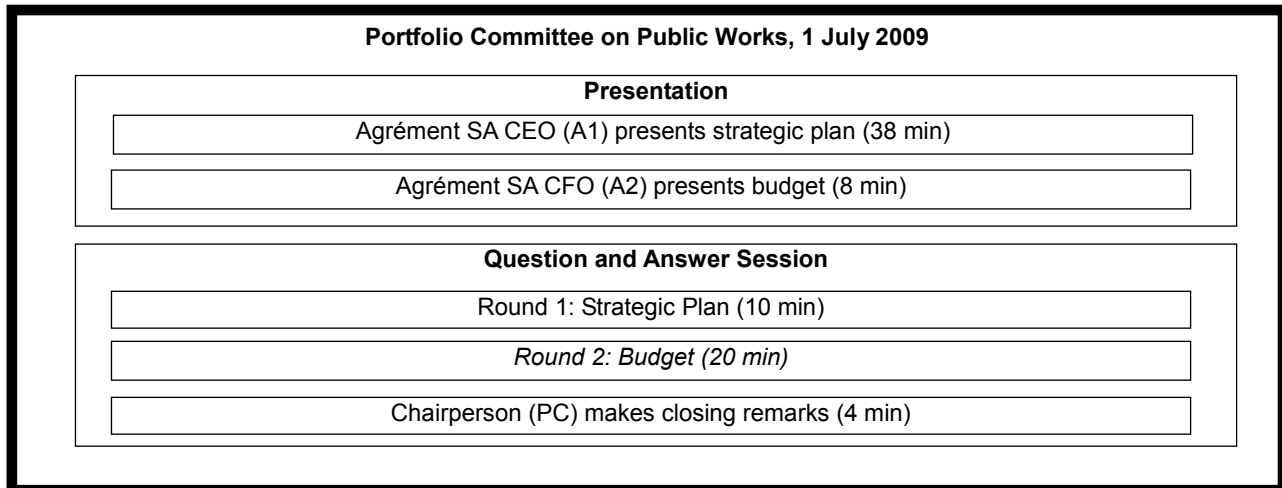


Figure 3.4: Structure of Portfolio Committee on Public Works meeting, 1 July 2009, with the episode discussed in 4.2. marked in italics

The data discussed in 4.3. comes from a meeting on 24 June 2009 in which representatives from the Department of Transport answer questions from members of the Portfolio Committee on Transport about their strategic plan and budget, which had been presented at a prior presentation meeting. Thus this meeting is unlike the one discussed in 4.2. in that it does not begin with a presentation, but it represents a further chance for MPs to ask questions of the department representatives and give them recommendations which are then included in the committee's report on the department's strategic plan and budget, to be compiled by the committee secretary.

The episode discussed in 4.4. is part of the Portfolio Committee on Transport meeting that follows the one discussed in 4.3. This meeting, on 1 July 2009, is called to discuss and adopt the committee's report on the Department of Transport's strategic plan and budget. No representatives of the Department of Transport are required to be present at this meeting, since its purpose is to consider the committee's report for submission to the National Assembly, with or without amendments. Thus all the discussion that takes place involves only MPs from the different parties represented in the committee, as well as the committee secretary.

Prior to this episode, some amendments are made to the report without significant disagreement between the committee members. Following this, TC asked for someone to propose the adoption of

the report as a formal motion. It is at this point that one MP, TD2, queries the wording of the first sentence of the report, marking the beginning of the episode discussed in 4.4. The structure of the meeting discussed in 4.4. is portrayed in Figure 3.5.

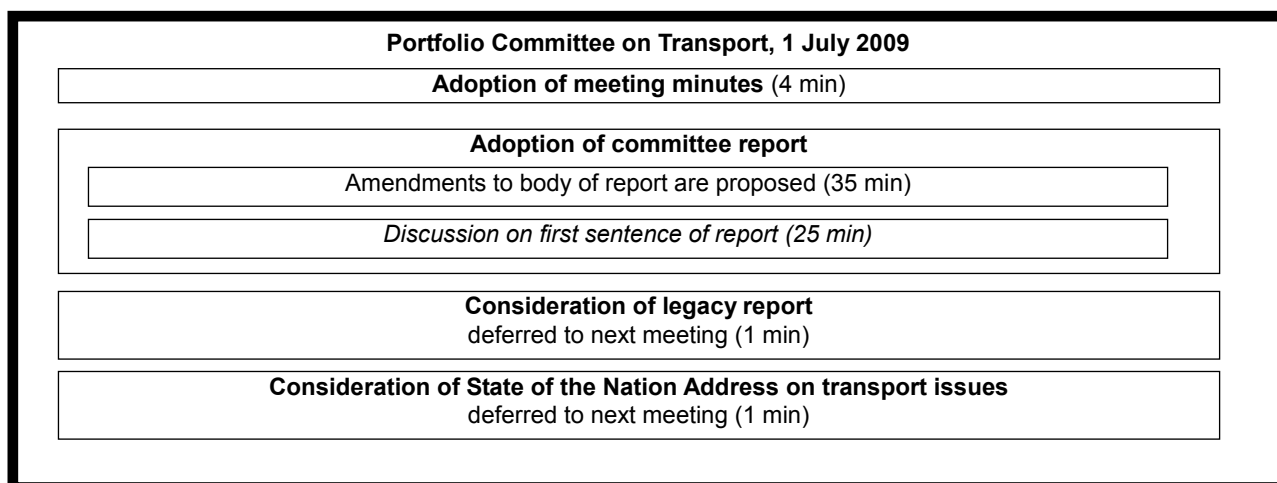


Figure 3.5: Structure of Portfolio Committee on Transport meeting, 1 July 2009, with the episode discussed in 4.4. marked in italics

The methods of subdividing and selecting data that I used have proved useful in ensuring that I have been able to conduct fine-grained analysis of short sections of data, while achieving a broad impression of the budget oversight process and the types of communication difficulties that can occur in it. The following sections describe how I have used various sets of tools of analysis to examine this data in a way that reveals insights that can be related to the model of the discursive effects of recontextualization that I outlined in 2.6.3. and develop further in Chapters 4 and 5.

3.4.2. Analysing differences in ideational meaning: Transitivity

Transitivity (as set out in Halliday and Matthiessen 2004), a system of SFL, is used to analyse clauses into the various types of Participants, Processes and Circumstances they encode, allowing one to characterize subtle differences in ideational meaning between one text and others. Processes are categorized into six different types, each of which is associated with specific types of Participants, known as Participant roles. The following Transitivity analyses of a few examples (adapted from the draft committee report discussed in 4.4.) illustrate the way in which the Transitivity system functions.

1. *The report recommends that the budget be passed:*

The report	recommends	that the budget be passed
Participant: Sayer	Process: Verbal	Participant: Reported

Here the word “recommend” realizes what is labelled a Verbal Process, because it introduces (or, in systemic-functional terminology, projects) something that the report says. Of course, “that the budget be passed” is a clause in its own right, and could also be analysed as such in more detail as follows:

that	the budget	be passed
	Participant: Goal	Process: Material

2. *The report is a recommendation that the budget be passed*

The report	is	a recommendation that the budget be passed
Participant: Identified	Process: Relational	Participant: Identifier

In this example, the word *is* realizes a Relational Process, because it relates “the report” to “a recommendation that the budget be passed”.

The other three types of process that are mentioned in the transitivity system are:

- Behavioural Processes, which are psychological and biological acts performed by people, e.g. “abstained” in “The opposition MPs abstained.”
- Mental Processes, which relate to perception and thought, e.g. “accept” in “The opposition MPs accept the contents of the report.”
- Existential Processes, which simply indicate that something exists, e.g. “is” in “There is a committee meeting tomorrow.”

I found that Transitivity analyses were most helpful in analysing the episode discussed in 4.4, where participants recontextualized an original clause complex from the committee report, and proposed changes to it. In cases such as this, it was helpful to use Transitivity to pinpoint the exact changes in ideational meaning between the original text and the alternative wordings that were being proposed.

3.4.3. Analysing differences in interpersonal meaning: APPRAISAL and Politeness Theory

APPRAISAL theory is the chief tool of analysis I used to pinpoint differences in interpersonal meanings from one text to the next. In addition to this, I found Politeness Theory (Brown and Levinson 1987) helpful in explaining the reasons why MPs recontextualized certain utterances as they did.

APPRAISAL categorizes lexical choices according to the ways in which they express certain types of interpersonal meaning. It analyses expressions of evaluations or attitudes, allowing one to look at how these are used to negotiate social relationships. It also categorizes the way in which these lexical choices establish alignments and disalignments with prior texts. The following explanation of APPRAISAL draws on the work of Martin and White (2005), who set out this framework in

considerable detail.

APPRAISAL is a complex framework with many different sub-systems, grouped under three main systems: Attitude, Engagement and Graduation. Attitude, as its name suggests, categorizes the ways in which senders' lexical choices convey their feelings and opinions about the things they discuss. Engagement examines the ways in which text producers use lexical choices to align themselves with certain meanings, and disalign themselves from others. Lastly, Graduation typifies how senders tone up or down the strength and focus of their expressions of Attitude. Figure 3.6. presents a complete overview of the structure of the APPRAISAL system.

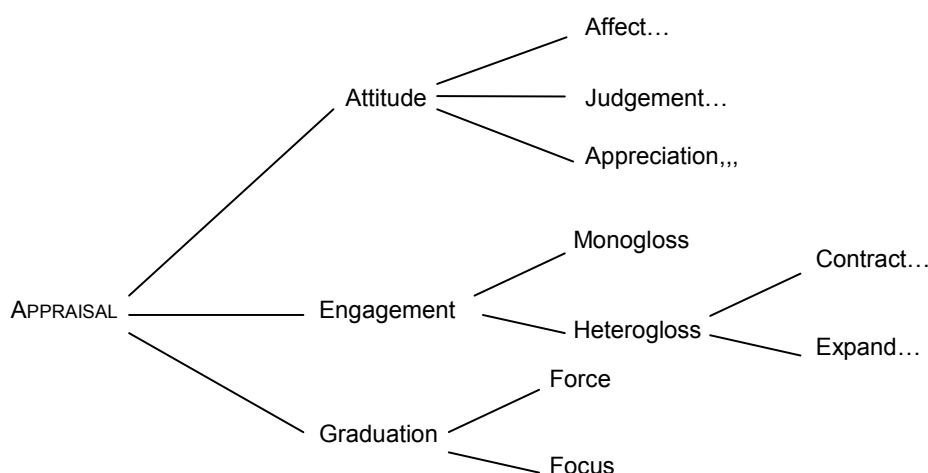


Figure 3.6: An overview of APPRAISAL systems. Adapted from Martin and White (2005)

Attitude is divided into three subcategories, Affect, Judgement and Appreciation. Each of these is divided into further subcategories. For example, Affect refers to the feelings which a word expresses, and is divided into Happiness, Security and Satisfaction. If a word encodes happy feelings, such as “elated”, it is coded as having positive Happiness, while a word such as “depressed” is coded as having negative Happiness. A locution can also evoke an APPRAISAL category implicitly, so one could say that “he was over the moon” evokes positive Happiness. Judgement relates to expressions that relate to evaluations of other people, and Appreciation to expressions that relate to evaluations of things. The full range of subcategories of Attitude is presented diagrammatically in Figure 3.7.

At the beginning of my analysis, I concentrated particularly on the ways in which expressions of Attitude altered as meanings were recontextualized from one text to another. This type of analysis proved useful, especially in the episode discussed in 4.4, where I found that expressions of Attitude were used to accomplish axiological condensation (see 2.6.3.), thus allowing the two opposing groups of MPs to black-box their respective positions. However, when I began analysing the expressions of Engagement in my data, I found that these were still more helpful in demonstrating

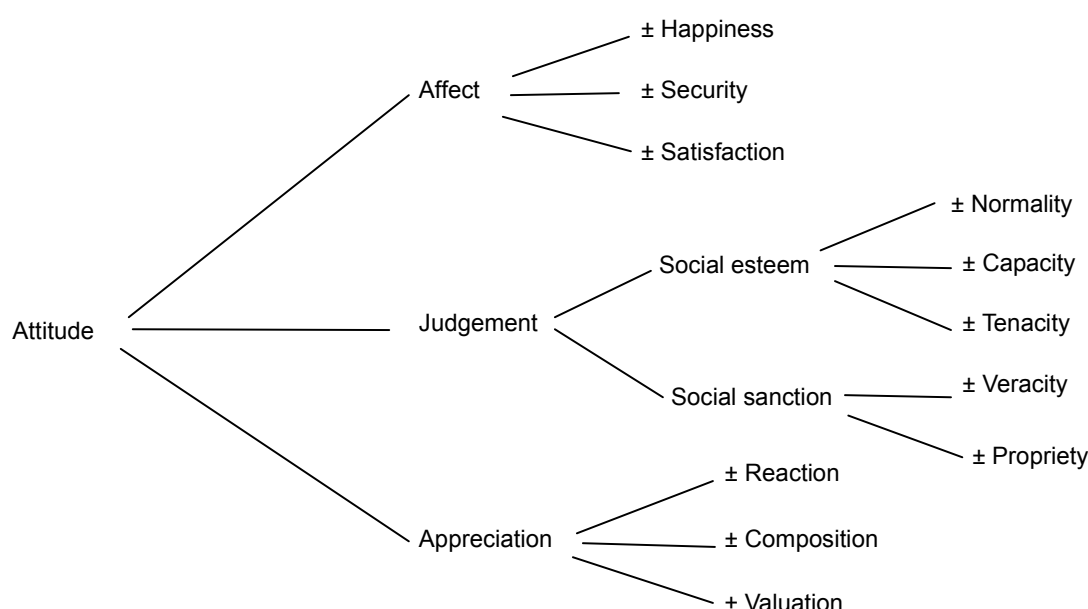


Figure 3.7: The APPRAISAL system of Attitude. Adapted from Martin and White (2005)

the discursive effects of recontextualization.

Engagement has its roots in the theory of intertextuality traditionally attributed to Bakhtin (1986) and outlined in 2.6.1, making it particularly compatible with the aims of this thesis, namely to investigate the ways in which different texts in parliament's committee process intertextually reference each other. It categorizes stretches of text as either monoglossic (reflecting only one voice, usually that of the sender) or heteroglossic (incorporating a multiplicity of voices). Heteroglossic locutions are often used to recontextualize meanings from a prior text, and express the sender's alignment or disalignment with the meanings that are recontextualized. These heteroglossic locutions can be used to expand the dialogic space or contract it, or, in other words, to make room for alternative voices to express opinions on the topic of discussion, or reduce the room available for such alternative voices. In Chapter 4 I demonstrate how dialogic expansion and contraction correlate usefully with opening and closing black boxes respectively. In the following paragraphs I explain the different subcategories of dialogic expansion and contraction, illustrating them using examples from my data. In each example, the locution realizing the particular subcategory is underlined, and the remainder of the example contains the meanings that are dialogically expanded or contracted in these examples. Figure 3.8. shows the range of sub-systems of engagement that exist.

Dialogic expansion can be divided into two sub-systems: Entertain and Attribute.

- Entertain is expressed in locutions that introduce a particular idea as being a possibility, such as "I don't know whether they are going to cut employees."

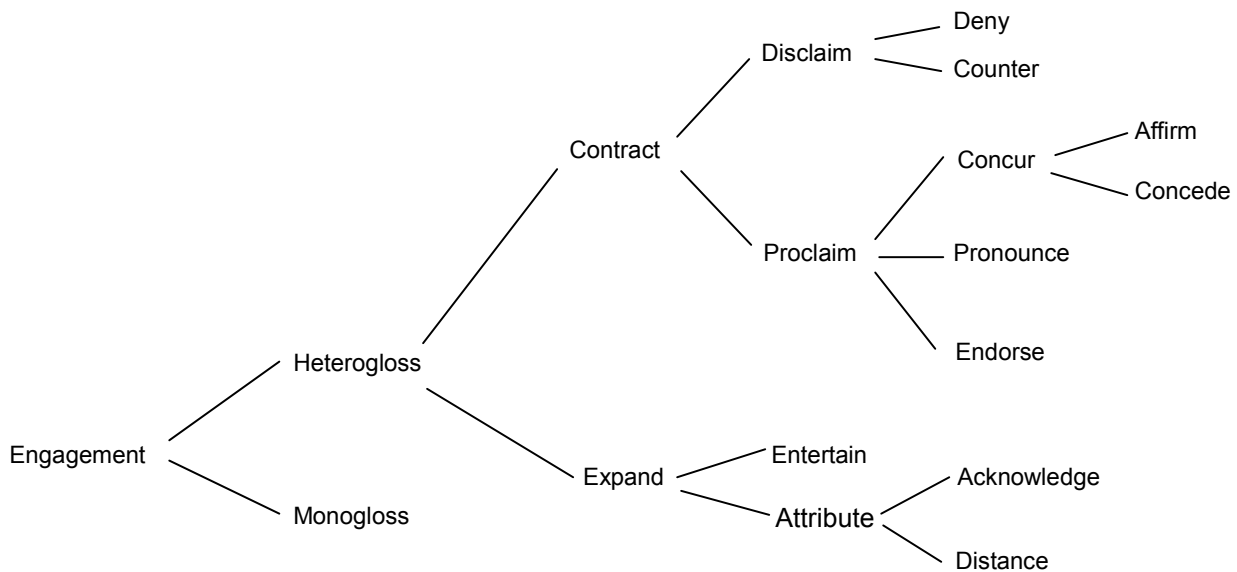


Figure 3.8: The APPRAISAL system of Engagement. Adapted from Martin and White (2005)

Attribute refers to locutions that reference another individual or group as the source of a recontextualized meaning. This sub-system is further divided into Acknowledge and Distance.

- Acknowledge recontextualizes another meaning without indicating whether or not the sender agrees with that meaning. An example of Acknowledge is “You are saying you are going to reduce your percentages.”
- Distance expresses the sender's disalignment with the meaning that is recontextualized. An example of Distance would be “You claim that you are going to reduce your percentages.”

Dialogic contraction is similarly divided into two sub-systems, Disclaim and Proclaim. Disclaim refers to locutions that disagree with or diminish the importance of the recontextualized meanings, while Proclaim refers to those which strengthen the importance of the sender's meanings in comparison to others. Disclaim is divided into Deny and Counter.

- Deny is used where the sender openly disagrees with the recontextualized meaning. An example of Deny is “We're not passing the budget.”
- Counter is used where the sender expresses a meaning that replaces another, opposite meaning. An example of Counter is “We adopt a report we accept it as we see it here, but to pass a report is a different story.”

Proclaim is divided into three sub-systems, Pronounce, Endorse and Concur.

- Pronounce refers to locutions which the sender has added to heighten the emphasis placed on a particular meaning, for example, “In fact, each hand can have many questions.”
- Endorse is used in cases where the sender acknowledges the source of recontextualized meanings in a way that implies a commitment to the truth of these meanings. For example,

the locution “The committee observed that this function was not implemented to its maximum” implies that the sender agrees that the function truly was not implemented to its maximum.

Concur refers to locutions in which the sender indicates agreement with a previous text in order to bolster his/her own argument. It is further subdivided into Affirm and Concede.

- Affirm indicates cases in which a sender presents some meaning as a basic or commonsense point on which there is agreement; for example, the stressed word “have” in “You HAVE the right to abstain” indexes that this is something which is common, basic knowledge to all parties involved in the discussion.
- Concede indicates more important points on which a sender agrees with an opposing argument, for example, “I agree with what you are saying; the Appropriation Bill will be... passed on Tuesday.” This resource is often closely followed by an instance of Counter, to introduce an assertion that, according to the sender, still holds despite what (s)he has conceded.

The final sub-system of APPRAISAL, Graduation, is subdivided into Force and Focus. Force tones up and down the strength with which a sender wants to convey a particular token of Attitude. Focus, on the other hand, sharpens or softens the boundaries of categories of Attitude. In this study, I do not concentrate on Graduation as much as I do on Engagement and Attitude, but reference is made to it on some occasions in Chapter 4.

While APPRAISAL focuses on the lexical items that carry interpersonal meaning; Politeness Theory captures the ways in which language is used to negotiate interpersonal relationships at a discourse-pragmatic level. Brown and Levinson (1987) serve as the basis for the following brief description of this theory. Politeness Theory is premised on the idea that all people possess face, which they define as “the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself [sic]” (Brown and Levinson 1987:61). Face is composed of positive face, a person’s desire to be appreciated for who (s)he is, and negative face, a person’s desire not to be imposed upon. Polite behaviour in any culture, it is theorized, seeks to maintain one’s own face, and that of others.

At any time, speakers are faced with the possibility of committing a face-threatening act (FTA) which may threaten an interactant's positive or negative face, and, at times, they may decide that the benefits of committing such an FTA may outweigh its negative consequences. For example, imagine that an MP observed a significant error in a PowerPoint presentation given by a government department representative in a committee meeting and was considering whether or not to point it out, and if so, how. The options that the MP would have according to Politeness Theory are depicted in Figure 3.9. and illustrated in the following list.

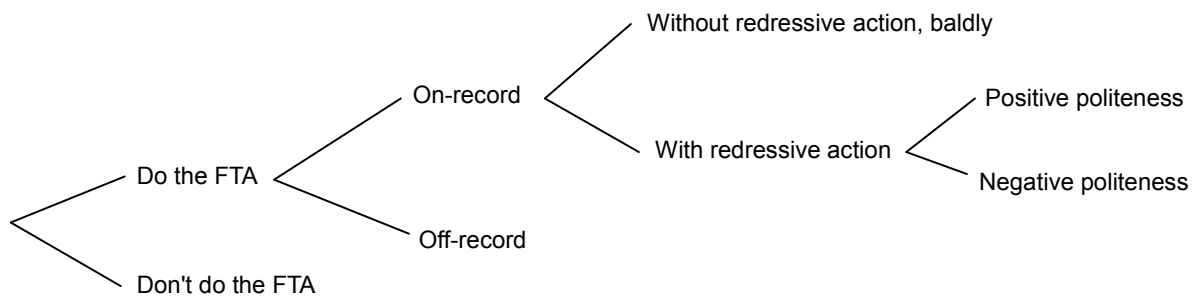


Figure 3.9: Decision tree for FTAs according to Politeness Theory. Adapted from Brown and Levinson (1987)

- Don't do the FTA, that is, do not point out the error at all.
- Do the FTA off-record by producing an utterance that does not explicitly mean that there is an error in the report, but could be interpreted as implying it, for example "I wasn't sure of what you were saying on Slide 21."
- Do the FTA on record baldly, without offering any redressive action to soften the blow of the FTA, for example, "That amount on Slide 21 is wrong."
- Do the FTA on record, with redressive action in the form of positive politeness, which builds the hearer's positive face by praising or affirming her. For example, she could say, "Your presentation has been put together very well, but there is an inaccuracy on Slide 21." A specific type of positive politeness used in some cultures is known as solidarity politeness, where the speaker seeks to emphasize common ground with the hearers in order to affirm them, thereby minimizing the power distance between speaker and hearers. For example, our MP could say "We really enjoy your presentations because you folk work so well with us as a committee. However, I'd just like to point out that there was a little error on Slide 21."
- Do the FTA on record, with redressive action in the form of negative politeness, which minimizes the imposition that she is making upon the presenter. An example would be saying "There's a tiny error on Slide 21, but it's quite easy to clear up." Deference politeness, the opposite of solidarity politeness, is a specific type of negative politeness used to express respect for one's interlocutor. This type of politeness maximizes the power distance between speaker and hearer, and is usually used by speakers at a lower level of social power than their hearers. For example, our MP could say to the committee chairperson, "Honourable Chairperson, I hope you don't mind me interjecting here, but please would you allow me to comment on a small error on Slide 21 of the presentation."

This framework gives me a useful set of tools by which to describe the different strategies that MPs use in committee meetings for negotiating interpersonal relationships. For example, in 4.4.1. it allows me to compare the different approaches of two DA MPs in objecting to the wording of the

first clause complex of the committee's draft report: one of them (TD1) uses a considerable amount of negative politeness, while the other (TD2) uses a bald-on-record strategy. MPs' reasons for choosing these different strategies are often related to asymmetries in power relations, and this is the case in this example, as I show in 4.4.1.

Both APPRAISAL and Politeness Theory can be used to analyse the ways in which text producers negotiate interpersonal relationships. I have noted that Engagement is useful in tracing how participants express their orientation toward recontextualized meanings and thereby work to black-box them or open them up as black boxes. Politeness Theory, like Attitude, is useful in tracing processes of axiological (de)condensation, the ways in which a variety of things can be clustered together and associated with particular value judgments (see 2.6.3.). I demonstrate this in 4.4.

3.4.4. Analysing indexicality: Interactional Sociolinguistics and the use of participants' perspectives

IS assists me in identifying and interpreting the ways in which MPs index their contexts in the data I have collected. In this section I explain the concept of indexicality and how it relates to IS, before describing how IS has been applied in my analysis, and participants' perspectives have been brought to bear on my interpretations of the data.

IS shows in more detail how participants' interaction with the micro-context occurs. According to IS, participants in an interaction continually negotiate their context with each other (Chick 1987). Lillis (2008) points out that this view can be reflected in Gumperz's (1982) use of the word "contextualization": interactants contextualize their utterances for each other; that is they point to what they consider to be salient aspects of their context.

This pointing is done through use of contextualization cues, signals that are intended to alert a receiver to the way in which their sender construes the context at that particular moment (Gumperz 1982). These cues may come in many different forms, either verbal (such as code-switching, style-shifting or changes in accent and prosody) or non-verbal (such as gestures and shifts of gaze) (Chick 1987). In their most recent work, interactional sociolinguists use the word "indexicality" to refer to the human ability to point to aspects of their context without mentioning them explicitly (Silverstein 2003). Following these researchers, I use the verb "index" to refer to this act of pointing, but retain the use of the older term "contextualization cue" to refer to the signals by which this indexing is accomplished. Silverstein (2003) points out that indexicality is multi-layered. A meaning indexed by a particular contextualization cue may itself index another possible meaning, and so on into infinity. His term for this phenomenon is "indexical order". An illustration of this concept can be found in 4.4.2. Here I show how the committee chairperson's use of the word "abstain" is a contextualization cue which indexes at a first order of indexicality the fact that the DA

MPs had abstained from voting in the election in which she was made chairperson, which she took as a personal affront. However, her use of indexicality in this way also implies that she would be similarly affronted if the DA MPs abstained from voting on whether to adopt the committee's report in the current meeting. This meaning is indexed at a second order of indexicality.

If the parties to an interaction are able to recognize all of the contextualization cues that others send to them, the interaction is said to be synchronous; there is a rhythm which allows speakers to co-operate and take up where others leave off, while understanding each other perfectly (Gumperz 1987). Thus IS predicts what is required for effective, synchronous interaction to take place. Chick (1987) demonstrates that this can be used to find possible ways in which interaction in a given context can be improved, as this study has done.

When participants do not recognize contextualization cues, on the other hand, the rhythm of conversation breaks down, causing interactional asynchrony, which tends to build up as more and more contextualization cues are missed, in extreme cases causing communication to break down entirely (Gumperz 1987).

Interactional sociolinguists are particularly interested in studying intercultural communication, since speakers with different cultural backgrounds tend to have different cultural knowledge, or schemata (Widdowson 1983), as to what constitutes a contextualization cue and how particular contextualization cues are to be interpreted. Often these differences in schemata are what cause participants to misrecognize each other's contextualization cues, producing asynchrony and breakdowns in understanding. Ultimately, such interpretations can lead to stereotyping and ethnic discrimination (Chick 1987).

However, certain differences between speakers tend to lead to interactional asynchrony far more than others. Erickson (1996) theorizes that differences can be treated either as boundaries or as borders. He explains that boundaries are differences which are noticeable but do not have an impact on the way power is distributed in a particular group of participants, while borders are differences which tend to separate those with power from those over whom they exert power. In the post-apartheid South African parliament, there has been a concerted effort to eradicate racial and cultural differences as boundaries, although these differences do still exist as borders. In my analysis I found that the greatest sources of interactional asynchrony were not these borders, but instead boundaries between political parties and between different professional roles, such as that between presenters from government departments and MPs. In 5.3.1. I discuss how differences between political parties can function as borders in presentation meetings, but become boundaries in meetings in which presenters from government departments and MPs are absent.

One way in which participants may try to surmount boundaries is through indexing what Erickson (1996) calls situational comembership, participants' common affiliation to a particular

grouping. The concept of situational comembership is useful for identifying the politeness strategies used by speakers: indexing situational comembership tends to express solidarity politeness (see 3.4.3.). An example of this appears in 4.3.1, in which TD1, a white opposition MP, tells a story about his son's difficulties in travelling from his home in Soweto to his school on the other side of the city. By telling this story, he indexes situational comembership with the black members of his committee, particularly those from the ruling ANC, many of whom may have grown up in similar black working-class areas and experienced similar difficulties in commuting.

The following paragraphs explain how I have used the tools described above in my analysis. In analysing the spoken data from the committee meetings, I listened to the recordings repeatedly in conjunction with reading the transcript in order to arrive at an interpretation of what was going on in this data, utterance by utterance. I then referred to the data commentaries I compiled from my interviews with committee secretaries (see Appendix 8) and MPs (see Appendix 9) to find out what these participants' interpretations of this data were, and compare the different participants' interpretations with each other. In this process, I asked the following questions after every utterance:

- a. Does this utterance represent a possible difference in understanding between the current speaker and a previous speaker?
If so,
- b. What contextualization cues reveal this difference in interpretation?
- c. What contextualization cues given by the previous speaker might the speaker have misinterpreted / failed to recognize?

Firstly, I examined whether there was evidence of a difference in interpretation between the current speaker and a previous speaker (question a), either from the content of the utterance itself, or from one of the participants' comments on that utterance. Secondly, I looked for contextualization cues that revealed this difference in interpretation (question b). I checked to see if there were any contextualization cues evident to me from the utterance itself, or if any participants had identified possible contextualization cues in their comments. If either of these sources failed to reveal contextualization cues, I looked for contextualization cues from the previous speaker's utterance that the current speaker may have misinterpreted (question c), whether these were evident to me from that utterance or from participants' comments.

IS has not been widely used for the analysis of written texts, because there is more of a delay in time between production and interpretation of these texts than there is in face-to-face spoken discussion. Nevertheless, I have been able to identify contextualization cues in the written reports and multimodal PowerPoint slides in my data. One good example of this is in 4.2.1, in which I interpret the lack of detail on a PowerPoint slide on a state-owned entity's budget as a contextualization cue from the state-owned entity indexing that the MPs need not concern themselves with the full details of this budget.

I have also drawn on participants' perspectives in my analysis of the committee reports. Where insights from interviews with committee secretaries are applicable to my analysis I have mentioned them, while being reflexive about how the micro-context of these interviews as a speech event may have influenced the information elicited in them.

The use of participants' perspectives and IS has functioned as a type of "glue" that lends cohesion to this analysis. In analysing the spoken data, I have found that differences in participants' interpretations have often cued me to areas where more intensive analysis using Transitivity, APPRAISAL and Politeness Theory is required to reveal the source of the differences in interpretations. In the written data, the committee secretaries' interviews and discussion in the committee meeting have guided me to particular areas of asynchrony surrounding aspects of the report's reflection of prior committee meetings. Thus participants' perspectives and my IS analysis have enabled me to find out which differences in meanings appear particularly salient to the participants.

3.4.5. Presenting the analysis

With such a variety of sets of tools of analysis used in this study and applied in a fine-grained manner, it is easy for the analysis to become complex to the point of bewilderment. Thus in reporting on my analysis in Chapter 4 I have used a variety of aids to assist readers to acquire a clear impression of what these sets of tools of analysis reveal about the data.

Each of the three sections of analysis in Chapter 4 (4.2, 4.3. and 4.4.) begins with some introductory details about the data discussed in that section. I introduce the key participants in these sections of data and for each, give a table listing them by their pseudonyms and their roles in the committees under discussion. Each episode of spoken data is divided into a number of stages, selected ones of which are discussed in separate sub-sections of the chapter. In the case of 4.3, utterances are grouped together according to their topics rather than in stages.

I have divided the parts of each transcript selected for detailed discussion into short stretches ranging from one to ten utterances in length for ease of presenting them in Chapter 4, and similarly divided the corresponding report sections into paragraphs. These short stretches and paragraphs have been numbered as "Extract 1", "Extract 2" and so on, rather than assigning line numbers to each extract. This was done to avoid difficulties with line numbers shifting due to changes in the spacing of the transcript on the page, and because when a particular locution is discussed, I prefer to quote the locution in full rather than quoting one or two words under discussion and giving the line reference for the locution. Quoting entire locutions in this way encourages the reader to view words and meanings as part of a broader context.

In the body of each section, I reproduce one of these extracts, and then discuss it before moving

on to the following extract and so on. The extracts are numbered chronologically, so that they correspond to similar numbering on Appendices 5, 6 and 7, which give the full transcripts and sections of reports discussed in 4.2, 4.3. and 4.4. respectively. These appendices have been printed on fold-out pages for easy cross-referencing with the content of the chapter.

In 4.2. and 4.4, I have produced a table of Engagement choices for every extract discussed. These tables allow one to see easily the patterns of choices made in these extracts, which in most cases correlate with speakers' opening and closing of black boxes. These tables also cross-refer to colour coding on Appendices 5 and 7, in which instantiations of dialogic expansion are highlighted in light green, and instantiations of dialogic contraction in pink. In 4.3., less emphasis is placed on tracing Engagement patterns due to the different nature of the spoken data discussed in this section. Instead, 4.3.1. and 4.3.2. include line graphs in which changes in the relative strength of SD and SG in the utterances under discussion are charted. These levels of strength of SD and SG are also illustrated through colour shading in Appendix 6.

As another convenience to readers, all the words in both the spoken and written data that are specifically quoted and commented on in Chapter 4 are marked in bold on Appendices 5, 6 and 7.

All of these aids are intended to enable readers to visualize how the different sets of tools of analysis used in this study contribute to an overall impression of the discursive effects of recontextualization in parliament's committee process. In 5.2. I build on this visualization by showing how each of these tools of analysis plays a role in the model of the discursive effects of recontextualization that was introduced in 2.6.3.

3.5. Conclusion

This account of my methodology is necessarily lengthy and complex because communication in culturally diverse, multi-layered institutional contexts such as parliament is extremely complex, affecting and affected by a wide range of factors. When ethnographers speak of experience “boiling over” (James 1978 cited in Rampton 2007:596) our preconceived categories, there is an implicit call first of all for capacious categories so that there is less spillage when the “boiling over” occurs, and then for methods of research and analysis which can harness this spillage and use it to refine one's thinking about the action being studied.

Using a variety of sets of tools of analysis also assists in developing a theoretical model to describe the discursive effects of recontextualization, as will be explained in 5.2. When ethnography is used in conjunction with insights from various theories and sets of tools of analysis, such as SFL, IS and Politeness Theory, applied in a well-planned and principled way, it becomes possible to identify sources of communication difficulties in such complex contexts so that recommendations can be made as to how communication in these contexts can be improved.

Chapter 4: Analysis

4.1.	Introduction	98
4.2.	“Be careful of percentages”: Epistemological (de)condensation in a budget presentation	98
4.2.1.	Stage 1: Opening questions	101
4.2.2.	Negotiation over number of speakers per round of questions	106
4.2.3.	Stage 2: A2’s answers	111
4.2.4.	Stage 3: Follow-up questions	116
4.2.5.	Conclusion	119
4.3.	“The example that I can relate to”: Epistemological (de)condensation in MPs’ stories from their constituencies	122
4.3.1.	TD1 and TC’s discussion on co-ordination	123
4.3.2.	TC’s utterance on rural transport	132
4.3.3.	The report	136
4.3.4.	Conclusion	140
4.4.	“We’re talking about semantics here”: Axiological (de)condensation in inter-party debate	142
4.4.1.	Stage 1: Discovery of a difference of opinion over wording	144
4.4.2.	Stage 3: Proposal and rejection of changes in wording	152
4.4.3.	Stage 7: Recording of the decision	162
4.4.4.	Conclusion	164
4.5.	Summary of findings	167

Chapter 4: Analysis

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the focus shifts from theory to practice as I report on my investigation of the ways in which recontextualization is accomplished in the parliamentary committee process, applying the methodological principles laid out in the previous chapter. This is done with the intention of answering the research questions given in 1.3.

I answer these questions by analysing sections of spoken interaction from three different committee meetings and the multimodal presentations and written texts associated with them. Table 4.1. gives the names I have assigned to each of the sections discussed in this chapter, and gives the main aspects according to which they differ. These include the types of meeting discussed in each of the sections, the main groups of participants involved and the types of texts discussed in each section. I also identify the research questions that each of these sections assist in answering, referring to them by their numbers in 1.3, and give the most salient type of (de)condensation of meanings that is discussed in each section. The differences between these three episodes allow me to identify a variety of the linguistic factors and processes which influence the ways in which concerns raised by members of parliament (MPs) are recontextualized through the parliamentary committee process. The fine-grainedness of my analysis means that each of the sections is quite lengthy, but this has the benefit of revealing insights about the nature of recontextualization and communication in parliament that would not be gained from a more superficial analysis.

Section name	4.2: “Be careful of percentages”	4.3: “The example that I can relate to”	4.4: “We’re talking about semantics here”
Type of meeting	Presentation	Presentation	Adoption of report
Key participants	Presenter MPs	MPs Committee secretary	Ruling-party MPs Opposition MPs
Texts involved	Multimodal presentation Spoken questions Spoken answers	Spoken questions Spoken answers Written report	Written draft report Spoken discussion Written final report
Research questions	3, 4	5	3, 4, 5
Predominant type of (de)condensation	Epistemological	Epistemological	Axiological

Table 4.1: Comparison of the three episodes of interaction discussed in this thesis

4.2. “Be careful of percentages”: Epistemological condensation in a budget presentation

This episode illustrates the ways in which differences in understanding can develop between the representatives of government departments and state-owned entities who present their budgets and strategic plans to parliamentary committees, and the MPs who constitute those committees. It was part of a meeting which was convened as a briefing session in which Agrément SA, a small state-

owned entity which is responsible for assessing and certifying innovative construction materials before they appear on the market, were to present their strategic plan and budget to the Portfolio Committee on Public Works in detail. The key participants involved in this episode are listed in Table 4.2. The episode itself takes the form of a “round of questions” in a presentation meeting. More details about the temporal context of the episode have been given in 3.4.1.

Pseudonym	Role in meeting
PC	Acting committee chairperson, ANC member
A1	Chief Executive Officer of Agrément SA, presenter
A2	Chief Financial Officer of Agrément SA, presenter
PD1	DA committee member
PA1	ANC committee member
PA2	ANC committee member
PA3	ANC committee member
PI	IFP committee member

Table 4.2: Participants in “Be careful of percentages” section

This episode can be divided into three distinct stages. In the first stage, PD1 and PA1 ask initial questions on A2’s budget presentation. These are discussed in 4.2.1, in conjunction with a brief analysis of part of A2’s presentation. In between these initial questions, there is an additional thread of discussion in which PC and PA1 negotiate about the number of MPs who should be allowed to speak in the round of questions. I address this thread of discussion separately in 4.2.2. In the second stage of the episode, A2 attempts to answer PA1 and PD1’s questions. These answers are discussed in 4.2.3. After A2 has spoken, there is a third stage consisting of follow-up questions, which I discuss in 4.2.4.

Figure 4.1. presents a diagrammatic representation of the utterances discussed in this section, showing the complexity of this discussion, and the way in which the different threads of discussion in the episode were interwoven, with more than one thread often being discussed in a single utterance. The numbers in brackets on this diagram refer to extracts from the transcript of the episode, which appears in Appendix 5.

At least nine distinct but interrelated questions were asked in this round of questions, and some of these became the basis for threads of discussion in which A2 would answer a question, and then a following question would be asked on the same matter, possibly with a second MP commenting on the same question.

In 4.2.1, 4.2.3. and 4.2.4, I concentrate only on two of these discussion threads which interrelate with each other. These two threads concern Agrément SA’s spending on a budget item named “Manpower or human capital costs”, and the “variable percentages” used to calculate the amounts

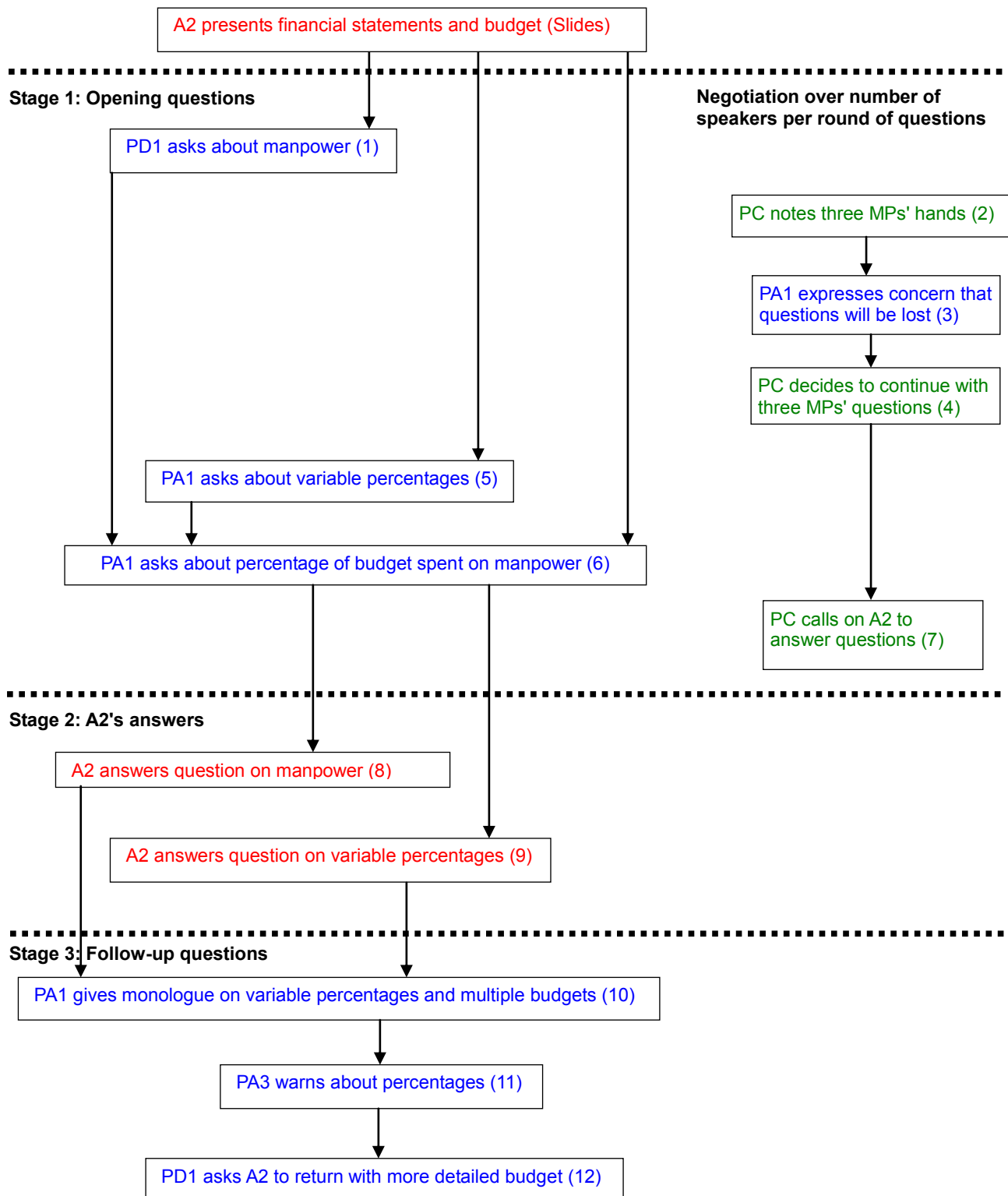


Figure 4.1: The genre chain discussed in “Be careful of percentages” episode. A2’s utterances are marked in red, PC’s utterances in green and other MPs’ in blue. Numbers in brackets refer to the extracts in which these utterances can be found below and in Appendix 5. Arrows indicate recontextualizations.

in its budgets. These two were the longest threads in this episode, being recontextualized most frequently. However, I will also refer briefly to the other, shorter threads of discussion where relevant.

My ethnographic interviews with a variety of the MPs present at this meeting revealed some important contextual factors affecting its discourse. Firstly, PI told me that the committee had had trouble with Agrément SA concealing unflattering information about its budget in the past, leading him to suspect that they were concealing information in this budget as well. This suspicion was probably shared by other members, and is reflected in the way in which MPs questioned the budget in the data discussed below.

Secondly, as mentioned in 2.4.3, several MPs told me that the new parliament which had been inaugurated barely two months before this meeting had brought with it a re-energized commitment to more rigorous oversight, particularly among ANC members.

These two contextual factors, Agrément SA's alleged history of problematic budgets and the new commitment towards more rigorous oversight in parliament, predisposed the MPs to view the entity's budget as a black box that needed to be opened and interrogated, as is shown in the following account of how this episode unfolded.

4.2.1. Stage 1: Opening questions

The first stage of this episode shows how two MPs, PD1 and PA1, seek to open the black box of A2's budget presentation by using dialogically expansive resources (see 3.4.3.) to entertain certain interpretations of what A2 has said, and point out the problems with these interpretations using dialogically contractive resources.

My analysis of this thread of discussion began with the PowerPoint slides presented by A2 that gave information about Agrément SA's financial position and budget. Figure 4.2. shows an example of one of these slides. An analysis of Engagement in this slide reveals that it is almost entirely monoglossic, with no references to extra-textual information apart from the heading, which implies that the data on this slide is recontextualized from the entity's "Financial Statement 2008/09". The lack of detail on the slide indexes the notion that much epistemological condensation has occurred in the process of compiling this slide: many smaller items of expenditure have been condensed into the four amounts making up the total. It is presented as a finished product, whose status as factual information does not need to be interrogated or verified.

A2's presentation of Agrément SA's budget is composed of five slides identical to Figure 4.2. in format. These have different headings, minor changes in the wording of the line items in the budget, and obviously different amounts for each line item. In A2's spoken presentation, he reads off these slides verbatim for the most part, with very few comments explaining what was covered by each of the budget items or how each of them were broken down. Thus A2's spoken

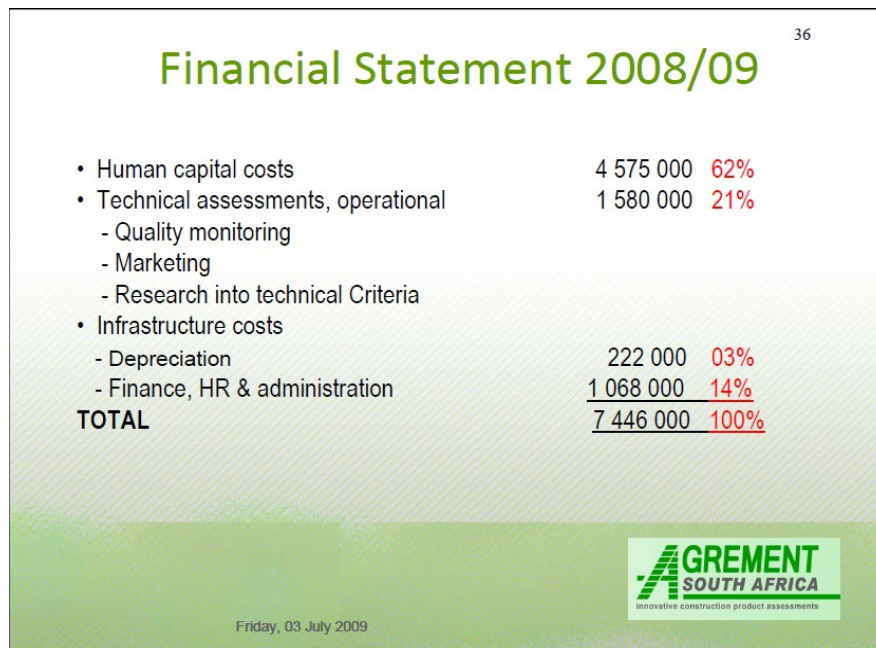


Figure 4.2: Sample slide from Agrément SA's presentation

recontextualization of the slides does not help to weaken the strong semantic density (SD) of the budget presentation. This means that the presentation has all of the characteristics of a black box, an epistemologically powerful chain of texts.

The first substantive question of the round concerning Agrément SA's budgets comes from PD1, who represents the official opposition, the DA. His initial question about the item on the budget labelled "Manpower or human capital costs" is part of a much longer utterance and is found in Extract 1 below:

- (1) but I just want to ask on the fiNANcial one (1.55) MANpower (0.47) to ME it means (0.27) SALaries actually (0.02) I DON'T know what else they could put under that one (0.51) and if it IS salaries (0.44) sixty two perCENT (0.4) of the MOneY go to salaries (0.32) which doesn't SOUND alright (1.34) and I can SEE they are trying to cut it down (0.03) but CUTting it down I don't know whether they are going to cut me- eh- employees (0.14) that's another thing that we don't want to see

PD1's reference to "MANpower" refers to the first budget line item on most of the PowerPoint slides that accompanied A2's presentation and were reproduced as paper handouts. In the slide reproduced in Figure 4.2, it is labelled "Human capital costs", but in subsequent slides it is referred to as "Manpower or human capital costs". PD1 refers to the slide in Figure 4.2. when he says "sixty two perCENT (0.4) of the MOneY go to salaries."

When PD1 says "I can SEE they are trying to cut it down" he is recontextualizing the fact that on the following slide, labelled "Financial Forecast 2009/10", the percentage for "Manpower or human capital costs" is lower at "56%", and subsequent slides labelled "Ideal Budget 2009/10", "Ideal Budget 2010/11" and "Ideal Budget 2011/12 [sic]" each have "43%" next to this item.

Table 4.3. presents the heteroglossic Engagement choices made in this extract, enabling one to get an impression of what happens to the dialogic space in it.

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
but	Contract	Counter	I just want to ask on the fiNANcial one
I just	Contract	Counter	want to ask on the fiNANcial one
I just want to ask on the fiNANcial one	Expand	Entertain	MANpower (0.47) to ME it means (0.27) SALaries actually (0.02) I DON'T know what else they could put under that one
to ME it means	Expand	Entertain	SALaries actually
actually	Contract	Counter	SALaries
I DON'T know	Contract	Deny	what else they could put under that one
if	Expand	Entertain	it IS salaries
IS	Contract	Pronounce	salaries
doesn't	Contract	Deny	SOUND alright
I can SEE	Expand	Entertain	they are trying to cut it down
but	Contract	Counter	CUTting it down I don't know whether they are going to cut me- eh- employees
I don't know	Expand	Entertain	whether they are going to cut me- eh- employees
we don't want to see	Contract	Deny	another thing (i.e. "they are going to cut me- eh- employees")

Table 4.3: Engagement choices in Extract 1

In his question, PD1 appears to be contesting the meaning of the term “manpower”, which he recontextualized from these slides. After the initial instance of Counter which marks that PD1’s question may come somewhat unexpectedly, he opens the dialogic space of the budget using two instances of Entertain, allowing him to insert his own interpretation of the budget line item: that it refers to “Salaries”, thereby beginning to open the budget as a black box.

In an interview, PD1 told me that he was trying to find out whether payment for consultants or other expenses were also included in the budget line item for “Manpower or human capital costs”. His mention of “consultants” is particularly interesting, since in South African political discourse this word often evokes distinct negative Judgements of Capacity towards government officials who are seen as wasting public funds on exorbitant consulting fees.

After PD1’s comments comes most of the brief negotiation between PC and PA1 about how many MPs should be allowed to speak in the round of questions. This thread of discussion is examined in the following section of this analysis. Once PC has decided that it would be best to let PA1 speak immediately rather than give A2 an opportunity to answer PD1’s questions, PA1 asks a variety of questions, initiating several new threads of discussion, including one on the “variable percentages” used in compiling Agrément SA’s budgets. This thread of discussion becomes integrated with the discussion on the percentage of the budget spent on “manpower”, so I reproduce PA1’s question on it below:

(5)

PA1: the- the- (0.87) the the the other fact that I WANT to check (1.47) WHAT ehm (0.21)

O: ((clears throat))

PA1: that THAT related to to finance (2.01) what VArable percentages increase per year (0.5) WHAT they are using here (1.3) so that you can be able TO (0.09) to observe and CHECK (0.49) beCAUSE my my (0.04)

my my ((*clears throat*)) my little opinion on fiNANces (0.11) is that when you inCREASE (0.12) Every year you MUST (0.2) increase a CERTain deLivery or perCENTages (0.67) partly to be able to GIVE you your exact (0.03) because you must LOOK in TERMS of your (0.37) your your your inflation your ALL your all your all your all your challenges that may (0.31) be MADE in the following year (0.44) so THAT you move according to that percentage (0.09) you CAN'T just (0.65) put aMOUNTS...

The Engagement resources used in this utterance are presented in Table 4.4.

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
the- the- (0.87) the the the the other fact that I WANT to check... that THAT related to to finance	Expand	Entertain	what VARIable percentages increase per year (0.5) WHAT they are using here
my little opinion on fiNANces (0.11) is	Expand	Entertain	that when you inCREASE (0.12) Every year you MUST (0.2) increase a CERTain deLivery or perCENTages (0.67) partly to be able to GIVE you your exact (0.03) because you must LOOK in TERMS of your (0.37) your your your inflation your ALL your all your all your all your challenges that may (0.31) be MADE in the following year (0.44) so THAT you move according to that percentage
CAN'T	Contract	Deny	just (0.65) put aMOUNTS...
just	Contract	Counter	put aMOUNTS...

Table 4.4: Engagement choices in Extract 5

PA1 is seeking quantitative factual information, in the form of “VARIable percentages”. He explained to me in an interview that he conceived of “variable percentages” as being percentages by which certain budget amounts were predicted to increase from one year to another, forming a basis on which the budgets could be drawn up, or a reason why particular amounts were budgeted for particular items. He justifies his question through reference to his “little opinion on fiNANces”, opening the black box of the budget presentation to insert his own opinion on how finances should be managed. In describing this “little opinion”, he strengthens the semantic gravity (SG) of his utterance by explaining at some length what he means by “VARIable percentages”.

PA1 is trying to ensure that A2 was not “just (0.65) put[ting] aMOUNTS” when he produced the budget. This implication that A2 was just making up the amounts in the budget without firm reasoning for doing so evokes a negative Judgement of Capacity on A2’s part, implying that he is unable to produce a well-reasoned budget. The denial and countering in “you CAN’T just (0.65) put aMOUNTS” also serves to close the black box of PA1’s “little opinion on fiNANces”, increasing the degree of certainty with which it is presented to A2. In short, PA1 wants to understand what the rationale is behind the budget allocations that A2 had presented.

Later in his utterance, PA1 adds to PD1’s question about the amount allocated to “Manpower or human capital costs” and relates this question to his earlier question about “variable percentages”. His development on PD1’s question is shown in Extract 6:

(6) ...and ALso (0.78) specifiCAlly you know that the issue of the percentage eh (0.41) I THINK (0.06)

(PA3) or other honourable member has just ASKed that question (0.5) WHEN you are taking as I said your percentages (1.03) what WHAT do you make exactly (0.03) BEcause (0.98) WHEN you are saying you are going to reduce your percentages trying to manage (0.85) but STILL ehm (0.24) you your fiNANcial costs (0.96) eh ranges aBOVE (1.54) eh you MUST you must give clarification where is the (0.52) EH you going to decrease your percentages instead of sixty-two percent (0.02) to fifty-six percent (0.59) I'm just looking at the ONES that I am having (1.4) of of of of of your your fiNANcial eh eh (0.45) MANpower human capital (1.04) BUT your your your your amount there is also increasing (0.66) we underSTAND that it might also (0.41) HELP to deal with (0.16) additional aMOUNTS of (0.05) implemented staff but you must be Able to clarify to us (0.32) as I asked earlier the perCENTage (0.04) the VArIable percentage that you use (0.12) THANK you

PA1 recontextualizes PD1's initial question as being on “the issue of the percentage”, with use of the definite article to show that the matter is already given information. PA1 takes a long time to explain his question, which may cause confusion surrounding what he is asking.

In saying “WHEN you are taking as I said your percentages” he is most likely referring to the column of percentages on the right-hand side of the PowerPoint slide shown in Figure 4.2. and similar columns on other slides referring to each budget line item as a percentage of the total budgeted amount for the year. He recontextualizes from PD1 the idea that Agrément SA plan to decrease their spending on “MANpower human capital” from 62% to 56% of the budget.

Once he has opened the dialogic space by referring to PD1 and A2's earlier utterances, A2 uses Counter and Concede to express problems and contradictions that he sees as existing in the budget, and to black-box the information he would like A2 to give in response to his comments (see Table 4.5.).

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
you know	Contract	Endorse	that the issue of the percentage eh
I THINK	Expand	Entertain	(PA3) or other honourable member has just ASKed that question
(PA3) or other honourable member has just ASKed	Expand	Acknowledge	that question
as I said	Expand	Entertain	your percentages
you are saying	Expand	Acknowledge	you are going to reduce your percentages trying to manage.
but STILL	Contract	Counter	you your fiNANcial costs (0.96) eh ranges aBOVE
BUT	Contract	Counter	your your your your amount there is also increasing
we underSTAND that	Contract	Concede	it might also (0.41) HELP to deal with (0.16) additional aMOUNTS of (0.05) implemented staff
but	Contract	Counter	you must be Able to clarify to us as I asked earlier the perCENTage (0.04) the VArIable percentage that you use
as I asked earlier	Expand	Entertain	the perCENTage (0.04) the VArIable percentage that you use

Table 4.5: Engagement choices in Extract 6

Thus PA1 has black-boxed his question on “variable percentages” together with PD1's question on “Manpower or human capital costs”. In so doing, PA1 has begun the process of epistemological condensation that is required to answer these questions in the shortest amount of time possible,

therefore assisting A2 by indicating which questions can be answered together and how.

To summarize my analysis of PA1 and PD1's contributions, one can note that both use dialogically expansive resources to open the black box of A2's presentation, pinpointing particular areas in which they believe that the presentation is lacking in detail. Once they have done this, PA1 black-boxes together the two threads of the discussion on "Manpower or human capital costs" and "variable percentages", allowing A2 to give one answer to both of them, if he so chooses. This black-boxing of questions is accompanied by a strengthening in the SD of the discourse, moving from the more concrete details pertaining to one particular budget line item, "Manpower or human capital costs", to general principles which govern the manner in which all the amounts on the budget are adjusted from year to year ("variable percentages").

These initial questions are fairly typical of the textual structure of most of the questions raised by MPs in the committee meetings I observed. Such questions are not always extremely specific, are often not phrased as grammatical questions, and are combined with plenty of other questions in the same utterance. This does not make it easy for the presenters to decode and answer these questions. While some summarizing and "packaging" of questions may take place, such as that which PA1 attempts, often this summarizing simply adds to the complexity of the questions by condensing them together.

The aim of these initial questions is to request further information from A2 so that the budget he presented can be subjected to greater scrutiny, or in other words, so that the presentation can be opened as a black box and epistemologically decondensed, leaving A2 in a position of less power and increasing the power of the MPs. In 4.2.3. I show that A2 is either unwilling, or unable to answer these initial questions in a manner satisfactory to PA1 and PD1, and so this ceding of power did not take place. Before that, however, I discuss the negotiation that took place between PA1 and PC about the number of MPs that should be allowed to speak in a round of questions.

4.2.2. Negotiation over number of speakers per round of questions

The negotiation discussed in this section highlights a key question in the structuring of discourse in committee meetings: how many MPs should be allowed to ask questions of a presenter before that presenter is given an opportunity to respond to the questions? This consideration affects all meetings in which people are called on to make presentations to the parliamentary committees. My participant observation in parliament and interviews with MPs indicated that this is a controversial matter which is often blamed for communication difficulties in parliament.

Both PA1 and PI told me that they view the practice of inviting many MPs to speak in a round of questions before the presenters have a chance to answer them as compromising parliamentary oversight, because it leads to some questions not being answered satisfactorily, either due to

negligence or deliberate evasion on the part of the presenters. PA1 said that long rounds of questions allow presenters to group questions together and provide one answer to a range of related, but different questions. In other words, these long rounds of questions allow for epistemological condensation to take place, whereby many questions at a strong level of SG are answered by one semantically-dense answer which black-boxes the issues raised in those questions together. They allow the presenters to build epistemologically powerful answers to these questions and decrease the MPs' power to dictate how their questions should be answered.

In PD1's utterance (from which Extract 1 is taken), he not only asks about "Manpower and human capital costs", but asks three other questions in this utterance in addition to this question on "Manpower or human capital costs". These concern whether Agrément SA is responsible for enforcing a particular quality standard, named ISO 9001; what the presenters' position is on a perceived tension between developing new construction technologies and growing employment; and why the entity spends so much time on training. Thus PD1 introduces a total of four questions in his utterance, which is reproduced in its totality in Appendix 5.

After PD1 has asked these questions, PC expresses uncertainty over how many more speakers to allow:

- (2) Honourable (*PA1*) (0.56) Eh (0.35) Mister (*A1*) (0.34) I don't know whether I should TAKE (0.36) the hands, NOTE them or send a report of (0.75) this one- (2.32) Eh Honourable (*PA1*) (0.46) Honourable (*PI*) (0.64) Honourable (*PA3*) (2.49)

Here PC acknowledges that PA1 has put his hand up to request a turn at speaking, and then speaks to A1, expressing uncertainty about how he should proceed. PC is an acting chairperson, and this is the first parliamentary committee meeting he has ever chaired, after having only been elected to parliament one month previously. Thus he is acquiring the conventions surrounding the role of a committee chairperson 'on the job' in the pressurized micro-context of the meeting. His addressing of this comment to A1 shows consideration for the presenters in asking them, in effect, how many MPs' questions they would like to answer at once. PC entertains two options as to how to proceed, as shown in Table 4.6.

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
I don't know	Expand	Entertain	whether I should TAKE (0.36) the hands, NOTE them
[I don't know]	Expand	Entertain	[whether I should] send a report of (0.75) this one-

Table 4.6: Engagement choices in Extract 2

In an interview, PC told me that he had decided to take questions from three MPs before inviting A1 and A2 to respond. PA1's hand is the first that he has noted, indexing that PA1 has the rights to the floor after PC's turn has ended.

However, PA1 uses his rights to the floor not to ask further questions, but to suggest that A2 should be given a chance to address PD1's questions before he continues:

- (3) Eh (0.37) YES chair (0.26) Eeem (1.01) Yes I WONder if- it would be able to assist (0.27) Em (0.82) It apPEARS that I've taken notes that when you pose questions (0.94) too MAny (0.61) eh (0.73) they DON'T get answered all of them (1.46) em (0.48) um I'm- I'm JUST sceptical to (1.37) to continue because you COME with many questions and you'll have (0.67) ten questions and you'll be able to answer FIVE questions (0.91) and then it seems as if you'll be answering ALL questions (0.32) then (0.51) I'm JUST looking for (instructions)

Here PA1 uses a great deal of negative politeness to suggest that the number of MPs allowed to ask questions in this round be reduced. The stressed instance of denial in “they DON'T get answered all of them” shows that PA1 is highly committed to the proposition that some MPs' questions are not answered when more than one MP is allowed to ask questions at a time (see Table 4.7.). This, as well as the word “sceptical”, evokes a negative Judgement of Veracity against the presenters for seeking to evade questions.

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
I WONder if	Expand	Entertain	it would be able to assist
It apPEARS	Expand	Entertain	that I've taken notes that when you pose questions (0.94) too MAny (0.61) eh (0.73) they DON'T get answered all of them
I've taken notes	Expand	Entertain	that when you pose questions (0.94) too MAny (0.61) eh (0.73) they DON'T get answered all of them
DON'T	Contract	Deny	get answered all of them
I'm JUST	Contract	Counter	sceptical to (1.37) to continue
you COME with many questions (<i>hypothetical scenario</i>)	Expand	Entertain	and you'll have (0.67) ten questions and you'll be able to answer FIVE questions (0.91) and then it seems as if you'll be answering ALL questions
it seems as if	Expand	Entertain	you'll be answering ALL questions
I'm JUST	Contract	Counter	looking for (instructions)

Table 4.7: Engagement choices in Extract 3

PC replies to PA1's utterance by saying,

- (4) PRObably if we can just agree to take three hands (1.22) then he ANSwers (0.46) and then we- we- we- we- eh (0.77) eh- work ON that (1.8) UM

In this utterance, it is interesting that PC echoes PA1's use of the word “just” to sharpen the Focus of the agreement he proposes and downplay the degree of imposition this places on the committee, as well as counter PA1's objections to the taking of further questions (see Table 4.8.). PC told me in

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
PRObably if we can just agree	Expand	Entertain	to take three hands
just	Contract	Counter	agree to take three hands

Table 4.8: Engagement choices in Extract 4

an interview that he held to his initial decision because he was concerned that if he let the presenters answer each question directly, the meeting would run out of time because there would then be follow-up questions after the presenters gave their answers. In the interview, PC also offered the opinion that if a participant in the meeting was alert, (s)he could keep track of all the questions that had been asked and demand answers to each of them. However, grouping questions means that one also has to accept that a certain degree of epistemological condensation on the part of the presenters is necessary in order to address all the issues raised in the limited time allotted to the meeting.

Following PC's utterance, PA1 makes his utterance in which he combines PD1's question on "Manpower or human capital costs" with his new question on "variable percentages" (see Extracts 5 and 6). In addition to these, he asks three other new questions. The first is on Agrément SA's use of outside consultants (thereby explicitly mentioning the topic that PD1 had left implicit in his utterance; see 4.2.1.). The second is the entity's involvement in the government's Expanded Public Works Programme, and the third is on the meaning of a particular budget which A2 had presented as Agrément SA's "Ideal Budget". PA1's complete utterance is reproduced in Appendix 5. By the time PA1 has finished this utterance, eight different questions have been raised for A2 to answer, or seven if one considers PA1 to have merged the questions on "variable percentages" and "Manpower or human capital costs".

After PA1 has spoken, PC realizes that it would be increasingly difficult to keep track of further questions, and so backtracks on his initial decision to give time for three MPs to speak. Instead he invites A2 to answer all the questions on the budget that had been raised up to that point. His utterance is recorded in Extract 7.

- (7) THANKS, Honourable member. That is probably (1.04) WITH the (1.92) with- I think with the FINANcial officer (1.24) an opporTunity to clarify us (0.14) and then acCEPTing I have- I just realized that (0.46) I said 'three hands' (0.72) in FACT (0.22) eh- each HAND can eh- (0.48) have MANY questions (1.06) so let's PRObably take the financial officer to CLARIFY us on these matters straight and then we'll come back (0.86) I've NOTED Honourable (0.96) (PI) and Honourable (PA3) (0.34) can COME in

The "financial officer" referred to in PC's utterance is A2. PC uses plenty of instances of Entertain in this utterance (see Table 4.9.) to make proposals as to the best way to proceed with the meeting. His use of the word "probably" hedges a proposal that A2 be asked to speak at this point. This allows him to save some face after having previously stated (in Extract 4) that three MPs should be given a chance to speak before A2.

What this thread of discussion reveals is that there are two competing demands which must be reconciled in answering the question of how many speakers to allow per round of questions in a committee meeting. The first demand, which PA1 was most concerned about, is that all questions raised during the round be answered satisfactorily at a suitable level of SG. It has been noted that

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
probably	Expand	Entertain	That is... (1.04) WITH the (1.92) with- I think with the fiNANcial officer (1.24) an opporTUnity to clarify us
I think	Expand	Entertain	That is... (1.04) WITH the (1.92) with- ... with the fiNANcial officer (1.24) an opporTUnity to clarify us
I just	Contract	Counter	realized that I said 'three hands' (0.72) in FACT (0.22) eh- each HAND can eh- (0.48) have MANY questions
I said	Expand	Entertain	'three hands'
in FACT	Contract	Pronounce	eh- each HAND can eh- (0.48) have MANY questions
PRObably	Expand	Entertain	let's PRObably take the financial officer to CLARIFY us on these matters straight and then we'll come back
I've NOTED	Expand	Entertain	Honourable (0.96) (PI) and Honourable (PA3) (0.34) can COME in

Table 4.9: Engagement choices in Extract 7

the more questions are asked per round of questions, the more they are likely not to be answered or to be grouped together in processes of epistemological condensation and answered at a strong level of SD, which aids the presenters in their tendency to black-box their presentations rather than give explanations at a strong level of SG which may open them to further criticism. Thus the more questions are grouped together in a round of questions, the more power is given to presenters to answer and condense those questions as they please. On the other hand, the fewer questions are grouped in a round of questions, the more power the MPs have to hold the presenters accountable to answering their questions to their satisfaction. The second demand, which PC was most concerned about initially, is that as many MPs as possible have an opportunity to ask questions or raise concerns based on the presentation in the time allotted for the meeting. This demand exists because it is unfair for a few MPs' concerns to dominate the meeting, and prevents other MPs from doing their democratic duty of raising concerns on the presentation and so representing their constituencies. This demand dictates that questions be asked and answered in as time-efficient a way as possible, which necessitates that several MPs should ask questions in any round of questions, and epistemological condensation is employed in the answering of questions.

Thus there appears to be a delicate trade-off between the *quality of answers received*, and the *number of MPs who have an opportunity to raise concerns*. This means that the conflict between PA1 and PC in this thread of discussion is, in Wodak's (2000) terms, a conflict of interests, that is, an argument over the way in which the resource of the committee's meeting time should be allocated, rather than a conflict of values (see 2.4.1). It appears that before PA1's utterance, PC thinks that more questions could be asked without too much of a decrease in the quality of answers received from A2, but after PA1 speaks, he decides that the quality of answers received would be too severely compromised by taking more questions in this round, causing him to ask A2 to respond to the questions at this point.

4.2.3. Stage 2: A2's answers

At this point A2 attempts to answer PD1 and PA1's questions, allowing one to examine the extent to which he undoes the epistemological condensation of the original presentation in his answers. The following analysis shows that while he did not condense several questions into one, he also did not open the black box of his original presentation greatly in his answers. As a result, he failed to offer PD1 and PA1 the information they were seeking, causing asynchrony to build up between him and the committee members.

A2 addresses the question about "Manpower or human capital costs" at the beginning of his utterance. This answer is reproduced in Extract 8:

- (8) eh the FIRST one (0.05) from the HOnourable member that side eh (0.04) on manpower we are not actual cutting on manpower when you look at the figures they are actual inCREAsing (0.41) the percentages what is happening we are taking (0.04) percentage of that particular MANpower (0.04) in the TOfal budget (0.41) so it's actually reSHUFfling the money of the total budget costs (0.85) so you MIGHT think percentages are going down but when you look at the figures actually we are forecasting more...

It is clear that A2 makes intensive use of dialogically contractive resources here to defend his presentation against PD1 and PA1's questions, thus working to close the black box on this presentation. At the beginning of his answer, A2 recontextualizes the word "cutting" from PD1, who said "I can SEE they are trying to cut it [the percentage of the budget allocated to salaries] down". The repetitive use of Counter in this utterance (see Table 4.10.) indexes that the state of affairs with the budget is contrary to what PD1 and PA1 had thought it to be.

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
not	Contract	Deny	actual cutting on manpower
actual	Contract	Counter	cutting on manpower
when you look at the figures	Contract	Endorse	they are actual inCREAsing
actual	Contract	Counter	they are... inCREAsing
actually	Contract	Counter	it's... reSHUFfling the money of the total budget costs
you MIGHT think	Expand	Acknowledge	percentages are going down
but	Contract	Counter	when you look at the figures actually we are forecasting more
when you look at the figures	Contract	Endorse	actually we are forecasting more
actually	Contract	Counter	we are forecasting more
we are forecasting	Expand	Entertain	more

Table 4.10: Engagement choices in Extract 8

Superficially, A2 gives a favourable answer to two of the three concerns PD1 raised: the percentage of the budget allocated to "Manpower and human capital costs" is decreasing from the levels that PD1 found concerning, and Agrément SA is not cutting down on salaries because the absolute amount allocated to this budget item is increasing. However, as explained above, he does not give PD1 and PA1 any new information to address their concerns.

As has already been observed, A2's frequent and almost exclusive use of dialogically contractive expressions in his answer shows that he is anxious to close down the discussion that PD1 and PA1 opened up surrounding the budget. In addition, his repetition of already-known information serves as a contextualization cue indexing that the information from his spoken presentation and the PowerPoint slides is self-contained and sufficient, and so the MPs needed no further information. It is possible that A2 sees his role at the committee meeting to be one of explaining the budget as it is presented, and not one of giving further information about the process that resulted in the budget and thus undoing the epistemological condensation that occurred in the process of producing the presentation. Participants' conceptions of their roles form an important part of their schemata through which they interpret their interactions. The role of presenter often predisposes speakers to want to black-box their presentations as finished products, in that black-boxing tends to conceal the processes by which the black box is put together (Latour 1987).

A2's reference to "the percentages" in Extract 8 may mark an attempt by him to address PA1's question about what "variable percentages" were used to calculate the amounts on the budgets. However, PA1 does not view A2's utterance in this way and so, after A2 had finished speaking, he prompts him again to answer this question, as shown in Extract 9:

- (9)
A2: ...to WHAT our FOrecasting (0.69) should be ON (0.05)
(2.9)
PC: <Thank you is there anything>=
PA1: The percentage variable
(3.13)
A2: (Sorry what I said) the perce- the DOcument has fixed percentages (0.43) you're saying if I increase in this parTicular (0.52) EH (0.56) BUDget line is so much percentage (0.92) the percentages that are put in here MEAN that (0.77) on the total budget we've got HUNdred million (0.55) RIGHT (0.67) MANpower (0.52) might GO down by so much percent (0.45) in relation to [Tota] budget the bottom line (2.29)=
O: [(sneeze))]
A2: =manpower for this (0.6) STAdium (0.35) EH (0.23) exPENditure compared to the (0.23) FOREcast expenditure (0.39) OR the- eh- eh- (0.54) PREvious expenditure compared to the forecast i-budget (0.26) NO (0.35) it's ACTually percentages (0.92) IN the total budget (0.8) it's the percentages of Everything (0.87) so we MIGHT have increased costs on running increased costs on manpower (0.52) and THEN we will find that then the percentages change (0.53) but [(answering my)] question on how we GO=
O: [(c o u g h)]
A2: =on that (0.47) we LOOK at the business plan (1.04) if there is- the BUSiness plan is focusing more on these (then percentages they might increase on that line) (0.76) THANK you

PC is about to ask if there are any other questions, or if there are any questions that A2 has not yet answered, when PA1 reminds A2 to speak about the variable percentages by saying "The percentage variable". The fact that PA1 prompts A2 to address his question about "variable percentages" demonstrates that PA1 is not afraid to hold A2 accountable for answering all the financial questions he asks.

The dialogic expansion here (see Table 4.11.) recontextualizes four different "voices" in this utterance. The first of these is the voice of what A2 said in Extract 7, his previous answer to the

questions (e.g. “what I said the perce- the DDocument has fixed percentages”). The second is the “voice” of the PowerPoint slides and handouts, which A2 attempts to explain. The third voice he incorporates is the voice of PA1. “You’re saying” projects his explanation of PA1’s type of percentages: “if I increase in this parTicular (0.52) EH (0.56) BUDget line is so much percentage”. The fourth voice that A2 recontextualizes is a hypothetical “voice” which entertains particular scenarios and explains how they would be presented on the budgets (e.g. in “MANpower (0.52) might GO down by so much percent (0.45) in relation to TTotal budget the bottom line”). This hypothetical “voice” is used to weaken the SD of A2’s answer, by illustrating it through use of some more concrete examples.

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
what I said	Expand	Entertain	the perce- the DDocument has fixed percentages
the document has	Expand	Acknowledge	fixed percentages
you’re saying	Expand	Acknowledge	if I increase in this parTicular (0.52) EH (0.56) BUDget line is so much percentage
if	Expand	Entertain	I increase in this parTicular (0.52) EH (0.56) BUDget line
the percentages that are put in here MEAN	Expand	Acknowledge	that on the total budget we’ve got HUNdred million (0.55) RIGHT
MANpower (0.52) might	Expand	Entertain	GO down by so much percent (0.45) in relation to TTotal budget the bottom line
NO	Contract	Deny	manpower for this (0.6) STAdium (0.35) EH (0.23) exPENditure compared to the (0.23) FOREcast expenditure (0.39) OR the- eh- eh- (0.54) PREvious expenditure compared to the forecast i-budget
Actually	Contract	Counter	it’s percentages (0.92) IN the total budget
we MIGHT	Expand	Entertain	have increased costs on running increased costs on manpower (0.52) and THEN we will find that then the percentages change
but	Contract	Counter	answering my question on how we GO on that
if there is- the BUSiness plan is focusing more on these	Expand	Entertain	then percentages they might increase on that line

Table 4.11: Engagement choices in Extract 9

This explanation indexes that A2 interpreted PA1’s question as simply enquiring as to the meaning of the percentages on the PowerPoint slides, rather than requesting information not included on the slides. A2 presents two possible meanings of the percentages on the budget slide, namely “exPENditure compared to the (0.23) FOREcast expenditure” and “the- eh- eh- (0.54) PREvious expenditure compared to the forecast i-budget”. He then uses a simple “NO” to deny these options (See Table 4.11.), countering them with what he conceives of as the correct interpretation of the percentages: “it’s ACTually percentages (0.92) IN the total budget”. However, I cannot find any evidence in PD1 or PA1’s questions that they interpreted the percentages on the budget presentation

slides in either of the ways disclaimed by A2, or even entertained these interpretations.

It is unclear whether A2 really believed that PA1 was misunderstanding the percentages on the budget presentation slides, or adopted this interpretation in order to avoid having to acknowledge that he could not supply the information PA1 was asking for. However, the former interpretation of PA1's question would be consistent with my interpretation that A2 believed his role to be only to explain the budget as presented.

Nevertheless, A2 must have realized that PA1 was asking a question about the composition of the budget because, at the end of his utterance, A2 projects an answer to a different question with the words "but (answering my) question on how we GO on that". The meaning of this projecting phrase itself is rather opaque, but what follows suggests that it is a recontextualization of PA1's underlying question about the basis on which the budgets were drawn up. This answer contains the only new information that A2 introduces in his entire turn at speaking, and this information weakens the SD of A2's answer very slightly to give a short account of the processes involved in drawing up the budget.

Thus the overall impression given by A2's answer to the discussion on "variable percentages" is that he is evading the question. Although dialogically expansive means of Engagement are used in this account to introduce a hypothetical example and suggest that the black box of the budget is being opened to reveal the processes that went into making it, the overarching effect of this account is to close the black box on the budget, indexing that it is not necessary for PA1 to know these "variable percentages", even if they exist. He should be satisfied with the knowledge that the budgets are compiled with reference to the entity's strategic plan.

Thus far, this analysis has shown how A2 managed to close the dialogic space opened by PD1 and PA1's questions on the budgets, through using two different strategies to index the idea that the information contained on the budget slides is sufficient for their purposes and no further investigation into the contents of this budget is necessary:

1. Use dialogically contractive resources to close the black box: In his initial answer (Extract 8), A2 makes heavy use of dialogically contractive resources to close the black box of the entity's spending on "manpower", keeping his discourse at a strong level of SD.
2. Use dialogically expansive resources to interpret the presentation rather than offering new information: In his explanation about "variable percentages" (Extract 9), A2 uses a predominance of dialogically expansive resources that make it appear that he is opening the black box of the budget and weakening the SD of the discussion. However, he ultimately answers a question that he had not been asked, and then provides a brief qualitative answer to a question in which quantitative information was requested. The name I give to this strategy is "pseudo-opening".

At this point, it is helpful to note which of the questions raised by PD1 and PA1 are addressed by A2 in his answers to their questions. At the beginning of his turn at speaking, A2 says “I will JUST answer financial ones”. The use of “just” to sharpen the Focus of his answer here indicates that he deems some of the threads of discussion initiated by PD1 and PA1 not to be “financial” in nature, and thus outside his scope of competence. He addresses the thread of discussion on spending on “manpower” in Extract 8. In the same turn at speaking, he also addresses PA1’s question on the meaning of the “Ideal Budget” on his slide. After prompting, he addresses the thread on the “variable percentages” used in compiling the budgets. This leaves five of the seven questions raised by PD1 and PA1 unaddressed. Their topics are listed below:

- Responsibility for implementing ISO 9001 standard
- Tension between introducing new technology and growing employment
- Time spent on training
- Use of consultants
- Involvement in the Expanded Public Works Programme

These five questions are never answered in this meeting, because after A2 speaks, the rest of the meeting is taken up by follow-up questions on the three topics he did address in his answers, and the meeting runs out of time before A2 has an opportunity even to answer these follow-up questions.

This provides a good example of how the discourse structuring of committee meetings can cause questions to be lost in amongst others. PC defends his decision to take questions from more than one MP in this round of questions on the basis that after the MPs’ questions were answered, there could well be follow-up questions that would continue discussion on the questions raised, rather than allowing other concerns to be raised. However, what happened in this round of questions was that a variety of concerns were raised by two MPs, but only some were addressed due to follow-up questions on those that were addressed. What PC should possibly have done, had he been alert enough, was to ask A1 to address the questions that had not yet been answered before allowing any follow-up questions on A2’s answers.

To summarize, A2’s answers demonstrate how MPs’ questions can be either misunderstood or deliberately evaded in a committee meeting. He interprets PD1 and PA1’s questions as requesting more careful interpretation of the information he had already presented, rather than requesting additional information not included in the presentation. This may be because, according to his schemata, he understands his role as being to present the budget as a black box which does not require opening. Alternatively, he may be trying to conceal the fact that he does not have the information that PD1 and PA1 are requesting, or that this information would be embarrassing for him to disclose. In either case, his failure to answer the questions satisfactorily means, in effect, that no epistemological decondensation of the presentation can occur, leaving it in its position of

high epistemic power, and giving the MPs very little power with which to critique it. This failure also shows that interactional asynchrony has developed between A2 and the MPs. These MPs express their dissatisfaction with A2's answers at length in the following stage of the interaction, increasing this asynchrony.

4.2.4. Stage 3: Follow-up questions

An ANC MP, PA2, asks the first follow-up question after A2's utterance. It concerns the thread of discussion on the meaning of the "Ideal Budget". A2 answers it directly after she speaks, as can be seen in Appendix 5. This section focuses only on the follow-up questions that have a bearing on the two threads of discussion under investigation in this analysis, namely those dealing with spending on 'manpower' and with the "variable percentages" used in compiling the budgets. In this section, I demonstrate how these follow-up questions seek to open up the black box of the budget presentation, culminating in a request for A2 to come back to a following meeting with more detailed information about the budgets.

PA1 makes clear his dissatisfaction with A2's answer when he seeks permission to ask a follow-up question, and then uses this as an opportunity to give a four-minute monologue about Agrément SA's need to develop "variable percentages" when compiling its budget, as well as various other issues pertaining to the budgets. The following is a short excerpt from this monologue:

- (10) because you must be able to have a paraDIGM (0.69) inCREment in terms of your (0.4) your your your three-year BUDget (1.19) and in terms of your opeRation (0.05) because you don't opeRATE under (0.33) an EMPTy scope (0.02) you operate in terms of your percentages that eh- that limit yourSELF (0.49) because every budget you don't go beYOND (0.47) that's why I'm SAYing (0.21) the the the RUDE mathematical percentages so that you can be able to give us-

This extract does not appear to be quite as heteroglossic as previous utterances. There is one bare monoglossic expression in this utterance, "you operate in terms of your percentages that eh- that limit yourSELF". This decrease in heteroglossia gives the impression that PA1 is giving (unsolicited) instructions to A2 on how to present his budgets, rather than directly engaging with his presentation. The two instances of Deny (see Table 4.12.) refer to the need for Agrément SA's budgets to allow the committee to hold the entity accountable for its spending.

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
you must	Expand	Entertain	be able to have a paraDIGM (0.69) inCREment in terms of your (0.4) your your your three-year BUDget (1.19) and in terms of your opeRation
you don't	Contract	Deny	opeRATE under (0.33) an EMPTy scope
you don't	Contract	Deny	go beYOND
I'm SAYing	Expand	Entertain	the the the RUDE mathematical percentages

Table 4.12: Engagement choices in Extract 10

Here PA1 recontextualizes the “variable percentages” using three longer Nominal Groups: “a paraDIGM (0.69) inCREment in terms of your (0.4) your your your three-year BUDget (1.19) and in terms of your opeRAtion”, “your percentages that eh- that limit yourSELF” and “the RUDE mathematical percentages” in an attempt to reinforce to A2 what types of information he was expecting from him. PA1 is in effect asking for information at a stronger level of SG, which would enable the committee to subject the composition of the budget to much closer scrutiny than is possible in the form in which it was presented by A2. Thus he is seeking the ability to open up the black box of the budget further, so that meaningful accountability can be established.

PA3, the ANC MP whom PA1 had mistakenly referred to in Extract 6, asked to speak after him, and gave a warning that even the percentages that PA1 was asking for could be misleading. This warning is reproduced in Extract 11:

(11)

PA3: I agree with the sentiments exPRESSED (0.13) by the HONourable members but I'll just say ACTually we must be cautious (0.64) with the ISsue of percentages (0.44) is a dangerous thing (0.25) you KNOW (0.48) the SMALL town where I hail from (1.98) a SMALL (0.25) racist newspaper (chairperson quickly) (1.49) eh (0.26) MAny years ago one hopes (0.44) eh you know (0.74) TWO Indians (0.89) eh arRIved in Uppington (1.41) THREE years thereafter (0.62) aNOther headline (0.78) InDIan (0.84) eh (0.38) eh TAlly inCREAses by two hundred percent (0.74) now you can iMAGine (0.24) two hundred percent of [two is FOUR]

O: [((laughter))]

PA3: eh (0.08) they BLOW it out of proportion be careful of percentages

Here PA3 recontextualizes PD1 and PA1's comments to this point as “the sentiments exPRESSED (0.13) by the HONourable members” and agrees with them, but uses Counter (See Table 4.13.) to express an unexpected view which he illustrates with a small story, namely that percentages can also be used to mislead.

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
I agree with	Contract	Endorse	the sentiments exPRESSED (0.13) by the HONourable members
but	Contract	Counter	I'll just say ACTually we must be cautious (0.64) with the ISsue of percentages
I'll just say	Contract	Counter	ACTually we must be cautious (0.64) with the ISsue of percentages
ACTually	Contract	Counter	we must be cautious (0.64) with the ISsue of percentages
we must	Expand	Entertain	be cautious (0.64) with the ISsue of percentages
you KNOW	Expand	Entertain	the SMALL town where I hail from (1.98) a SMALL (0.25) racist newspaper (chairperson quickly)
one hopes	Expand	Entertain	MAny years ago
you KNOW	Expand	Entertain	TWO Indians (0.89) eh arRIved in Uppington (1.41) THREE years thereafter (0.62) aNOther headline (0.78) InDIan (0.84) eh (0.38) eh TAlly inCREAses by two hundred percent
aNOther headline	Expand	Acknowledge	InDIan (0.84) eh (0.38) eh TAlly inCREAses by two hundred percent
you can iMAGine	Expand	Entertain	two hundred percent of two is FOUR

Table 4.13: Engagement choices in Extract 11

Such stories fulfil an important function in parliamentary discourse, which is explored further in 4.3. This particular story explains how PA3 came to develop scepticism about percentages as a means of conveying quantitative information. To PA3, the notion of “percentages” is in itself a black box to be opened, a means of epistemological condensation that may obscure important details which would be evident at a stronger level of SG. PA3 followed his comment about percentages with further questions, including one about whether Agrément SA had been given any qualifications on its audit report, so there was no perception that he was trying to defend A2 in any way through cautioning PD1 and PA1 about percentages. Thus just as PA1 had opened the black box of the budget by asking for further information at a stronger level of SG in the form of “variable percentages”, so PA3 in effect argues that the information that they are seeking is still too semantically dense and as such should be treated with care.

Unfortunately, the time allocated to the meeting runs out before A2 has an opportunity to respond to PA1’s monologue and PA3’s questions. The upshot of this discussion thread is that in the closing remarks of the meeting, PC asks the committee secretary to schedule a further committee meeting with Agrément SA in which the entity can address the committee’s concerns in more detail. During these closing remarks, PD1 asks if the entity can bring some specific information with them to the subsequent meeting:

- (12) Chairperson it will be GOOD also when they come back with their finances (0.09) REALLY this human capital cost they break it down because they don't know (0.05) WHAT is for conSULTants and what is for what it's just- (0.83) PUTting on (1.24) so I- I- requested that you just bring a VErY detailed (0.45) fiNANcial- fiNANcial report (0.17) for- for- for- (0.49) eh you aGREE honourable member

Here PD1 returns to his initial concern about the “Manpower or human capital cost” item on the budget (this time recontextualizing it as “this human capital cost”, see Table 4.14.), indexing that A2 had not satisfactorily answered his question on the composition of this item. PD1 even mentions the word “conSULTants”, making explicit a suspicion that expenditure on consultants has been concealed under this budget item. It is uncertain which MP is being referred to when PD1 asked “eh you aGREE honourable member”, but it might well be PA1, since both these MPs were the main people seeking more information from A2 which would allow them to open the black box

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
it will be GOOD also when they come back with their finances	Expand	Entertain	REALLY this human capital cost they break it down
they don't	Contract	Deny	know (0.05) WHAT is for conSULTants and what is for what
it's just-	Contract	Counter	PUTting on
I- I- requested that	Expand	Entertain	that you just bring a VErY detailed (0.45) fiNANcial- fiNANcial report

Table 4.14: Engagement choices in Extract 12

of the budget further.

Even the “variable percentages” that PA1 was asking for were deemed by PA3 to be too semantically dense to be trusted unproblematically, and so finally A2 was requested to give the breakdown of “Manpower or human capital costs” that PD1 had requested from the beginning of the round of questions, along with a “V^Ery detailed... fiNANcial report”.

The collective effect of the follow-up questions discussed above, therefore, is to show the MPs’ dissatisfaction with A2’s answers to their questions by reiterating their demands that the epistemological condensation of the budget presentation be undone through the supply of financial information at a stronger level of SG which would allow the budget to be interrogated further. These demands are marked by a growing tension between the MPs and A2. In my interview with him, PC observed this when I played him the recording of this stage:

If you listen to Honourable (PA1), Honourable (PA3) and Honourable (PD1), they were very angry; they were very upset, because the CFO (A2) was just unprepared. He was sweating – literally.

It is difficult to characterize interactional asynchrony in a parliamentary committee meeting, where the discourse conventions dictate that interactants may not respond directly to their interlocutors’ utterances, but must wait until the chairperson allocates them a turn at speaking. Nevertheless, the growing tension observed above is a clear indication that this interaction had become very asynchronous, causing an increasing rift in understanding between A2 and the MPs. I explain the source of this asynchrony in the conclusion of this section.

4.2.5. Conclusion

This analysis has shown that presenters from government entities tend to present their reports to parliamentary committee meetings as black boxes. Not only does an extensive amount of epistemological condensation occur in the initial production of these presentations, making them epistemologically powerful, but much work can be done in the committee meetings to protect this power against demands that some of this epistemological condensation be undone. On the other hand, MPs seek to gain power by opening the black boxes of these presentations in order to critique their contents. This tendency is not restricted only to opposition party MPs; in fact this analysis has shown how PD1, an opposition MP, works in tandem with PA1, a ruling-party MP, to open up the black box of Agrément SA’s budget presentation. Many MPs whom I have interviewed have said that communication in parliamentary committee meetings is most harmonious when oversight is being exercised over government entities, because in these cases party politics tends to take a back seat in favour of the common objective of holding the entities accountable. To use Erickson’s (1996) terminology, in these meetings the political differences between MPs become a border, instead of a boundary. This can occur because a different boundary is drawn in these meetings:

between the MPs and the presenters.

This difference in role between the presenters and the MPs appears to have an effect on the different participants' views of what is expected of them in the committee meetings. It was noted in the analysis of A2's answers to the MPs' questions that he appears to conceive of his role as being to interpret the presentation as it stands, rather than giving additional information that would open the black box of the presentation further. This conception of his role forms part of his schemata by which he interprets the interaction in the committee meeting. Meanwhile, the MPs' questions and their dissatisfaction at A2's answers clearly indicate that they expect A2 to be able to give additional information about how the budget was compiled. This expectation is also derived from their schemata regarding the conventions governing committee discourse. Thus the source of asynchrony in this particular interaction appears to be a difference between the MPs' schemata and those of A2 as regards understandings of the presenter's role.

The differences in understanding between the MPs and the presenter are realized in the spoken language of the episode in a number of different strategies. The MPs made extensive use of dialogically expansive resources, particularly Entertain, to pinpoint areas of the budget they believed were lacking in detail and request that information at a stronger level of SG be supplied in these areas to undo some of the epistemological condensation of the budget presentation. By contrast, the presenter uses dialogically contractive resources to close the black box of the budget presentation, and when that does not succeed, uses dialogically expansive resources to accomplish pseudo-opening and strengthen the SG of the presentation by interpreting it, rather than by providing the additional information the MPs were seeking. Thus A2 manages to undo some of the epistemological condensation of the budget presentation, but does not do so in a way that opens the black box of the presentation by revealing the processes by which it has been compiled in any detail.

The structuring of the round of questions in this episode plays an important subsidiary role in the way in which it unfolds. The discussion between PC and PA1 on this matter highlights how controlling the number of speakers per round of questions is a matter of balancing the demand for quality answers from the presenters which do not involve an excessive degree of epistemological condensation, and the demand for as many MPs as possible to have an opportunity to raise their concerns.

It is illuminating to think about this balance in terms of knowledge structures, a concept introduced in 2.6.3. If one thinks of one of the purposes of the committee meeting as being to build the MPs' knowledge of Agrément SA, then PC has a choice of building their knowledge in either of two ways. The first is to limit the number of questions that the MPs may ask, thereby encouraging the presenters to give more detailed answers to these questions. The second is to broaden their

knowledge of the entity by encouraging MPs to raise as many different questions as possible and gain information on a wide variety of issues. The former option will increase their knowledge vertically, creating a more hierarchical knowledge structure, while the latter will increase it horizontally. However, the broader a knowledge structure is horizontally, the more epistemological condensation is required to integrate all of the knowledge in it. Thus the more questions are asked, the more the presenters will condense questions together in their answers. This will negatively affect the specificity and detail with which these questions are answered, and allow the presenters to produce more epistemologically powerful answers. These two options, a narrow and a broad knowledge structure, are illustrated in Figure 4.3.

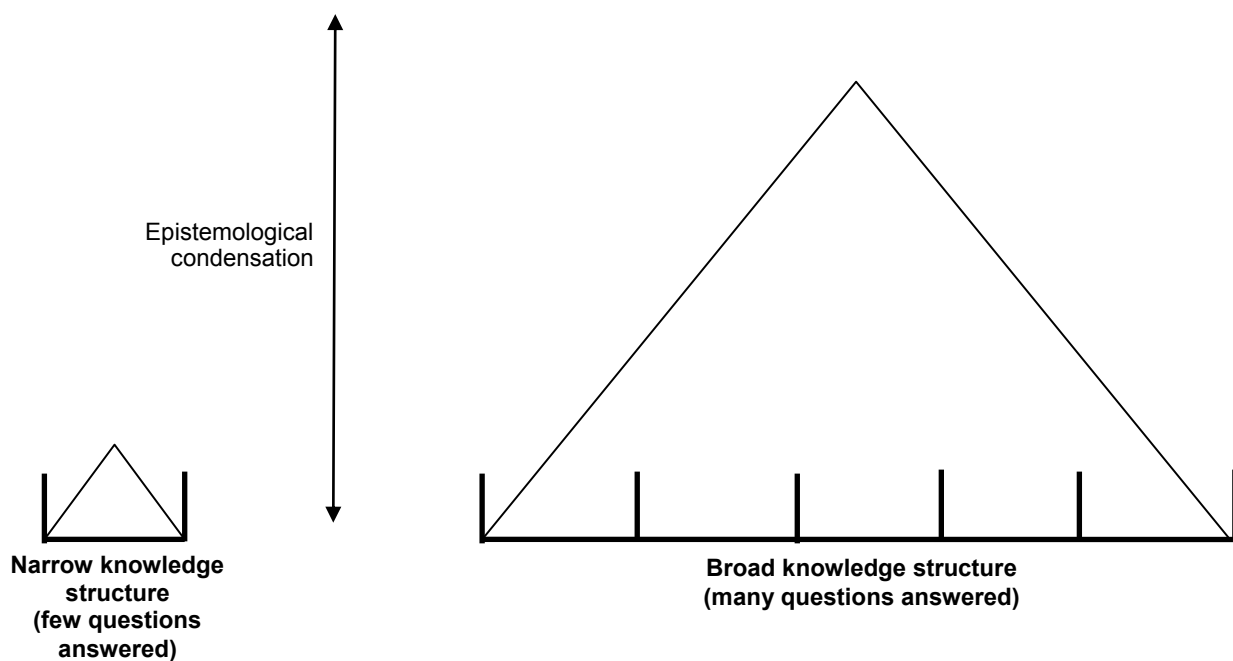


Figure 4.3: PC's choice between a narrow knowledge structure (allowing few questions from MPs per round) and a broad knowledge structure (allowing many questions per round)

Ultimately, despite the large number of questions asked in the initial round of questions, A2 is held accountable by the MPs to answering the “financial ones” separately, rather than black-boxing them together. However, the proliferation of follow-up questions on these financial matters means that the remaining five questions which A2 deems not to be “financial ones” are not addressed by either A1 or A2 due to time constraints. Thus PC fails to ensure that a wide variety of the MPs’ concerns are addressed in the meeting, although he can hardly be blamed for this as a first-time chairperson who is still acquiring the discourse conventions governing committee procedure. This illustrates the need for better training for all MPs on standard committee procedure, and stronger procedural advice from committee secretaries, as is argued in 5.4.3.

4.3. “The example that I can relate to”: Epistemological condensation in MP's stories from their constituencies

While the analysis in the previous section focused on how interactional asynchrony developed as a result of a presenter's epistemological condensation in a multimodal presentation, this section examines how individual MPs can use epistemological condensation and decondensation to black-box the concerns they raise, and shows that this process affects how well the committee secretaries understand their concerns and recontextualize them in the reports they compile. Table 4.15. lists the key participants in the interaction described in this section. The transcript and committee report extracts discussed in this section can be found in Appendix 6.

Pseudonym	Role in meeting
TC	Committee chairperson, ANC member
TD1	DA committee member
TA1	ANC committee member
TR	Committee researcher

Table 4.15: Participants in “The example I can relate to” section

The two concerns I compare are raised by TD1 and TC. In 4.3.1, I report on my analysis of a discussion in which TD1 tells a story from his personal experience about the need for better provision of transport, which TC responds to. In 4.3.2. I discuss a story that TC tells from her constituency about the need for better rural transport. In 4.3.3, I discuss how these two stories are recontextualized into the committee's report, and conclude that far more epistemological condensation is involved in the recording of TD1 and TC's conversation than was involved in the recording of TC's story of her need for rural transport. The chief casualty of this process of epistemological condensation is that the details of TD1's concern regarding the need for better urban transport provision are omitted from the report. This analysis has implications for the ability of MPs to represent their constituencies' concerns adequately in parliament.

In this analysis, I identify particular points of inflection which precede rescaling to a different level of SD or SG. Syntactically, these points of inflection tend to take the form of conjunctions, complementizers and projecting Processes of various kinds. The question of how and why these particular words introduce a rescaling from one level of SD to another is an interesting one, and one which I discuss in 4.3.4, the conclusion of this section. In this section I also analyse particular linguistic features as indicators of strong levels of SD or SG. Lexical metaphors (e.g. “a country that has got two faces”) and grammatical metaphors (e.g. “co-ordination”) are indicators of strong SD, as are expressions with indefinite reference (e.g. “these things”) or those that imply a translocal scale (e.g. “national government”). By contrast, expressions with definite reference (e.g. “minibus

taxis”), references to specific places (e.g. “Emdeni”) or people (e.g. “my son”) and concrete objects (e.g. “wheelbarrows”) are analysed as indicators of strong SG.

4.3.1. TD1 and TC’s discussion on co-ordination

TD1's concern is raised as part of a round of questions from a number of MPs to the presenters from the Department of Transport. This particular round of questions is long and complex, involving many MPs and threads of discussion, but at one point in it TR, the researcher employed by parliament to assist the committee, is called on by TC to ask two questions on behalf of the MPs. These two questions concerned planning for the provision of transport services for the rural poor, and the relations between the Department of Transport and a variety of other government departments. Following this, TC elaborates on his question about transport for the rural poor. This question is followed by a brief question by TA1, another ruling-party MP, about progress in implementing the National Land Transport Act, which aims to facilitate co-ordination between various spheres and department of government around transport strategies. Before TC allows TD1 to ask his question, she asks him if it relates to the themes that she and TA1 have raised, saying that if it does not, she will let it wait for a later round of questions. This discussion preceding TD1’s question remains at a fairly strong degree of SD through its reference to strategy and legislation.

A full transcript of TD1's utterance appears below.

(14)

TD1: YES madam chair um er- uh- (0.11) I feel QUITE (0.05) just as STRONGly as what the member was talking about in this last respect (0.7) there are TWO parts (attached) the department’s had a dilemma with (0.33) (to me) the FIRST is that many of the things have been spoken about (0.43) are not COMpetencies of the department but pertain to provincial and local government (0.21) so my QUEStion is (1.35) IS there any co-ordination if at all (0.49) in WHAT is being done there has- there has to have some kind of formal co-ordination (0.97) UM- (0.55) FOR these things to happen or these issues to (come out) (0.06) that’s- that’s the FIRST aspect (0.05) if THAT would be unpacked discussed with us (0.12) I suspect perhaps that there ISN’T that co-ordination perhaps there’s a challenge (0.59) but I MIGHT be wrong (0.39) I HOPE I am (0.35) the second is although a LOT of people have been uh- (0.41) QUITE rightly saying that these issues exist in the rural areas (0.71) I must point out that these THINGS happen equally (0.96) in the- in the urban areas as WELL (0.48) I'll give you an example ((clears throat)) my son stays in (EmDEni) with his mother (0.45) and that's on the Other side of Soweto (0.54) it takes him two hours to get to school every morning gotta wake up at half past- he's gotta LEAVE the house at half past five every morning (0.67) by the time that- he's at school he exhausted it- you know it's a tiring exercise just to GET to school (0.49) not even talking going back home after a long day maybe having played SPORT (0.84) he's TIRED all that kind of thing only do his homework from seven eight o'clock that evening (0.73) so it HAS all these social impacts (0.26) ((clears throat)) this this UM (0.69) aPARTheid style planning that still exists unfortunately (0.89) has these SOcial impacts and economic as well (0.27) it COSTS money um (0.21) to TRANSport people around and so forth (0.52) now the PROblem is and I'll give you the example that I can relate to in Emdeni there is no (0.51) train station not even remotely near there's no nothing there’s ONLY (0.28) uh- uh- uh MInibus taxis (0.75) which in its OWN are dangerous and all the other issues that go with it (0.8) so I- I just say there should be stronger co-ordiNAtion (0.65) that would almost force or START or- or- (0.5) PUSH-start (0.62) LOcal governments and- and uh- provincial governments to get these developments going to get (0.5) things HAPpening that people can move around a lot easier (0.6) um- you know I won't go ON but I think you get the gist thank you

(2.76)

O: ((clears throat))
(0.52)

TC: JA

TD1's recontextualization of his son's transport difficulties in Soweto is preceded and followed by semantically denser comments on the topic of "co-ordination". I focus on his recontextualization of his son's experiences before examining how it relates to these contextualizing comments.

TD1's recontextualization of his son's difficulties is remarkable largely in the way he attempts to exploit it for political gain through the way it enters into dialogue with his fellow MPs' schemata, particularly those belonging to the ruling ANC. TD1 is a white, English first-language speaker, so his interlocutors would expect his family to live in a historically white, middle-class urban area, but instead he mentions that his family lives in an area named Emdeni, which is on "the Other side of Soweto", the well-known poor, historically black township which falls in TD1's constituency of Johannesburg South. These spatial references thus constitute a group of contextualization cues indexing that TD1, despite his race and affiliation to an opposition party associated with the middle class, identifies with the black working class and so can claim to represent them. "The Other side of Soweto" refers to the area of Soweto at the farthest distance from the boy's school, thus ensuring a long travel time. Appendix 10 includes a map of Johannesburg showing the location of TD1's son's home and his route to school. Interestingly, a black ANC MP present in the meeting, whom I refer to as TA2, told me that she thought that TD1 was saying that his son lived in a rural farming area on the far side of Soweto from the city centre. This interpretation could be a product of two factors: TD1's utterance is embedded in a discussion that had focused on rural areas, and her reasoning may be that because TD1 is white, his son could not possibly stay in a historically black residential area in urban Soweto itself, and so TD1 must be referring to a rural area outside of Soweto. In any case, TA2's interpretation means that she clearly does not see TD1's story about his son as illustrating a contention that transport needs improving in urban areas as well as rural areas.

TD1 uses his story to index situational comembership (see 3.4.4.) with the black working class, and particularly with the committee members who have a black working-class background. He refers to "Minibus taxis", a standard working-class mode of transport in South Africa. Through referring to "aPARTheid-style planning" he claims that his son, like many of his interlocutors, is a victim of apartheid's legacy, even though TD1 himself is a member of the race usually described as the beneficiaries of apartheid.

Thus the overall effect of TD1's recontextualization of his son's spatial background is to index situational comembership with the other MPs in the committees, especially those belonging to the ANC, making it possible for his comments to be received well by the committee, thus increasing his social power.

TD1's contextualizing comments at the beginning of his utterance structure it into two points: "there are TWO parts (attached) the department's had a dilemma with". His discussion of each of

these points begins at a strong level of SD. The transcript of the first point is reproduced below for convenience:

the FIRST is that many of the things have been spoken about (0.43) are not COMpetencies of the department but pertain to provincial and local government (0.21) so my QUESTion is (1.35) IS there any co-ordination if at all (0.49) in WHAT is being done there has- there has to have some kind of formal co-ordination (0.97) UM- (0.55) FOR these things to happen or these issues to (come out) (0.06) that's- that's the FIRST aspect (0.05) if THAT would be unpacked discussed with us (0.12) I suspect perhaps that there ISN'T that co-ordination perhaps there's a challenge (0.59) but I MIGHT be wrong (0.39) I HOPE I am

The strong level of SD is marked at the beginning of this extract by the indefinite reference “many of the things have been spoken about”, and the nominalization “COMpetencies”. The definite reference to “provincial and local government” indicates a slight weakening in SD, but is still on an abstract, national scale, referring to all provincial and local governments in the country. Three mentions of the nominalization “co-ordination” and indefinite references such as “these things” indicate that the discourse remains at a very strong level of SD; in fact TD1 invites the presenters to strengthen the SG of the conversation on this matter of “co-ordination” by asking “if THAT would be unpacked,” that is, if the black box of the policies intended to ensure co-ordination between different spheres of government could be opened for the committee to inspect.

Under the second point, TD1 rescales his discourse to a strong level of SG through his reference to his son's hardships in Emdeni, but then returns the discourse abruptly to a strong level of SD before repeating this pattern. He says:

the second is although a LOT of people have been uh- (0.41) QUITE rightly saying that these issues exist in the rural areas (0.71) I must point out that these THINGS happen equally (0.96) in the- in the urban areas as WELL (0.48) I'll give you an example ((clears throat)) my son stays in (EmDEni) with his mother (0.45) and that's on the Other side of Soweto (0.54) it takes him two hours to get to school every morning gotta wake up at half past- he's gotta LEAVE the house at half past five every morning (0.67) by the time that- he's at school he exhausted it- you know it's a tiring exercise just to GET to school (0.49) not even talking going back home after a long day maybe having played SPORT (0.84) he's TIRED all that kind of thing only do his homework from seven eight o'clock that evening (0.73) so it HAS all these social impacts (0.26) ((clears throat)) this this UM (0.69) aPARtheid style planning that still exists unfortunately (0.89) has these SOcial impacts and economic as well (0.27) it COSTS money um (0.21) to TRANSport people around and so forth (0.52) now the PROblem is and I'll give you the example that I can relate to in Emdeni there is no (0.51) train station not even remotely near there's no nothing there's ONLY (0.28) uh- uh- uh MInibus taxis (0.75) which in its OWN are dangerous and all the other issues that go with it (0.8) so I- I just say there should be stronger co-ordiNATION (0.65) that would almost force or START or- or- (0.5) PUSH-start (0.62) LOcal governments and- and uh- provincial governments to get these developments going to get (0.5) things HAPpening that people can move around a lot easier (0.6) um- you know I won't go ON but I think you get the gist thank you

That TD1 again begins this point at a strong level of SD is evident from his indefinite reference to “these issues” and “these THINGS” as well as his general reference to “rural areas” and “urban areas”. He sets up this point by using Acknowledge to credit “a LOT of people” with “QUITE rightly saying that these issues [of lack of co-ordination in providing transport] exist in the rural areas”. This is countered through the use of the word “although”. His offer, “I'll give you an example”, projects a rescaling from his generalization about urban areas and rural areas to the

specific reference to his son in Emdeni, which, because it is a concrete example of one person's troubles with accessing transport services, has a strong level of SG. Thereafter, he uses the conjunction "so" to indicate a strengthening in SD, in which the son's hardships are recontextualized as general "social impacts". Next, he repeats this pattern: TD1 uses the word "example" followed by a projected clause referring to "Emdeni" to strengthen the SG and then uses the conjunction "so" to introduce a conclusion at a stronger level of SD, where the nominalization "co-ordination" is introduced: "so I- I just say there should be stronger co-ordiNAtion". This is followed by another reference to "Local governments and- and uh- provincial governments" on a national scale, and more indefinite references to "these developments" and "things". Thus one can plot the scaling in TD1's entire utterance on an SD/SG continuum as shown in Figure 4.4, labelling the various points of inflection. This graph serves as a very rough aid to understanding the structure of TD1's comments and reflects a qualitative assessment of comparative levels of SD and SG in the analysis, rather than some quantitative measure of these variables.

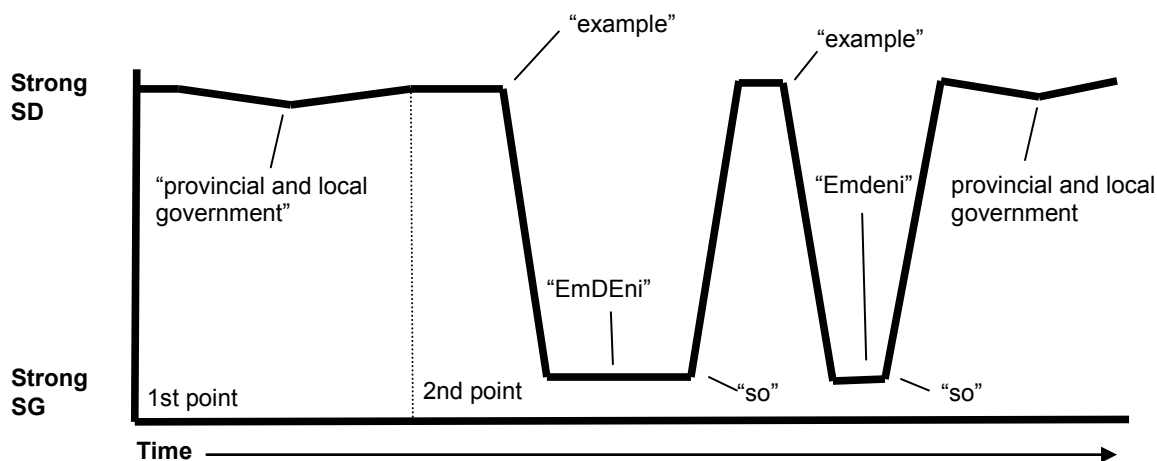


Figure 4.4: The SD/SG continuum in TD1's utterance

What remains is to examine the effectiveness of these comments by considering the ways in which these comments were recontextualized by other participants in the meeting and in the committee's report.

In my interviews with them, both TD1 (as the speaker) and TA2 (as one of his hearers) initially viewed this utterance as having just one overarching "point", namely that there needed to be more co-ordination of different spheres of government in ensuring transport provision. I had to cue TD1 to viewing the utterance as consisting of two points before he was able to summarize each of these points in one Clause Complex each. He summarized the first point as "some kind of formal co-ordination between the spheres of government" and the second as "the lack of public transport". Thus for him at the time of the interview, the notion that further public transport provision is

necessary was more salient than the idea that this provision was required in urban areas just as much as it was in rural areas.

This means that there is an unusual dissonance between my analyst's perspective of the utterance and TD1's perceptions of it: while I analysed the utterance into two separate points, he viewed it more easily as a whole. According to his schemata as a member of the committee, then, there is a closer link between providing urban public transport (at a strong level of SG) and co-ordination between spheres of government on provision of public transport (at a strong level of SD) than I had initially perceived. Nevertheless, the structure of TD1's utterance does not make this link explicit, which weakens the epistemic power of the knowledge structure he is building in this utterance.

TC comments on TD1's concern after his utterance:

(15)

TC: ((*coughs*)) (2.06) eh- HONourable (TD1) you are raising a question of uh- (0.41) you are saying that the Issues raised also relate to the role of the provincial and local government (1.02) (and we HAVen't heard) (1.64) for the integrated UM- (1.98) DEvelopment framework (0.39) AT (0.33) which UM- (0.32) which reQUIRES (1.08) that WHEN (0.35) dePARTments plan (1.43) they (PLAN) together and the co-ordination happens at the district (0.45) municipality level which MEANS (1.44) the IDP process (1.64) reQUIRES (0.73) ALL departments (0.41) that would BE (1.03) HAVING projects (0.53) WITHIN that district (1.07) starting at national provincial and local level to BE (0.51) part of that PROcess meaning that (0.99) the NAtional departments will be sharing their (0.37) strategic PLANS (0.53) in reLation to (1.23) DEvelopment that is going to be taking place at uh- at uh- that district (0.84) the SAME would happen with the provincial departments (0.35) AND (0.83) the LOcal municipality (1.02) THAT has not happened (2.67) that has not happened the CO-ORdination role of a district municipality (1.33) is ONE not taken seriously (0.67) the integrated development uh- FRAMEwork at (1.12) is as IF (0.78) it's THERE but uh- it- it [doesn't] force us=

O: [*< >*] =<(>)

TC: to PLAN (0.69) toGETher (0.71) whi- there it doesn't force US (1.02) to implement together HENCE the duplication and also (0.39) the MISmatch (0.56) of UH- (0.48) the IMplementation of the programme (0.38) you SEE a school (0.8) where there is a plan for a ROAD (0.52) but the ROAD's () (0.39) will BE (0.75) BUILT (0.54) FIVE years after the school has been delivered (0.66) there will be a SCHOOL (1.25) AND uh there- there will be a plan (0.39) for WAter and sanitation (0.53) BUT (1.15) The IMplementation of that water and sanitation would take (0.44) FIVE years (0.71) MEANing then that eh- (0.86) ((*clears throat*)) (0.21) to the PERson who is receiving these services (1.08) the school is THERE but I'm not happy (0.72) to be in the SCHOOL (0.45) because I don't have the toilets and I don't have WAter (0.93) SO (0.74) ((*coughs*)) (1.69) the Freedom Charter aspect there will be COMfort (0.67) and seCURITY (1.05) is NOT met (0.97) the SERvice has been delivered there has been PLANning but there is no co-ordination (0.23) IN the implementation process (0.45) THEREfore you don't reach (1.42) the FREEdom Charter (0.27) COMfort and security (5.05) the SCHOOL is there (0.41) the DOORS of learning have been opened but (0.35) they are NOT (meet) (0.62) to COMfort (0.6) and security aspect of the Freedom Charter (0.99) therefore the quality of life of the PERson (0.79) doesn't CHANGE (0.9) MOney is spent (0.57) but the PERson who is receiving (0.47) doesn't FEEL (1.04) the VAlue (1.39) THAT is what we are saying here (0.6) to say at CLUster level as well as (1.45) the vertical and eh-horizontal WHERE do we meet each other as a department (1.45) SO that (0.52) when a SCHOOL is being delivered (0.69) the Electricity yo- to the school is also delivered (0.35) the ROAD to school is also delivered (0.26) the water and sanitation to the school is delivered so that when the school is handed over it is a COMPLETE (0.46) LEARning centre (5.57) AND

O: [[*sneezes*]]

TC: [what] we're asking from the department is TELL us (0.89) WHAT we should do (0.93) to ensure to facilitate that WHAT are the bottlenecks (0.52) from YOUR side (0.58) SO that (0.52) there can be then (NObody) (9.43) can NOW (0.29) we can NOW hand over to the department to respond to

TC uses two instances of Acknowledge at the beginning of her utterance to recontextualize TD1's utterance: "you are raising a question of uh-" and "you are saying that..." She recontextualizes

TD1's reference to "provincial and local government" verbatim, but does not remark on his second point that public transport in urban areas as well as rural areas needs attention. In fact, discussion of improving transport in urban areas is noticeably absent from the rest of the meeting and the report produced from it, as the remainder of the analysis shows. Yet in interviews I found that TD1, TA2 and TA3, the Deaf ANC MP who serves on the Portfolio Committee on Transport, all agree that here TC is not disagreeing with TD1 in any way, but is simply building on what he said.

If one analyses TC's utterance to identify the levels of SD and SG in it, one finds that she begins on the same strong level of SD that TD1 ends on, as shown in her recontextualization of "provincial and local government". Then she immediately shifts to an even stronger level of SD by discussing "the integrated UM- (1.98) DEvelopment framework" that is supposed to dictate the process by which these spheres of government co-ordinate with each other. The Mental Process "reQUIRES" projects the clause, "that WHEN 0.35) dePARTments plan", which acts as a scene-setter for a discussion of how this co-ordination should take place at local and provincial government level according to the Integrated Development Framework, increasing the level of SG to a degree. However, the discussion continues to revolve around spheres of government rather than concrete transport programmes: "at the district (0.45) municipality level", and then later "national provincial and local level". Eventually she reaches a conclusion at a stronger level of SD, which is a meta-comment on this process of planning: "the CO-ORDination role of a district municipality (1.33) is ONE not taken seriously". This is then related back to a conclusion about "the integrated development uh- FRAMEwork": it "is as IF (0.78) it's THERE but uh- it- it doesn't force us to PLAN (0.69) toGEther".

In the following section of the utterance, she gives an example to illustrate another grammatical metaphor, "the MISmatch (0.56) of UH- (0.48) the IMplementation of the programme". This example takes TC's utterance to its strongest level of SG, extending down to the level of the specific "PERson who is receiving these services" and the "toilets" and "water" there, but it is still a hypothetical example rather than one rooted in a particular geographic context as TD1's example from Emdeni was.

Interestingly, TC then rescales sharply up to discuss "the FREEdom Charter" a highly-valued text of the ANC written in 1955 which set the agenda for its conception of a national democratic revolution and prescribed certain demands for democratic social reforms (Hudson 1986). One of these is that "There shall be houses, security and comfort!" (The Congress of the People 1955). This is what TC is recontextualizing when she says "there will be COMfort (0.67) and seCUrity". Since the Freedom Charter is one of the texts used by the ANC to determine its policy agenda, one can say that here TC is bringing the discussion to a stronger level of SD than has yet been reached in this discussion, one where terms such as "comfort" and "security" condense not only positive

feelings but also entire policy directions taken by the national government. She briefly rescales to a stronger level of SG to mention the cause of this situation in which the standards of the Freedom Charter are not met: “the SERvice has been delivered there has been PLANning but there is no co-ordination (0.23) IN the implementation process”. Then she uses the conjunction “THEREfore” to return to her conclusion about the Freedom Charter.

What follows is more rapid alternation between the strong SG of TC’s hypothetical example and the strong SD of the Freedom Charter. She cites the example again, saying “the SCHOOL is there”, and then immediately relates this to another provision of the Freedom Charter, “the DOORS of learning have been opened”. However, the provision she mentioned earlier has still not been fulfilled: “they are NOT (meet) (0.62) to COMfort (0.6) and security aspect of the Freedom Charter”. This results in a conclusion about one of the people in her example: “therefore the quality of life of the PERson (0.79) doesn’t CHANGE”. This conclusion is rescaled at a stronger level of SG when she says “MOney is spent (0.57) but the PERson who is receiving (0.47) doesn’t FEEL (1.04) the VAlue”. She then summarizes her point at a stronger level of SD, introduced by “THAT is what we are saying here”, where she returns to the lexis of intergovernmental co-ordination using spatial metaphors: “CLUster level”, “the vertical” and “the horizontal”. The results of this co-ordination, introduced by “SO that”, must be reflected at the strong level of SG of her example, “when a SCHOOL is being delivered”. Finally, she sums up the entire discussion, including TD1’s utterance and her own, in a request to the Department of Transport, dictating what action she expects them to take as a result of this discussion:

what we’re asking from the department is TELL us (0.89) WHAT we should do (0.93) to ensure to facilitate that WHAT are the bottlenecks (0.52) from YOUR side (0.58) SO that (0.52) there can be then (NObody) (9.43) can NOW (0.29) we can NOW hand over to the department to respond to

This final request is scaled at an intermediate level of SD: while it includes the metaphor of “bottlenecks” and speaks of “the department” as an abstract entity, it also gives the department something definite to do: “TELL us (0.89) WHAT we should do”.

At this stage it is useful to examine the scaling of both TD1 and TC’s utterances, taken together. This is plotted on Figure 4.5 (on the next page). TD1 refers to his example twice, and then moves directly up to a strong level of SD and stays there until the end of his utterance. At this strong level of SD, he does not refer back to his example in any way but instead recontextualizes his comments at the beginning of the utterance on provincial and local government. This serves to strengthen the cohesion of his utterance, such that he and his listeners perceive him as making one point in his utterance, rather than two points. However, it also means that his example is not linked explicitly with this point, resulting in there being a degree of discord between the example (which is about urban public transport provision) and his main point (which is about the need for greater co-

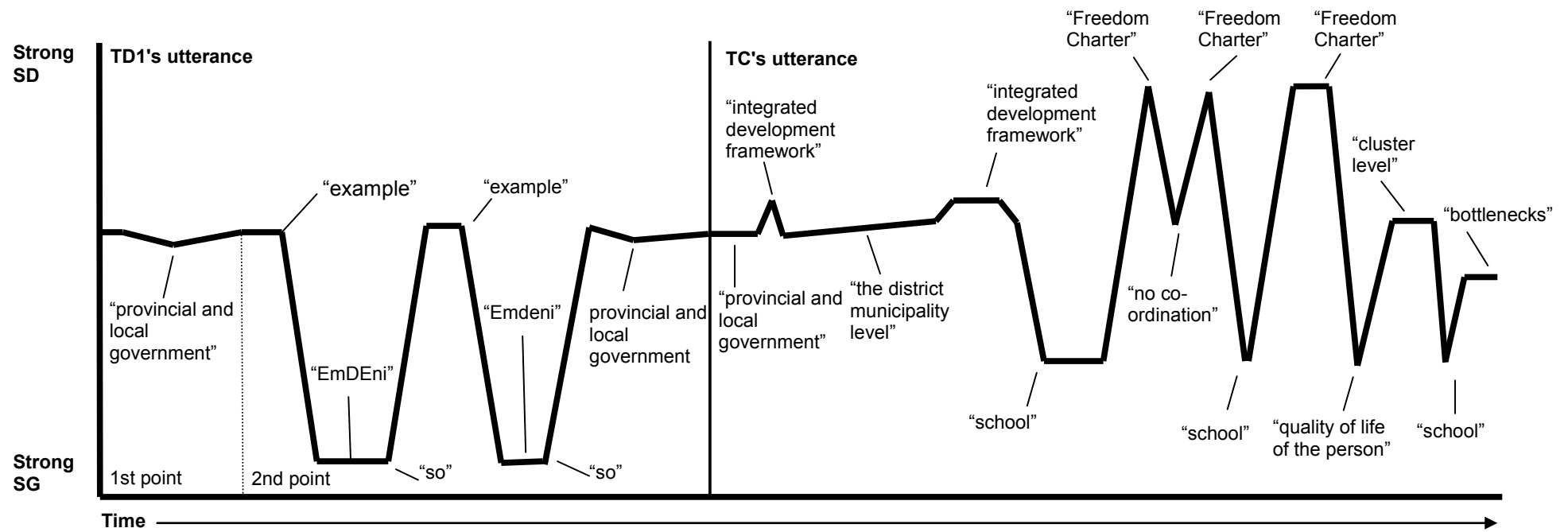


Figure 4.5: The SD/SG continuum in TD1 and TC's discussion

ordination between spheres of government to ensure public transport provision), rendering the knowledge structure he is building in this utterance epistemologically weak. By contrast, TC rescales often between her example and reference to the Freedom Charter and the need for greater co-ordination, ensuring that her example is continuously borne in mind as she makes her final call to the department to tell the committee where obstacles to co-ordination between spheres of government exist. This rescaling is done skilfully in such a way that she manages to integrate experience at three distinct levels of SD: the level of the school in her example, the level of co-operation between spheres of government and the level of the Freedom Charter. This integration produces an epistemologically powerful knowledge claim.

Thus it appears that TC elaborates on TD1's main point that better co-ordination between spheres of government is needed. However, while TD1's utterance and his example of his son in Emdeni have a particular focus on co-ordination to ensure provision of transport services, TC's example of the school refers more to co-ordination between different government departments to ensure that different types of service are provided in an integrated way. The effect of the difference between TD1 and TC's examples is that there is no single expression of the discussion at a strong level of SG; instead, those listening to them are forced to abstract away from both of these examples to the aspect that they have in common, namely that they illustrate that more co-ordination between spheres and departments of government is needed to ensure effective service delivery. Thus interpreters are forced to engage in epistemological condensation in order to draw a single conclusion from this discussion. It is TD1's example that suffers the most from this process of epistemological condensation, since it is a real-life example of a particular problem from TD1's constituency that needs to be addressed, unlike TC's example which is hypothetical and so could be reconstructed easily from the proposition that "there needs to be more co-ordination between spheres and departments of government to ensure better service delivery". As a result, TD1's concern about provision of public transport in urban areas is not recontextualized further in the meeting's discourse; instead, the part of his contribution that is recontextualized is his reference to the provincial and local governments as necessary participants in the "co-ordination" required in transport planning.

This shows that TD1 does not recontextualize his concern in an epistemologically powerful form which would have allowed it to be remembered and recontextualized into the committee's report more accurately. The following section shows how TC is able to recontextualize a concern from her constituency in an epistemologically powerful manner, which ensures that the concern she expresses is recontextualized into the committee report in a more accurate way than TD1's one is.

4.3.2. TC's utterance on rural transport

TC, like TD1, recontextualizes an example from her geographical background in this meeting. This takes place about five minutes after the end of TD1's utterance. She interrupts a presenter from the Department of Transport, who had just mentioned plans to modify the country's new Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) services to accommodate disabled people. A transcript of her turn at speaking, which, like her contribution to the discussion on "co-ordination", is of considerable length, appears below:

- (16)
TC: ...can you STOP there
O: ((*coughs*))
TC: MY understanding of the BRT is that it is happening in big cities (1.55) it is LINKED to twenty ten for now (0.23)
TA1: <mmm> (3.62)
TC: can WE really be driven by an event (1.84) TO- to- to- t- to- to address issues of development (0.88) MNA (*I*) I was born in Harding (2.11) and there ARE people in Harding that have been travelling on wheelbarrows because there are (0.77) THEY have um- (0.48) they are physiCAlly (0.97) CHALlenged (2.13) THE people in Harding that have been (0.6) TRAvelling (1.26) IN uh- (1.02) IN (the) (0.63) sledge (0.12)
TA1: <SLEDGE mmm> (0.14)
TC: SLEDGE (0.92) to COLlect i-pension (0.59)
TA1: <mmm (1.18) mmm (1.09) mmm> (0.1)
TC: because there is NO (0.27) ONE (1.68) Adequate (0.56) ROAD infrastructure (0.19)
TA1: < mmm> (0.66)
TC: but Also (0.43) there is NO mode of transport adequate mode of transport that accommodates them (1.83) NOW (1.93) when we TALK BRT we talk BRT as if we are talking (1.43) something that is going to address the problem that we are talking about in the rural areas we MUST understand that e- we are living in a country that has got two faces (0.89) MAYbe when we hear the the- the- the- the- the terminology second economy (0.83) we LOSE (0.22) what we ACTually mean (0.73) we have a THIRD and a first-world country in South Africa (2.59) AND (0.27) the maJOrity of the people are living in the third-world part of South Africa (2.66) SO let us talk about interventions that are upgrading (0.5) and improving the quality of LIFE (0.62) of the THIRD world (0.78) PART of the community (0.31) withIN South Africa (0.38) because the first-world PART (0.37) has had it ALL right all these years (1.82) so that is NOT our pri- we are not saying we are going to neglect them (0.77) but we are SAYing (0.68) there are people that have BEEN (1.47) treated as less citizens of this country for THREE hundred and sixty-five years (0.69) beFORE (0.73) THIS government came into power (0.51) so the priOrities of this government (0.85) should NOT be skewed (1.16) to first address and imPROVE (1.53) the- the- the services that already exist and neGLECT (1.76) areas WHERE (0.7) there are NO services (0.67) WHEN we see a person that goes to collect pension on a wheelbarrow (2.0) the SIuation be changed (1.98) WHEN shall we see (0.53) a TRANS- a form of transport that covers because (0.46) ALso we must bear in mind that e- most of those people (0.23) are in the rural areas beCAUSE (0.99) the HEALTH fo-facilities (0.43) they're NOT provided so we have many people (0.92) who could NOT be immunized (1.08) for THEM not to have polio (1.36) so it is NOT (0.48) THEIR desire that they find them (0.29) in THOSE situations (0.74) it's beCAUSE o- of how apartheid was structured (0.56) AND (1.03) HOW apartheid (0.76) exCLUded them (0.38) and dePRIved them of the services (0.82) SO (0.35) TALK to us (0.63) aBOUT (0.31) let's SEE the target group IN- the target group of the BRT the re- (0.3) BRT the rural communities

As with TD1's concern discussed in the previous section, I first discuss the way in which TC recontextualizes her spatial background here before considering how she rescales it to apply to a

national level. She introduces this recontextualization by codeswitching, using the word “MNA”, which means “me” in isiXhosa. At a first order of indexicality, this word suggests that TC is about to rescale her utterance by introducing her personal experience into the discussion. Furthermore, Harding, the place she refers to, is a small rural town in the southern part of South Africa’s KwaZulu-Natal province. While isiZulu is the majority language in KwaZulu-Natal, there exists a dialect continuum between it and the closely-related isiXhosa, dominant in the Eastern Cape. Thus, the isiXhosa word “mna” would be considered non-standard in KwaZulu-Natal, and highlights Harding’s position at the margins of KwaZulu-Natal. Thus TC’s use of an isiXhosa codeswitch evokes the particular sociolinguistic fabric of this area and at a second order of indexicality, identifies her with its poor, rural, marginalized inhabitants. A map showing Harding’s position in the isiZulu – isiXhosa dialect continuum is provided in Appendix 10.

This effect is further pronounced by the use of a further codeswitch in the word “i-pension”, where TC affixes “i-”, a singular noun class prefix in both isiZulu and isiXhosa, to the word “pension”. This comes just after a repetition of the word “sledge” by TC and TA1, which, it is evident from the recording, functions as a confirmation that “sledge” is the English word for the object TC wishes to refer to. Thus even this repetition of the word “sledge” would serve to index TC’s comembership with the poor, rural people of Harding. In an interview, TA3 agreed that TC was using this story to represent her constituency in parliament. In this way TC, like TD1, uses recontextualization of her experience to identify with the people she is seeking to represent.

Where TC appears to differ from TD1 is in the way in which she contextualizes her reference to personal experience for the committee. She refers to “big cities”, indicating that her discourse is at that stage on a translocal, probably national, scale. However, her reference to a specific transport project, “BRT”, and “twenty ten” (referring to the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup hosted by South Africa), mark this part of the utterance as being at a moderate level of SD. She then rescales this to a higher level of abstraction by rewording “twenty ten” as “an event” and making a nominalized, indefinite reference to “issues of development”.

In an interview, TD1 told me that he disagreed with TC’s implication that the BRT project was “driven by an event”, the 2010 Soccer World Cup. TD2 told me that the project was essential because it was needed to transport hundreds of people in the urban areas. Both of them expressed the opinion that TC did not fully understand the motivation for the BRT project or its significance at the time of the meeting. This highlights that TC’s remarks about the BRT project were by no means accepted by all members of the committee.

TC begins to draw conclusions out of her reference to Harding by using the conjunction “because” to introduce two reasons why pensioners in Harding travel in wheelbarrows and “sledges”: “there is NO (0.27) ONE (1.68) Adequate (0.56) ROAD infrastructure” and “there is NO

mode of transport adequate mode of transport that accommodates them”. These are followed by a stressed “NOW” which indexes that TC is stepping outside the local scale of Harding to return to the national scale of her previous comments. Her following comments are on the same level of SD as those opening comments, as shown by the repetition of “BRT” and the rescaling from the problems of Harding to the problems of “rural areas”.

However, TC quickly shifts to a stronger level of SD by invoking a lexical metaphor of South Africa as “a country that has got two faces”:

we MUST understand that e- we are living in a country that has got two faces (0.89) MAYbe when we hear the the- the- the- the- the terminology second economy (0.83) we LOSE (0.22) what we ACTually mean (0.73) we have a THIRD and a first-world country in South Africa (2.59) AND (0.27) the maJOrity of the people are living in the third-world part of South Africa (2.66) SO let us talk about interventions that are upgrading (0.5) and improving the quality of LIFE (0.62) of the THIRD world (0.78) PART of the community (0.31) withIN South Africa (0.38) because the first-world PART (0.37) has had it ALL right all these years

It is interesting to note that in this section TC does not simply refer spatially to South Africa as one country, but metaphorically as two countries: “we have a THIRD and a first-world country in South Africa”. In other words, metaphorically at least, TC’s talk moves past the national scale to the international scale for a brief moment. This is accompanied by the use of a variety of nominalizations: “terminology”, “economy”, “interventions” and “life”. Because nominalizations are a type of grammatical metaphor, as explained in 2.3.2, one can see that here there are two types of metaphor at work, lexical metaphor (as in “we have a THIRD and a first-world country in South Africa”) and grammatical metaphor, both of which seek to condense meaning into a few words, increasing the SD of this part of the utterance.

Next, TC draws out the implications of these abstract points for government, in a section of her utterance introduced by the conjunction, “so”:

so that is NOT our pri- we are not saying we are going to neglect them (0.77) but we are SAYing (0.68) there are people that have BEEN (1.47) treated as less citizens of this country for THREE hundred and sixty-five years (0.69) beFORE (0.73) THIS government came into power (0.51) so the priOrities of this government (0.85) should NOT be skewed (1.16) to first address and imPROVE (1.53) the- the- the services that already exist and neGLECT (1.76) areas WHERE (0.7) there are NO services

Although TC is drawing an application from what she just said, her talk remains at a fairly strong level of SD, thanks to indefinite references to “we” (presumably the government, including parliament), repetition of the nominalization “services”, and the fact that this application is projected as a Verbal Process (something that “we” say) rather than a Material Process (something that “we” do).

TC’s repeated (and often stressed) use of Deny realized in the words “NOT” and “NO” in this section assumes a previous discourse which has raised the concern that “them” (the first-world part of the country) are being neglected due to attention being shifted to the previously-disadvantaged

community. In parliament, this discourse is often associated with the DA, because it represents many people from the middle class which forms “the first-world part” of the country.

Following this argument that service delivery in the rural areas need to be prioritized, TC uses the conjunction “WHEN” to anchor her discourse in time and return to her example from Harding, not through mention of the name, but the physical object used to carry people in this rural area:

WHEN we see a person that goes to collect pension on a wheelbarrow (2.0) the Situation be changed (1.98) WHEN shall we see (0.53) a TRANS- a form of transport that covers because (0.46) ALso we must bear in mind that e- most of those people (0.23) are in the rural areas beCAUSE (0.99) the HEALTH fo- facilities (0.43) they're NOT provided so we have many people (0.92) who could NOT be immunized (1.08) for THEM not to have polio (1.36) so it is NOT (0.48) THEIR desire that they find them (0.29) in THOSE situations (0.74) it's beCAUSE o- of how apartheid was structured (0.56) AND (1.03) HOW apartheid (0.76) exCLUded them (0.38) and dePRIVed them of the services (0.82) SO (0.35) TALK to us (0.63) aBOUT (0.31) let's SEE the target group IN- the target group of the BRT the re- (0.3) BRT the rural communities

What is interesting here is that the people featuring in her example are repeatedly referred to as “those people” or “them” throughout this last part of her utterance. As in her previous utterance discussed above, she alternates rapidly between a strong level of SD and a strong level of SG in relating her example of “those people” to abstract sociopolitical conditions such as “apartheid”. She uses the conjunction “beCAUSE” to introduce an explanation at a stronger level of SD for why the people in her example are disabled: “the HEALTH fo- facilities (0.43) they're NOT provided”. This is then linked back to consequences at the level of her example, where she explains that a lack of health facilities leads to people not being immunized for debilitating diseases such as polio. In explaining the causes for this further, she refers to “apartheid”, an exceptionally semantically dense term which condenses an entire political and social system and all of the attendant negative emotions that accompany it. Her frequent references to her example serve as reminders of this example, which enable her to rescale effectively to matters of national policy without losing any of the impact or specificity of her recontextualization of her experience in Harding.

The final “SO” introduces a challenge to the Department of Transport to tell the committee what their plans are to extend transport to the people in her example, who are now recontextualized as part of “the target group”, which is in turn reworded as “the rural communities”. This again follows the same pattern as her earlier utterance in the discussion on “co-ordination”, by concluding her utterance with a challenge to the Department.

It is evident from the above analysis that TC exhibits a repeated pattern in the way that she rescales examples to make them relevant to the discussion at hand in the committee. This rescaling is plotted on Figure 4.6, once again showing the most important points of inflection in the utterance. In this utterance, TC again rescales constantly between the level of her example and stronger levels of SD in order to relate her example to the more abstract matters being discussed in the meeting, namely improvement in transport services for disabled people. She in turn relates this to a direct

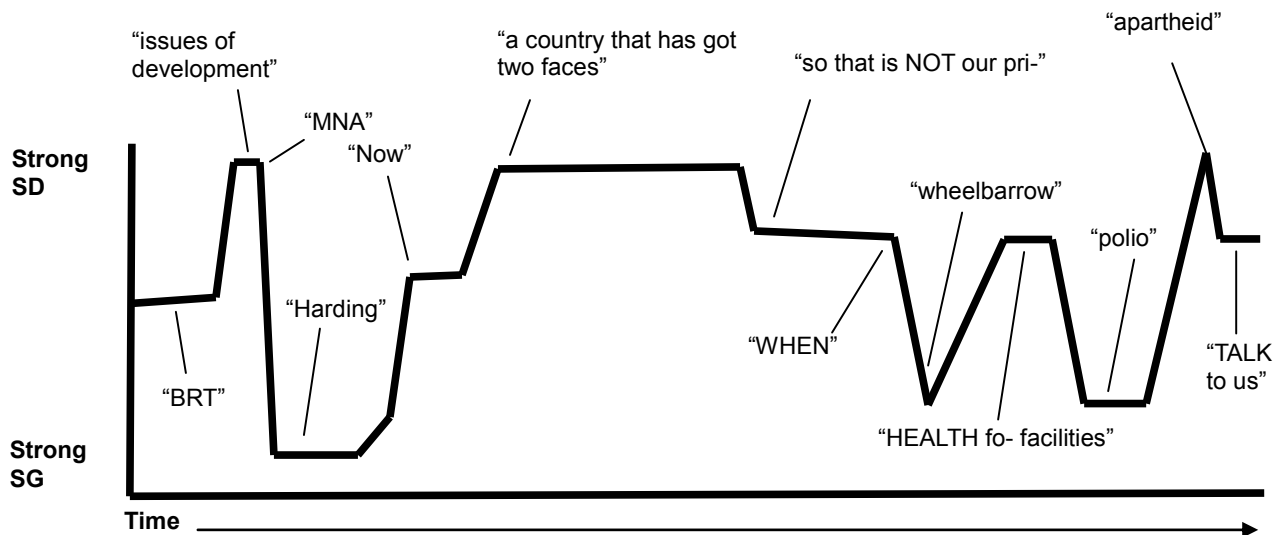


Figure 4.6: The SD/SG continuum in TC's utterance

instruction to the department prescribing how they should respond to her utterance. In so doing, she is able to build a coherent and epistemologically powerful knowledge structure. As is shown in the following section, this strategy is effective in ensuring that the concern from her constituency that she relays is recontextualized in the committee's report far more faithfully than TD1's concern from his constituency is.

4.3.3. The report

The committee's report is structured into sections describing the Department of Transport's strategic plan and budget, and other sections recontextualizing the committee members' spoken questions and comments at the meeting in point form under three headings: "Findings by the Committee", "Resolutions" and "Recommendations by the Committee to the Department". Under each of these headings, different concerns raised by the committee members are represented as bullet points.

The point in the committee's report which most closely recontextualizes TD1 and TC's discussion on co-ordination reported on in 4.3.1. is located under "Findings by the Committee". It reads as follows:

(17)

- The master plan and integrated development planning occurs at the planning phase coordinated by the district municipalities but the committee observed that this function was not implemented to its maximum. The implementation of programmes do [sic] not accommodate integrated planning and integrated service delivery which is a concern.

This paragraph sums up TD1 and TC's lengthy discussion in two Clause Complexes at an extremely strong level of SD. It follows the discourse conventions of the committee report by using an instance of Endorse, "the committee observed that", both to indicate its support of what "the

committee” said, and attribute decisions made to the committee as a whole, rather than to any individual members. This allows the report to black-box together the voices of several different committee members. While this paragraph addresses the chief concern raised in TD1’s utterance (the need for “integrated planning” to address transport needs), it echoes the wording of TC’s recontextualization and elaboration on TD1’s comments rather than the wording of TD1’s comments themselves. For instance, it is TC, rather than TD1, who introduced the concepts of “the district municipalities” and “integrated development planning”. However, TC’s example of the integrated planning that needs to go into building a school has also not been recontextualized into the report.

The concern TD1 reported through his recontextualization of his son’s experience in Emdeni, namely that people in urban areas are suffering from a lack of efficient public transportation, does not appear in the report in any form. This is shown by the fact that the only reference to “urban” in the report is a recontextualization of one of the presenter’s utterances, in the clause complex “The department has identified the significance of managing cost inflation since this affects its projects and it would further develop rural and urban standards.”

Thus it appears that the committee secretary responsible for writing this report has abstracted away from both TD1 and TC’s examples, engaging in a process of epistemological condensation to recontextualize their utterance in as few words as possible. This summary has also eliminated the subtle differences between TD1’s point that co-ordination is needed in providing transport services, and TC’s point that co-ordination is needed in ensuring that the full range of services are provided when, for instance, a school is built. In fact, the wording of the report paragraph does not mention “transport”, but “integrated service delivery”, which more closely reflects TC’s concern that the whole range of services should be provided. Thus TD1’s concerns have not been directly recontextualized into the report, but instead TC’s recontextualization and development of TD1’s concerns has been. This makes it appear as though TC has acted as a mediator and gatekeeper of TD1’s comments in the committee, determining what aspects of his utterance appear in the report.

Meanwhile, the paragraph in the report which most closely recontextualizes TC’s concern appears under “Recommendations by the Committee to the Department”. It is reproduced below (the gloss in square brackets is mine):

(18)

- The Committee requested DOT [the Department of Transport] to develop a comprehensive plan in the rural areas for public transport since most people in the rural areas use taxis which are not subsidised by government and the challenge of un-roadworthy buses still remains. There is no adequate transportation for old people in the rural areas some still get their pension money using wheelbarrows and this was unacceptable.

The first clause complex of this paragraph appears to recontextualize TC’s instruction to the department at the end of her utterance, “TALK to us (0.63) aBOUT (0.31) let’s SEE the target group

IN- the target group of the BRT the re- (0.3) BRT the rural communities”. It does this using Acknowledge once again to attribute this instruction to the committee as a whole, rather than just TC, following the discourse conventions of a committee report. However, it is closer in wording to a question asked by TR in his utterance at the beginning of the discussion about provision of transport for rural areas. He said,

- (13) eh with reGARD to transportation of people on the rural areas (0.35) they will just SAY (0.49) we have THIS new government what change do we see on the ground there's absolutely no change (0.3) I'm still INstead (0.64) ER (0.61) I'm being PAY (0.14) a LOT of money for transportation (1.35) because their taxis that they use they're not subsidiZED in rural areas (0.46) there's no comprehensive PLAN (1.15) eh in PLACE (0.2) eh in terms of the BUSes (0.41) the KIND of buses that they use (0.16) inSTEAD (0.22) they USE (0.48) UNroadworthy buses that's why are experiencing a situation where there a LOT of (0.25) ACCidents that are taking place across the provinces

This utterance is clearly the source of the paragraph's reference to a “comprehensive plan”, “taxis which are not subsidised by government” and “the challenge of un-roadworthy buses”. The committee secretary chose to combine TC's example of elderly pensioners being transported by wheelbarrow with TR's utterance in the report. This indicates that the committee secretary interpreted the remainder of TC's utterance as echoing and elaborating on TR's utterance quoted above. The two are thus black-boxed together in the report as one point.

By comparison to the report paragraph on co-ordination, the SD of the report paragraph on transport development for rural communities is fairly weak. While there are still some nominalizations in this paragraph, such as “a comprehensive plan in the rural areas for public transport” and “no adequate transportation for old people in the rural areas”, there are also references to actual vehicles used to transport people, such as “buses”, “taxis” and “wheelbarrows”. Unlike in the paragraph on co-ordination, TC's example is recontextualized, even though the place where she experienced it, Harding, is not mentioned. Thus much less epistemological condensation appears to have taken place in the production of this paragraph than in the production of the paragraph on co-ordination.

I asked a former parliamentary committee secretary, S2, to comment on why TD1 and TC's utterances were recontextualized into the committee report in the way they were. She wrote “I refrain from using personal examples of members' stories in the reports [I] write because that's not how our minutes are written... instead I capture the essence or point that the member [wants] to say based on that story.” Another committee secretary, S4, told me that he only includes examples in a report when a statement is unclear and the example clarifies it (see Appendix 8). In other words, an example would only be included when the process of rescaling it to a strong level of SD renders that example unduly difficult to understand for the reader.

S2 classified TD1's example of his son in Emdeni as a personal story. She thought that the essence of this personal story was “the lack of coordination of transport services which creates

burdens for children”. This comment links TD1’s reference to his child with the broader topic of “lack of co-ordination of transport services”, and corroborates my analysis that TD1 did not effectively rescale his concern about urban transport from his “personal story” to a stronger level of SD, and so it was black-boxed together with the point that more integrated planning was required to ensure better service delivery.

By contrast, S2 wrote that TC’s example of people being transported in wheelbarrows warranted inclusion in the report because it was “community specific or community based...” (see Appendix 8). Thus, according to S2’s perspective, TC succeeded in having her concern from her constituency recontextualized into the report for two reasons. The first reason is that it referred non-specifically to unnamed members of the community and was thus “community based” rather than a “personal story”, while TD1’s example referred to his son and thus was seen as “personal”. The second reason is that TC’s example resonated with a concern more frequently expressed by the committee than TD1’s concern about urban transport. This second reason intersects in an interesting way with my analysis that TC was able to rescale her concern very effectively to a strong level of SD, enabling this concern to be seen and treated as a general problem on a national scale. In doing so, she situated her example within existing discourses around the need for rural transport provision, while ensuring that it retained the emotive impact of a specific individual story, thus building an extremely powerful knowledge claim. By contrast, TD1 was not able to do this.

S4 told me that when he writes a committee report, he picks out key issues that form the focus areas of the meeting, and summarizes those. He tries not to place more emphasis on the chairperson’s words than of those of other MPs, and says that all MPs’ concerns should be recorded, but he consolidates a few related concerns into one point in a report. This is precisely what happened to TD1 and TC’s “related concerns” about co-ordination in ensuring service delivery, as well as TR and TC’s “related concerns” about transport provision in rural areas. These “related concerns” were black-boxed together, although the degree of epistemological condensation involved in this black-boxing differed across the two sets of concerns. It appears that TR and TC’s concerns about rural transport were much more closely related than TD1 and TC’s concerns about co-ordination. This means that they formed a narrower knowledge structure than TD1 and TC’s concerns about co-ordination did, and so less epistemological condensation was necessary to black-box TR and TC’s concerns together. Also, because only one “community-based” example appeared in TR and TC’s talk on rural transport, that could be included in the report. Meanwhile in TD1 and TC’s talk on co-ordination, two examples were used, and so the committee secretary chose to include neither of them.

Therefore, TD1’s epistemologically weaker recontextualization of a concern from his constituency was not recontextualized into the report in any degree of detail, while TC’s

epistemologically more powerful recontextualization was. This shows that the ability to build epistemologically powerful knowledge claims is an important competency for MPs to possess in order for them to represent their constituencies effectively in the parliamentary process. In 5.4.2. I suggest that political parties should give specific training to their MPs to empower them to do this.

4.3.4. Conclusion

This analysis has shown that MPs' recontextualizations of concerns from their constituencies in parliament are not simple retellings, but are used in strategic ways to enhance MPs' social power by identifying them with particular groups of people. MPs can claim the moral high ground or align themselves with powerful participants by claiming to represent those who are marginalized.

In an interview, TA3 linked representation of her constituency to the committee reports, saying that she wanted to be able to point to each individual concern she raised in committee meetings in the reports, so that she could go back to her constituency and present the committee report as evidence that she had raised their concerns in parliament. However, as seen in this analysis, MPs often recontextualize concerns from their constituencies as concrete examples which they then rescale to a stronger level of SD. These concerns are vulnerable to omission from committee reports if they are not rescaled adeptly in a way that makes their relevance to the current discussion in the committee meeting clearly apparent. One can observe, then, that the epistemological condensation that occurs in the compilation of a committee report often hinders the recontextualization of concerns from MPs' constituencies through the parliamentary process.

In the sections of this meeting that were analysed, TC raised a concern from her constituency about improvement of rural transport, and this appeared to be recontextualized further along the genre chain of the parliamentary process than the concern that TD1 raised about the need for improvement in urban public transport. There appear to be two related reasons why this happened.

The first of these relates to the ways in which TC and TD1 framed their local concerns and rescaled them to apply them to the matters of national relevance being discussed in the committee. TC succeeded in producing an epistemologically powerful knowledge claim out of her concern from her constituency, while TD1 did not do this because there was a degree of discord between his example and the more semantically dense comments that contextualized it.

The second set of reasons for the failure of TD1's concern to be recontextualized effectively along the genre chain of the committee process has to do with the way in which it was framed by other utterances in the meeting. TC was seen as agreeing with TD1 in her utterance after his, and the entire discussion was perceived by participants as harmonious. However, TC broadened the topic of discussion and added an example of her own to it, and as a result the committee secretary needed to abstract away from the details of either utterance and condense both together at a

remarkably strong level of SD in the report. Meanwhile, TC's concern about developing rural public transport resonated closely with those of other speakers in the meeting such as TR, meaning that less epistemological condensation was required to black-box her concern together with others' utterances on this topic. This is depicted as in Figure 4.7.

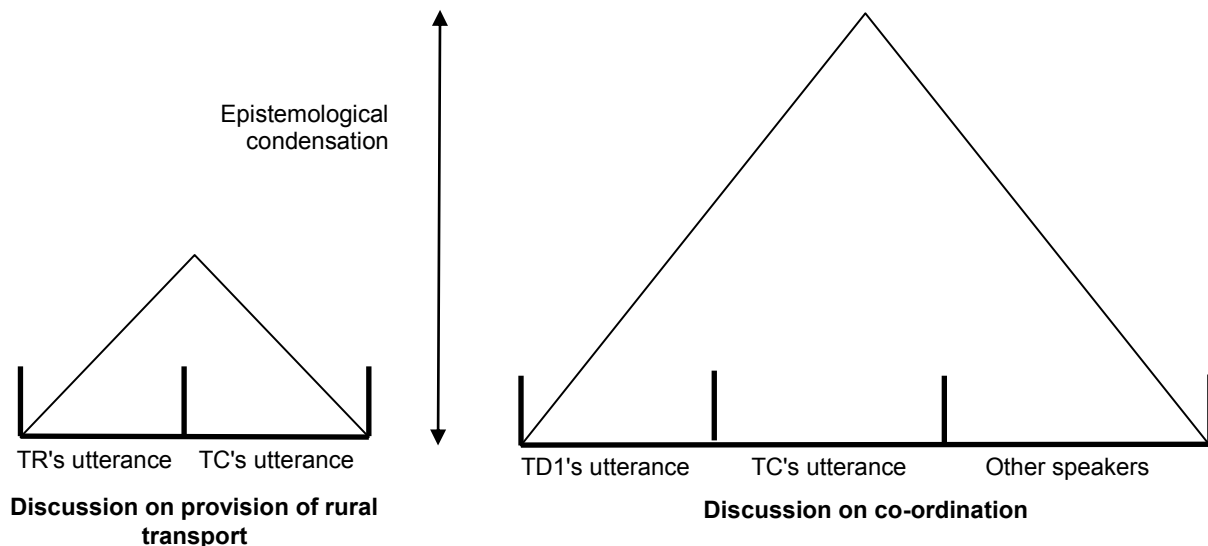


Figure 4.7: TR and TC's discussion on provision of rural transport compared with TD1 and TC's discussion on co-ordination according to breadth and amount of epistemological condensation required to summarize each

Although the committee secretaries say that they do not give added prominence to the chairperson's concerns above those of ordinary committee members, TC had the last word in both discussions by virtue of her position as chairperson, and so was able to ensure that her framing of a particular issue was more epistemologically powerful than those of other MPs, and was remembered by the committee secretaries when compiling their reports. Thus unequal relations of social power within the committee influence the degree of epistemic power with which MPs are able to present their knowledge claims, affecting how their utterances are recontextualized into committee reports. There is, in fact, an unconscious conflict of interests between different MPs over whose concerns are recontextualized into the committee reports in the most detail.

This analysis demonstrates how processes of epistemological condensation are active in the process of producing a committee report, and how this may hinder the ability of certain concerns to be recontextualized along the genre chain of the parliamentary process. This effect is even more problematic when it occurs after meetings that appeared completely synchronous to all participants, as the one in this analysis did, because in these circumstances, the MPs would subject the committee report to less scrutiny, not expecting their concerns to be misrepresented or under-represented. By contrast, reports of asynchronous meetings are likely to be scrutinized far more intensively to ensure that each MP and party's position is faithfully recontextualized. This is

observed in the following section, which examines the final episode discussed in this thesis.

4.4. “We're talking about semantics here”: Axiological condensation in inter-party debate

The episode discussed in this section illustrates the ways in which black-boxing can be accomplished in inter-party debate. While the episodes discussed in the previous two sections saw MPs from different parties co-operating with each other to hold officials from government entities accountable for their decisions, this episode shows how asynchrony can develop between MPs representing different parties. In this episode, the primary source of asynchrony is axiological condensation, rather than epistemological condensation. In other words, the participants in this episode are polarized into two opposing camps, the ruling ANC and the opposition parties. Members of each camp make conflicting evaluations of the wording of the committee's report as it stands: the ANC members attempt to close the black box of the report by associating it with positive evaluations, while the opposition members use negative evaluations of the report to open the black box of the report and question its contents.

Axiological condensation, as described in 2.6.3, is the process of associating meanings together into various constellations, charging each of these constellations with a particular moral evaluation, and then condensing the moral evaluations associated with each of these constellations into a single term which can then be attached to a particular person or group of people (Maton in press). In 4.4.1. - 4.4.2, I describe in detail the process in this debate by which meanings are associated into constellations and charged with a moral evaluation. Then in 4.4.4, I argue that these opposing constellations are condensed into labels that are salient in the macro-context of the interaction. Through indexicality, the two opposing camps in the debate attach these labels to themselves and to their opponents.

The participants in this episode have largely been introduced in the previous section, but are listed in Table 4.16. for the reader's convenience. The transcript of the interaction discussed in this section can be found in Appendix 7, along with the extracts of the committee report that are analysed.

I have identified seven stages in the episode under examination, mainly based on the evidence of topic shifts that occur during the episode. These stages are:

- * Stage 1: Discovery of a difference of opinion over wording of committee report
- Stage 2: Supporting arguments on either side
- * Stage 3: Proposal and rejection of changes in wording
- Stage 4: Acceptance of abstention as a resolution
- Stage 5: Vote
- Stage 6: Reiteration of positions
- * Stage 7: Recording of the decision

Pseudonym	Role in meeting
TC	Committee chairperson, ANC member
TD1	DA committee member
TD2	DA committee member
TA1	ANC committee member
TA2	ANC committee member
TA3	ANC committee member
TA4	ANC committee member
TI	IFP committee member
TCo	COPE committee member

Table 4.16: Participants in “We’re talking about semantics here” section

Space constraints preclude a close analysis of all seven stages of the episode under investigation, but below I examine recontextualization in three selected stages, marked with asterisks in the list above, paying particular attention to the status of two black boxes: the budget of the Department of Transport, and the committee’s report which presents its findings on this budget. In 4.4.1, I describe how the written text of the committee report was initially recontextualized into spoken debate by those on both sides of the argument in Stage 1, precipitating a struggle over whether or not to open the black box of the report and alter its content. In 4.4.2, I show how opposition MPs open this black box and attempt to alter its content in Stage 3, but are prevented from doing so when the chairperson firmly closes the box. Finally, in 4.4.3, I observe how the spoken text of the committee debate is recontextualized back into the written text of the report in Stage 7, keeping the black box closed but placing a small label on it that registers the opposition MPs’ dissent with its contents. The analyses of these stages vary in length according to the complexity and length of the stages themselves, with stage 7 being much shorter than stages 1 and 3.

As with the episode discussed in 4.2, the casual conversations and ethnographic interviews I had with participants in parliament revealed some important contextual information about this episode. A committee secretary told me that there had been significant conflict in the first meeting of the newly-elected Portfolio Committee on Transport, which occurred barely over a month before this episode took place. At this meeting, the DA MPs in the committee objected strongly to TC’s nomination as the committee chairperson, because she had previously been convicted of fraud for her role in Travelgate, a scandal in which a group of MPs had defrauded Parliament by misusing official travel vouchers issued to them (Mthembu 2006). They later abstained from the vote in which she was elected chairperson. This committee secretary had heard that TC had been infuriated by the DA MPs’ actions, viewing them as a personal attack. Thus there was a high degree of interpersonal tension between TC and the DA MPs, which probably contributed to the asynchrony which developed in this episode.

This episode offers an opportunity to observe the process by which members of the committee co-produce the procedural norms it will follow in later meetings. This process was theorized in 2.5. The committee report discussed in this meeting was the first such report to be adopted by the newly-elected committee, and so the committee had had no prior opportunity to discuss the procedure to be followed when adopting the report. Thus, this procedure is the chief point of contention in this episode.

4.4.1. Stage 1: Discovery of a difference of opinion over wording

This episode begins with TC's call for someone to propose the adoption of the committee's draft report on the Department of Transport's budget. Following this, TD1 identifies what he sees as a problem with the report's first clause complex, which reads as follows:

- (19) The Portfolio Committee on Transport, having considered the budget of the Department, Vote 33: Transport, recommends that it be passed.

The argument that ensues focuses mainly on the procedural correctness of the clause "that it be passed".

The beginning of this stage is recorded in the following extract:

(20)

TC: Can we THEN have a- a mover for the adoption of the- (1.4) of the rePORT? Honourable (TD1)?

TD1: I'm SORRY just one- one thing I just want to- (0.4) we- we- we're agreeing to PASS (0.7) this rePORT (1.1) that's what we're- that's what we're agreeing to?

TC: <Mhm>

TD1: Because um (0.6) the HEAding may be mis- a bit misleading and perhaps it should just be rephrased- the beginning (0.8) um (0.8) recommends that we PA- that we agree to this rePORT not the BUDget that's what it's implying over here (2.8) did I make myself clear (5.6)

TC: I'm- I'm NOT clear (0.6) the rePORT- the rePORT is on the budget

In TC's initial call for someone to move for the report to be adopted, she looks for someone to raise his/her hand to indicate that they will propose the adoption of the report. She notes TD1's hand and selects him to speak, but he declines to move for the report's adoption, and instead asks a question about the nature of the report.

TD1 says "the beginning (0.8) um (0.8) recommends...", seemingly indicating that he is about to use Acknowledge to recontextualize the first clause complex of the report, but instead what he projects appears to be a version of what he believes the last clause of this Clause Complex should say according to his schemata: "that we agree to this rePORT not the BUDget". TD1 uses expansive tokens of Engagement to open the black box of the budget to suggest that this locution should be part of the report, as shown in Table 4.17.

TC's response, "I'm NOT clear" comes after a long pause, perhaps indicating that she is unsuccessfully trying to make sense of TD1's utterance. Here she uses Deny to close the dialogic

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
perhaps	Expand	Entertain	it should just be rephrased-
the beginning (0.8) um (0.8) recommends	Expand	Acknowledge	that we PA- that we agree to this rePORT not the Budget
that's what it's implying over here	Expand	Acknowledge	that we PA- that we agree to this rePORT not the Budget

Table 4.17: Engagement choices in Extract 20

space that TD1 has opened and expresses negative Satisfaction with TD1's comments, indicating that she does not understand them. TD1 said in an interview that he did not think she was truly confused, but was rather trying to say "How can you not agree with me?" while subtly pursuing a predetermined political agenda aimed at deceiving the opposition members into accepting the report as it stands, thereby recommending that the budget be passed at the committee level. This, in his view, would oblige the opposition members to support the budget at a later point on the genre chain, the debate on the budget in the National Assembly (NA). Meanwhile, other interviews revealed that TD2 and TA3 thought TC was genuinely confused at this point. TD2 believed she was confused because she was an inexperienced chairperson without sufficient procedural knowledge to know what to do in this situation, while TA3 believed she was confused because it was not clear how TD1 wanted to change the first clause complex of the report.

To return to TC's comment, "I'm NOT clear", she appears to express confusion over how one can agree to the report without passing the budget, as TD1 implies when he says "recommends that we PA- that we agree to this rePORT not the BUDget", when, as TC says, "the rePORT is on the budget". For TC, then, the report and budget are not separate entities, but part of the same black box which the committee must either accept or reject in its entirety.

TD2 enters the room as TD1 is speaking in Extract 20, quickly reads the first clause complex of the report and assesses the situation as he hears what his colleague and TC say. Then he says the following:

- (21) Madam chair first of all my apologies for being late ((*clears throat*)) (0.8) um- I had other meetings (0.7) If you look at the first opening paragraph there of the rePORT (it is) the rePORT of a tabled rePORT which was presented to us (1.0) relating to matters pertaining to the department and this budget (1.0) but it's not passing the BUDget (1.0) that has got to be done through the appropriation process in parliament on FRIday (0.8) when we stand up and debate this budget (0.8) and by neCESSity it might not mean that every one of us here is going to pass that budget (0.6) () (0.7) so that word pass there is incorRECT (4.5) recommends or considers this rePORT (3.3) we're NOT passing the budget

In beginning his argument for a change of wording, TD2 uses a Material Process to construe his denial of what he believes TC is saying: "but it's not passing the BUDget" (6). This Material Process implies that recommending that the budget be passed (as reflected in the clause complex in the draft report) is equivalent to passing the budget in practice, according to TD2's understanding.

Figure 4.8. charts an interesting progression in the Process types employed by the debating MPs that reflects a move away from what the report should say, to understandings of what the report should do.

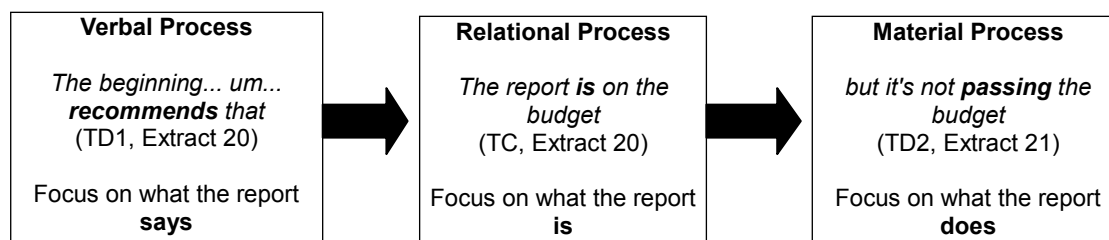


Figure 4.8: Progression of process types referring to the report in Stage 1

Once TD2 has offered “but it’s not passing the budget” as the basis on which he is objecting to the report’s wording, he returns to the text of the report to pinpoint what he sees as being the source of the problem. He says “so that word PASS there is incorrect”, in keeping with his contention that the first clause complex has the wrong Process according to his schemata. This differs from TD1’s initial identification of the problem in that TD1 focused only on the Goal of the Process, “it” [the budget], and asked whether the committee was agreeing on it or on “the report”. Thus TD2 has introduced a completely new point of disagreement regarding the first clause complex of the report, rather than explaining why TD1 asked a question about this clause complex in the first place.

TD2 then says “recommends or considers this rePORT”. This appears to be put forward as an alternative wording that would change both the Process, “passed”, and the Goal, “it” (referring to the budget), in the first clause complex of the report, replacing them with “this report” as a Phenomenon.

TD2 uses dialogically contractive resources to assert the accuracy of his schemata regarding the status of the report and the procedural role of the meeting under investigation. This is shown in Table 4.18.

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
If you look at the first opening paragraph there of the rePORT (it is)	Contract	Endorse	the rePORT of a tabled rePORT which was presented to us (1.0) relating to matters pertaining to the department and this budget
but	Contract	Counter	it's not passing the Budget
it's not	Contract	Deny	passing the Budget
it might not	Contract	Deny	mean that every one of us here is going to pass that budget
we're NOT	Contract	Deny	passing the budget

Table 4.18: Engagement choices in Extract 21

At first glance, these contractive resources seem unusual in an utterance which questions an aspect of the wording of the first paragraph of the report, particularly the endorsement of one statement in this paragraph. One would expect to find dialogically expansive resources being used to open the black box of the report. But what TD2 is doing here is to agree with elements of the first paragraph, but disagree with its recommendation “that [the budget] be passed”, denying it three times. These resources serve to close the dialogic space around his objections to the report, and their demand that the black box of the report be opened.

After TD2’s utterance, TA1 explains the role of the report according to her schemata, as shown in the following extract:

- (22) Ch- CHAIRperson this is a report (1.9) um (1.6) THAT we as a committee a () committee has deliberated (0.8) ON what (0.7) the dePARTment (0.5) CAME to us on Monday talking about (0.7) THEIR strategic plan for this financial year (1.1) and so because of the BUDget that we’ve been given (0.9) they have to come and report to this house or to this committee on what they have done with the budget WHEther whether they’ve (0.3) e- used the whole BUDget (0.3) OR they didn’t (0.4) you KNOW (0.5) SO (0.4) AS I understand this this- this is what we (0.6) AS this committee understands (0.5) FROM the budget vote (1.0) and I think- I don’t see anything wrong with that I aGREE with what you are saying the Appropriation Bill (0.3) will be GOing to be passed on Tuesday (0.3) I aGREE with you on that (0.4) BUT we’re talking about the budget vote which (0.6) E- the department (0.4) CAN produce a (0.8) COMmittee report on

TA1 describes the report using two Relational Processes: “this is a report that we as a committee... has deliberated (0.8) ON what (0.7) the dePARTment (0.5) CAME to us on Monday talking about (0.7) THEIR strategic plan for this financial year” and “this is what we (0.6) AS this committee understands (0.5) FROM the budget vote”. Later in her utterance, she closes the dialogic space around her argument, black-boxing it through a combination of contractive resources, as shown in Table 4.19.

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
AS I understand this	Expand	Entertain	this- this is what we (0.6) AS this committee understands (0.5) FROM the budget vote
and I think-	Expand	Entertain	I don’t see anything wrong with that
I don’t	Contract	Deny	see anything wrong with that
I aGREE with what you are saying	Contract	Concede	the Appropriation Bill (0.3) will be GOing to be passed on Tuesday
I aGREE with you	Contract	Concede	on that
BUT	Contract	Counter	we’re talking about the budget vote which (0.6) E- the department (0.4) CAN produce a (0.8) COMmittee report on

Table 4.19: Engagement choices in Extract 22

The argument that TA1 appears to be presenting here is that the opposition parties will have a chance to oppose the budget at this later opportunity in the genre chain, and so there is no reason why they should oppose the adoption of the draft report in the committee. At this stage, TA1 is also

viewing the report as a closed black box, rather than considering ways in which it can be tinkered with. What she does not appear to understand is that the DA members are concerned that adopting the report as it stands, without opening the black box and altering the contents, would remove their right to disagree with the budget later in the genre chain. This concern has not been articulated overtly in TD2 and TD1's utterances, but TD2's statement that "we're NOT passing the budget" can be read as a contextualization cue indicating that he sees adopting the report without amending the first clause complex as being tantamount to passing the budget, thereby excluding the possibility of disagreeing with it in the NA. TA1 has failed to recognize this cue.

TC, on the other hand, seems to have a clearer understanding of the DA members' concern. Her utterance after TA1 has spoken is basically a lengthy explanation of the procedure pertaining to the meeting under discussion, according to her schemata:

(23)

TD2: CAN I in[terject]

TC: [MY un-] (0.2) MY understanding of the process is as follows (1.9) the COMmittee will be presented with- er by the department with the budget (1.8) the COMmittee will deliberate on the budget (1.5) em (0.8) looking e- also at the perFORMance of the department in the previous ye[ar]

TA1: <[Mmm]>

(1.4)

TC: BeFORE (1.3) the BUdget (0.6) also gets PASSED in the House (1.0) the COMmittee (0.8) also have to say whether (0.7) THEY are passing (0.4) the BUdget or not (0.6) AS a committee because what HAPpens also in the House (1.1) is what COMES from us (1.6) so we have to pronounce whether we ARE in agreement with (0.5) this budget (0.6) WANT this budget (0.6) to be passed or not (1.8) and (0.4) there COULD be different views (0.6) in terms of (0.6) WHICH would be minuted (0.8) just as the report- (0.6) and if there ARE dif- dissenting views (0.4) within the portfolio committee THAT THAT gets recorded that e- (0.8) Party So-and-So was not in agreement with the PARTS that relate to the PASSing of the budget at committee level

The instance of Entertain realized by "if there ARE dif- dissenting views (0.4) within the portfolio committee" offers an alternative way for the opposition parties to adopt the report without agreeing to the recommendation that the budget be passed. Here the first clause complex of the report is recontextualized as "the PARTS that relate to the PASSing of the budget at committee level", a Nominal Group which presupposes that the budget should be either passed or not passed "at committee level". What TC is in fact recommending is that the report be passed on along the genre chain to the NA as a black box without further alteration, but that a label be written on the box explaining that certain parties disagree with specific parts of the contents of the box. While these comments are framed by dialogically expansive locutions (see Table 4.20.), TC's position of social power in the committee ensures that they are viewed as more than simple suggestions; because she committee's chairperson, she will lead the meeting according to her understanding of the procedure to be followed, limiting the room for other members to co-produce this procedure with her. Thus TC's utterance serves to black-box the report and the procedure to be followed despite its dialogically expansive features.

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
MY understanding of the process is as follows	Expand	Entertain	the COMmittee will be presented with- er by the department with the budget (1.8) the COMmittee will deliberate on the budget (1.5) em (0.8) looking e- also at the perFORMance of the department in the previous year (1.4) beFORE (1.3) the BUDget (0.6) also gets PASSED in the House (1.0) the COMmittee (0.8) also have to say whether (0.7) THEY are passing (0.4) the BUDget or not (0.6) AS a committee because what HAPpens also in the House (1.1) is what COMES from us (1.6) so we have to pronounce whether we ARE in agreement with (0.5) this budget (0.6) WANT this budget (0.6) to be passed or not (1.8) and (0.4) there COULD be different views (0.6) in terms of (0.6) WHICH would be minuted (0.8) just as the report- (0.6) and if there ARE dif- dissenting views (0.4) within the portfolio committee THAT THAT gets recorded that e- (0.8) Party So-and-So was not in agreement with the PARTS that relate to the PASSing of the budget at committee level
the COMmittee (0.8) also have to say	Expand	Acknowledge	whether (0.7) THEY are passing (0.4) the BUDget or not (0.6) AS a committee
we have to pronounce	Expand	Entertain	whether we ARE in agreement with (0.5) this budget (0.6) WANT this budget (0.6) to be passed or not
there COULD be	Expand	Entertain	different views
if there ARE dif- dissenting views (0.4) within the portfolio committee	Expand	Entertain	THAT THAT gets recorded that e- (0.8) Party So-and-So was not in agreement with the PARTS that relate to the PASSing of the budget at committee level

Table 4.20: Engagement choices in Extract 23

It is enlightening to contrast the interpersonal strategies used by the different participants in this stage and relate them to axiological condensation, because this demonstrates how the two different sides of the debate both black-box their own perspective as the correct one. To begin with, I consider TD1 and TD2's contributions to the debate. The low degree of Force in TD1's utterances (conveyed through words such as "just" and "perhaps") contrasts with the distinctly high degree of Force expressed by TD2 (as seen in Extract 21 in his many unmodulated Processes, such as in "so that word PASS there is incorrect", as well as in the Circumstance "by neCESSity"). Both offer a negative Appreciation of the clause complex of the report that they take issue with. TD1 gives a negative Appreciation of its Composition, saying it "may be mis- a bit misleading" (Extract 20). Meanwhile, TD2 expresses negative Valuation by saying "so that word PASS there is incorrect" (Extract 21), without downgrading the Force of this evaluation at all. In general TD1 tries to minimize the face-threat of his comments using negative politeness, while TD2 largely adopts a bald on-record politeness strategy.

TD1 said in an interview that at this point he was consciously "tiptoeing" and trying to say that the wording of the clause complex needed to change "without being too confrontational" (see Appendix 9). TD1 may have felt the need to "tiptoe" in this way because he had far less social power than TC did as a chairperson and member of the majority party. He seemed to be taking a very diplomatic approach in an attempt to prevent TC from becoming angry at the DA members,

and therefore rejecting their concerns.

However, TD2, with his bald on-record strategy, does not seem to share this perspective with TD1. Bald on-record strategies are inherently ambiguous: they may be used to index that the speaker's interlocutor has far less power than him/her, and so the speaker can afford to be impolite to him/her, or that the speaker is on intimate terms with the hearer, and so does not need to offer redressive action for a face-threatening act (FTA). TD2, who has more experience in parliament, said in an interview that he viewed TD1 as his "deputy" in the committee, clearly casting himself as the one who had more power to determine what the pair's strategy would be (see Appendix 9). This understanding is also reflected in the committee meeting, in that TD2 is the one who finally accepts a resolution to the dispute on behalf of the opposition MPs as a whole, as shown in 4.4.3. TD2 conceives of himself as operating from a position of greater social power than TD1, which means that he feels more empowered to use bald-on-record politeness strategies with TC than TD1 would. TD1 said that he thought TD2 "may have got too excited" and attributed the lack of synchrony between his approach and TD2 to the fact that they were not able to plan their argument before the meeting, and that he and TD2 had not worked together in a committee before, apart from the few Portfolio Committee on Transport meetings they had attended together since the opening of the Fourth Parliament. The difference between TD2 and TD1's approaches shows that asynchrony can develop in a committee meeting even between two people with similar linguistic and political backgrounds, and that this asynchrony may be informed by power asymmetries. It also highlights how a lack of teamwork between members of the same party may weaken their chances of communicating their standpoints clearly in a committee meeting.

TC and TA1 also differ in the politeness strategies they use. While TC is empowered through her positional authority as chairperson to make bald on-record face-threatening statements, TA1 uses solidarity politeness to try to convince the DA members of the validity of her argument, through claiming common ground with the DA members through her use of Concede.

However, this does little to ease the tension between TC and the DA members, which becomes evident in two features of TC's talk towards the end of the episode: firstly, TC overlaps with TD2 and effectively denies his request to interject in Extract 23. Secondly, she uses the words "different" and "dissenting", to describe the DA members' opinions. These words express a Judgement of negative Normality towards the DA members, thereby contrasting them with the majority opinion of the committee. This indicates the beginning of the axiological condensation of negative evaluations around the DA members' position. Thus in this stage, both sides of the debate begin subtly to engage in axiological condensation which associates negative characteristics with the opposing side of the debate.

To summarize what takes place in this stage, in Table 4.21 I indicate the ways in which each utterance affects the status of the report, viewed as a black box, and the miscommunications that are evident in each.

Extract	Speaker	Black box: Report	Axiological (de)condensation	Miscommunications
20	TC	Closed		
	TD1	Closed		
	TC	Closed		
	TD1	Opens, takes out the first clause complex	"misleading": -Composition	
	TC	Puts report and budget in same black box and closes		Is "not clear" as to what TD1 means.
21	TD2	Opens, takes out first clause complex and suggests a way to fix it	"incorrect": -Valuation	Does not follow TD1's "tiptoeing" tactic
22	TA1	Closes		Does not understand that adopting the report as a black box would preclude the Opposition from voting against the budget in the NA.
23	TC	Remains closed; suggests putting a qualifying label on the box	"different", "dissenting": -Normality	

Table 4.21: Summary of analysis of Stage 1: "Discovery of a difference of opinion over wording"

Here one can observe that recontextualization has been used both to open and to close the black box of the report. TD1 and TD2, debating from a position of relatively little social power, are unsuccessful in keeping the box open, while TA1 and TC succeed in closing the box through exerting their greater power to recontextualize the written report as something which the committee must simply pass along the genre chain to the NA debate, where political discussion on the merits of the budget can occur. Both pairs of participants use axiological condensation to exert their social power, but because TA1 and TC have greater social power in the committee as members of the ruling party, they are able to prevent the black box of the report from being opened.

In Stage 2, "Supporting arguments on either side", TD2 repeatedly opens the black box of the report to argue that the wording of the first clause complex of the draft report is procedurally incorrect, while TA1 closes the box again, arguing that the report is correct. Then TI says that he cannot recommend that the black box be sent on to the NA before consulting his caucus. This new addition to the debate appears to open the way for TD1's first proposal of a change in the wording of the report, which is discussed in the following section.

4.4.2. Stage 3: Proposal and rejection of changes in wording

In this stage, TD1 reopens the black box of the report to propose two changes in wording to the initial clause complex of the draft report, both of which TC rejects. In the process, there is an escalation in the asynchrony between TC and the DA members, as demonstrated in this section. This is accompanied by a dramatic increase in axiological condensation of the two opposing sides' positions.

TD1's first proposal of a change in wording is presented and rejected in the following extract:

(25)

TC: Honourable (TD1)?
(0.7)

TD1: Thanks Madam Chair I think () everything the HOnourable members have said has been correct I think it's just a matter of (0.6) how we inTERpret it I'd like to make the following (0.3) recommenDation (0.5) that we just add on two words and change one and that is at the TOP where it says (0.6) the portFolio committee on transport having considered the budget of the department vote thirty-three transport (0.6) recommends that this rePORT be adopted (0.7) and that's really all I'm saying (0.3) cause what what we DID is quite correct but (0.4) you know we we w- (0.5) the actual BUdget is being debated and stuff approved or rejected in the house and that's all I'm saying is this report's being ad[opted]

TD2: <[adOP]ted>=

TD1: =If- if that would be acceptable [I would be GRATEful]

TD2: <[(])>

TD1: ((clears throat))
(5.6)

TC: That's not the usual procedure

TD1 presents his proposal tentatively with the aid of many tokens of Entertain (see Table 4.22), projected by locutions such as “I think” and “I'd like to make the following (0.3)

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
I think	Expand	Entertain	everything the HOnourable members have said has been correct
I think	Expand	Entertain	it's just a matter of how we inTERpret it
it's just	Contract	Counter	a matter of how we inTERpret it
I'd like to make the following recommenDation	Expand	Entertain	that we just add on two words and change one and that is at the TOP where it says (0.6) the portFolio committee on transport having considered the budget of the department vote thirty-three transport (0.6) recommends that this rePORT be adopted
it says	Expand	Acknowledge	the portFolio committee on transport having considered the budget of the department vote thirty-three transport (0.6) recommends that this rePORT be adopted
the portFolio committee on transport having considered the budget of the department vote thirty-three transport (0.6) recommends	Expand	Acknowledge	that this rePORT be adopted
really all I'm saying	Contract	Pronounce	that's
but (0.4) you know we we w- (0.5)	Contract	Counter	the actual BUdget is being debated and stuff approved or rejected in the house
and that's all I'm saying	Contract	Pronounce	this report's being adopted
If- if	Expand	Entertain	that would be acceptable

Table 4.22: Engagement choices in Extract 25

recommenDation”. Other notable features of this utterance include two positive Valuations of the procedure followed by the committee thus far, realized by the word “correct” in “everything the HOnourable members have said has been correct” and “cause what what we DID is quite correct”. The two instances of “all I’m saying [is]” at the end of TD1’s utterance can be viewed as instantiations of Pronounce because they serve to re-affirm his position and black-box it as it were, along with the instance of Counter mentioned above. However, even these contractive expressions downgrade the degree of imposition inherent in TD1’s comments, presenting it as “all I’m saying”. Thus TD1 here is continuing his strategy of negative politeness towards TC and the other ruling-party MPs, undoing some of the previous axiological condensation that TD2 and he have been engaged in, by evaluating positively all the MPs in the committee, including the ruling party members.

TD1’s proposal is that the first clause complex of the report be changed to “The portFOlio committee on transport having considered the budget of the department vote thirty-three transport (0.6) recommends that this rePORT be adopted.” This proposal would not change the structure of the clause complex as drastically as the alternative wording suggested by TD2 in Stage 1, namely “recommends or considers this rePORT” but simply changes the Goal from “it” (referring to the budget) to “report” and the Process from “passed” to “adopted”. TD1 said in his interview that at this point in the episode, he was trying to minimize the changes to the report that he proposed. TD1’s utterance comes immediately after TI’s explanation that he cannot recommend that the budget be passed before consulting his caucus:

- (24)
 TI: Ma’am
 (1.0)
 TC: Yes
 (0.2)
 TI: I want to clarify my position Madam SPEAker (0.3) I’m SPEAking from the Inkatha Freedom Party
 Madam Chair (0.5) I say we adopt we we- (0.4) we would LIKE to adopt this report (0.8) however we’re
 having a CAUcus tomorrow (1.2) and at caucus I would- (0.9) it’s MY duty [as a]member of=
 TC: <[mhm]>
 TI: =this committee [to sell] this to my colleagues=
 TC: <[mhm]> =<mhm>
 TI: =and IF they say otherwise (0.6) then at the debate on- on- on FRIday (0.2) I will either acCEPT it
 (0.3)
 TC: <yes>
 (0.4)
 TI: o- e- OR- (1.1) so that’s (on condition of that)
 (0.6)
 TC: <Yes (0.3) yes>

It is evident that this explanation met with many minimal responses from TC, culminating in a quiet “Yes (0.3) yes”. It is quite possible that TD1 could have interpreted these supportive utterances as a contextualization cue indicating that TC understood TI’s predicament and therefore would be prepared to contemplate opening the black box and changing the wording of the first clause

complex of the report, since according to his schemata, that would be the best solution to the IFP and DA members' problems. However, TC's negative response to TD1 in Extract 25 indicates that he has misread the situation. She says "That's not the USUAL procedure", thereby using an instantiation of Deny to close the black box by appealing to her own schemata regarding committee procedure, as well as expressing a negative Reaction toward TD1's proposal as something unusual, axiologically condensing it together with his previous objections to the wording of the draft report. It is interesting that TC makes recourse to "the usual procedure" even though committees are free to co-produce their own procedure. This suggests either that she is unaware of this fact, or that she is attempting to deceive the committee members into believing that there is indeed a standard procedure to be followed. It appears that TC's minimal responses to TI were not an indication that she was ready to entertain a change in the wording of the first clause complex, but simply that she accepted the opposition parties' need to consult their caucuses.

In fact, far from the logical discussion that TD1 thought his proposal would lead to, TD2 and TC both express their frustration at this point by repeating themselves to add Force to what they are saying, causing their rapport to deteriorate further. This is shown in the following extract:

(26)

TC: That's not the usual procedure

(1.0)

TD2: <ADOPT the report>

(1.0)

TC: That's not the USUAL procedure (0.8)

TA1: <Mmm>

TC: What GETS adopted in the House (0.8) COUNTS as a recommendation of the portfolio committee

TA1: <Mmm>

(1.2)

TC: HOW would the House (2.3) Even (0.6) put this on the agenda FOR (1.6) adoption BY the house when the committee itself has not said anything about the adoption of the port- o- o- of the
bu[dget]

TA1: [<Ex>actly>

TD2 repeats "ADOPT the report" as a contextualization cue, implying "Of course that's what we're here to do: adopt the report, not pass the budget", and TC repeats her negative Reaction to TD1's proposal, "That's not the USUAL procedure". This repetition adds to the axiological condensation of the "opposition" and "ruling party" positions by entrenching them as two diametrically opposed points of view.

TC restates her understanding monologically, this time not admitting room for opposing voices: "What GETS adopted in the House (0.8) COUNTS as a recommendation of the portfolio committee". She unpacks this statement at a stronger level of SG in a pointed rhetorical question, "HOW would the House (2.3) Even (0.6) put this on the agenda FOR (1.6) adoption BY the house when the committee itself has not said anything about the adoption of the port- o- o- of the budget", using dialogically contractive resources to black-box it as shown in Table 4.23.

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
That's not	Contract	Deny	the usual procedure
That's not	Contract	Deny	the USUAL procedure
Even	Contract	Counter	put this on the agenda FOR (1.6) adoption BY the house
has not	Contract	Deny	said anything about the adoption of the port- o- o- of the budget

Table 4.23: Engagement choices in Extract 26

At this point, TD2 attempts to break the deadlock with a new strategy: he recontextualizes the entire episode up to this point as an argument about “semantics”:

(27)

TD2: Can I- Can I FOLlow up madam chair? (1.6) We're talking about seMANtics here ((*clears throat*)) your colleague here who's just been talking aBOUT (0.6) adopting a report- what do we do? we aDOPT a report we accept it as we see it here (0.7) but to PASS a report is a different story because then you are endorsing it you are actually RUBberstamping it saying this is (1.0) that is the difference in English

TD2's construal of the debate as “talking about seMANtics” downgrades (decreases the Force of) the extent of the differences between the opposition and ANC members, by suggesting that the argument is over meanings of words rather than substantive matters. This could be seen as use of negative politeness, since it implies that the ANC members have little to lose by allowing the DA members to open the black box and change the first clause complex as they have proposed. As Table 4.24. shows, TD2 also aims to undo some of the axiological condensation that has built up by referring to what TA1 had said earlier and endorsing it, before using countering to contrast the action of “passing” with that of “adopting”.

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
We're talking	Expand	Acknowledge	about seMANtics here
your colleague here who's just been talking aBOUT	Contract	Endorse	adopting a report-
but	Contract	Counter	to PASS a report is a different story

Table 4.24: Engagement choices in Extract 27

In an interview, TD1 commented that the argument was not really over semantics, but TD2 wanted to make it appear so in the hopes that TC would concede to the proposed changes in wording. However, TD2's recontextualizing of the debate casts negative aspersions on TC and the other ANC members. This is shown particularly in his statement, “that is the difference in English”, which evokes a Judgement of negative Capacity on their ability to use the English language. Thus if TD2 was attempting to use negative politeness to win over the ANC members, this attempt fails, and instead he manages to condense further negative evaluations with his opponents' position.

Once again, TD2 draws attention to the Process “pass” as a problematic feature of the report's first clause complex, rather than the Goal “it”, referring to the budget. In place of the word “pass”,

he proposes that the word “adopt” should be used. In his interview, he said that all that needed to be changed in the first clause complex of the draft report was that the Process “pass” should have been substituted with “adopted”. However, in other interviews TD1, TA2 and TA3, who all attended this meeting, all said that if only this word were changed, there would be no substantive difference in the meaning of the clause complex; it would be necessary to change the Goal “it” as well to accomplish such a change. However, TD2’s insistence that the Process must be changed seems to deflect attention away from the central issue of whether the committee should approve *only* the report, or the report *and* the budget, and so complicates the episode further.

At this stage both TC and TD2 use Judgements of Propriety to continue the process of axiological condensation around their opposing viewpoints. TD2 associates passing the budget with the word “rubberstamping”, which in the meso-context of parliament evokes a negative Judgement on the committee’s Propriety, especially because various commentators have used the word when accusing the previous parliament under the Mbeki administration of unquestioningly approving government policies and legislation, and thereby compromising its oversight role, which was generally perceived to be weak, as explained in 2.4.3.

Meanwhile, TC evokes positive Judgements of Propriety by associating the words “duty” and “responsibility” with passing the budget in her comments following TD2’s utterance, as shown in the extract below:

- (28)
 TD2: that is the difference in English [()]
 TC: [CAN I can- can I inter]ject what you are saying?=
 TD2: =<Ja>
 TC: (1.2) we ARE a portfolio committee
 TA1: <mm>
 TC: (1.1) our duty is to PASS (0.8) this (0.9) and REcommend to the House to do the same (0.9) THAT is our responsibility
 TD2: <but it’s semantics>
 TC: AND (0.5) AND (0.7) aMONG us (0.5) are PEOple (0.2) that would say (0.2) we are NOT in favour of this budget and those people should come forward and say so (1.1) if we need to VOTE in the committee we need to vote in the committee and say (0.5) THOSE that are in favour of the- o- o- of passing the budget=
 TA1: =<mmm>=
 TC: =should say so and those that are not in favour of (0.2) and then that would happen even in the HOUSE

As this extract shows, TC interrupts TD2 during his utterance. The juxtaposition of TD2’s side-comment “but it’s semantics” with TC’s references to “duty” and “responsibility” reveals exactly how advanced the process of axiological condensation is at this point. “But it’s semantics” evokes a negative Valuation of TC’s statement that the committee’s duty is to pass “this”, dismissing this statement as inconsequential. (It is uncertain whether “this” refers to the report or the budget.) Thus what is highly valued by the ruling-party MPs is rejected by the opposition MPs, showing how the different sides evaluate the same action in diametrically opposed ways.

TC uses Acknowledge to open the dialogic space for those who “would say (0.2) we are NOT in favour of this budget” (see Table 4.25). She uses Entertain to present a course of action that she believes would accommodate these people fittingly: “if we need to VOTE in the committee we need to vote in the committee”.

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
We ARE	Contract	Pronounce	a portfolio committee
aMONG us (0.5) are PEOple (0.2) that would say	Expand	Acknowledge	we are NOT in favour of this budget
if	Expand	Entertain	we need to VOTE in the committee
and say	Expand	Entertain	THOSE that are in favour of the- o- o- of passing the budget should say so and those that are not in favour of

Table 4.25: Engagement choices in Extract 28

TA1 speaks in support of TC in this regard, commenting that the procedure she outlined is “exactly what wha- e- what should happen”. This evokes a positive Valuation of this procedure, continuing the axiological condensation of positive evaluations with the ANC MPs’ viewpoint. TA1’s turn at speaking is recorded in the following extract:

(29)

TA1: UH I'm just speaking to what you're saying Chairperson that's exactly what wha- e- what should happen=

TC: =<mmm>=

TA1: =because I feel we are IN disagreement

(0.5)

TC: <mmm>

(3.0)

TA1: because [()] and in FACT only if it's on Tuesday (0.4) THERE will be

TC: [HOnourable (TD1)]

TA1: given time (0.2) to- to- to MAKE their declaration (0.4) AND I think DA has (0.1) I mean they'll have the ample time to actually say they don't agree to the budget because of A B C D (0.1) and we'll vote in the HOUSE

TA1 repeats the point she made in Stage 1 (Extract 22), that the DA will still be able to open the budget’s black box, list their objections to it (“to actually say they don't agree to the budget because of A B C D”) and vote on it in the NA if they do not disturb the black box of the report in the committee. She uses Acknowledge to leave room open for the opposition MPs to disagree with the budget (see Table 4.26.), as TC did in Extract 28. Here she seeks to support TC by seeking to allay the opposition members’ concern that passing the report unaltered will preclude them from opening the black box of the budget in the NA.

However, it is clear that this attempt to allay their concern is unsuccessful, because at a long pause in TA1’s turn at speaking, TD1 puts up his hand to speak, and TC notes it before realizing that TA1 is actually continuing to speak. Thus TD1 is allocated the next turn at speaking, in which he gives a second proposal to change the wording of the report, indicating that he is still unhappy

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
I'm just speaking to what you're saying Chairperson	Expand	Entertain	that's exactly what wha- e- what should happen
I feel	Expand	Entertain	we are IN disagreement
in FACT	Contract	Pronounce	only if it's on Tuesday (0.4) THERE will be given time (0.2) to- to- to MAKE their declaration
if it's on Tuesday	Expand	Entertain	THERE will be given time (0.2) to- to- to MAKE their declaration
I mean	Expand	Entertain	they'll have the ample time to actually say they don't agree to the budget because of A B C D
actually	Contract	Counter	say they don't agree to the budget because of A B C D
say	Expand	Acknowledge	they don't agree to the budget because of A B C D

Table 4.26: Engagement choices in Extract 29

with TC's suggestion of taking a vote in the committee. The following extract records his proposal and TC's rejection of it:

(30)

TC: <mhm> (1.6) HoNOURable (TD1)?

TD1: Thanks thanks madam ch- I wonder if I could come up with a proposal as a COMpromise (0.8) that we LEAVE the word pass but instead of the word it (0.7) that we say recommends that THIS report be passed (0.5) would THAT be acceptable (2.5)

TC: It's NOT a report that gets passed it's a budget

TD1 uses Entertain to open up the dialogic space for debate around the wording of the report (see Table 4.27.). The word "COMpromise" suggests a position that contains input from both sides of the argument, therefore undoing the strict dichotomy between them, and reversing the process of axiological condensation.

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
I wonder if I could come up with a proposal as a COMpromise	Expand	Entertain	that we LEAVE the word pass but instead of the word it (0.7) that we say recommends that THIS report be passed
but instead of the word it	Contract	Counter	that we say recommends that THIS report be passed
that we say	Expand	Entertain	recommends that THIS report be passed

Table 4.27: Engagement choices in Extract 30

TD1 may think that this second proposal would be accepted because in Extract 27, TD2 had focused the debate on which Process should be used in the clause complex: "passed" or "adopted", rather than on whether the Goal of the Process should be the report or the budget. This created conditions in which conceding that the word "passed" did not need to be changed may have appeared to be a genuine compromise, when in fact TD1 is far more concerned over whether the Goal of the clause should be "the budget" or "the report".

However, this proposal also fails because TC's attention has not been drawn away from the Goal entirely. TC shows many signs of agitation in this turn at speaking, which is shown in the following extract:

(31)
 TC: It's NOT a report that gets passed it's a budget
 (2.0)
 TD2: ()
 TC: It's a BUdget (0.8) you HAVE the right to abstain you have the right to vote [not in=
 TD2: [(
 TC: =favour of] but we canNOT (1.4) FAIL to do our duty because the DA is not in=
 TD2:)]
 TC: =agreement with the budget (1.3) our duty is to enSURE that the department of transport has got a budget
 (1.0) and the HOUSE deliberates on that budget (0.5) and the budget gets PASSED

She uses the stressed word “HAVE” in “you HAVE the right to abstain you have the right to vote not in favour of” to realize Affirm, agreeing that the opposition MPs have a right to dissent (see Table 4.28). Her mention of the word “abstain” may well be a contextualization cue reminding the MPs present of the way in which the DA MPs abstained from electing her as the committee chairperson a month previously (as explained in the introduction to the analysis of this episode), and in a second order of indexicality may imply that she feels affronted by this episode in a similar way to that in the meeting when she was elected. Once again, she uses the word “duty” to black-box positive Judgements of Propriety with her approach to passing the budget, and a negative Judgement of Propriety, “FAIL to do our duty” to describe what would happen were TD1's proposal to be accepted. This negative Judgement's Force is upscaled through the stress on the word “FAIL”. This high degree of Force, as well as the side-comments offered by TD2 while TC is speaking, reinforces the antagonistic tone of the interaction at this point. According to TC, then, the committee simply has to pass the budget along to the NA as a black box. The NA may open it to

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
It's NOT	Contract	Deny	a report that gets passed
you HAVE	Contract	Affirm	the right to abstain
but	Contract	Counter	we canNOT (1.4) FAIL to do our duty because the DA is not in agreement with the budget
we cannot	Contract	Deny	FAIL to do our duty because the DA is not in agreement with the budget
the DA is not	Contract	Deny	in agreement with the budget

Table 4.28: Engagement choices in Extract 31

deliberate on its contents, but then it must approve it; she has no more time for those who would reopen the box and poke around at its contents.

To summarize the events of this stage, I chart different speakers' orientations to two black boxes: the report and the budget, as well as various miscommunications which become evident in different

utterances. This is done in Table 4.29.

In this stage, we observe that both sides of the debate make efforts to reach out to the other side through the use of positive evaluations or words such as “COMpromise”. These can be viewed as axiological decondensation: attempts to disassociate the opposing side of the debate from the negatively-valued constellation that is being produced. These examples of axiological decondensation precede proposals of resolutions to the conflict. However, both sides reject the other side’s proposed resolutions because they are convinced of the rightness of their own position and do not consider the other side’s proposed resolution to be a real concession. TD1 proposes changes in the wording of the report, but these are rejected because the ruling-party MPs consider these changes in wording to reflect the opposition MPs’ conception of what procedures should be followed rather than their own. TC proposes that a vote be taken in the committee, but this proposal is tacitly rejected by the opposition MPs because it does not address their concern that the first clause complex of the report is procedurally incorrect. The rejection of these proposals are followed by further examples of axiological condensation, and thus (in this case at least), axiological condensation occurs in waves, similar to the waves of epistemological condensation observed in 4.3.

Extract	Speaker	Black box: Report	Black box: Budget	Axiological (de)condensation	Miscommunications
25	TD1	Opens it, disturbs it slightly		“correct”: +Valuation (decondensation)	Mistakenly thought TC would be amenable to his proposed change in wording
26	TC	Closes it		“not the USUAL procedure”: -Reaction	
27	TD2	Minimizes the impact of opening it	If report is closed, then budget is closed	“RUBberstamping”: -Propriety	Identifies the word “pass” as the point of disagreement, rather than “it [the budget]”
28	TC	Closes it		“duty”, “responsibility”: +Propriety	
29	TA1	Closed	It can be opened by NA	“exactly what... should happen”: +Valuation	
30	TD1	Opens it, disturbs it even less than previously		“COMpromise” (decondensation)	Mistakenly thought TC would be amenable to his proposed change in wording
31	TC	Closed	It can be opened by NA	“duty”: +Propriety	

Table 4.29: Summary of analysis of Stage 3: Proposal and rejection of changes in wording

In the process of debate around these proposals, two conflicting sets of binary oppositions, or constellations, are produced by the two sides, demonstrating that both are engaged in axiological condensation that seeks to associate positive evaluations with their position and negative

evaluations with the other side's position. The opposition MPs produce the following constellations over stages 1 and 3:

Opposition MPs	Ruling-party MPs
correct	incorrect
concerned with substantive issues	arguing over semantics
offering meaningful oversight	rubberstamping

Table 4.30: Constellation produced through the opposition MPs' axiological condensation

Meanwhile, the ruling-party MPs produce the following constellations:

Ruling-party MPs	Opposition MPs
normal	different / dissenting
follow usual procedure	suggest unusual procedure
dutiful	fail to do their duty
responsible	irresponsible

Table 4.31: Constellation produced through the ruling-party MPs' axiological condensation

In 4.4.4, I show that both of these constellations are condensed into particular labels that are salient in the context of this interaction, which are attached to the ruling-party and opposition MPs respectively, completing the process of axiological condensation. These constellations index these labels throughout the interaction, as both sides of the debate condense positive evaluations into the label describing their own position, and negative evaluations into their label for the opposing side.

After Stage 3, TD2 takes TC up on her offer in Extract 31 that the opposition parties may abstain from adopting the report as it stands, as an unchanged black box. This is necessitated by the fact that ruling-party MPs hold more social power in the committee than the opposition MPs do, both because there are more ruling-party MPs than opposition MPs, and because TC, as chairperson, is in control of the procedural direction that the committee takes, and has shown no signs of making further concessions to the opposition MPs. When both sides of a debate use axiological condensation to index social (rather than epistemological) reasons why their perspective is preferable to that of their opponents, the side with more social power will usually win.

TD2's acceptance of TC's suggestion that the opposition parties abstain from adopting the report initiates Stage 4: "Acceptance of abstention as a resolution". Following this, there is a vote on whether to adopt the report or not, constituting Stage 5: "Vote". The ANC MPs vote for the adoption of the report, while all the opposition MPs abstain. Following the vote, TI and TCo, as representatives of the smaller opposition parties, the IFP and COPE, reiterate that they are abstaining only because they are obliged to consult their caucuses before deciding whether to adopt the report or not. This makes up Stage 6: "Reiteration of positions". Once this is complete, the

committee's decision must be recontextualized back into the written report. This process is discussed briefly in the following section.

4.4.3. Stage 7: Recording of the decision

In this stage, after finding someone to move for the adoption of the report and another person to second it, TC explains what information she believes should be added to the report to reflect the resolution arrived at by the committee members, and asks if it is acceptable to the opposition members. This is recorded in the following extract:

(36)

TC: WHAT we are then going to be doing (0.5) WE are going together with- (0.9) with THIS report going to have (0.8) an- e- a PAGE that says (1.8) WHEN we were doing this (3.8) the (1.4) COPE, IFP and DA abstained (1.2) for PURposes of (1.0) going back to THEIR caucuses (6.5) is THAT OK?

TD2: Yes fine

TC: Thank you

This information recontextualized using Acknowledge (see Table 4.32) constitutes the label on the black box of the report which TC first suggested in Extract 23 of Stage 1. TD2 accepts TC's formulation of this label on behalf of all the opposition MPs.

Instantiation	Expand / Contract	Resource	Meaning expanded / contracted
WHAT we are then going to be doing	Expand	Entertain	WE are going together with- (0.9) with THIS report going to have (0.8) an- e- a PAGE that says (1.8) WHEN we were doing this (3.8) the (1.4) COPE, IFP and DA abstained (1.2) for PURposes of (1.0) going back to THEIR caucuses
a PAGE that says	Expand	Acknowledge	WHEN we were doing this (3.8) the (1.4) COPE, IFP and DA abstained (1.2) for PURposes of (1.0) going back to THEIR caucuses

Table 4.32: Engagement choices in Extract 36

The following extracts from the final report show its modified first paragraph and the “label” at the end of the report:

(37) *Opening paragraph:*

The Portfolio Committee on Transport, having considered the budget vote of the Department of Transport, Vote 33 reports as follows:

...

Closing paragraphs:

The Democratic Alliance (DA), Congress of the People (COPE) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), while accepting the contents of the report, abstained from recommending the acceptance of the Budget Vote because they had not consulted with their relevant parties in caucus.

The Portfolio Committee on Transport recommends that Budget Vote 33 be passed.

One element added to the report which is not present in TC's formulation in Extract 36 is the clause “while accepting the contents of the report”. This clause is recontextualized from the following statement by TD2 in Stage 4: “Acceptance of abstention as a resolution”:

- (32) we accepting this report and I MUST stress that I want that minuted we are accepting this report (0.4) for aDOption for passing and tabling into the parliamentary system (0.1) because it is verBATim we have all been here there is nothing in this report which we didn't hear (0.5) so we are not ARguing on the content of the report we are arguing on the content of the saying that this- we are passing this (0.7) we are NOT passing this budget

The members from the other opposition parties made similar statements during Stage 5:

“Reiteration of positions”. TI said:

(34)

TI: THANK you (1.1) I think I must rephrase MY position (0.6) I've SAID that I accept what's written here (0.2)

C: <mmm>

TI: (0.1) but I HAVE to meet my caucus tomorrow (0.7) and toMORrow that's where we take the final- (1.0) and the deBATE tomorrow (0.5) on S- Friday (0.5) this is WHERE we'll (1.0) I think (0.1) I accept what is here and it is MY duty to go and sell it to my colleagues

Meanwhile, TCo said:

- (35) EH Ma- MAdam Chair (1.9) the rePORT is a true reflection of the transaction that we had together (1.8) we are NOT going to as Congress of the People (0.9) deBATE illogically () (1.5) we **say** the document is a true reflection (1.1) in terms of whether our position would be (0.8) to vote for the PASsing of the budget it's an- it's a horse of a different kind (1.0) THAT we'll get to in the debate (0.3) on SATurday

The statements of acceptance of the veracity of the report's account of the committee's interaction with the Department of Transport in these three extracts are all condensed epistemologically into the clause “while accepting the contents of the report”, but this process of condensation does not appear to be problematic in any way from my analyst's perspective.

The report paragraph also adds in some information on what the opposition MPs abstained from doing, namely “recommending the acceptance of the Budget Vote” (Extract 37) which is not mentioned in TC's formulation (Extract 36), but is inferred from the context of her utterance and the subject matter of the debate. Thus the report adds in information which is necessary in the context-independent written report but was not necessary to mention in TC's context-dependent utterance. However, this information is presented in a semantically dense, “written” style, through use of the nominalization “the acceptance of the Budget Vote”.

The penultimate paragraph of the final report is remarkably similar to TC's formulation, with the exception that TC's formulation speaks of the opposition parties abstaining “for purposes of going back to their caucuses” (Extract 36), while the report speaks of them abstaining “because they had not consulted with their relevant parties in their caucuses” (Extract 37). This locution realizes Deny, indexing that there was an expectation that the opposition MPs should have consulted with their parties prior to the meeting. Thus this locution may be interpreted as evoking a negative Judgement of Capacity on the opposition MPs, while TC's formulation as accepted by the opposition parties does not allow this interpretation, nor did any of the other members at the meeting allege that the opposition members had not prepared thoroughly enough.

This small example highlights the significance of the role of the committee secretaries' linguistic choices in allowing or disallowing certain interpretations of the processes they report on. The wording of the penultimate paragraph allows an interpretation that was not possible to derive from the spoken interaction of the meeting. This demonstrates that committee secretaries should be required to exert a great deal of care when compiling committee reports, to ensure as far as possible that no unintended interpretations of the committee members are included in recontextualization from the spoken interaction of the meeting to the written report.

4.4.4. Conclusion

This analysis has shown so far how two opposing groups in the committee, divided along party lines, have black-boxed two competing versions of the procedure to be followed by the committee by developing constellations around these two versions, and giving the constellation that they favour a positive moral charging, and the one that they disapprove of a negative moral charging. These two versions of the procedure to be followed are informed by the respective participants' differing schemata. Instead of negotiating in order to make a collective decision on what procedure should be followed, they argue that their own understandings are the "correct" or "usual" procedure to follow. The two versions of the procedure to be followed in turn have a bearing on two other black boxes: the committee report and the Department of Transport's budget. There are thus four black boxes at issue in this discussion. The opposition MPs' version of the procedure to be followed emphasizes the need to keep the black boxes of the report and the budget open for as long as possible so that both can be subjected to critique, fulfilling parliament's oversight role. While the black box of the report must be closed in the committee, the black box of the budget must remain open for discussion in the NA. The ruling-party MPs' version, on the other hand, emphasizes the need to close both black boxes before passing them on to the NA, so that the budget can be approved and implemented as quickly as possible to ensure improved service delivery.

A comment made in Stage 4, "Acceptance of abstention as a resolution", indexes the possible schemata behind the ruling-party members' version of the procedure to be followed. In it, TA4, an ANC member, says,

- (33) ER comrade chairperson can we (0.6) proCEED (0.4) cause I can see that er (0.8) the HOnourable members from the DA have got their small caucus within the em eh- (0.4) portFolio committee so can we (0.5) just (0.3) they've GOT their opposition (0.2) let them HANG on it (0.6) then we are MOving (0.3) *the COUNtry's waiting eh (0.4) for DEvelopment* (italics mine)

The presuppositions behind the italicized portion of TA4's comments are particularly interesting: the country is waiting for development while the committee argues over the wording of the report; therefore development can only happen once this report is passed along the genre chain to the NA. This effectively puts the development of the country in the black box along with the report: if one is

for development, one must accept the report as it is. The progress of the report (and of development) will continue regardless of the opposition's attempts to obstruct it.

This logic appears to have deep roots in the history of the ANC: De Jager (2009) explains that since the ANC's 1969 Morogoro Conference, the party's project of transforming South Africa has been referred to (indeed, recontextualized) as the National Democratic Revolution (NDR). This effectively black-boxed the party's project and its policies as inadmissible topics for critical debate, non-negotiable principles to which the organization would hold firmly in its fight against apartheid. This seemed necessary given the exigencies of life in the anti-apartheid struggle, when there was a need for united co-operation against a common enemy. However, it also opened space for those within and outside the ANC that did not agree with the leadership's policies to be cast by some as "counter-revolutionaries". De Jager (2009) writes that this leads to a situation in which some ANC members still view those who oppose the government's policies as "counter-revolutionaries" obstructing the NDR, although others recognize the necessity of robust parliamentary opposition.

A very recent illustration of this logic comes from a vote in the NA to pass the Protection of State Information Bill, which has been nicknamed the "Secrecy Bill" by the South African media due to the sweeping limits it is perceived to place on freedom of access to information. Two ANC MPs abstained from voting on the bill, and there have been rumours that party disciplinary action may be taken against them; meanwhile Blade Nzimande, the Minister of Higher Education and Training, has called the campaign against the bill "an ideological offensive against the national democratic revolution" (Sparks 2011).

Thus when opposition MPs object to the wording of the committee's report, they can be labelled as "counter-revolutionaries", using the logic of axiological condensation. In fact, one can view the label "counter-revolutionary" as an axiological condensation of all the evaluations on the right hand side of Table 4.31. By contrast, the evaluations on the left hand side of Table 4.31 can be condensed into the label "revolutionary" or even "developmental" (as in Extract 33, "the COUNtry's waiting eh (0.4) for DEvelopment") and applied to the ruling-party members. Thus this type of axiological condensation operates through indexing concepts that are relevant in the macro-context of the interaction examined in this section.

The existence of these semantically dense concepts of "revolutionary" and "counter-revolutionary" neither mean that the ANC's institutional culture is undemocratic, nor that most ANC members are against opening black boxes in parliament; it simply means that once a text is correct according to ANC MPs, black-boxing through axiological condensation is a technique that some of them use to prevent further amendment to that text.

The opposition's response can also be said to index semantically dense macro-contextual concepts: the opposition parties are concerned with defending the integrity of South Africa's

democratic institutions, including parliament, and to them, this entails defending their right to argue against the department's budget in the NA. Thus these opposition parties tend to use axiological condensation to associate this right with the health of South African democracy. Those who follow their line of argument are labelled as "pro-democracy", a term which condenses the evaluations on the left hand side of Table 4.30. Meanwhile, those who do not follow this line of argument are labelled as "undemocratic", condensing the evaluations on the right hand side of Table 4.30. The opposition parties are, like the ANC under Zuma's leadership, firmly committed to ensuring that parliament is robust in its oversight role, and for this reason, they do not want to see the committee pass the budget along the genre chain of the parliamentary oversight process as an unopened black box, merely "rubberstamping" it.

Thus the asynchrony between the ANC and opposition MPs in this episode is a result of a conflict of values: while the ANC MPs are concerned to advance democracy by passing the Department of Transport's budget so that the department can continue with service delivery, the opposition MPs seek to advance democracy by protecting their democratic right to object to the budget in the NA. This conflict of values also results in the difference between the ANC and opposition MPs being seen as a boundary, rather than functioning merely as a border, as it does in the episode discussed in 4.2.

This analysis has demonstrated that there is a considerable degree of uncertainty as to the procedural roles of parliamentary committees and their reports in the oversight process of parliament, creating a fertile environment for communication difficulties. Because committees are left to co-produce their own procedures, disputes about the procedure to be followed in a particular situation may often arise, obstructing the committee's work and taking up valuable time in committee meetings. One can observe how the disparities in participants' schemata regarding the role of the committee in the episode discussed above play a role in the conflict between the ANC and opposition committee members. However, there are also clear differences in participants' schemata within particular political parties, such as those between TD1, who concentrates on trying to change the first clause complex of the report so that it refers to the report itself rather than the budget, and TD2, who concentrates more on changing the action reflected in the clause complex from "passed" to "adopted". Because these two participants are from the same party, however, the differences between their schemata are played down as borders, while those between the ANC members in general and the opposition members are amplified as a boundary.

Ultimately, because there are few guidelines as to what procedures to follow in committees, there is no basis on which MPs can use epistemological condensation to produce knowledge claims about these procedures; instead they must resort to axiological condensation in procedural debates. As observed in 4.4.3, this means that in most cases, those with the most social power will win these

debates, and thus unequal relations of social power determine whose version of the correct procedure is followed. The lack of procedural guidance ultimately places great power in the hands of the committee chairperson and majority party members to dictate what procedure is followed, as Hasson (2010) observes. In this episode, TC's position as chairperson and the ANC's numerical advantage over the opposition afford them the power to prevent the opposition members from disturbing the black box of the report by altering its first clause complex of the draft report, allowing them instead to put a label on the black box, registering their dissent with the recommendation that the budget be passed.

Communication difficulties occur in part because of the two different political mandates which the ANC as a ruling party and the opposition have. Ultimately, both groups see themselves as advancing democracy: the ANC members are pursuing the National Democratic Revolution by pushing forward the government's agenda for development, while the opposition members are ensuring that space for democratic debate in parliament remains open. However, the vastly different schemata through which ANC and opposition MPs decide how democracy is to be advanced in this situation become a source of asynchrony.

4.5. Summary of findings

At the end of this lengthy chapter, it is important to draw together the findings of the three episodes that have been examined.

In 4.2, "Be careful of percentages", epistemological condensation is involved in at least two areas: the discussion of the budget presented by Agrément SA as a state-owned entity, and the discussion around how MPs should be allocated turns at speaking during the "round of questions". The multimodal presentation in which Agrément SA's budget is outlined possesses extremely strong levels of SD, and the MPs present make heavy use of dialogically expansive resources, especially Entertain, to attempt to undo the epistemological condensation that had occurred in the process of compiling it. Meanwhile, the presenter attempts two strategies to prevent them from doing so: he tries using dialogically contractive resources to close the black box of the budget presentation, and when that does not succeed, uses pseudo-opening: he strengthens the SG of the presentation by interpreting it, rather than by providing the additional information the MPs were seeking. This leaves the presentation intact as an epistemologically powerful knowledge structure, and the MPs do not succeed in eliciting information from A2 that would weaken this knowledge structure, opening it to critique. Ultimately, the source of asynchrony in this discussion was identified as a difference in understandings of the presenter's role: according to his schemata, the presenter understands his role to be one of interpreting the budget he has already presented, while the MPs expect him to be able to provide further information on how that budget had been produced.

In the discussion around how MPs should be allocated turns at speaking, it was observed that the more questions MPs are allowed to ask before the presenters were given a chance to answer them, the broader the discussion as a knowledge structure becomes, and the more opportunity the presenters have to engage in epistemological condensation by grouping questions together and answering them at a stronger level of SD, obscuring important details at stronger levels of SG. Thus the discursive structuring of a committee meeting has a profound influence on the quality of oversight exerted in that meeting. In controlling this discursive structuring, a chairperson faces a conflict of interests between demands for specific answers from presenters on narrowly-focused single questions, and demands for a broad variety of concerns to be raised so that as many MPs' voices as possible can be heard in the meeting.

In 4.3, "The example that I can relate to", epistemological condensation is shown to be active in the ways in which two MPs recontextualize examples from their constituencies in spoken committee discourse, and further, in the ways in which these MPs' utterances are recontextualized into the committee's report. Both of these MPs, TC and TD1, use epistemological condensation to rescale their local examples to a stronger level of SD in order to make their relevance to the committee's topic of discussion more apparent. However, TC rescales her example in a more epistemologically powerful way than TD1, by means of rapid alternation between the level of SG of her example and the level of SD of the committee's discussion. When it comes to recontextualizing TD1 and TC's examples into the committee report, it is found that the degree of epistemological condensation employed by the committee secretary differs greatly between one set of examples and the other. TD1's example is to a large extent lost in the process of epistemological condensation, while one example from TC is recontextualized far more faithfully. The reasons for this are complex, but have much to do with the fact that TC not only recontextualized her example in an epistemologically powerful way, but also holds more social power in the committee than TD1. Thus TD1's example is vulnerable to a greater degree of epistemological condensation than TC's one is.

Lastly, in 4.4, "We're talking about semantics here", axiological condensation is shown to be the primary means of black-boxing in a debate between ruling-party and opposition MPs. The result of this axiological condensation is that the side with the most social power, namely the ruling-party MPs, win the debate. Both the ruling-party and opposition MPs seek to promote their own positions through using positive tokens of Appreciation and Judgement to refer to their understandings of the procedure the committee should follow, and negative tokens of Appreciation and Judgement to refer to the understandings of the opposite side of the debate. The ruling-party MPs argue for the black boxes of the committee's report and the Department of Transport's budget to remain closed and unaltered, while the opposition MPs argue that the black box of the

committee's report should be opened and changed to allow the black box of the Department's budget to be opened in the NA. These two positions are informed by the relevant participants' different schemata regarding committee procedure, as well as by a conflict of values over the best way in which to advance South African democracy. In the process of recontextualizing this discussion into the final version of the committee report, a possible negative interpretation of the opposition parties' behaviour is introduced that was not apparent in the spoken discourse of the committee meeting, demonstrating that care must be taken by committee secretaries not to introduce unintended meanings into the committee reports.

In Chapter 5, these findings are related back to the research questions quoted at the beginning of this chapter, and their practical implications are examined in order to provide recommendations on how communication in the parliamentary process may be made more effective.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1.	Introduction	171
5.2.	Theoretical implications: Recontextualization and its realization in language	172
5.3.	Key findings: Recontextualization in the parliamentary committee process	176
5.3.1.	Spoken recontextualization: the committee meetings	177
5.3.2.	Written recontextualization: the committee reports	179
5.3.3.	Ideational and interpersonal meaning lost and gained in the committee process	180
5.4.	Practical applications: Strengthening the genre chain	182
5.4.1.	Strengthening communication in presentation meetings	182
5.4.2.	Strengthening committee reports	185
5.4.3.	Strengthening committee procedure	185
5.4.4.	Summary	186
5.5.	Conclusion	187

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1. Introduction

This research has important implications and applications in a variety of areas. Firstly, this study has made a contribution to the theory on recontextualization and the production of knowledge, in institutional settings as well as other contexts. These theoretical implications, described in 5.2, demonstrate how this study has a broader applicability outside the walls of parliament. Following that, 5.3. returns to the first four original research questions that guided the research reported in this thesis and answers them in the light of the analysis reported on in the previous chapter. In 5.4, the final research question is answered: “What applications do the answers to the above questions have in improving communication at and between various stages in parliament’s committee process?” Finally, these conclusions are summarized in 5.5. Each of these sections focuses primarily on demonstrating the relevance and applicability of the research reported on in this thesis. Before this is done, however, it is necessary to consider some of the limitations of this study and give some suggestions for further research which can overcome these.

One limitation is the relatively small amount of linguistic data that was analysed in my study, particularly with regard to the written committee reports. However, the data analysed was selected carefully in order to represent as much of the genre chain of the committee process as possible. In addition, the selections discussed in 4.3. and 4.4. are part of the same committee’s budget oversight process, lending coherence to this part of the analysis. The selected data was investigated in an extremely fine-grained manner, and contextualized within a broader view of the parliamentary committee system gained from participant observation and interviews with members of parliament (MPs) and committee secretaries. This has provided a reliable indication of where difficulties lie in the genre chain of the committee process.

Nevertheless, it is impossible for one study to cover all perspectives on the data examined in it, and there are two obvious gaps in the perspective I offer in this study which can be filled by further research. One is that, because I placed emphasis on the “linguistic” element of linguistic ethnography (LE) and kept my focus very much on text rather than on its context, I did not emphasize participants’ perspectives to the same extent as many other ethnographers, such as Kell (2009), have done. This leaves open the possibility for much more participant-focused linguistic ethnographies of parliament in future, which could reveal important insights particularly about the ways in which new MPs acquire parliamentary discourse conventions.

Another gap in my perspective is that this study does not analyse multimodal presentations at the same fine-grained level of detail at which it analyses the spoken and written data. Doing so would have added another layer of complexity to what is already an extremely complex analysis. What is

needed in further research is a richer theoretical understanding of multimodality and analytic tools that would enable one to examine epistemological and axiological (de)condensation in multimodal texts at a fine-grained level of delicacy. I attended one committee meeting in which organograms of a government department were discussed, which would be particularly illuminating to analyse in further research if such tools are used.

Further research is also needed to investigate the effectiveness of communication in other sections of this genre chain. For instance, at the beginning of the genre chain, more work needs to be done in discovering how government departments and state-owned entities construct their strategic plans and budgets in such a way as to present a favourable impression of their work. At the end of the chain, research needs to be done to ascertain whether and how concerns raised in the committee reports are addressed by the National Assembly (NA) and the government departments and entities concerned.

In the remainder of this chapter, I show how much my study has been able to reveal about the steps in the genre chain which it has examined, and what practical applications can be drawn from these insights.

5.2. Theoretical implications: Recontextualization and its realization in language

This research has drawn on a diversity of bodies of theory and sets of tools of linguistic analysis. In the process of drawing on these theories and sets of tools, these have been integrated in order to form a unified impression of how recontextualization works as a linguistic process. This has supplied me with an answer to my second research question, “What model can best depict the ways in which ideational and interpersonal meanings are changed through processes of recontextualization in the South African parliament's committee process?”

The use of LE as an overarching point of view from which to conduct this research has given me the latitude to use a variety of tools of linguistic analysis in this study, including Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS), which derives from a broadly ethnographic tradition (Gumperz 1982; see 3.4.4.), Transitivity and APPRAISAL theory from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, Martin and White 2005; see 3.4.2. and 3.4.4.), as well as some Politeness Theory (Brown and Levinson 1987; see 3.4.3.). Initially in the process of analysis, these sets of tools were used inductively, making use of whichever one appeared most useful for answering a particular research question in any given stretch of data.

However, certain of these tools did not supply the findings that I had expected, but revealed unexpected new insights into the nature of communication in the committee process, as mentioned throughout 3.4. For instance, IS was expected to reveal plenty of ways in which macro-contextual cultural and linguistic differences were a source of interactional asynchrony in the committee

interaction. MPs are aware particularly of linguistic differences, as illustrated in 1.5.1. However, this research has revealed that in practice, cultural and linguistic differences tend to be treated as borders in committee interaction, rather than as boundaries (see 3.4.4. for an explanation of these terms), and so are not major sources of asynchrony in the data I have analysed. Instead, the chief sources of asynchrony in the interaction I have studied are differences in participants' conceptions of the roles that different people assume in the micro-context of the meetings (as in the episode discussed in 4.2.), or different understandings of the procedure to be followed in the meso-context of parliament as an institution, reflecting macro-contextual political differences (as in the episode discussed in 4.4.).

In other cases, the tools of analysis I used were found to align very closely with aspects of the theory on recontextualization which were integrated together for use in this thesis. It is this integration which has allowed me to construct a working model of the discursive effects of recontextualization. This model draws on the discussion of the nature of recontextualization in 2.6. as well as the theorizing behind the use of my various sets of tools of analysis presented in 3.4, and adds to it some findings from Chapter 4 on how recontextualization is realized linguistically in parliament.

In this model, texts that are concrete, indexical of a local frame of reference, contextualized, typically spoken and regarded as part of "lay" discourse are regarded as having strong semantic gravity (SG), while texts that are abstract, indexical of a global frame of reference, decontextualized, typically written and regarded as part of "professional" discourse have strong semantic density (SD) (Maton 2011). As this shows, indexicality, as part of the interactional sociolinguists' set of tools of analysis, is useful to identify what a text's level on the SD/SG continuum is. This continuum can then be linked to black-boxing and the institutionalization of meaning: Latour (1987) shows that black-boxing is a crucial process in institutionalizing meanings, rendering them impervious to criticism by strengthening their level of SD. Conversely, meanings can be questioned and critiqued by opening black boxes and strengthening their level of SG.

In the analysis, it was demonstrated that attempts to open black boxes and strengthen levels of SG often involve the use of dialogically expansive resources of Engagement, and attempts to close black boxes often involve the use of dialogically contractive Engagement resources. However, there were some notable exceptions to this. In 4.2.3, a presenter used dialogically expansive Engagement resources which made it appear as though he was opening the black box of his budget presentation, although he was for the most part simply repeating information already known to the MPs. One can refer to this as an example of a "pseudo-opening" strategy, where a speaker appears to open a black box, but in effect closes it. In addition, one must bear in mind that there are often multiple black boxes produced in any discussion in parliament: the text under consideration

constitutes one, and participants' own positions on that text constitute others. Thus it is possible for participants to open one black box while closing another.

In 2.6.3, two parallel mechanisms were introduced by which rescaling along the SD/SG continuum, and therefore black-boxing, can occur. These mechanisms are epistemological condensation (Maton 2011) and axiological condensation (Maton in press).

Epistemological condensation, as noted in 2.6.3, is the type of condensation of meaning that occurs when empirical data at a strong level of SG is recontextualized into theories at a strong level of SD. Thus epistemological condensation is a condensation of ideational meaning. Initially, I assumed that Transitivity, as a framework for analysing the ideational relations between clausal constituents, would be the most useful set of tools of analysis for examining epistemological condensation. However, while Transitivity analysis proved useful in specifying the ideational meanings in a committee report that were contested in the episode discussed in 4.4, it was less helpful in quantifying exactly how participants accomplished epistemological condensation, and undid it, resulting in epistemological decondensation. Instead, a variety of other features of language served as indicators of epistemological (de)condensation. These were mentioned in the introduction to 4.3: lexical and grammatical metaphor (particularly nominalization), expressions with indefinite reference and those that index a translocal scale. Meanwhile, congruent grammar (where processes are expressed as verbs, for instance), and expressions with definite reference, including reference to specific people, places or concrete objects, were judged to be indicators of a lack of epistemological condensation. Certain conjunctions and projecting clauses were found to act as points of inflection which introduced rescaling to a different level of epistemological (de)condensation. These conjunctions and projecting clauses often function as contextualization cues indicating the direction in which rescaling will happen, but because these contextualization cues are contextually determined, a conjunction such as "so" may indicate a recontextualization to a stronger level of SD in some cases, and to a stronger level of SG in others. Engagement provides a clear way to explain how projecting clauses influence epistemological (de)condensation by expanding or contracting the dialogic space, but would be less helpful in modelling levels of SD/SG in monoglossic stretches of text. In addition, Halliday's (1989) formula for determining lexical density as the average number of lexical items per clause may well correlate with general levels of SD, but this statistical measure cannot account semantically for the workings of epistemological (de)condensation. Thus further research is required to construct a model that demonstrates how epistemological condensation is realized in the language of a text. This thesis has established a link between epistemological (de)condensation and a variety of linguistic features that would provide a good starting point for such a model.

On the other hand, axiological condensation associates selected concepts with each other, and black-boxes them together with certain evaluations, creating binary oppositions. This means that axiological condensation is a condensation of interpersonal meanings, as shown in 2.6.3. In 4.4, this type of condensation was related to the Attitude system of APPRAISAL. It was found that participants in the episode discussed in this section black-boxed their own viewpoints by associating them with positive tokens of Appreciation and Judgement, while associating their opponents' views with negative Appreciations and Judgements. When participants wanted to appear conciliatory and create the impression that they were making concessions, they reversed the process of axiological condensation by reversing the tokens of Appreciation and Judgement that they used, using positive tokens to refer to their opponents' positions. It is conceivable that in other contexts, tokens of Affect might be used in axiological condensation in a similar way.

Maton and Moore's (2010) social realist account of power provides a useful way of showing how recontextualization in the form of epistemological and axiological (de)condensation has an effect on the distribution of power. This enables this study to adopt a critical perspective on the communicative practices in parliament that is not possible in mainstream New Literacy Studies (NLS) research undertaken according to a constructivist framework. In place of viewing all discourses and communicative practices as equal, Maton and Moore (2010) introduce the concept of "epistemic power" to reflect that knowledge can be produced in more and less powerful ways. Epistemological condensation can be used to increase the epistemic power of a particular knowledge structure, and as illustrated in 4.3.1. and 4.3.2, the stronger the links are between data at a strong level of SG and theory at a strong level of SD in any given knowledge structure, the stronger that knowledge structure is. Meanwhile, axiological condensation tends to appeal to social power in order to support knowledge claims made using it. This is shown in 4.4, where both ruling-party and opposition MPs use axiological condensation to black-box their knowledge claims, but the ruling-party MPs meet with more success due to their position of greater social power.

Thus this study has integrated concepts from a number of different theoretical frameworks to construct a model of the discursive effects of recontextualization as rescaling. Figure 5.1. gives a rough diagrammatic representation of this model.

In this diagram, the words at the ends of the arrows indicate the ways in which a recontextualization in the direction of that particular arrow is realized in language. "Dialogic contraction" and "dialogic expansion" both refer to the use of Engagement resources, and "Attitude" refers to the APPRAISAL system, with "Reverse Attitude" referring to the use of the opposite polarity of Attitude tokens to those that would be used in axiological condensation.

At the far left of the diagram, the role of IS is acknowledged by showing that meanings that possess strong SD tend to index translocal levels of context, while meanings that possess strong SG

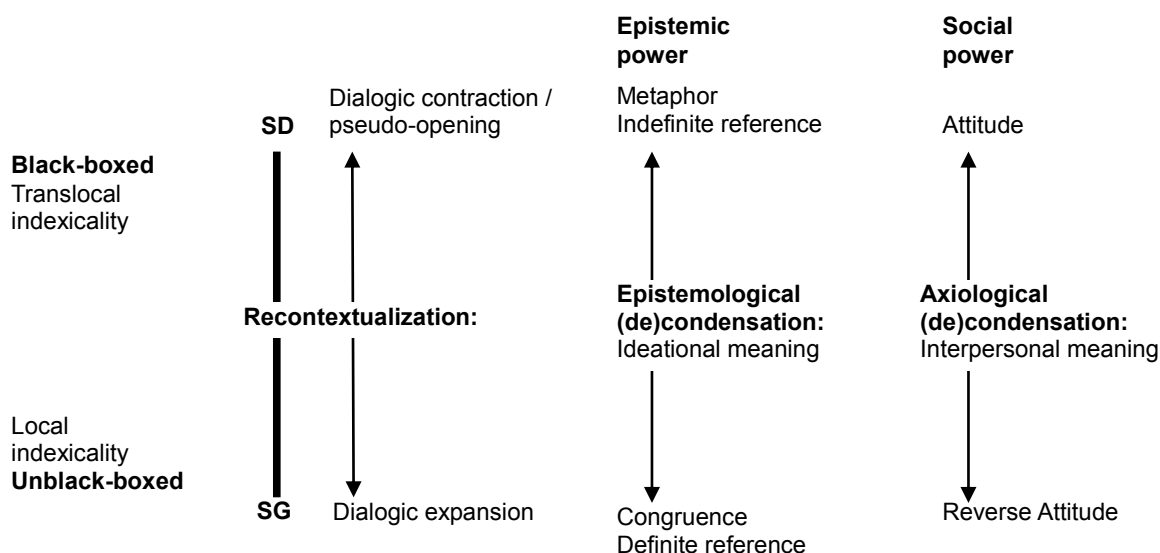


Figure 5.1: Model of the discursive effects of recontextualization as rescaling

tend to index local levels of context. The names of the types of power associated with epistemological and axiological (de)condensation are placed above the double arrows representing each of these means of recontextualization.

This model places recontextualization at the centre of the production of knowledge, since Maton's (2011, in press) concepts of SD and SG, as well as epistemological and axiological condensation were devised to describe how knowledge is produced. This model views individual texts and discussions as knowledge structures, as shown in 4.2.5. and 4.3.4. where the breadth of discussion in various parts of the episodes analysed was related to the extent of the epistemological condensation needed to summarize those particular areas of discussion.

Further research is required to refine this model, but it could be of significant use in research that seeks to understand the effects of recontextualization on the ways in which knowledge is constructed in any field of experience. One of the strengths of the model is its transdisciplinarity: it combines linguistic sets of tools of analysis deriving from SFL and IS with sociological theories including Bernstein's (2003) notion of recontextualization, Latour's (1987) concept of black-boxing and Maton's (2011) Legitimation Code Theory. This allows it to describe how processes of recontextualization have an influence both on language and society.

5.3. Key findings: Recontextualization in the parliamentary committee process

Now that the theoretical model of recontextualization developed in my thesis has been explicated, it is possible to show how this model has been applied to answering the remaining research questions asked in 1.3. These are repeated below:

1. What type of ideational and interpersonal meanings are altered in the genre chain of the South African parliament's committee process?

3. How do MPs take meanings from the spoken, written and multimodal texts presented to them in parliamentary committee meetings and recontextualize them in spoken language during these meetings?
4. Is there evidence to suggest that their spoken recontextualizations of these meanings reflect differences in the interpretation of these texts, and if so, what is the nature of these differences?
5. How is the spoken, written and multimodal discourse of parliamentary committee meetings recontextualized in official written reports on these meetings?
6. What applications do the answers to the above questions have in improving communication at and between various stages in parliament's committee process?

Because question 1 depends on a synthesis of the answers for questions 2, 3 and 4, I begin the following discussion by summarizing the answers arrived at for questions 2 and 3 in 5.3.1, before continuing to the answer to question 4 in 5.3.2. Then I return to question 1 in 5.3.3. as a means of integrating the findings presented in the previous two sections. As noted in the introduction to this chapter, question 6 is the focus of 5.4.

5.3.1. Spoken recontextualization: the committee meetings

This thesis examines committee meetings as the official site in which MPs recontextualize the spoken, written and multimodal communication put before them for consideration. There is plenty of interpretation of these texts which occurs in the backstage, to use a term introduced in 2.3.1, in MPs' offices, caucuses and study groups, but this thesis focuses on how they are interpreted on the frontstage, in parliamentary committee meetings. This is because the interpretations reflected in these meetings are the ones which are officially supposed to be recontextualized further along the genre chain of the parliamentary process.

Two episodes discussed in Chapter 4 allow one to examine the ways in which MPs recontextualize the texts presented to them in committee meetings: the episode labelled "Be careful of percentages" (4.2.) and that named "We're talking about semantics here" (4.4.).

In 4.2, MPs interpreted a multimodal presentation of a state-owned entity's budget, which included PowerPoint slides, a paper handout on which these slides were reproduced and spoken commentary by the entity's Chief Financial Officer (CFO). This multimodal presentation remained at a strong level of SD and showed evidence of extensive epistemological condensation. In recontextualizing the presentation in a question-and-answer session, the MPs sought to undo this epistemological condensation using dialogically expansive Engagement resources, especially Entertain. This was done in an attempt to extract more information from the presenter about how the budget was compiled, weakening the epistemic power of the presentation and giving the MPs more power to critique it.

The greatest difference in interpretation in this episode was between the MPs' and the presenter's interpretation of the MPs' questions: the MPs expected the presenter to furnish them with additional information about the budget that was not in his presentation, but the presenter answered their questions for the most part as though he was simply required to interpret the presentation he had given. This led to increasing asynchrony between the MPs and the presenter during the follow-up questions after the presenter's answers.

In 4.4, the material which the MPs recontextualized was a draft of the committee's written report, which had been prepared by the committee's secretary. The members of the committee were divided into two groups: the ruling-party MPs, who agreed with the wording of the report and were happy to send it on to the NA as a closed black box, and the opposition MPs, who wanted to open the black box of the report to change its wording. This black box was coupled to yet another black box, the department's budget: according to the opposition MPs, the wording of the report had a bearing on whether or not the black box of the department's budget could be opened and debated in the NA. Both of these groups used axiological condensation to appeal to social power in reinforcing their version of the correct wording of the report: the African National Congress (ANC) MPs associated the current wording of the draft report with positive Appreciation and Judgement, and the opposition MPs' version with negative Appreciation and Judgement. Meanwhile, the opposition MPs associated the current wording with negative Appreciation and Judgement, and offered their own wording in its place. However, this trend was reversed when an opposition MP, TD1, wanted to concede that part of the process followed by the committee was correct. In this instance, he used a positive Appreciation of this part of the process to reverse the axiological condensation of his position so as to appear conciliatory.

In this episode, the chief source of asynchrony was a difference in understanding between the ruling-party MPs and the opposition MPs over the correct procedure to follow in the committee. This difference can be traced to a conflict of values in the different parties' conceptions of their roles in furthering democracy. The ruling-party MPs were concerned with ensuring that government is enabled to continue its task of service delivery, and so sought that the department's budget pass through parliament with as little impedance as possible. Meanwhile, the opposition MPs sought to protect their ability to open the black box of the department's budget in the NA, so that they could debate it and thus exercise effective oversight over the department.

In summary, this section has shown that MPs often recontextualize the texts before them in ways that seek to open the black boxes of these epistemically powerful texts so that their contents can be critiqued. This was done by all the MPs in the episode discussed in 4.2. as well as the opposition MPs in the episode discussed in 4.4. However, MPs can also recontextualize the texts before them in ways that use axiological condensation to seek to reinforce their own positions vis-à-vis other

committee members, as was done by both the ruling-party and opposition MPs in 4.4. While differences in interpretation of these texts were found, these were found to be less significant sources of interactional asynchrony than differences in schemata regarding participants' roles (as in 4.2.) or regarding the procedure to be followed in the committee (as in 4.4.).

Differences in role, particularly the difference between MPs and presenters from government departments and state-owned entities, form a boundary between speakers along which obvious conflict takes place. However, in meetings in which there are no presenters (such as in 4.4.), differences between political parties become more salient and become boundaries, whereas they had been borders in the presentation meetings. This finding is corroborated by the data from my interviews with MPs, in which several said that communication between the committee members is easier when they are working together to oversee a department or entity than in other meetings, when political differences become more salient (see Appendix 4).

5.3.2. Written recontextualization: the committee reports

Two sections of Chapter 4 discussed the ways in which committee secretaries recontextualize the spoken discourse of committee meetings into the committee's written reports. In 4.3, I observed the ways in which the concerns raised by two MPs and a committee researcher were recontextualized into the committee's draft report. Then in 4.4. I discussed the way in which the same committee's final decision on whether or not to recommend that the budget be passed was recontextualized into the final report.

What was unexpected was that the degree of epistemological condensation that took place in this process was quite uneven, as demonstrated in 4.3. TD1 and TC's discussion on co-ordination between spheres of government in ensuring service delivery underwent much more epistemological condensation than TR and TC's discussion on ensuring rural transport.

Two reasons were advanced for this unevenness. One was that TC rescaled her example from her constituency very skillfully in an epistemically powerful way that made its relevance to the committee's discussion clear, while TD1's example was rescaled in an epistemically weak way in that it appeared to illustrate a different concern from the one he expressed in the comments that framed his example, limiting the impact of this example. The second was that TD1's example formed part of a topic of discussion that was later broadened by TC to involve not only transport provision but also other types of service delivery. This meant that a higher degree of epistemological condensation was required to summarize this discussion into one paragraph. By comparison, the discussion of rural transport provision in which TC's example appeared was far narrower, and because TC was the chairperson of the committee, she had the social power to control the committee's discussion in such a way as to ensure that she had the benefit of the last word in

this discussion, so her example underwent less epistemological condensation than TD1's one did. Thus this section showed how social power and epistemic power are interlinked in committee meetings: more powerful participants in committees, such as TC, have more of an opportunity to produce epistemically powerful knowledge claims than less powerful participants do.

In 4.4.3, the committee chairperson suggested the wording for a particular paragraph which could be added to the report to record that the committee had voted to recommend that the Department of Transport's budget be passed, but that the opposition MPs had abstained from the vote. The committee secretary added to her wording a phrase explaining what exactly the opposition MPs had abstained from. This information was recoverable from the context of the chairperson's spoken utterance, but needed to be added in the more context-independent written report. In one other place, the committee secretary recontextualized the chairperson's suggestion using wording that could be interpreted as blaming the opposition MPs for not having consulted their caucuses before the meeting under examination (in other words, realizing a negative Judgement of these MPs), whereas this interpretation was not derivable from the committee chairperson's original spoken words. This demonstrates how committee secretaries can sometimes introduce meanings into the reports that are not present in the committee meetings they record.

In summary, this thesis has shown that the degree of epistemological condensation that takes place in the process of compiling committee reports is not even; instead, some concerns raised in committee meetings are recontextualized far more closely than others. Also, committee secretaries may inadvertently include meanings in reports that were not expressed in the meetings themselves. This leads this discussion on to the topic of the following section.

5.3.3. Ideational and interpersonal meaning lost and gained in the committee process

This section focuses firstly on the types of ideational meaning lost and gained in the committee process, and then on interpersonal meaning. When considering ideational meaning, this thesis has noted that spoken discourse in committee meetings often involves a process of epistemological decondensation by the MPs, as they seek to open the black boxes of the multimodal presentations and other texts before them in order to subject the department and entities they oversee to closer scrutiny. If this process works in the way in which the MPs wish it to, ideational meaning will be added to the genre chain at this point, including both the MPs' concerns raised in their questions and the information supplied in response to these questions. This process of adding ideational meaning to the genre chain may be viewed in a positive light by those who wish to see parliament extend its oversight role, and MPs relay their constituencies' concerns in parliament. In 4.2, however, the presenter was not willing or able to supply the information the MPs were seeking, and so less ideational meaning was added to the genre chain than might have been.

Some of the ideational meaning gained in this process may be lost at two subsequent points in the genre chain: when presenters answer groups of questions, and when the MPs' questions and concerns are recontextualized into the committee's report. This thesis has reported on MPs' observations that the more topics for discussion are raised in a round of questions, the easier it is for presenters to evade some of these questions, as A2 did in 4.2. It has theorized these observations by noting that the more questions are asked, the more epistemological condensation is required to summarize them when they are recontextualized in the presenters' answers, thus detracting from the specificity of the MPs' original questions.

The concerns raised in MPs' questions may be recorded in the committee report even if they are not addressed by the presenters. However, in this process all the MPs' concerns are subject to a great deal of epistemological condensation, although some concerns are subject to more epistemological condensation than others. In 4.3. I demonstrated that in this process, examples from MPs' constituencies are particularly vulnerable to being lost from the genre chain unless the MPs themselves have rescaled them adeptly to show their relevance to the committee discussion as part of epistemically powerful knowledge claims, and they form part of a fairly narrow thread of discussion in the meeting.

This study did not find any significant cases of ideational meaning being added to the genre chain in the process of compiling the committee's report, although expressions are added to the committee reports to clarify meanings that were apparent from the context of spoken interaction in the meeting. Further research is required to determine if there are cases in which ideational meaning is added to the genre chain in the written report. However, the finding that in this study there was not much addition of ideational meaning in the compilation of committee reports is a welcome one, as it increases confidence in the accuracy of the committee reports' reflection of the deliberations of the committee.

In considering interpersonal meanings, this study has found that tokens of Engagement are introduced into the committee's spoken debate frequently in order to recontextualize meanings in ways that expand and contract the dialogic space of the discussion in order to open and close black boxes. In 4.4.3, where there is a disagreement between committee members about the wording of the report, Engagement resources are recontextualized from the spoken discourse of the meeting to reflect the position of those who disagree with the majority stance.

But by far the most significant change in interpersonal meanings occurred in the spoken interaction of 4.4, where committee members introduced positive and negative tokens of Attitude and Judgement to describe the wording of the draft report and proposals of alternative wordings in the process of axiological condensation that was discussed in this section. Because these tokens of Attitude and Judgement were used by individual MPs to refer to the positions of groups of MPs

within the committee and were not agreed on by the committee as a whole, these interpersonal meanings were not recontextualized into the committee's written report.

Nevertheless, a possible negative Judgment of the opposition MPs was inserted into the report by the committee secretary, as mentioned in 5.3.3. This demonstrates that it is possible for committee secretaries to introduce additional meanings into reports which may affect readers' perceptions of the meeting's participants or its subject matter in ways not reflected in the meeting itself.

This section has summarized the ways in which meanings may be altered in the processes of recontextualization that take place in the genre chain of the committee process. The following section gives recommendations on how these processes can be made more efficient, ensuring that contestation over the meanings of texts in this genre chain is minimized and concerns from MPs' constituencies are relayed to the NA as accurately and equitably as possible.

5.4. Practical applications: Strengthening the genre chain

In this section, the final research question, "What applications do the answers to the above questions have in improving communication at and between various stages in parliament's committee process?" is answered. A wide variety of ways in which communication in the committee process can be improved have been raised through the course of this research, and particularly in my interviews with MPs. A fuller treatment of my recommendations, and those which have been suggested by the MPs I have interviewed, will be made in a report which I will write to Mrs Keswa, parliament's divisional manager: legislation and oversight, and supply to other interested MPs and parliamentary officials. Recommendations relating to the committee secretaries will also be relayed to them in a workshop which I intend to present to the staff of the Committee Section. These means of feeding back the findings of my study to parliament in the hopes of improving communication in its committee process are an essential part of my study, given my commitment to doing ethnography with a critical dimension, as mentioned in 1.4.3.

In the following account, I arrange these applications according to the particular episode that they relate to: in 5.4.1, the recommendations arising from 4.2, "Be careful of percentages", are summarized. These are followed by the recommendations arising from 4.3, "The example that I can relate to" in 5.4.2. and those from 4.4, "We're talking about semantics here" in 5.4.3. Finally, 5.4.4. consolidates these three sets of recommendations into a summary.

5.4.1. Strengthening communication in presentation meetings

Presentation meetings are central to the process of parliamentary oversight, because they form the point of contact between MPs and the representatives of the government departments and entities

that they oversee. Thus there are many recommendations about how communication in these contexts can be improved.

In 4.2, it was found that the MPs were seeking additional information that was not supplied in the multimodal presentation given to the committee. In this case, MPs had been supplied with copies of the entity's budget and strategic plan well in advance of the meeting, and so had access to additional information about these and had not found answers to their questions in it. However, six of the 12 MPs I interviewed complained that the documents pertaining to a particular meeting (such as the budget, strategic plan and a paper handout giving the PowerPoint slides to be presented) were often not supplied to them well in advance of presentation meetings, as they should have been. One MP, TD2, said that a previous committee secretary had not only distributed hard copies of these documents but also emailed electronic copies of them to members in advance of the meetings, and this had been extremely helpful, as it had enabled the MPs to study these documents in advance, and plan questions to ask in the presentation. This improved the quality of the questions asked in a presentation meeting, as one MP pointed out, and so improved the quality of oversight that was able to take place in the committee. It would be ideal if all the documents pertaining to a presentation meeting were made available to MPs seven days prior to the meeting, to allow them ample time to plan for these meetings.

In 4.2.4, it was noted that while the MPs were expecting the presenter to furnish them with further information that would allow them to subject the entity's budget to greater scrutiny, the presenter understood his role to be simply one of interpreting the information that he had already presented. This gave the committee chairperson the impression that the presenter was unprepared for the meeting. This type of misunderstanding could be prevented by more careful briefing of presenters in advance of committee meetings: presenters should be told that they may be asked for additional information that is not in their presentations or the related documents, and be encouraged to have such information about their budgets and strategic plans at the ready in order to answer requests for further information. This type of briefing, which could simply be done by the committee secretaries via email when the presenters are invited to the meeting, would work to ensure that presenters share the MPs' understandings of their role, minimizing opportunities for asynchrony to develop.

In the same way, MPs could benefit by understanding that presenters will naturally tend to regard their presentations as complete, cohesive knowledge structures (black boxes) and thus resist attempts to probe these presentations or elicit additional information not found in them. This resistance should not necessarily be interpreted as evidence that the presenters have something to hide, as was done in the episode discussed in 4.2. MPs could be made aware of this by introducing some basic material on the nature of black-boxing into their information sessions at the beginning

of each term of parliament.

In 4.2. it was also found that the MPs' questions tended to be unclear and long-winded, and in many cases were phrased in the declarative mood rather than the interrogative mood. This means that it would be helpful for MPs to receive training on how to ask more focused questions in the interrogative mood, and on the benefits of asking questions in this way. While they should be allowed to give lengthy explanations for the concerns they raise, as the MPs in this episode do, these lengthy utterances should be concluded with a focused question, no longer than one clause, that is easy for presenters to understand and write down, and to which presenters can be held accountable for answering or evading. Such questions could even be allocated a number by the chairperson, which the presenters would have to refer to in their answer to the question. Such a system of tracking questions would also limit opportunities for excessive degrees of epistemological condensation in which a presenter attempts to cover a variety of questions with a vague answer at a strong level of SD.

This leads on to the topic of the number of MPs who should be allowed to speak in a round of questions before the presenters are called on to answer these questions. In MPs' briefing sessions, members should be made aware that a conflict of interests has to be reconciled in determining the number of MPs that should be allowed to speak per round of questions: that is, a conflict between the demand for a high quantity of concerns to be raised, and the demand for a high quality of answers to those concerns. While chairpersons should have the freedom to adjust the number of questions per round according to contextual factors at work in the meeting, an upper limit of possibly five questions per round should be prescribed as part of standard procedural guidelines. MPs should also be trained in the management of follow-up questions, so that these are not raised when there are still outstanding questions which have not been answered by the presenters, as occurred in the episode discussed in 4.2. However, such careful chairing may still not prevent situations in which committee meetings run out of time as happened in the meeting discussed in 4.2. At the end of this meeting, PA2 appealed for more time to be allocated to similar meetings, saying,

I JUST want to say to the secretary (1.17) when you next FIND time- find suitable time make sure that there's ample time (0.85) e- e- we must find there's no other (0.76) PARliament business that is going to happen (0.16) because I think this is too (much-) (1.36) and e- () they'll [Agrément SA] be coming back for the third time (0.38) I KNOW it's their- they are visitors let us also work it in a way that we have enough time

Currently, the time slot allocated to committee meetings is from 10:00am to 1:00pm on days when these meetings are scheduled, although at times other meetings impinge on this time slot: the meeting in which PA2 spoke was cut short by an early sitting beginning at noon, and the meeting discussed in 4.4. almost failed to reach quorum at its beginning because many of its members were at other meetings. TD2 suggested that committee meetings start earlier, at 9:00am (see Appendix

4), to allow more time for effective oversight to happen in these meetings, and I would agree strongly with this suggestion. I would also recommend that the period between 9:00am and 1:00pm be ring-fenced during days in the parliamentary programme allocated to committee meetings, so that no other meetings can be scheduled during this period.

5.4.2. Strengthening committee reports

The compilation of committee reports is crucial in ensuring that the concerns raised by MPs in presentation meetings are relayed to the NA for debate, and recorded to enable the committee to hold government departments and state-owned entities accountable for addressing these concerns. In the episode discussed in 4.3, some observations were made about factors that affect the process of compiling these reports, leading to the recommendations given in this section.

One factor which led to TC's utterances being recontextualized into the report more accurately than those of TD1 was that TC was extremely adept at introducing examples in her utterances, framing them as "community-based" examples and then rescaling rapidly between them and a stronger level of SD to show their relevance to the committee's discussion, before ending with a question or challenge to the presenters. This allowed her to present her concerns as epistemically powerful knowledge claims. Individual parties should train their members to use similar strategies when they ask questions, and particularly to finish their utterances with a simple, clear interrogative clause that states their main question to the presenters, as highlighted in the previous section. This would make it easier for the committee secretaries to understand the main thrust of the concerns they raise.

Secondly, there is a need to ensure that all MPs' concerns are treated in an even-handed manner by the committee secretaries, so that some do not undergo more epistemological condensation than others, as was observed in 4.3. In an interview, TA3, the Deaf MP, said she wanted to be able to point to committee reports as proof to her constituency that she had raised their concerns in parliament. Under the status quo, in which several MPs' concerns are condensed together into one bullet point in a report, this is not easily possible. Thus it might be better for committee secretaries to recontextualize each separate question that an MP asks as a separate bullet point.

5.4.3. Strengthening committee procedure

This thesis, particularly 4.4, shows that different understandings of procedure can be the source of a significant degree of interactional asynchrony in committees, especially early in the term of a committee, when the new committee is in the process of co-producing its own procedures. One of the reasons for this is that committees are given a large degree of freedom to determine their own procedures, as pointed out in 2.4.3.

While it is important in terms of the NA's rules of procedure (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa 2004) that committees have this freedom, the process of co-producing a committee's procedure is not always done explicitly at the beginning of a committee's term, but rather on a case-by-case basis as matters arise. This case-by-case co-production has the potential to be quite time-consuming, and produce unnecessary interactional asynchrony which can damage the working relations between members of the committee, as 4.4. shows.

One way in which these negative effects can be avoided is through stronger procedural guidance from committee secretaries. This idea was suggested by two of the MPs I interviewed. Committee secretaries should be made aware of a standard procedure which is followed in most committees, and supplied with a standard template for various kinds of committee reports, including a first paragraph which frames the report in such a way that the standard procedure for adopting that report and passing it on to the NA is made clear. While individual committees should have the freedom to deviate from these standards, their mere existence should reduce discussion over procedure to a minimum necessary to ensure that the wishes of the committee are fulfilled. Once procedural standards are developed, they can also be introduced to MPs in their information sessions at the beginning of every term of parliament.

This will also require a strengthening of the status accorded to committee secretaries. One committee secretary told me that the large status differential between MPs and committee secretaries leads to a state of affairs in which the MPs are always assumed to be right in any difference of opinion between an MP and a committee secretary. If the role of committee secretaries as procedural advisors is emphasized and their crucial role in the parliamentary process is acknowledged, this may result in an increase in the number of highly-skilled individuals applying for this job, thus improving the efficiency of communication in the committee process in general.

5.4.4. Summary

This section has outlined a wide variety of practical applications that could assist in strengthening the genre chain of the committee process by improving communication in it.

Presenters should be given a more detailed pre-briefing by committee secretaries, which encourages them to come to the committee meetings well-prepared, with additional information available to answer questions that MPs may ask.

MPs should be supplied with the documents pertaining to a committee meeting seven days in advance of that meeting. They should also receive more extensive briefing on a wide range of issues, including the nature of black-boxing in presentations, how to ask clear questions in committees, the dynamics of rounds of questions in committee meetings and standard committee procedure. In short, MPs need further coaching in strategic competence (Canale and Swain 1980),

both from parliament and their political parties, as argued in 2.5.4. Such coaching would enable MPs to learn and co-produce the procedural norms of committees with greater speed. It would also improve the quality of oversight in committees generally. Additionally, as mentioned in 2.5.4, there were no specific modules focusing on committee interaction in the information sessions held for MPs at the beginning of the Fourth Parliament in 2009 (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa 2009d). This thesis shows that such a module is necessary for future terms of parliament in order to facilitate more effective communication in the committee process.

Committee secretaries should include each question raised by an MP as a separate point in the committee reports they compile, and should be equipped to fulfil a stronger role in providing procedural guidance to the committees, with the aid of a standard suggested procedure that committees can adapt as they see fit.

5.5. Conclusion

The study reported on in this thesis set out to identify sources of communication difficulties in the committee process of the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa. At the beginning of the study, it was expected that macro-contextual differences in culture and linguistic background would be the source of many of these difficulties, but differences in political background as well as more meso- and micro-contextual differences in understanding over participant roles and procedures have proved to be more salient as sources of communication difficulties.

In this study, I have developed a theoretical model of the discursive effects of recontextualization which could be applied to this further research, as well as to discourse in other institutions. I have identified a variety of areas in which ideational and interpersonal meanings are gained and lost in parliament's committee process, and on the basis of these, made recommendations on how communication in the committee process can be made more effective. It is my hope that these recommendations can be used to empower ordinary South Africans' voices to be heard more clearly in parliament, so that this institution works better for the people it is meant to serve.

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Appendix 1: Committee secretaries' answers to general interview questions

This appendix has been compiled from the handwritten notes I took during my formal interviews with the committee secretaries that participated in my study. These are grouped into a set of answers from each of the three secretaries (S1, S2 and S4), who are identified by their pseudonyms. In most cases, I held two interviews with the committee secretaries, or held one interview in two parts, which are labelled "Report Interview" and "Wrap-up Interview". In addition, I interviewed one secretary, S4, two years after my initial fieldwork. This interview is labelled "Follow-up Interview". I have used comments in italics and to show where I have omitted specific questions and answers which would reveal the identity of the committee secretaries, as well as comments on specific stretches of data analysed for this study. These comments are reproduced in Appendix 8. My questions to the committee secretaries are printed in bold, followed by the secretaries' answers, introduced by the letter "A".

S1

Report Interview, 15 June 2009:

1. The presentations that the department and each of the state-owned entities give in a presentation meeting are very long. How do you choose which specific aspects of them to put in your report?

A: The department and entities give a brief background of who they are and what they do; I don't include that in the report. The report is focused on the budget vote, strategic plan and objectives. My supervisor said I should put a list of attendees in the report, but this will go into the minutes of the meeting instead.

2. Did you take any notes during the meeting? How much of the report came out of presentation handouts, and how much from your notes?

A: Notes were the source of the last part of the report, the budget allocations and the strategic objectives of one of the entities. This is quite normal when it comes to writing reports. I don't write up discussions as the PMG do [in the minutes they take of each meeting]; I just focus on recording for later use.

3. Do you try to quote the printouts of the presentation and the notes verbatim, or do you paraphrase?

A: I paraphrase it.

...

{Questions on S1's specific committee report omitted to preserve anonymity}

...

6. Why did you change the heading of the last section from "Recommendations" in the draft to "Observations" in the final version?

A: They're not really recommendations. Committee recommendations are saying "The entity must do this..." But the committee couldn't recommend because they didn't know enough about the entities yet.

7. What does the "Report to be considered" line at the end of the report mean?

A: It means the report must be considered by the House.

Wrap-up interview, 26 June 2009:

1. What qualifications, training and experience did you need to become a committee secretary?

A: I have a BTech. I have worked in various other secretarial jobs and jobs related to parliament. I've had on-the-job training on editing and grammar. *{Specific details omitted to preserve anonymity.}* In 2007 we still had control committee secretaries who assisted us, a previous secretary who knew how things worked.

2. How long have you been working as a committee secretary?

A: Since 2007.

3. What's your home language?

A: IsiXhosa.

4. What part of being a committee secretary do you most enjoy?

A: I love the government department we work with. You get to understand their programmes, meet people on the ground, see people growing. I like the role the department plays in implementation of policy. One day I would like to be a role-player in the department, working in monitoring and evaluation. There are many turf wars between different individuals and bodies, but these can be addressed.

5. And what do you least enjoy?

A: The work environment: it's open-plan, which was a culture shock to me. I don't like the type of work I have to do sometimes; I have to shout sometimes to relieve my stress. Everything has advantages and disadvantages, though. Sometimes dealing with politicians is difficult: they want you to produce good results, and expect you to nurse their feelings. The job description is too wide; you can't specialize.

S2

Report interview, 2 July 2009:

1. When you write a committee report, do you usually refer mostly to your own notes, or do you also refer to presentation handouts and audio recordings?

A: I usually refer to notes and the documents from the committee meetings. I use the documents to check up on figures and programmes.

2. Do you try to quote the presentations and your notes verbatim, or do you mostly paraphrase?

A: I paraphrase and summarize. It's very difficult when you get to resolutions; I try to put in as much as possible.

3. I thought the report was very thorough and detailed. What made you decide to structure it as you did?

A: There is no standard way of structuring a report. Mine was mainly guided by how the committee goes about its strategy. I have my own personal formula for structuring reports.

...

{Questions on S2's specific committee report omitted to preserve anonymity}

Wrap-up interview, 2 July 2009:

1. What qualifications, training and experience did you need to become a committee secretary?

A: I have a BA(Hons). I am studying for my MA. I have work experience in a job related to Parliament. *{Specific details omitted to preserve anonymity.}*

2. How long have you been working as a committee secretary?

A: One and a half years.

3. What's your home language?

A: IsiXhosa.

4. What part of being a committee secretary do you most enjoy?

A: It's nice to get exposure in the committee meetings. I know my department's challenges.

5. And what do you least enjoy?

A: Lots. I don't like working with politicians. They give you more trouble, and have huge expectations. They're always scrutinizing everything, including your work. They can be intimidating, which is frustrating.

S4

Report interview, 2 July 2009:

1. When you write a report, do you usually refer mostly to your own notes, or do you also refer to presentation handouts and audio recordings? In what parts of the report do you refer to what?

A: When the department's presenters come, you don't write what they present; you note off-record things, questions and responses. They don't present everything in the documents. You only put key points down.

2. Do you try to quote the presentations and your notes verbatim, or do you mostly paraphrase?

A: For budget votes, you don't quote, you summarize. You summarize issues raised by the committee. You'd quote what the speakers say if it was a short meeting, or if you were compiling minutes of a meeting.

3. Is there a set format you use for laying out the report?

A: In the first paragraph, you mention inputs such as presentations to the committee, in the second paragraph, concerns raised by the committee, and in the third paragraph, the response to these concerns, then recommendations by the committee. Concerns raised by the committee come in question form. If a member makes a comment, it's more likely a recommendation than a concern. Ultimately the structure of the report depends on the content of talk.

...

{Questions on S4's specific committee report omitted to preserve anonymity}

...

8. This issue came up in one of the committee meetings I attended: Is it the role of the committee to recommend that the budget vote be passed or not, or just to pass the report?

A: I heard about that incident. The challenge is understanding the role of the committee. The department must have a budget for operational purposes, but sometimes the members mistake the budget for a bailout programme; that's why the members disputed the budget. The report is there to recommend to the House that the budget vote be passed.

Wrap-up interview, 2 July 2009:

1. What qualifications, training and experience did you need to become a committee secretary?

A: I have a Bachelor of Social Science degree and three years of experience. My previous job was in a government department. *{Specific details omitted to preserve anonymity.}*

2. How long have you been working as a committee secretary?

A: One year.

3. What's your home language?

A: Setswana.

4. What part of being a committee secretary do you most enjoy?

A: Procedural advice: how to deal with the different state-owned entities.

5. And what do you least enjoy?

A: The job is too administration-intensive, and doesn't involve engagement with policy.

Follow-up interview, 14 September 2011

1. Tell me how things are going: are you enjoying the job or wanting a change?

A: I want a change to a different job altogether. I have grown a lot through this job, but now the work has grown monotonous.

2. In your opinion, has spoken communication in the committee become easier or more difficult over the past two years since the beginning of the Fourth Parliament? Please give reasons for your answer.

A: Communication has become more understandable. Members are understanding each other's language better.

3. Over the past two years, have your members become more helpful in communicating with you, or not? Again, please give reasons for your answer.

Communication is going well. There are open relations between me and the Members.

4.a. Has the composition of the committee been fairly stable, or has it changed a lot?

A: We have changed chairperson and the ANC members have changed. The other parties have been consistent.

b. What effect has this had on communication in the committee?

A: It's dependent on whether the former chairperson was easy to work with or not. The committee secretary provides continuity when changes occur, since he has control of the agenda for the committee.

5. To what extent do you use SMS and email to communicate with your members? What do you usually find is the best way to communicate changes of meeting times with them?

A: I use emails every time. I use hard copy only for delivering reports and annual reports. The MPs are generally quite responsive to emails. I SMS to remind them of meetings and changes to times of meetings.

6. Over the past two years, has it become easier or more difficult to communicate with the department and the entities accountable to the committee? Please explain your answer.

A: I use emails and also call them. I've found them consistently responsive over the past two years.

7.a. How long does it usually take for you to return minutes of a meeting or a committee report to the committee?

A: It depends on the environment. Sometimes we have a meeting and an oversight visit directly after that, which slows things down. It usually takes three days for minutes to be returned to members, and seven days for reports.

b. What things can slow down the process of compiling the minutes and reports?

A: Oversight visits slow down the process of compiling reports and minutes, as does interacting with stakeholders, especially entities and departments.

...

{Data-specific questions and answers from this interview are included in Appendix 8.}

...

9. I want to understand a bit more about the way you are trained to write a committee report. Are you instructed to you focus on the decisions a committee makes, or on the concerns that each individual MP brings up when you write a report? Why is that?

I look at key issues that will be the focus areas in the presentation, and the measures the department has taken. It doesn't matter who raises what concerns (the chairperson or ordinary MPs), they must be recorded. You consolidate a few related concerns into one point.

10. a. How do you normally decide what is a “decision” and what is an individual MP's opinion?

b. For example, should the chairperson's comments here be recorded as a decision of the committee, or are they just her opinions that she is expressing?

Both the chairperson's comments and the ordinary members' comments should be recorded equally.

...

{Further data-specific questions and answers from this interview included in Appendix 8.}

...

13. S1 told me that all the committee secretaries did a professional writing course earlier this year. Basically what did that entail and how useful did you find it?

A: The professional writing course highlighted purpose and audience and how to structure documents, as well as language use. I found it very useful.

14. Once I have submitted my thesis and my report to parliament, I would still like to do a workshop for the committee secretaries on the findings of my research. Who should I speak to about arranging that, and how do you recommend I go about it?

A: Write a letter to the Section Manager by email.

15. What sort of things do you think I should include in the workshop? What things would you most like to know about improving communication in parliament?

Challenges are obviously the status differentials between committee secretaries and MPs. Members are always assumed to be correct, and committee secretaries to be wrong. Most other issues were dealt with in the Professional Writing course. Another problem is that a committee chairperson can just write and remove a committee secretary from her position to another committee.

After I told him I wanted to research how issues are recontextualized through the committee process:

After a report is published in the ATC (Announcements, Tablings and Committee reports),

nobody reads it before it is adopted in the House. So there needs to be extra scrutiny checking that report after it is adopted by the committee. It happened to me that an unpopular resolution was recorded in the report, which then was adopted by the House, and a fuss was caused when it was found out.

Appendix 2: Committee secretaries' consent form

This appendix reproduces the consent form which was signed by all the committee secretaries that participated in my study.

I, _____ agree to participate in the study conducted by Ian Siebörger at the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa during June / July 2009.

I understand that all effort will be made to preserve my anonymity in any materials produced and disseminated by the researcher as a result of this fieldwork.

I give permission for fieldnotes produced as a result of this research to be made available to others.

I give permission for secondary materials produced by the researcher as a result of this research (such as academic papers giving analyses of my interactions) to be made available to others, or published on the Internet or in print, on the condition that every effort is made to preserve my anonymity in these materials.

Appendix 3: General MP interview plan

This appendix reproduces the interview plan which I used as a template for my interviews with MPs. It includes the explanation of the purpose of the study which I gave them by way of introduction, the list of general questions I asked at the beginning of every interview, and the questions from which I chose when eliciting MPs' comments on the spoken and written data I showed them.

Introduction:

Explain purpose of study:

We are studying communication in Parliament's committees to try to identify the causes of communication difficulties in committee meetings themselves and in the documents associated with them, so that ways can be found to eliminate these as far as possible. We will be writing a report for the Divisional Manager: Legislation and Oversight on our findings. In this appointment I would first like to ask you some general questions about your opinion on communication in committees in general, and then I will play a recording of a committee meeting to you and show you excerpts from a committee report, and ask you to comment on them.

I will be recording our discussion for use in our research. Because the original committee meetings used as data for this study are on the public record, it will be impossible to guarantee your anonymity in the reports we write on this research, but we will use a pseudonym instead of your own name in all these reports. Our purpose is not to lay blame or point fingers at anyone, but rather find out what aspects of the parliamentary system can be changed to facilitate better communication. Communication is never a simple process, and it is always affected by the context it takes place in and the different ideas which each person brings to the table, which is exactly why we are conducting this study.

General questions:

1. In your opinion, does communication in committee meetings usually run smoothly, or are there often difficulties and misunderstandings?
2. When does it usually run smoothly? Could you think of examples of meetings that really worked well?
3. When does communication in meetings become difficult? Could you think of examples of meetings that did not work well?
4. If you could devise the ideal committee system, how would it run?
- 5.a. How often are there differences of opinion in committee meetings over interpretations of a particular document?
- b. What do you think the main causes of these differences of opinion are?

Playing of recording

I am going to play you a recording of a meeting of (*portfolio committee*) which you participated in during June / July. (*Explain context.*) I would like you to tell me to stop the recording when you would like to comment on anything about how well communication is flowing, whatever reminds you of the kinds of things you were thinking about at the time or what you think maybe the other people were thinking about. If there is a section where you think people are not understanding each other, please tell me to stop and I'll stop playing the recording so that we can talk about the specifics

of what is going on. I may also stop the recording at certain points and ask you questions about them.

At a stopping point, or after an utterance judged to be a misunderstanding, ask:

1. Is the speaker here referring to anything that was said before or to one of the documents before you? *If so,*
 - a. Do you think he/she is misunderstanding what the original document/person said?
 - b. What is your understanding of what the original person/document said?
(Probe: So if the speaker here had used *word x* instead of *word y*, what difference would it have made? If you could think of the best word for this in your home language, what would it be and why?)
 - c. Why do you think the speaker here is saying what he/she is saying in this way?
2. Is this speaker here misunderstanding what *person x* said? *If so,*
 - a. What makes you think that?
 - b. Why do you think this speaker here is misunderstanding *person x*?

At one of the speaker's own utterances, ask:

1. Why did you choose to say this at this point?
2. Why did you say it in this particular way?
(Probe: What difference would it have made if you had said *word x* instead of *word y*?)

At the end of the recording:

1. What was your feeling after the meeting about how this episode / meeting went?
2. Do you know if anyone else shared the same feeling?

End of interview:

1. Is there anything else you would like to say about anything we have discussed in this appointment?
2. Are there any questions you would like to ask me about my research?

Thank MP for his/her time, and give him/her a copy of your business card. Ask if you can contact him/her again if you think of more questions, and if so, how.

Appendix 4: Summary of MPs' answers to general interview questions

In this summary, I give notes compiled from the audio recordings of my interviews with various MPs who participated in my study. These notes give their responses to the general questions I asked them about communication in parliament, as listed in Appendix 3. Their comments on the spoken and written data that I showed them are given in Appendix 9. My questions appear in bold, and MPs' answers follow, with each identified by their pseudonyms in the thesis. Where MPs gave general comments that do not relate to any particular question I asked, this is also marked in bold. The appendix begins with notes of the answers given in my November 2009 and March 2010 interviews, and then gives notes of the answers to the different questions I asked in my September 2011 interviews. These notes are not verbatim, but capture the essence of what the MPs said.

In this appendix, the comments of several MPs who were not referred to in the body of this thesis are given. These include the following:

PA4 ANC member of the Portfolio Committee on Public Works
PU UDM member of the Portfolio Committee on Public Works

Interviews during November 2009 and March 2010

General comments (not in response to a particular question):

PA4:

In the sittings, you can speak the language that you feel comfortable in and there are translators. But when you come to the portfolio committee, it is different. Everything is in English, and most of the people speak African language.

Secondly, I can say that you don't get your minutes of your portfolio committees on time and then you must prepare yourself to adopt the minutes when you come into the portfolio committee. You need to check if they are a real reflection of what happened.

Then also we don't have enough support staff, who can help members to prepare themselves. They say there isn't enough money. I think we can do it if we want to. We can improve in other resources.

Even on the communications side you can talk about the newspapers. The media pick up things that we don't hear. There is a section that makes newspapers available. But with your workload, you cannot read through newspapers. Somebody who can even take on the news. If I can make an example, after the sitting I went to my study group and saw the news on SABC 2 appeared to highlight only one side. It didn't highlight what the other political parties are saying. They showed only one side of the Human Rights Day debate. I wonder where we're going to address this problem. Our communication can use improving.

- 1. In your opinion, does communication in committee meetings usually run smoothly, or are there often difficulties and misunderstandings?**

TI:

The rule is there is a general understanding. Problems are when information is only delivered on the day of the meeting.

TD1:

Are you talking about communication in the meeting, amongst the individuals?

I haven't had a problem; I'm presuming people can understand what I'm saying. When I can't, I ask

people to clarify. The problem, I suspect, is members whose home language is not English. I fear that they miss a lot of what is going on. Obviously costs and resources are a big issue, but ideally you'd have translation booths, like we'd have in the normal plenary. On the other side, a lot of the times members jump into their own home language or another language, and it's left up to the chairperson to interpret. My fear is you lose a lot in translation: context, etc.

PA1:

It depends on circumstances. It comes with the engagement we are having. Generally, when we engage with reports of stakeholders, we often find unity, because we approach those reports from one uniform angle. But when we differ is when we have appointments of people: members of the board. My intuition tells me it's because the opposition always wants to oppose on those aspects, but it's not always possible that when you nominate a person, everyone can be covered. At the end of the day you must appoint people on a principled basis. There we find communication breakdown. We say members must engage with their caucuses, so they can come with a better view. You'll find a communal engagement, but where it differs, you'll find COPE wants to differ at all costs; sometimes they'll lobby DA to join them.

PD1:

It really depends on the topic. If the topics are not controversial, things go alright, if they are not, things can go very badly. The ruling party will come there with their mind already set, which makes interrogation a waste of time.

PC:

Communication runs quite smoothly, but I think we must appreciate that members will communicate in different forms. You wouldn't expect a member that arrived in 1994 to communicate as fluently as a new member. I have had to learn many things as a new member (2009). Given the right time and space, it can happen. There are obviously shortcomings and loopholes, but it is best to associate progress with time.

I've had to grasp reading: because you've got big documents. I'm a graduate from UKZN [University of KwaZulu-Natal], so I'm used to reading, but now I see it makes sense why the elderly sleep in Parliament, because there's so much reading. I'm also used to the ANCYL [African National Congress Youth League], where everyone speaks freely, but I've had to grasp the Parliament culture of addressing issues, procedure. The more you read, the more you'll be able to raise your issues sharply.

TCO:

In my current experience I think they are running smoothly, but there's always room for improvement.

TA3:

Like you said, communication is not simple. I'm not a politician, and I never planned to enter Parliament, so when I came into Parliament, the fact that I'm deaf was already a barrier to me. When I was informed that I was going into Parliament, arrangement were not made for SL [Sign Language] interpreters. For myself, I needed to approach them and ask if they would hire SL interpreters. Otherwise I would not be able to communicate with 499 members. As a new member, there was no information about Parliament, what it's all about. The orientation for new members is never enough, because as you go through the days, you get your experience. On the committee, I'm a social worker, but I wanted to join the PC [Portfolio Committee] on Communication because they do oversight of the SABC. Other entities overseen by the PC on Communication were not my interest, but I had to learn about them. Our oversight role is never clear. We just ask questions to clarify, but if you're not knowledgeable on the finances, then it's always a problem.

TA2:

It depends, because we come from various cultural backgrounds, speaking different languages, so you can say you understand English, but you don't really understand it; you don't understand the context. It's not the language that they are sure of, so we do have difficulties.

TD2:

I've been involved in these committees for now 12 years and I think that the majority of the particular committees I've work in have been bad where there has been a weak committee secretary. For instance, there was a committee secretary who failed to get documents out on time. Then we had to make representations to ensure she was changed. But you get some highly professional ones as well. In general, I think they need to up the bar in terms of the qualifications of these people, and to ensure that presentations are brought timeously.

I think my understanding is that they often don't have good procedural knowledge. A good example is quorums. Often we meet and don't create a quorum, and there is a problem there, and usually that should be foremost in their minds before the meeting itself. In a selection process, or another process for which there is a written down procedure, there haven't been problems.

PA4:

I cannot say all the committees. I can talk out of my experience. The committee where I'm serving is a very smooth committee. Next week we're reading about the strategic plan. We sit normally on Wednesdays from 2:00 to 2:45 as a management committee. We look at what the issues are that come out of that portfolio committee. After this year, next year we don't want to have the same issues cropping up, we want to deal with issues. We also look at our programme so that we can get the portfolio committee running smoothly. We can look at what the main issues are. As the majority party, we also look at what our policies say and what the January 8 statement says. As a portfolio committee we do our planning.

PU:

Sometimes if there are difficulties it is because documents come late, meaning people have no knowledge of the topic of the meeting.

2. When does it usually run smoothly? Could you think of examples of meetings that really worked well?**TI:**

When we have got into it and we have a relationship with the presenters, and all the information is in front of us.

PA1:

I think I've been sitting in the Communication committee, Public Works, etc. When we engage in terms of the report, we will go out not having any differences, because we're engaging in terms of the report. But when it comes to nominating candidates, that's when it becomes a problem.

PI:

The ones that work the best are where we are together overseeing the department or asking them questions.

PD1:

In quite a lot of them, where we are looking at doing oversight of a department, and no one is actually supporting the department, or any entity that has to report to us.

PC:

In fact, unlike in the House, in committees most of the time we agree as political parties because that is where we seek to shape issues. When departments come to account, we speak in unison as a committee because we want the departments to account. Overall, we've had situations where we've had to interrogate departments, and sometimes we find situations where departments have had difficulties understanding their own mandates. So we've had to not really go into blows with them, but be very strict in terms of our approach. In Parliament our role must be very clear, and when the executive comes to account, we can't be lenient with them.

You know, the 4th Parliament is vibrant in oversight; it's activist in nature. There is a lot of older people in committees. The first time that you are getting a couple of young people is now, and we bring so much vibrancy to committees. These old people, because they don't have an in-depth understanding of issues, don't do as good a job of oversight. So the departments these days are taking parliament seriously for the very first time. The members who have been here for the first three parliaments will tell you that. The entities are not able just to present in 30 minutes as before. We are just doing our work.

TCo:

Well, in the PC on Transport, when we had this meeting with the department, who came to make their presentation with us, because we had two or three encounters with them. We were able to get the documents in time, 2 days before the meeting, so our preparation was optimal.

TA3:

Sometimes they go well, and sometimes not. Others can understand things differently or see things differently. If we do not understand the laws that govern the entity giving the presentation, it can be difficult. Then we ask questions that the law does not cover, and we can't answer them. In the presentation it's fine.

TA2:

Ja, I think based on my experience, this is my 3rd term in the NA. At the beginning of the term we are struggling, because I was not serving before in the Transport committee, I didn't know what was going on, so I had to educate myself. As time goes on, you end up understanding and enjoying the engagement, asking questions on matters affecting the people in your constituencies. If you, after the constituency period, can write reports about issues that have been raised from your constituencies, then that works well.

TD2:

When we are timeously notified of a meeting. I'll often find the final details of a meeting on Tuesday, just before we meet. We know that we meet every Tuesday at 10am. But before I leave on Fridays I should be told when the meeting is, and have all the presentation documents in hand. We've had big, big problems with that issue, and a lot of the time it is blamed on the department and presenters. Electronic communication should be used.

I've had a committee that was run extremely well. We used to get SMS notifications of the notice of the meeting, the venue. We used to find hard copies always in our pigeonholes, and we used to get the presentations electronically. Unfortunately that secretary has now moved out of Parliament. You get that extreme, and the other extreme where you see something only at the meeting. Sometimes we've refused to hear the presentation when that's the case.

PA4:

In the preparation of the meetings, the committee secretary is crucial. If he/she is not doing the planning, and is not working with the management committee, that's a problem. We had a meeting yesterday in a venue outside parliament, a workshop for the budget. The venue booked for us was not user-friendly, was not comfortable. In itself, the department are supposed to come present to us;

they were not well-prepared. The old Department of Minerals and Energy have split in two. This year, they must implement the split. When they brought it [their presentation] to us, it was not what we expected as a portfolio committee. We see how we must come back as a portfolio committee to meet with them again. If your planning is not good, then you really struggle.

PU:

Well, when we get our communication and we are able to study what we are supposed to be studying, that is helpful.

3. When does communication in meetings become difficult? Could you think of examples of meetings that did not work well?

TI:

When there is this hide and seek, and officials are hiding something.

TD1:

No, I would say from a different perspective, a political perspective, but not from a communication perspective. The way you say something can be perceived in different ways. So I'm very careful to put things in ways that will convince people, and I try to bear in mind intercultural issues. And English often doesn't lend itself to that. And so far I've met with great success in doing that.

PI:

It becomes difficult when political differences come into play, or someone is trying to hide something.

PD1:

My last term, especially in the Sports and Recreation portfolio, where they were dealing with a bill and wanted to give more power to the minister. The ruling party wanted to give power to the minister, and we opposed because sports does not have to be run by the minister. The ANC brought in their own people to try to oppose us. The political differences cause trouble. It's where you find the ANC is actually in support of the minister, where the minister is not doing his/her job. They just protect the minister.

TCO:

I think our first encounter with the Department of Transport. We get the suspicion that officials are hiding something from us, and they will structure their documents in such a manner as to reflect only the good work.

If you come across the documents in time, you are able to conduct your own research and you'll find that the figures don't balance.

TA3:

Labour: the meetings just now on the labour brokers. The opposition's view is different from our view: they're with the business, we're with the workers. The political differences cause communication difficulties; also the differences in upbringing.

TA2:

When we're learning how a different portfolio functions after joining a new committee. But what assists us also is that during your constituency time, you visit the projects of the department and check what is happening on the ground. Also if you are new in your term, you can't focus on the reports for 2008/2009, you have to look at earlier reports, because many people just cut and paste and assume that you know what is going on. Sometimes departments ask "How does she know about this issue?" So information helps.

PU:

There were one or two in Agriculture but we managed to sort out the problems in an adult manner. It was a matter of the department not supplying the information. Most of the time the communication from departments to the committees is late.

Is communication in some committees worse than in others?

TI:

Yes, they vary.

What characteristics of the committee's composition play a role in the effectiveness of communication in that committee?

TI:

The knowledge and the questions that come from the committee. If they understand what is happening, it's most enjoyable. Sometimes irrelevant questions are asked, because members have never read up on their work.

TD2:

The contribution levels in the committees I have served on is very small for some people. There are very good members on my committees who contribute well. It comes down to the choices. The party makes the choices of who goes where. The DA has placed me in my committees based on my qualifications. Sometimes you find those choices are bad choices, and the people have no background knowledge, and they ask irrelevant questions. I'm not saying that people cannot learn, but the DA leadership says you go to university for a three-year degree, at Parliament you're at university for five years.

I wish I knew why the reshuffle [of committee members] happened in July [2009]. But it has been bad, because when you move from one term to another, you lose a thread of continuity. The people who could take the agenda forward are now gone. So I believe we actually took a step backwards, because a lot of the process we had been in prior to that reshuffle has actually been lost. I've asked, but I don't know why the reshuffle was done.

4. If you could devise the ideal committee system, how would it run?

TI:

All documents should be delivered to the committees a week before [each meeting]. The committees themselves must be well-prepared.

TD1:

The interpretation service would be one. I think that all the agendas, etc... I don't know how much people who speak other first languages get out of them. From a personal point of view, I'm OK, but that's a dangerous line to take.

PA1:

The chairpersons that I've worked with are able to accommodate everybody, but when you find that opposition parties come with leaked documents, that creates a bad atmosphere. When you find a leaked document, it can be exposed, but not in that context.

PI:

We would get documents earlier.

PD1:

I don't think I would change anything, except that the departments in most cases come ill-prepared, trying to defend themselves rather than say the truth, and in some cases even lying to the committee. At a presentation, we have to prepare ourselves for questions, which is a problem when we get documents late. The documentation is so well-decorated, but if you do not read it carefully, you miss things. The presentations are short by comparison. Receiving the documents earlier would also help us ask more relevant questions. If you don't get the documents in time, you can't have a meeting.

PC:

You know, getting information to members on time is the big problem. Because you have to read; you can't come to Parliament without having prepared yourself. It would help if we could get correspondence and documents a week in advance so that we are able to ask questions. We cannot speak of issues of language use or anything else. Sometimes members are afraid to speak in committees because of the language constraints. If we could devise probably what we have in the House with translation. In most of the committee rooms we don't have that. Sometimes Parliament is fully booked for committees, so we have to use outside buildings, which don't have those facilities. You don't come to parliament on the ticket of your academic qualification; even the President has only a Standard 8 because of what he has been through pre-1994. So English becomes a very difficult tool of communication for them in particular.

TCo:

It is important to ensure that members have the same understanding of the role of the committee because the challenge we have at the moment is different understandings of what the committee is doing. ANC members feel that questions to the departments are an attack on the ruling party. Training on their role should be part of the broader orientation [for MPs]. Committees weren't mentioned in this training at all. You need to start with defining the role of the committee as a whole. Committees shouldn't be sweethearts of the entities; it should depend on how the entities perform.

TA3:

I don't know! People's ideas, ideologies and beliefs are never the same.

TA2:

Members have different qualifications, so it's proper if someone from a teaching background goes into an education committee; if someone who worked as a nurse serves in the health committee. If the documents can be written in a language that can be easily understood, that would help. It can be plainer English, or translated, but it would help if I can't understand the English one to refer to the isiZulu one.

TD2:

Well, let me tell you an experience I just had. In the Scottish Parliament, they have what they call a petition system. They have a petitions committee, and any member of the public can petition Parliament. For example, they had a petition about a school feeding scheme. They call in the interested parties and stakeholders on that petition with a view to changing legislation. If we could institute that, it would obviate the need for the President's Hotline. They have criteria which sift out the abusers of the system. I like that tremendously, and my colleague from the ANC and me thought it would be good to bring home. We spend time dealing up at the top level with how corporations are being run, without engaging with people at the grassroots level.

I think that if anything, we need to pick up more on issues in the agencies of government and the departments. We get annual reports and can pick up trends from them. But in the end we bog down with too much glory and not enough emphasis on the problems. We need to say "Look, we want to

hear about the problems” and if we do that, we'll start moving. But I find the presentations sometimes just pulling wool over people's eyes.

The crux of it is that there are vacancy rates of 40% in the departments, and so on, and we need to see how we can help to rectify those things.

PA4:

The committee system is actually... if the secretary has a supervisor. Sometimes the chairperson is a communication specialist, and she interacts with the secretary, and also if there are some extra things we want as a committee, they get them. The committee chair can help discuss the issues. And that is partly what I mean. We need secretaries who are really committed to the work of parliament. If your secretary is not willing, we will not be doing our oversight function as parliamentarians. We as members are politicians as well, and they are officials. Sometimes they want to become politicians as well, and that causes trouble.

PU:

We should receive documents two or three days in advance. Another major problem is that the meetings are changed, and we're often told late about the change of venue.

5.a. How often are there differences of opinion in committee meetings over interpretations of a particular document?

TI:

Very often. When it comes to bread-and-butter issues, like education, that's where committees are very vibrant and interesting. When it gets away from people's areas of expertise, there is more difficulty.

TD1:

That hasn't happened, but I've come across a different problem, that members often don't read, particularly members of the majority party. And that may be because English is a difficult language to read in the first place. And it may just be a psychological thing. And as a result you have a crippled committee meeting. You can tell if someone is not prepared, and it happens all the time.

PA1:

In a particular document, it is hard, because other people are not just interpreting the document, but they want to impose their own position. Don't interpret the document by finding your own interpretation, the correct interpretation from the Constitution is there. We (the ANC) have study groups where we look into the Constitution, and use that as a base for our interpretations.

PI:

Quite often. This happens when there is an information gap, when the ANC MPs know something that the rest of us don't know, because they have had their study groups, where they have gone through the documents and policies; we have not.

PD1:

It will depend on whether you have the document before the meeting. If you have not, you can't concentrate on the document and the presenter at the meeting. You can only scrutinize the paper after the meeting often. And from there you have to rely on oral presentations and questions. It becomes a problem when you have a different idea to another member about what is said in the presentation.

TCO:

It has not happened many times, but there has been one occasion when it felt as though we were

looking at different documents. The problem was the writing was not clear. You've got money invested in making these documents, but it doesn't help if the documents' writing is not clear. I think one of the major challenges, you know that each department has its own language; the majority of the members, almost half in the NA are new. So they come in and they don't know this language. What would help is if there was a glossary, so that we don't waste time asking what acronyms stand for.

TA3:

For example, currently, we have the SA Postbank Bill in front of us, but the Department of Communication has presented it, and already there are differences: is it going to be covered by the Companies Act, or the Banks Act?

TA2:

Sometimes it happens, when you raise an issue on the annual report, then we find that someone will respond in a different way. Then we tell the presenters they must go back and check the correct information.

In departments you will find the Directors-General, who do not run the programmes themselves, but in the end have to consolidate all this information into the annual report. But they are not allowed to say "I don't know what this means", because they are supposed to know. The buck stops with the accounting officer.

TD2:

I think that depends again on the quality of the people in the committee. There are many different viewpoints. From the ruling party's perspective, they tend to focus on things that can follow, but are not priorities, like gender equity. But I ask "Are we doing things properly?" We need to pull in people who are experienced, rather than meeting quotas, which is what we at the end of the day are more focused on, whether the taxpayers' money is being used to its optimum. So to get back to the question, I think the contribution varies between person to person.

PU:

Yes, we do have that, but we are able to resolve it in a mature manner. We don't have problems where one person tries to be above the other.

b. What do you think the main causes of these differences of opinion are?

TA3:

They could simply be differences in political ideology; but the department themselves didn't apply their minds properly. Sometimes lawyers within Parliament and outside Parliament differ on interpretation.

6. How often (if ever) do you feel as though a committee secretary has misunderstood something you have said and reflected it incorrectly in a report?

TI:

Fortunately there is a good system because there are a number of drafts that come out, but sometimes things slip through our fingers.

TD2:

Well, if you look at the minutes, there's two sets of minutes: one by PMG [the Parliamentary Monitoring Group], which is far more professional and verbatim than the committee secretaries' minutes. To me, the committee secretaries' minutes are just signing off on a whole range of events. They basically reflect just the procedural processes. If it's going to be an action minute, there

should be the person who is going to take the matter forward, or what outcome should come out of it. I like to say "Where do we go from here?" and that is not often reflected. The PMG at least bring up what the relevant speakers raised. In the secretaries' minutes, they only say 'the issue was raised'.

PU:

It's caused by the entities and people from the departments. They deliver documents too late, and some departments have a shortage of skills. Most of the directors of Public Works are not fully employed, but only acting, which creates problems. We had to reverse a strategic plan because there were quite a lot of errors in it.

End of interview:

1. Is there anything else you would like to say about anything we have discussed in this appointment?

TI:

I'm glad that people like you are doing this, because we must be watchdogs.

TD1:

I'd just love to see what your final- are you drafting a report on this? I'd love to see it; would you pass it my way?

I'd be interested to hear what English Second-language speakers say in response to your questions.

PA1:

I'm a person who likes to voice his opinion. If I thought you were going to bring me into trouble by reporting that I said something wrong, I wouldn't have let you come. Government is the people: the people (such as you) must contribute to government.

PI:

In trying to improve systems of communication, one problem is that the committee researchers are not available to the whole committee. If parliament can facilitate access to them, that would help. They tend to focus on the ruling party members or the Chair only. The ideal would be one researcher per member, but that is obviously impractical. Another problem is the calibre of Chairs. They need more training. They tend to take the easy route and shy away from tough questions. This training would be of a procedural nature.

PD1:

I've thought quite a lot of this. We tell departments, "When you come back, present this and this", but when they come back, they try to present something else. They don't present what we ask; they are running away from the real things we want to ask. It's bad politics, because the people there we know are politically-aligned, and they'll talk to the right people. [The Portfolio Committee on] Sports [and Recreation] was the worst. Sports they will only ask institutions like Cricket, Rugby, but they won't ask questions to the department. When Rugby comes, they'll ask questions that are about certain players, irrelevant questions. That's also not the right thing because you have to stick to the topic of engagement.

One researcher is stretched across so many portfolio committees that we wanted to ask UCT [the University of Cape Town] for assistance.

PC:

You know, I've realized that this is one important institution of the state. To me, the State is composed of three organs: parliament, the executive, the judiciary. To me, parliament is the most important, because we are the ones who make the laws. So if I was to be appointed to Cabinet

today, I would be disappointed because my role would be very narrow. We are the ones who tell the executive: these are the marching orders. We don't just conduct oversight here; we make laws. And many people outside think "Parliament is just for old people." You will be very surprised at the amount of work we do here. We need young people in parliament who will engage on issues. We are not saying parliament should be for educated people, but we need the literate to assist in engagement and understanding. I'm a graduate of Political Science and Sociology, but I'm serving now in Public Works. You must be able to read and read and read. That is how we are going to monitor taxpayers' money. If people come and account for every cent here, then the taxpayer can be comfortable. If you improve communication in parliament – for instance, if people can express themselves in their own language – you make the whole system better. If a rural woman comes into a committee and you only use English, she would be disadvantaged. So we must not have this limitation. Let's say we need to introduce interpreting devices in all committee rooms, so that people can raise issues in many languages. Let's not disadvantage people (of whom there are plenty in parliament) who cannot express themselves well in English. They represent thousands of people. We said after 1994 that all 11 languages shall be official, so we should start creating devices that enable that. Getting documents in different languages would also help. A member must be given an option which is his / her preferred language, so that all the documentation is sent out in these languages. This would link to these interpreting devices. People who don't have such a good grasp of English, they just take the documents and they sit in their offices. If we don't read them, we are wasting taxpayers' money. If we could have a situation where we could communicate in vernacular languages, it would be far better.

I'm hoping that this kind of work will not just end in your university, so that we ensure that this information is disseminated to the people, even those who do not understand parliament. I hope what I have said will empower other people.

Emphasis must be put on language; it's the only way people will feel free to communicate. There are many limitations of English; often we cannot find a particular word in English.

In the House different languages are being used, but why not in the committees. Of course when we go abroad, you've got no choice, but here where you are representing a particular constituency... I'm representing the constituencies of Ermelo and Nelspruit. If on Monday I sit with my people, and then must report what they say during the week, how am I going to be able to do that if I don't speak English? It's always the same people who speak up in committees, and I refuse to think it is because they do not know the attitudes; it's because they battle with English. When we are outside, they speak. You wouldn't be in this parliament if you didn't understand the issues. There are list processes; people must vote for you to go to Parliament. It would demand that we spend a lot of money, print lots of documents, but let's do it rather than run parliament redundant. That is where we are going to find people changing the percentages on their budgets; people let it slip through because they cannot express their concerns in English.

Also in the committees, the secretaries sometimes 'kill' the information and send it very late to the members. You can't go to a meeting unprepared. There must be proper planning. When IDT [the Independent Development Trust] are presenting next week, their documents must be sent this week. They must be timelined; we must say "We'll not be able to engage you if you do not send your documents in time. In IDT for instance, it is a Schedule 2 entity. They are one of the most reliable and consistent entities. Sometimes I ask a question in the committee and they explain to me, and the following morning, they give me the information to explain that. But by the time these five years have finished, all the entities will run like that.

I'd like to speak my home language siSwati in a committee, but it's not about me; it's about the others who have less education than me.

I don't think people have been given enough training and education about this place. And not only illiterate people; even the departments don't take us seriously. I was at loggerheads with the Director-General a few weeks ago, because he said "Sometimes we can't pay [suppliers] within 30 days, because there are verification processes that need to take place." I said, you can't say that; it's government policy to pay within 30 days. And if you don't pay, the small businesses can die; how

can they pay their employees? If you need to capacitate your supply chain unit, do that. If you don't pay the business, how many debit orders are not going to go through at the end of the month? If we hold your salary for a few days, you'll also feel the pinch. Especially when you are contracting SMMEs [small, medium and micro-enterprises]. After the meeting, over tea, the Director-General said "You are very passionate about these things" and I said "Maybe it's because I'm a businessman." As a public representative in parliament, I'm speaking for small entrepreneurs who are waiting to get their money. Young people are my constituency, and you are killing my constituency. Directors-General are starting to say they have never been engaged like this before in Parliament.

TA3:

You can imagine, I'm a Deaf member and the member who is blind, there's already communication breakdown because the information's not accessible. And they (the committee secretaries) know we're here.

TA2:

Maybe it will assist if you are going to do this to the divisional [manager] - although we are being deployed by our parties. They must know how to distribute people in committees, and make sure that there are experienced members in each committee to assist the new members.

It's better to communicate this through training for the support staff. We need to know what our rights are. Because this [the data on which TA2 was commenting; see Appendix 8] was just a procedural matter.

TD2:

I think that communication works well when people are well-prepared, and people have a passion for their subject matter. The second thing is that obviously changing committees midstream causes tremendous upheaval. We can't go backwards; we need to go forwards.

In the electronic age, we should have far better communication. The system of parliament is arranged around pigeonholes. It relies on particular service officers to deliver things to the right pigeonhole. There are many problems with officers putting things in the wrong pigeonholes. In the Science and Technology Portfolio Committee, electronic communication was used effectively. I'm also very conscious of the costs of the amount of paper we use. We should be able to go into committees and be able to see the presentations electronically. Committees should be open to effective ways of bringing petitions to raise issues, instead of this wishy-washy story of how well everyone is doing. We need to find out ways of focusing on the problems. That's in summary what I would like to see. I also believe that one committee meeting a week is not sufficient. There are more meetings when dealing with legislation. But we need more time to debate. 10am to 1pm is not enough. Whether it means more work in the evening, I don't mind. But there is a way one can start looking at the time. Meetings used to start at 9:00. I always come in on a flight the previous evening; others only come in on the morning of the meeting so they need to start at 10:00. I have a very big problem with rushed agendas for the reason that by the time you get to the important part of questions, it's the last part [of the meeting]. The debate we had on the RTMC [Road Traffic Management Corporation], I raised very important allegations of corruption and mismanagement, and I was told that we are not here to discuss those things. But that's oversight. The chair said she would go to speak to the Minister about it. I, unfortunately, like most opposition MPs, am the door of last resort for whistleblowers. That is where committees should be working together, because we all want an end to corruption. The previous chairperson would certainly have opened that debate up, whereas this one closed it down. Multiparty committee meetings should be the technical bodies where we do the work of parliament, and we can debate in the House. We all want Parliament to work, and we want to see that there are mechanisms for oversight, because the ANC have oversight roles as much as we have.

There have been a lot of people saying they want to tighten up oversight, but I've had discussions

with the Minister, and no responses from questions that I've asked which are on urgent matters. When we hold people to account, they are not responding. And I have this RTMC matter all on record. I've asked questions in the House. They're all highly controversial, but I cannot get response from the minister in writing. So I need to do some thinking about what to do next. If he's not going to respond, I'm going to have to go to the Speaker or the President. You've got a deputy in the department who I don't want to involve, because he's not to blame, but it is the minister who has got to institute a forensic audit, investigate the mismanagement in the RTMC. If we can't get that level of co-operation, there are problems. The previous minister was a little slack in replying to questions, but he at least would have done something. But now I've gone through the committee chairperson and it's gone nowhere, so I went through the House and it went nowhere. So the words coming from this administration are good, but there is no practice.

When you have come out with a summary of responses from the various members, you need to bring your report before the Chair of Chairs or the Speaker. I'm going to bring the Petitions process before the Chair of Chairs. If you want it lobbied, we would be happy to do that as an opposition party, but we don't want to create a situation where you or your institution look biased. But we would push for a debate on your findings.

The support staff could be a key factor in pushing for change, but the presiding officers of parliament would also be good, and we need a debate in the House about it.

It would be important to run a workshop with the committee secretaries. The other problem which I haven't mentioned is that of language: many committee members are second-language [English speakers]. I've given up trying to correct grammar. You know what they're thinking, but it doesn't read well. There needs to be a lot of effort in how to put precisely what they mean. The minutes should be seen as a record not only of what transpired, but of what should be done. There needs to be a concerted effort to change, and the presiding officers would be crucial in that.

Interviews during September 2011

- 1. In your opinion, has communication in the committees you have been involved with become easier or more difficult over the past two years since the beginning of the Fourth Parliament? Please give reasons for your answer.**

TD1:

I think there is improvement because we've got a better committee secretary. They're now using SMSes. The problem with MPs is that we get an average of about 100 emails a day, and some of the things... I diarize everything even if it's an unapproved programme. So we've got a better secretary that ensures that the written notices are out. In the committee it's certainly improved because the one you're talking about [in the data on which he commented; see Appendix 8) was the second or third ever, but we're like a family now. You understand the personalities. So yes, there might be misunderstandings and so forth which are quickly cleared up because you understand the personalities. The ANC has made a few changes in composition of the committee, but the chairperson is the same. Even the new ones see our interaction with the old members and realize we're not here to fight each other.

TD2:

From the purpose of the operational side of the thing, the administration, there's been a lot of improvement there. We've got a very good committee clerk now. We battled with that committee for many years. But as far as if it's become easier in terms of debate, I don't know. TC tends to dominate the debate and stifle it. You know- I mean the character of the individual, I think there is a certain amount of constraining of individuals.

We haven't changed in terms of our role as the DA, but it's been very poorly supported by the IFP. TI only comes when there's a trip on the go. The COPE member was withdrawn, and he's been

returned as of yesterday. [Note: This is not TCo, but a different COPE MP.] He's quite a useful member, and contributes quite readily. He was asked his opinion yesterday and said "I can't contribute yet because I haven't been on board."

TA2:

According to my own knowledge, communication is very good, because each time at the beginning of the week we get the programme from the legislature and the green paper for the plenaries. Committee secretaries phone you, SMS you, so I think the communication is very good, even the communication between the parliament and the departments, although there are cases where the documents are circulated very late.

I think the communication amongst ourselves is also good. Although committees are made of different parties, we don't let that stop us because we have one objective of making sure the services are delivered. We disagree here and there, but we disagree to agree at the end of the day, for the sake of the citizens.

TA3:

Use of emails has improved. Two years later in the Fourth Parliament I have gone back to the Communications Committee. Now in my previous life as a committee chairperson, I found that all members are not the same and it was difficult to work with new people, and different staff members. At the start of 2009 things were not smooth; now they make sure they email and SMS me and give me paper copies of the documents we need to read. I prefer email, because for instance I don't check my pigeonhole on Fridays. Faxes don't work. There is a problem if the committee staff don't SMS me as well to tell me what is going on. Maybe they complain that parliament does not give them enough airtime, but that should not be an excuse. Parliamentary staff don't communicate well with the committee clerk. As a Deaf person, I also choose to use a Sign Language interpreter, but if I want to talk to the person next to me just quickly, I write and pass a note.

- 2. Over the past two years, have committee secretaries generally become more effective in facilitating good communication within your committees, or not? Again, please give reasons for your answer.**

TA2:

I can say that the committee secretaries, most of them have the capacity. I know because I joined the National Assembly in 2009. From 1999 I was serving in the provincial legislature of Mpumalanga. But they have the capacity because they can provide procedural advice in the committee and brief members upfront what is going to happen even if we've got this oversight trip and need to communicate with departments. If we want to amend the programme, they help us do that.

- 3. When a government department or state-owned entity comes to present to a portfolio committee meeting, to what extent would you say the questions asked by MPs at those meetings are planned beforehand, either in caucus or study groups or by individual MPs on their own?**

TD1:

OK, well, there's two problems. Firstly, we've asked that the PowerPoint be sent to us in advance. So we look through them in advance. We talk before the meeting about if there are any issues we need to discuss. It's much better now. We started getting them 24 hours in advance. We don't have prepared questions; we know our subject matter in general, so there will be issues that jump out at us. The ANC has study groups as well, but there I think it's a bigger group.

TD2 and I go back many years to when we were in council. We're very good friends now because

we're working together on a daily basis. It's very easy for us; we're very compatible.

TD2:

Well we do, we have a study group meeting, and we also discuss the week's planning in a whips' group meeting. But for instance we know the RTMC was coming yesterday, but we had no documentation. There's no way you can catch up on what people are saying in that case. You can do all the planning in the world, but if you don't get the documents in advance it's useless. But whenever we tried to raise issues of concern, there were clearly some decisions that had been made in advance.

TA2:

I indicated that before going to the meeting, the documents are given, and out of that you can think of previous documents tabled before the committee, so we avoid this cut-and-paste thing. So each time you can't just read the document in isolation. You can't deal with the annual report in isolation from the strategic plan, so each and every time they give us a document we prepare ourselves. Other questions come out of the presentation.

Departments sometimes submit quarterly reports; they can take some of the information that has been submitted for the first-quarter report and resubmit it in the fourth-quarter report. That's the sort of cut-and-paste thing we want to avoid. We want to look at whether there was any progress from the first quarter to the fourth quarter. So each and every time you have to check the progress. And that is why when we get the information in the committee meeting we don't like it because we don't have enough time to analyse.

TA3:

It depends on the situation, so we work differently. Parliament used to have a vacancy for researchers; many of those positions are filled already. Sometimes the researchers, who know the presenters are coming, will present a brief to the committee. I like to ask my own questions; I don't like to have someone ask questions for me. But that's why it's important that we have documents by the Thursday or Friday if people are coming to present the following Tuesday. On Fridays we are not here, and on Mondays we are not here either. We need the time over the weekend to prepare ourselves for the questions. Sometimes you don't get those documents beforehand. The committee section should have all the presentations ready beforehand. The ANC do have a study group, and we discuss regarding the department and look at questions we can ask, and strategize around that briefing. So it depends.

4. Generally speaking, do you think that the quality of oversight offered by your committees has improved or deteriorated over the past two years? What factors have influenced this change?

TD2:

One thing about TC is that she's very keen to get out there and to see. Since I've been a committee member we've done maybe three or four oversight visits, and the nice thing is that there you're able to interact with the people on the ground. It's amazing how differing the policy we get here is from how it happens on the ground. I think that has improved a lot, but we need to do more, and not just going to provincial government departments but also to [state-owned] entities.

- 5. Last time I interviewed you, you complained that many of the presentations you saw in your committees simply tried to pull wool over people's eyes, concealing real problems in the departments or entities you oversee. Has there been any change in this over the past two years?**

TD2:

One has to take for granted certain things. Where we find that interrogation brings outcomes is usually against the budget and expenditure. Example: the Shaba Zonke Project, which we see as a very good thing, where the Minister took R23 billion over a few years and said to the provinces we're going to give that to you to implement on all road maintenance programmes in your area. The idea was to get that money down to the municipalities. They also said in that document which I can give you copies of, that that money would be prioritized for accessibilities of clinics, schools, hospitals, and creation of 200 000 jobs. Now we went down to try to get that message back to the provinces, and they had a different idea. They thought it was money for their keeping, for appropriation in the provinces. So that's an example of the wool being pulled over our eyes and I must now go back to the minister and say "You misled parliament." So there's a typical example of where the message that was put to us was completely wrong. So I told my provincial leaders they had extra money, and they were wrong. He just lifted the original amount from the Integrated Development Plans. Unless we did the oversight visit, we wouldn't have found that out. The other checks and balances we have is that we have people phoning us, whistleblowers, who send us information which is completely different to what we hear. I've got a huge sheaf of complaints about the RTMC. They say everything's on track, but the investigation hasn't dealt with charging people accused of corruption. And yesterday they told us "Everything's hunky-dory" when it's not. We're getting people telling us, "Listen, when is my disciplinary hearing going to take place?" So we have a little bit of insight into knowing what goes on, but only through those personalities, and because of them we can ask questions on what's presented to us on the wall.

Organograms I would be expected to- let me show you. This was what was handed to us yesterday. A usual PowerPoint and hard copy, and there's very little you can interrogate on a budget with three items. So what happens within that R79 million, we don't know. So I asked "Where in this budget do you reflect the R105 million that you overspent, spending funds from budgets that were not earmarked for you?" There's a fee that take place on every [car] licence and registration. That money goes to the RTMC which by memorandum of agreement has to go back to Treasury, but they haven't been doing that. So how do you do that? Unless you get proper figures and interrogate them, these sorts of things are so vague. I make notes on the presentations, and you'll see I say there "At what cost?" They reached a settlement with two officials, but we're not told what they were paid; it could have been R2 million. But yes, they could have been guilty of a crime, and that money could then have been recovered.

They don't have the information at their fingertips about that sort of thing if you ask them "At what cost?" The only way I could find out is by doing a question process in Parliament, because that gets your biggest response. You can write letters, but nothing gets answered unless you present it in the house. I've stopped writing letters to any parastatal CEO, but the best thing to do is just put it into a question. I've just calculated that out of this internal question paper from the House, there are 50 questions on transport alone that have been unanswered. Which means they're in contempt of parliament. Some of them are current so they're in the pipeline, but most are not. We try to turn them around in 10 days. There's another one in May, there's 3 in June. These should have been answered. There's a whole string of them going up to 17 June. The worst scenario is that going back to February next year. If the question is not answered by the end of the cycle, it falls off the question paper. And these are usually questions that have been prompted from what members of the public have told us. It's very difficult to get priority for a question: at the moment we are only allowed to ask 15 questions per sitting. So we sit with a problem, but at least it's still the most effective way to get answers. The committee system should in fact work in such a way that ministers are held to account and if you can't do that, there's a problem. My chief whip is going to

take this matter up with the Minister of Governance, the deputy president.

The verbal part of questioning is also such that there's a certain shell or protection that exists around both the officials and the parastatal chiefs, so that nothing can be critical of them because they are the appointees. And so although they will take a certain amount of criticism, it's always countered. And that's how it happens around the world; it's politics.

General comments (not an answer to any particular question):

TD2:

You see, the committee secretaries I think are a bit timid. They're intimidated in a sense in terms of what they do and what they report and what they say. I mean we scrutinize the minutes between TD1 and myself with a fine tooth-comb. I can interrogate what they say because I keep a notebook. I write down all the questions I want to ask. So when they come back I can say "Have you moved on this, have you privatized?" This is where you can see a hell of a lot more questions because in an annual report like this, there is far more exposure on what has been spent on what, which is what we want to see rather than what we're given on the PowerPoint presentations: what has been spent on staffing, housing, building rental. So that's where you get fuller engagement. RTMC hasn't even produced an annual report, SCOPA's [the Standing Committee on Public Accounts] after it for unfruitful and wasteful expenditure; where are you going? Another meeting we had with the minister about RTMC- Fortunately I go back and look at these minutes and they can't rule me out of order for introducing new items because I can show these are old items. So they argue with me; they forget that I have a notepad.

TA3:

I have a stack of minutes which I have never read. This is the stack of minutes which I was given all at one time, and we as members are supposed to approve them all at one meeting, but we can't remember what we discussed a couple of months ago. The minutes should come back to the committee sooner so we can approve them and follow the procedure. But we need to approve them in 5 or 10 minutes' time.

Key:

Engagement choices	
	Instantiation of Expand
	Instantiation of Contract
(1)	Extract numbers
Bolding	Feature mentioned in 4.2.

Transcription conventions:

CAPS	Syllables receiving phrasal stress
<....>	Softer “off-mic” utterances
[.....]	Overlaps
(0.9)	Pauses (measured in seconds)
()	Unclear speech on recording
(())	Non-linguistic sounds
?	Rising tone
O:	Unidentified speaker

Appendix 5: Data discussed in 4.2: “Be careful of percentages”

Stage 1: Opening questions

PD1: er chairperson the ANswer is- I mean the QUEStion is actually not yet accounted (0.19) I JUST feel like I- (0.76) and (0.46) you know if they SAY they are (0.22) they gonna enSURE the ISO NINE thousand and ONE=
O: ((cough))
PD1: =standard (0.04) is IT part of Agreement to do that (0.47) (and I hope as well) (0.56)

(1)
PD1: but I just want to ask on the fInANcial one (1.55) MANpower (0.47) to ME it means (0.27) SALaries actually (0.02) I DON'T know what else they could put under that one (0.51) and if it IS salaries (0.44) sixty two perCENT (0.4) of the MOney go to salaries (0.32) which doesn't SOUND alright (1.34) and I can SEE they are trying to cut it down (0.03) but CUTting it down I don't know whether they are going to cut me- eh- employees (0.14) that's another thing that we don't want to see

aGAIN (0.78) beCAUSE of their (1.04) the CEO has said they want to HELP (0.68) the dePARTment of Public Works to employ more people by (0.97) DeCEMBER ehm (0.4) I mean by December two thousand and NINE (0.18) now HOW are they going to do it (1.09) the second one question is aBOUT (0.3) I don't know WHETHER these things are missing (1.54) the CEO wants to BRING (0.02) it is his VIsion by two thousand and sixteen to ensure that in the conSTRUction we have modernised technological things (0.77) and if we BRING technology again (0.97) we'll be CUTting down on PEOPle (0.11) WORKing beCAUSE there's gonna be (0.14) technology's SIMple to construct a house (0.03) it must be fast and ALL those things (0.14) and ONCE it is fast (0.62) then we DON't have people working (0.71) so then THESE things are contradicting each other (0.04) if you eh LISten to them (0.38) you want to DO it simpler (0.02) THEN you do it simpler then people are not employed they will be out of work (2.07) and the Other ones (0.59) THERE are too many questions (0.05) but I will COME back (4.04)
YEAH chairperson the other one that I wanted to ask (0.02) they have ALmost three months (0.1) TRAIning (0.57) people according to them in which the Average (0.23) is THREE days (0.5) and they have ALmost ninety nine point seven (0.11) maybe would some people ask the question to say=
O: ((sneeze))
PD1: =ARE you spending so much time on training it is because most of your employees don't have ta- eh they don't have jobs to do (0.34) so that you spend a LOT on training (0.03) or is it MOST of our employees (0.04) are totally not up to SCRATCH (0.06) thats why you spend MORE time to TRAIN them (1.48) THANK you (3.52)

(2)
PC: Honourable (PA1) (0.56) Eh (0.35) Mister (AI) (0.34) I don't know whether I should TAKE (0.36) the hands, NOTE them or send a report of (0.75) this one- (2.32) Eh Honourable (PA1) (0.46) Honourable (PI) (0.64) Honourable (PA3) (2.49)

(3)
PA1: Eh (0.37) YES chair (0.26) Eeem (1.01) Yes I WONder if- it would be able to assist (0.27) Em (0.82)

It apPEARS that I've taken notes that when you pose questions (0.94) too MANY (0.61) eh (0.73) they DON'T get answered all of them (1.46) em (0.48) um I'm- I'm JUST sceptical to (1.37) to continue because you COME with many questions and you'll have (0.67) ten questions and you'll be able to answer FIVE questions (0.91) and then it seems as if you'll be answering ALL questions (0.32) then (0.51) I'm JUST looking for (instructions)

(4)

PC: PRObably if we can just agree to take three hands (1.22) then he ANSwers (0.46) and then we- we- we- we- eh (0.77) eh- work ON that (1.8) UM

PA1: well THANKS chair (0.06) on ON that note I JUST want to (0.45) pose a FEW ehm (1.19) eh QUESTions (1.61) I I WANTED to check then (0.15) what (0.76) what what criteria do they use because I I HAVE (0.94) if you are WILling then (0.03) he MENTIONed that they are GOing to (0.39) ehm (0.37) TAKE other consULtants (1.19) AND (0.38) to to to assist them in doing their job corRECTly (1.23) and and I wanted to CHECK why (0.02) don't they have their own INternal (0.07) eh eh EHM (0.6) the correct person THAT they can be Able to do the job (1.04) and ALso (1.72) IF they don't have WHAT what (0.2) STRATegy are they HAVing because they NEVer had they NEVer had the (0.12)

O: ((clears throat)) (0.08)

PA1: beCAUSE there has been a strateGY on (0.3) enSuring that they go TO (0.26) em- em- em- (0.59) DEAL with the issue of of skills shortages (0.04) withIN ehm (0.45) in this- this- this- this sector (1.53) the Other question is that ehm (2.47) I I WANT to check ehm (1.46) in terms of the project that you are SAYing (0.04) I just think the EPWP (0.77) because with THAT em (0.22) they're JUST fine they don't need their basically THEY- (0.25) MORE skilled people (0.03) they JUST need ordinary people (0.04) to proVIDE them with skills (0.51) but I never heard him saying or maybe proVIDing (0.42)a SOLUTION because (0.52) the inTENTION of the EPWP is to ensure that people they are skilled (0.22) and they alSO get provided with competence certificates (1.4) if IF you can be able to assist me in that (0.39) so that IF we- (0.66) em- ONE will be able to understand (0.77) where are THEY going in terms of the aGREEmment of the EPWP (2.04)

(5)

PA1: the- the- (0.87) the the the other fact that I WANT to check (1.47) WHAT ehm (0.21)

O: ((clears throat))

PA1: that THAT related to to finance (2.01) what VARIable percentages increase per year (0.5) WHAT they are using here (1.3) so that you can be able TO (0.09) to observe and CHECK (0.49) beCAUSE my my (0.04) my my ((clears throat)) my little opinion on fiNANces (0.11) is that when you inCREASE (0.12) Every year you MUST (0.2) increase a CERTain deLIvery or perCENTages (0.67) partly to be able to GIVE you your exact (0.03) because you must LOOK in TERMS of your (0.37) your your your inflation your ALL your all your all your all your challenges that may (0.31) be MADE in the following year (0.44) so THAT you move according to that percentage (0.09) you CANT just (0.65) put aMOUNTS

(0.29) eh you KNOW very well that eh (0.43) eh next year PEOPle will start to have a little increase (0.66) you have to be Able to (0.48) to give OUT a percentage how how (0.05) do you ALso move in that percentage (0.44) WHAT percentage did you use (1.22) but I DIDn't get you clearly when you're saying eh (0.95) this is the iDEAL budget (0.22) and the Other budget is the (1.03) FOrecast budget eh FOrecast- or budget that you're seeking to operate on (1.03) you will THEN (0.78) my MY understanding is that when you present a budget (0.61) you don't present the budget that you WANT (0.15) to get funding ON (0.74) AFter that you go say no no no (0.42) HERE'S another document that I think (0.1) this is the ideal document you can give funding on (0.42) you must be able to clarify us wha- WHAT do you mean by

saying (0.43) here's the ideal budget the Other one is the what- eh (0.48) eh eh eh (0.1) the Other budget that we're talking about because (0.3) we must get CLARity in terms of that (0.33)

- (6) and ALso (0.78) specifiCAlly you know that **the issue of the percentage** eh (0.41) **I THINK** (0.06) **(P43)** or other honourable member has just ASKed that question (0.5) **WHEN you are taking as I said your percentages** (1.03) what WHAT do you make exactly (0.03) BEcause (0.98) WHEN you are saying you are going to reduce your percentages trying to manage (0.85) **but STILL** ehm (0.24) you your fiNANcial costs (0.96) eh ranges aBOVE (1.54) eh you MUST you must give clarification where is the (0.52) EH you going to decrease your percentages instead of sixty-two percent (0.02) to fifty-six percent (0.59) I'm just looking at the ONES that I am having (1.4) of of of of of your your fiNANcial eh eh (0.45) **MANpower human capital** (1.04) **BUT your your your your amount there is also increasing** (0.66) **we underSTAND that** it might also (0.41) HELP to deal with (0.16) additional aMOUNTS of (0.05) implemented staff **but** you must be Able to clarify to us (0.32) **as I asked earlier** the perCENTage (0.04) the VARIable percentage that you use (0.12) THANK you

- (7)
PC: THANKS, Honourable member. That is **probably** (1.04) WITH the (1.92) with- **I think** with the **fiNANcial officer** (1.24) an opporTunity to clarify us (0.14) and then acCEPTing I have- **I just** realized that (0.46) **I said** 'three hands' (0.72) **in FACT** (0.22) eh- each HAND can eh- (0.48) have MANY questions (1.06) so let's **PRObably** take the financial officer to CLARIFY us on these matters straight and then we'll come back (0.86) **I've NOTED** Honourable (0.96) (PI) and Honourable (P43) (0.34) can COME in

Stage 2: A2's answers

A2: <THANK you mister chair I will JUST answer financial ones (1.18) the FIRST one (0.94) from honourable MEMber> (0.45)

O: Chair can I- (0.1)

PC: MIC (2.01)

O: hold MIC next to you (0.24) ((*laughter*)) (0.4)

- (8)
A2: eh the FIRST one (0.05) from the HOnourable member that side eh (0.04) on manpower we are **not actual cutting** on manpower **when you look at the figures** they are **actual** inCREAsing (0.41) **the percentages** what is happening we are taking (0.04) percentage of that particular MANpower (0.04) in the TOtal budget (0.41) so it's **actually** reSHUFfling the money of the total budget costs (0.85) so **you MIGHT think** percentages are going down **but** when you look at the figures **actually we are forecasting** more

(1.54) eh COMing to the Other member on the eh the budget (0.84) we sat with the financial statements at the position that we WERE after the previous financial year (0.56) NOW from there then we presented the FOREcast (0.76) THAT is the position that when we see ourselves eh- (0.41) resting on the following year right? (1.87) THEN we then got a different picture (0.57) to say IF we had to operate (0.03) PROperly without the (0.15) CONstraints of the resources that we have (0.26) THAT'S the ideal budget (0.68) IF it was not (a constraint) of

these resources (0.37) having this iDEAL budget this is what we NEED [()]=
O: [(cough))]
(9)
A2: =to WHAT our FOrecasting (0.69) should be ON (0.05)
(2.9)
PC: <Thank you is there anything>=
PA1: **The percentage variable**
(3.13)
A2: (Sorry **what I said**) the perce- **the DOcument has fixed percentages** (0.43) **you're saying**
if I increase in this parTicular (0.52) EH (0.56) BUDget line is so much percentage
(0.92) **the percentages that are put in here MEAN** that (0.77) on the total budget we've got
HUNdred million (0.55) RIGHT (0.67) **MANpower (0.52) might GO down by so much**
percent (0.45) in relation to [Total] budget the bottom line (2.29)=
O: [(sneeze))]
A2: =manpower for this (0.6) STAdium (0.35) EH (0.23) **exPENditure compared to the (0.23)**
FOREcast expenditure (0.39) OR the- eh- eh- (0.54) PREvious **expenditure compared to**
the forecast i-budget (0.26) **NO** (0.35) **it's ACTually percentages (0.92) IN the total**
budget (0.8) it's the percentages of Everything (0.87) so **we MIGHT** have increased costs on
running increased costs on manpower (0.52) and THEN we will find that then the
percentages change (0.53) **but**
[(answering my)] question on how we GO on that (0.47) we LOOK at the business plan
(1.04) **if**=
O: [(c o u g h)])
A2: =**there is- the BUSiness plan is focusing more on these** (then percentages they might increase
on that line) (0.76) THANK you

Stage 3: Follow-up questions

PA2: (May I ask a follow-up question?)
PC: Follow-up
PA2: eh no THANK you very much I'm sorry (0.73) for COming late and thank you (0.25) for
HOLding the FORT (0.4) ah you KNOW eh (0.66) I don't see how you WANT to say (0.29) if
I have this BUDget (0.02) I'm (rigid) and IF I have that one- (0.02) but if I can have THIS one
(0.25) it will be MUCH better (0.03) i- i- it is conFUsing us (0.02) because when you- WHEN
you do a thing you (0.63) or PLAN on a thing you ACTually stand very high (0.07)
((something knocks mic)) (0.2) so that WHEN you fall you fall into the- (0.88) IN debt (0.93)
but don't say I HAVE this BUDget (0.33) you ACTually taking out THREE types of BUDget=
O: Mmm
PA2: (0.82) the OTHer one is eh (0.39) if I GET this one it will be better than THAT one but if that
one it would be MUCH better (0.4) is that NOT what you're say[ing]
O: [(laughter))]
(0.07)
PA2: (SORRY) chair
(0.85)
A2: UH (0.76) some PEOple have the financial statements (0.64) you foreCAST in the budget
(0.09) those THREE things DIFfering (0.48) it's NOT the BUDget and the BUDget (0.55)
WHAT I'm saying is (0.11) WHEN you want to [plan for] next year actual forecast=
O: [(sneeze))]
(0.33)
A2: =HAS been done (0.17) your financial statement is WHERE it ended after last year (0.07)
right (0.89) the BUDget is what we are planning (1.19) THANK you=

PA2: =ideal?

(2.7)

A2: and the BUDget that's what I'm saying the ideal budget (0.05) so I'm thinking of THREE things there's the financial statement that's our position previous year (0.02) the FOREcast we want to see ourself get next year (0.06) the iDEAL budget is what we are planning (2.13) THANK you (0.49)

(0.79)

PA1: FOLlow-up

(2.02)

PC: Another FOLlow-up

(0.28)

PA1: YES (2.18) CHAIR (1.56) my FOLlow-up is- is beginning a new thing (0.89) here I was- em- (0.72) if I can be able to put it in- in siSwati (0.86) or isiZulu you'd underSTAND or uSotho (0.21) I don't know (0.59) because see- see- what I wanted to TELL you (0.35) you see when when we make a BUDget (0.47) you take two thousand and EIGHT (0.7) EH we uhm uhm uhm (0.02) two thousand and eight two thousand and nine BUDget they've got THREE (0.52) nine nine EIGHT zero budget (0.76) AND I'm exPECTing to to (0.03) have a (core effect) there (0.12) uh let's- let's look at the TOveral BUDget (0.37) when we HAVE a budget we are going to use going to be (0.6) EIGHT nine TWO zero (1.52) we saying the FOLlowing financial year (0.94) two two oh nine two double zero nine (0.29) eh two THOUsand and ten (0.93) the envisaged BUDget (0.44) the inCREASED budget to the following year (0.38) note the inCREASE is five point one percent (0.48) or its going to increase with TEN percent (0.04) OR I'm thinking in terms of various percentages (0.75) you- you DON'T you don't JUST include by- you say no next year (0.29) let me just SAY put this figure (0.41) indicating HOW much you spend this year (0.04) how you can be able to add SO much (0.7) but USE a certain percentage so that they increase (0.86)

(10)

PA1: because **you must** be able to have a **paraDIGM (0.69) inCREment in terms of your (0.4) your your your three-year BUDget (1.19) and in terms of your operation (0.05)** because **you don't** operate under (0.33) an EMPTy scope (0.02) **you operate in terms of your percentages that eh- that limit yourSELF (0.49)** because every budget **you don't** go beyond (0.47) that's why **I'm SAYing** (0.21) the the **the RUDE mathematical percentages** so that you can be able to give us

(0.1) the issue of the iDEAL BUDget (0.2) and eh- your your forecast BUDget (0.37) that's why eh- even Honourable (PA2) (0.02) stated it CLEARly they are contradicting themselves they are also confusing us (0.7) because IF you say the budget is working you must give us ONE budget (0.08) that is the BUDget (0.18) but indirectly you're SAYing (0.17) that's where you WANT to see yourselves (0.35) an iDEAL budget (0.29) but still on the SAME- on the same year (0.13) it will be a conTInued cycle (0.38) you said two thousand and nine and ten you GIVE us another budget (0.26) two thousand and nine and ten forecast you give us another budget extremely conFUsing (0.25) two thousand nine and ten YES (0.12) you say your YOUR forecast budget (0.15) your labour's yeah fifty six percent (0.51) but you say your iDEAL budget (0.03) you GIVE us forty-three percent (0.88) you HEAR what I'm saying (0.7) i- it must- you must GIVE us a clear CLEAR cut eh- (0.5) to make sure the budget that you're going to operate with (0.42) is THIS one (0.28) don't say this aNOther one is an alternative (0.19) IF (0.18) I have to have MORE money (0.15) no you don't operate in that way you must have a proper (STAtion) (0.16) that's WHY I was asking you today (0.25) do you have any percentage of your increment per YEAR (0.55) what percentage are you using this YEAR (0.04) if you increment beCAUSE (0.09) has an indication of the FInances (0.25) EVery YEAR (0.02) I'm using for instance five point ONE percent (0.06) that

is my aMOUNT that I'm using (0.14) for the next eh- for the next THREE years the increment (0.08) in terms of the aGREement that you have signed with the unions and employers (0.17) it's what FIVE point one percent (0.24) In the FOLlowing year ey another five point one percent (0.05) that will also give you an identiFIED (0.03) aMOUNT THAT you going to use (0.05) each and every year (0.11) on the financial- other financial YEAR (0.04) that will also STOP (0.04) on the THIRD year of yours (0.2) you'll negotiATE another percentage that you're going to increase along those- along those percentage (0.23) that's HOW you- you also submit (0.25) in terms of your fiNAN- to- to- (1.34) TO the department of- of- of fiNANCE (0.16) to- to be fiNANCED (1.7) because we don't just say we need THIS amount (0.36) because you're GOING to be able to (give account and say) (0.45) WHAT percentages did you use (0.26) in ORder to reach that amount (0.25) or what vaRIables did you use (0.09) in Order to reach that amount (0.39)

O: Yes

(3.36)

PC: Honourable (PA3), do you want [to ()]

PA3: [ch- CHAIR,] you know I actually just want to caution people (0.83) eh- that the SITting will [start soon]

PC: [START soon] ja

(0.03)

O: ((coughs))

(0.46)

PA3: so we have about SEven minutes or so to wrap up our proceedings (0.06) um I just wanted to CAUtion But WHILE I'm on the floor, can I quickly (0.44) isn't 'quickly' when ()

All: ((laughter))

(0.4)

PA3: WHILST I'm on the floor (0.32) I'll use the SEven minutes=

O: =()

(0.24)

PA3: technical () (0.53) um (0.65)

(11)

PA3: I agree with the sentiments exPRESSED (0.13) by the HOnourable members but I'll just say ACTually we must be cautious (0.64) with the ISsue of percentages (0.44) is a dangerous thing (0.25) you KNOW (0.48) the SMALL town where I hail from (1.98) a SMALL (0.25) racist newspaper (chairperson quickly) (1.49) eh (0.26) MAny years ago one hopes (0.44) eh you know (0.74) TWO Indians (0.89) eh arRived in Upington (1.41) THREE years thereafter (0.62) aNOther headline (0.78) InDIan (0.84) eh (0.38) eh TAlly inCREAses by two hundred percent (0.74) now you can iMagine (0.24) two hundred percent of [two is FOUR]

O: [((laughter))]

PA3: eh (0.08) they BLOW it out of proportion be careful of percentages

(0.05) quick AND (0.65) erm (1.14) I have NOted the issue of training (0.68) IS there a plan to (0.03) to reTAIN those skills while those people have been trained (0.09) that's just my question the one THING (0.1) SEcond one (0.37) GOOD that it may be (0.05) GOOD training is (0.6) but there's that conCERN (0.09) THROUGH (0.66) erm (0.1) MY view (0.05) is that there MUST be (0.02) deLIberate and conscious programme (0.21) of recruiting disabled people engineers you CAN'T just (0.77) you know em (0.02) ADvertise and hope they apply (0.16) it just doesn't work (0.43) LASTly, ehm- (0.46) THIS um- (1.5) THE- with regard to finance er- (1.21) DID (0.47) did Agreement er- have ANY audit er- er- exceptions or qualifications (1.27) Ehm, from the AG or did you get a clean bill of health (0.91) those are my questions

O: ((clears throat))
(1.28)
PC: that's itSELF (0.09) eh Honourable (PA3) (0.06) WELL I think we must agree (1.0) that we
NEED more time=
O: =mmm
PC: with Agreement here because (1.01) SITting here myself (1.76) em- you know- I want to pick
up on what Honourable (PD2) said (0.41) about the financial statements two thousand and
EIGHT two thousand and NINE (0.88) whereIN (0.72) the documents were reCEIVED (1.1)
because I've had a look at them (1.29) the DOcuments were received (0.46) eh (2.25) some
TIME ago (0.48) THIS to (0.33) 21 percent (0.61) now toDAY'S 21 percent was larger than
the last time (1.7) NOW you see (0.8) i- i- i- i- i- we must- we must be CAUTious (1.06)
because we DON'T know when this changed (0.08) the percent (0.73) was it aHEAD of the
budget vote or after (0.93) a- and- and- we must be very CAUTious (0.46) about what to do
(0.76) so I think we NEED more time really to e[n g a g e]
O: [((coughs))] (0.92)
PC: we DON'T have time now (0.57) but but ALso (0.28) eh I think from the LLevel of the entity
(0.41) they must also come prepared (0.86) I I noticed the fiNANcial officer was (0.09) he
was NOT really prepared (0.47) eh- eh- probably if if we can come VErY prepared (1.69) and
the coMITtee secretary probably (0.02) set another date (0.22) where we'll have roBUST
engagements with the entity (0.91) eh- eh- there a REAlly outstanding QUESTions (0.25)
WHICH I- I- I- doubt we'd be able to conclude our thesis (0.03) eh beCAUSE of the
PROblems which have STARTed to emerge=
O: =mmm
PC: OK let's aGREE honourable members=
O: =Agreed
PC: that we we we we will request the COMmittee secretary (0.04) eh- (B) to call another session
where the entity will COME [(that w]ould be the-) let's proceed with our agenda (1.49)
O: [((coughs))]
C: but of COURSE I am CERTain that the CEO has taken note of ALL of the positions (0.35) and
when you come back you'll probably (THEN) provide the the the necessary answers (0.29)
then a MOVE forward can be engaged in (0.16) I think we must be- we must be CAUTious
(0.15) with this thing we MUST be cautious (0.02) we canNOT afford to (0.06) to commit
misTAKES (0.09) Honourable PD1 is that your-

(12)
PD1: Chairperson it will be GOOD also when they come back with their finances (0.09) REAlly
this **human capital cost** they break it down because they don't know (0.05) WHAT is for
conSULTants and what is for what it's just- (0.83) PUTting on (1.24) so I- I- requested that
you just bring a VErY detailed (0.45) fiNANcial- fiNANcial report (0.17) for- for- for-
(0.49) eh you aGREE honourable member

TC: Thank you VErY much Honourable (PA2)
(1.73)
PA2: CHAIRperson (0.05) ((clears throat)) (0.48) ((coughs)) I JUST want to say to the secretary
(1.17) when you next FIND time- find suitable time make sure that there's ample time (0.85)
e- e- we must find there's no other (0.76) PARliament business that is going to happen (0.16)
because I think this is too (much-) (1.36) and e- ()
they'll be coming back for the third time (0.38) I KNOW it's their- they are visitors let us also
work it in a way that we have enough time (0.35) all of us (3.59) THANK you
(0.37)
PC: E- (PA2) (0.46) when- when- I THINK the whip (0.17) the- the- the- i- eh- (A1) (0.38) will
have to BEAR with us we (0.89) had MAny sittings (0.29) e- e- on the SCHEdule (0.95) e- e-

LAST week (1.62) so we had SCHEduled probably to finish I think at half twelve (0.92) and only last week we were told that there's a () at twelve today (0.88) so you'll have to bear with US (0.46) PARliament can be so confusing (0.92) we REALly uh- e- appreciate the fact that you are (0.84) (in the) eh- reSPECT of this committee (0.75) and we HOPE that you continue to work with us (0.43) I DON'T think we- we- we- (1.03) are CUTting any boundaries or we- we are (just) (0.63) because we want to do things corRECT we want to take- (0.49) [()] of people (1.01) and we reSPECT that quality

O: [(coughs)]

(0.81)

PC: When you are inVited let's [()]

O: [(coughs)]

(0.46)

PC: We're THERE to take the () details of () (0.81) so THAT we move forward (0.71) to the MEMbers (1.02) THANK you very much (1.42) for () the THINGS you have addressed

Key:

- Expressions at strong level of semantic density
- Expressions at intermediate level of semantic density / semantic gravity
- Expressions at strong level of semantic gravity

- (13) Extract numbers
- Bolding Feature quoted in 4.3.

Transcription conventions:

- CAPS Syllables receiving phrasal stress
- <....> Softer “off-mic” utterances
- [.....] Overlaps
- (0.9) Pauses (measured in seconds)
- () Unclear speech on recording
- (()) Non-linguistic sounds
- ? Rising tone
- O: Unidentified speaker

Appendix 6: Data discussed in 4.3: “The example that I can relate to”

TR’s questions on rural transport

(13)
TR: eh with reGARD to transportation of people on the rural areas (0.35) they will just SAY (0.49) we have THIS new government what change do we see on the ground there's absolutely no change (0.3) I'm still INstead (0.64) ER (0.61) I'm being PAY (0.14) a LOT of money for transportation (1.35) because their taxis that they use they're not subsidiZED in rural areas (0.46) there's no **comprehensive PLAN** (1.15) eh in PLACE (0.2) eh in terms of the BUSes (0.41) the KIND of buses that they use (0.16) inSTEAD (0.22) they USE (0.48) UNroadworthy buses that's why are experiencing a situation where there a LOT of (0.25) ACCidents that are taking place across the provinces

TD1 and TC’s discussion on co-ordination

(14)
TD1: YES madam chair um er- uh- (0.11) I feel QUITE (0.05) just as STRONGLY as what the member was talking about in this last respect (0.7) there are TWO parts (attached) the department's had a dilemma with (0.33) (to me) the FIRST is that **many of the things have been spoken about** (0.43) are not **COMpetencies** of the department but pertain to provincial and local government (0.21) so my QUEStion is (1.35) IS there any **co-ordination** if at all (0.49) in WHAT is being done there has- there has to have some kind of formal **co-ordination** (0.97) UM- (0.55) FOR **these things** to happen or **these issues** to (come out) (0.06) that's- that's the FIRST aspect (0.05) **if THAT would be unpacked** discussed with us (0.12) I suspect perhaps that there ISN'T that **co-ordination** perhaps there's a challenge (0.59) but I MIGHT be wrong (0.39) I HOPE I am (0.35) the second is **although a LOT of people** have been uh- (0.41) **QUITE rightly saying that these issues exist in the rural areas** (0.71) I must point out that these THINGS happen equally (0.96) in the- in the **urban areas** as WELL (0.48) **I'll give you an example** ((clears throat)) my son stays in (**EmDEni**) with his mother (0.45) and that's on **the Other side of Soweto** (0.54) it takes him two hours to get to school every morning gotta wake up at half past- he's gotta LEAVE the house at half past five every morning (0.67) by the time that- he's at school he exhausted it- you know it's a tiring exercise just to GET to school (0.49) not even talking going back home after a long day maybe having played SPORT (0.84) he's TIRED all that kind of thing only do his homework from seven eight o'clock that evening (0.73) **so** it HAS all these **social impacts** (0.26) ((clears throat)) this this UM (0.69) **aPARTheid style planning** that still exists unfortunately (0.89) has these SOcial impacts and economic as well (0.27) it COSTS money um (0.21) to TRANSport people around and so forth (0.52) now the PROblem is **and I'll give you the example** that I can relate to in **Emdeni** there is no (0.51) train station not even remotely near there's no nothing there's ONLY (0.28) uh- uh- uh **Minibus taxis** (0.75) which in its OWN are dangerous and all the other issues that go with it (0.8) **so I- I just say there should be stronger co-ordiNAtion** (0.65) that would almost force or START or- or- (0.5) PUSH-start (0.62) **LOcal governments and- and uh- provincial governments** to get **these developments** going to get (0.5) **things** HAPpening that people can move around a lot easier (0.6) um- you know I won't go ON but I think you get the gist thank you (2.76)
O: ((clears throat)) (0.52)

TC: JA

(15)

TC: ((coughs)) (2.06) eh- HOnourable (TDI) you are raising a question of uh- (0.41) you are saying that the Issues raised also relate to the role of the provincial and local government (1.02) (and we HAVen't heard) (1.64) for the integrated UM- (1.98) DEvelopment framework (0.39) AT (0.33) which UM- (0.32) which reQUIRES (1.08) that WHEN (0.35) dePARTments plan (1.43) they (PLAN) together and the co-ordination happens at the district (0.45) municipality level which MEANS (1.44) the IDP process (1.64) reQUIRES (0.73) ALL departments (0.41) that would BE (1.03) HAVING projects (0.53) WITHIN that district (1.07) starting at national provincial and local level to BE (0.51) part of that PROcess meaning that (0.99) the NAtional departments will be sharing their (0.37) strategic PLANS (0.53) in reLAtion to (1.23) DEvelopment that is going to be taking place at uh- at uh- that district (0.84) the SAME would happen with the provincial departments (0.35) AND (0.83) the LOcal municipality (1.02) THAT has not happened (2.67) that has not happened the CO-ORDination role of a district municipality (1.33) is ONE not taken seriously (0.67) the integrated development uh- FRAMEwork at (1.12) is as IF (0.78) it's THERE but uh- it- it [doesn't] force us=

O: [(< >)] =(< >)

TC: to PLAN (0.69) toGether (0.71) whi- there it doesn't force US (1.02) to implement together HENCE the duplication and also (0.39) the MISmatch (0.56) of UH- (0.48) the IMplementation of the programme (0.38) you SEE a school (0.8) where there is a plan for a ROAD (0.52) but the ROAD's () (0.39) will BE (0.75) BUILT (0.54) FIVE years after the school has been delivered (0.66) there will be a SCHOOL (1.25) AND uh there- there will be a plan (0.39) for Water and sanitation (0.53) BUT (1.15) The IMplementation of that water and sanitation would take (0.44) FIVE years (0.71) MEANing then that eh- (0.86) (clears throat) (0.21) to the PERson who is receiving these services (1.08) the school is THERE but I'm not happy (0.72) to be in the SCHOOL (0.45) because I don't have the toilets and I don't have Water (0.93) SO (0.74) (coughs) (1.69) the Freedom Charter aspect there will be COMfort (0.67) and seCUrity (1.05) is NOT met (0.97) the SERVICE has been delivered there has been PLANning but there is no co-ordination (0.23) IN the implementation process (0.45) THEREfore you don't reach (1.42) the FREEdom Charter (0.27) COMfort and security (5.05) the SCHOOL is there (0.41) the DOORS of learning have been opened but (0.35) they are NOT (meet) (0.62) to COMfort (0.6) and security aspect of the Freedom Charter (0.99) therefore the quality of life of the PERson (0.79) doesn't CHANGE (0.9) MOney is spent (0.57) but the PERson who is receiving (0.47) doesn't FEEL (1.04) the VALue (1.39) THAT is what we are saying here (0.6) to say at CLUster level as well as (1.45) the vertical and eh- horizontal WHERE do we meet each other as a department (1.45) SO that (0.52) when a SCHOOL is being delivered (0.69) the Electricity yo- to the school is also delivered (0.35) the ROAD to school is also delivered (0.26) the water and sanitation to the school is delivered so that when the school is handed over it is a COMPLETE (0.46) LEARning centre (5.57) AND

O: [((sneezes))]

TC: [what] we're asking from the department is TELL us (0.89) WHAT we should do (0.93) to ensure to facilitate that WHAT are the bottlenecks (0.52) from YOUR side (0.58) SO that (0.52) there can be then (NObody) (9.43) can NOW (0.29) we can NOW hand over to the department to respond to

TC's utterance on rural transport

(16)

TC: ...can you STOP there

O: ((coughs))

TC: MY understanding of the **BRT** is that it is happening in **big cities** (1.55) it is LINKED to **twenty ten** for now

(0.23)

TA1: <mmm>

(3.62)

TC: can WE really be **driven by an event** (1.84) TO- to- to- t- to- to address **issues of development** (0.88) **MNA** (I) I was born in Harding (2.11) and there ARE people in Harding that have been travelling on wheelbarrows because there are (0.77) THEY have um- (0.48) they are physiCAlly (0.97) CHAlleged (2.13) THE people in Harding that have been (0.6) TRAvelling (1.26) IN uh- (1.02) IN (the) (0.63) **sledge**

(0.12)

TA1: <SLEDGE mmm>

(0.14)

TC: **SLEDGE** (0.92) to COLlect **i-pension**

(0.59)

TA1: <mmm (1.18) mmm (1.09) mmm>

(0.1)

TC: **because there is NO** (0.27) **ONE** (1.68) **Adequate** (0.56) **ROAD infrastructure** (0.19)

TA1: < mmm>

(0.66)

TC: but Also (0.43) **there is NO mode of transport adequate mode of transport that accommodates them** (1.83) **NOW** (1.93) when we TALK **BRT** we talk **BRT** as if we are talking (1.43) something that is going to address the problem that we are talking about in the **rural areas** we MUST understand that e- we are living in a **country that has got two faces** (0.89) MAYbe when we hear the the- the- the- the- the- the **terminology second economy** (0.83) we LOSE (0.22) what we ACTually mean (0.73) **we have a THIRD and a first-world country in South Africa** (2.59) AND (0.27) the maJOriety of the people are living in the third-world part of South Africa (2.66) SO let us talk about **interventions** that are upgrading (0.5) and improving the quality of **LIFE** (0.62) of the **THIRD world** (0.78) PART of the community (0.31) withIN South Africa (0.38) because **the first-world PART** (0.37) has had it ALL right all these years (1.82) so that is **NOT** our pri- we are not saying we are going to neglect **them** (0.77) but we are SAYing (0.68) there are people that have BEEN (1.47) treated as less citizens of this country for THREE hundred and sixty-five years (0.69) BEFORE (0.73) THIS government came into power (0.51) so the priOrities of this government (0.85) should **NOT** be skewed (1.16) to first address and imPROVE (1.53) the- the- the **services** that already exist and neGLECT (1.76) areas WHERE (0.7) there are **NO services** (0.67) **WHEN** we see a person that goes to collect pension on a wheelbarrow (2.0) the Situation be changed (1.98) **WHEN** shall we see (0.53) a TRANS- a form of transport that covers because (0.46) **ALso** we must bear in mind that e- most of **those people** (0.23) are in the rural areas **beCAUSE** (0.99) **the HEALTH fo- facilities** (0.43) **they're NOT provided** so we have many people (0.92) who could NOT be immunized (1.08) for **THEM** not to have polio (1.36) so it is NOT (0.48) THEIR desire that they find them (0.29) in **THOSE situations** (0.74) it's **beCAUSE** o- of how **apartheid** was structured (0.56) AND (1.03) **HOW apartheid** (0.76) exCLUded them (0.38) and dePRIved them of the services (0.82) **SO** (0.35) TALK to us (0.63) **aBOUT** (0.31) let's SEE the target group IN- **the target group** of the BRT the re- (0.3) **BRT the rural communities**

Extracts from draft committee report

Findings by the committee

...

(17)

- The master plan and **integrated development planning** occurs at the planning phase coordinated by **the district municipalities** but **the committee observed that** this function was not implemented to its maximum. The implementation of programmes do [sic] not accommodate **integrated planning** and **integrated service delivery** which is a concern.

Recommendations by the Committee to the Department

...

(18)

- The Committee requested DOT [the Department of Transport] to develop a **comprehensive plan in the rural areas for public transport** since most people in the rural areas use **taxis which are not subsidised by government** and **the challenge of un-roadworthy buses** still remains. There is **no adequate transportation for old people in the rural areas** some still get their pension money using **wheelbarrows** and this was unacceptable.

Key:

Engagement choices	
	Instantiation of Expand
	Instantiation of Contract
(19)	Extract numbers
Bolding	Feature mentioned in 4.2.

Transcription conventions:

CAPS	Syllables receiving phrasal stress
<....>	Softer “off-mic” utterances
[.....]	Overlaps
(0.9)	Pauses (measured in seconds)
()	Unclear speech on recording
(())	Non-linguistic sounds
?	Rising tone
O:	Unidentified speaker

Appendix 7: Data discussed in 4.4: “We’re talking about semantics here”

Extract from draft committee report

(19) The Portfolio Committee on Transport, having considered the budget of the Department, Vote 33: Transport, recommends that it be passed.

Stage 1: Discovery of a difference of opinion over wording

(20)
TC: Can we THEN have a- a mover for the adoption of the- (1.4) of the rePORT? Honourable (TD1)?
TD1: I'm SORRY just one- one thing I **just** want to- (0.4) we- we- we're agreeing to PASS (0.7) this rePORT (1.1) that's what we're- that's what we're agreeing to?
TC: <Mhm>
TD1: Because um (0.6) the HEAding may **be mis- a bit misleading** and **perhaps** it should just be rephrased- **the beginning (0.8) um (0.8) recommends** that we PA- **that we agree to this rePORT not the BUDget that's what it's implying over here** (2.8) did I make myself clear (5.6)
TC: I'm- **I'm NOT clear** (0.6) the rePORT- the rePORT is on the budget

(21)
TD2: Madam chair first of all my apologies for being late ((clears throat)) (0.8) um- I had other meetings (0.7) **If you look at the first opening paragraph there** of the rePORT (it is) the rePORT of a tabled rePORT which was presented to us (1.0) relating to matters pertaining to the department and this budget (1.0) **but it's not passing the BUDget** (1.0) that has got to be done through the appropriation process in parliament on FRIday (0.8) when we stand up and debate this budget (0.8) and **by neCESSity it might not** mean that every one of us here is going to pass that budget (0.6) () (0.7) **so that word pass there is incorRECT** (4.5) **recommends or considers this rePORT** (3.3) **we're NOT** passing the budget

(22)
TA1: Ch- CHAIRperson **this is a report (1.9) um (1.6) THAT we as a committee a () committee has deliberated (0.8) ON what (0.7) the dePARTment (0.5) CAME to us on Monday talking about (0.7) THEIR strategic plan for this financial year** (1.1) and so because of the BUDget that we've been given (0.9) they have to come and report to this house or to this committee on what they have done with the budget WHEther whether they've (0.3) e- used the whole BUDget (0.3) OR they didn't (0.4) you KNOW (0.5) SO (0.4) **AS I understand this** this- **this is what we (0.6) AS this committee understands (0.5) FROM the budget vote** (1.0) **and I think- I don't** see anything wrong with that **I aGREE with what you are saying** the Appropriation Bill (0.3) will be GOing to be passed on Tuesday (0.3) **I aGREE with you** on that (0.4) **BUT** we're talking about the budget vote which (0.6) E- the department (0.4) CAN produce a (0.8) COMmittee report on

(23)
TD2: CAN I in[terject]
TC: [MY un-] (0.2) **MY understanding of the process is as follows** (1.9) the COMmittee will be presented with- er by the department with the budget (1.8) the COMmittee will deliberate on the budget (1.5) em (0.8) looking e- also at the

perFORmance of the department in the previous ye[ar]
TA1: <[Mmm]>
(1.4)

TC: BeFORE (1.3) the BUDget (0.6) also gets PASSED in the House (1.0) **the COMmittee (0.8) also have to say** whether (0.7) THEY are passing (0.4) the BUDget or not (0.6) AS a committee because what HAPpens also in the House (1.1) is what COMES from us (1.6) so **we have to pronounce** whether we ARE in agreement with (0.5) this budget (0.6) WANT this budget (0.6) to be passed or not (1.8) and (0.4) **there COULD be different** views (0.6) in terms of (0.6) WHICH would be minuted (0.8) just as the report- (0.6) and **if there ARE dif- dissenting views (0.4) within the portfolio committee** THAT THAT gets recorded that e- (0.8) Party So-and-So was not in agreement with **the PARTS that relate to the PASSing of the budget** at committee level

Stage 2: Supporting arguments on either side

TD2:K can I FOLlow up (2.7) madam chair, I- I- I hear what you're saying (0.7) we are looking as a a portfolio- MULtiparty (0.5) portFOLio committee (0.6) and the rePORT that was presented to us (0.2) of WHICH (0.7) there are certain things in here OBviously which need further investigation (1.1) let me just give you an exAMple (0.2) there are THIRteen entities in this department (1.7) we have had a very SCANT report about we still gotta go into each of those entities (1.1) to see whether they are Operating within the confines of the strategic plan (0.4) and whether they are comPLIant (0.3) in TERMS of the Auditor-General's report

TC: Mhm

TD2: Therefore we are emBRacing this report by saying (0.3) in ONE paragraph yes you know all the entities have been reported on (0.8) but we DON'T know the details of them (1.2) you know and I know that (0.6) at the same TIME (0.7) we ARE (0.3) we- we are GOing to go in and appropriate this process (0.6) er in- in PARliament (0.5) where individual PARTies (0.4) MIGHT or might not (0.4) supPORT the budget of the Department of Transpor because of certain (0.4) CIRcumstances (1.1) that is the reAlity (0.7) but the way the thing is read here is that we are saying that we are saying as a comMITtee multi-party (0.5) um er portFOLio committee we're accepting (0.7) the dePARTment's budget we're accepting (0.4) the dePARTment's report (1.3) and I don't think that is in reality what we say that the WORDS (0.5) that's all all I'm SAYing is we are saying we are (0.2) conSIDering this report (0.4) we TAbles this report we accept it (0.6) because this is what they SAID (0.7) but DOESN'T actually mean that we are purposely uh by virtue of that accepting (0.7) the impliCATIONS of the budget and I would like to propose some- some (0.3) uh WORDing to amend that- that paragraph (0.2) uh my COLleague and me
(1.2)

TC: Let us HEAR (0.2) the- the Other views (1.7) ehh HONourable member
((The ANC MP referred to by TC gestures to show that he no longer wants to speak.))
OK (0.8) EHH Chief Whip
(2.2)

TA1: Thank you CHAIR (0.3) Chair MY understanding is that this is a committee (1.0) a committee rePORT (1.2) THAT we are moving that we adopt (0.8) with the aMENDments (1.7) THAT have been put (0.3) ON the table (1.5) the COMmittee report (0.4) CHAIR will contain (0.9) ALL the activities that the department (1.2) is PLANning to do (1.4) and the dePARTment can't plan their activities without (1.2) the FUNding that is understandable (1.1) so WHEther there are challenges or no challenges it should be passed (1.0) for the dePARTment to be able to execute some of these programmes (0.7) WHILE on the other side as a committee (0.8) we need to PLAY an oversight (0.7) ROLE (1.2) and ALthough we need to identify the challenges which are within the department at the (0.3) end of the day because

as the COMmittee (0.5) we are here to assist (1.0) the dePARTment (1.3) wheREver it's possible (0.9) so MY understanding is that (0.4) THIS is a committee report (1.3) that we adopt it as a COMmittee (2.5) we aDOPT this committee report as a committee (2.0) and also at the end of the DAY (0.7) this rePORT is supposed to help (1.1) FINance (2.0) you CAN'T have a car and expect the car to move without (0.6) the PETrol (0.8) then you said because there are problems there are certain problems with the car you CAN'T (0.5) put the petrol (0.5) in for the car to move while on the other side you're considering (0.5) WHAT are the challenges (0.5) of THAT particular car (0.5) so THAT is what I am saying Chair that (0.2) this is a comMITtee report (0.5) that wants to aDOPT (0.7) AS a committee (0.6) then at the END of the day (0.4) I aGREE with you at the end of the day we have to agree (0.5) on the budget THAT (0.2) AS a committee (0.2) to aDOPT (0.1) the rePORT as a committee (1.0)

TC: Can I also explain (1.0) cause I- I- I- I- STILL think there's (0.6) SOME people are already now in the voting process that will happen next week (0.5)

TA1: ON Friday (0.5) Honourable Chairperson

TC: Yes (1.1) we CLEAR? (1.6) Can I READ this (0.3) the PortFolio Committee on Transport (1.0) HAving considered the budget of the department (0.9) VOTE number thirty-three (0.2) TRANsport (0.8) reCOMmends that it be passed (0.9) we are recomMENDING to the house (0.2)

TA1: <Mmm> (0.3)

TC: This portfolio committee (0.2) is REcommending (0.4) to the HOUSE (1.6) and IN this portfolio committee (1.4) there could be a PARTy that is not (0.3) of the SAME view (1.3) and WHEN we are then saying we are recommending this budget (0.7) to be PASSED (0.9) THAT (0.3) particular political party (0.5) WOULD (0.7) PUT forward its views that is our responsibility as a portfolio committee because (0.6) if we FAIL to do that it means that this vote will not go to the House (4.1)

(24)

TI: Ma'am (1.0)

TC: Yes (0.2)

TI: I want to clarify my position Madam SPEAker (0.3) I'm SPEAKing from the Inkatha Freedom Party Madam Chair (0.5) I say we adopt we we- (0.4) we would LIKE to adopt this report (0.8) however we're having a CAUcus tomorrow (1.2) and at caucus I would- (0.9) it's MY duty [as a] member of=

TC: <[mhm]>

TI: =this committee [to sell] this to my colleagues=

TC: <[mhm]> =<mhm>

TI: =and IF they say otherwise (0.6) then at the debate on- on- on FRIday (0.2) I will either acCEPT it (0.3)

TC: <yes> (0.4)

TI: o- e- OR- (1.1) so that's (on condition of that) (0.6)

TC: <Yes (0.3) yes>

Stage 3: Proposal and rejection of changes in wording

(25)

TC: Honourable (TD1)?
(0.7)

TD1: Thanks Madam Chair **I think** () everything the HOnourable members have said has been correct I think it's just a matter of (0.6) how we inTERpret it **I'd like to make the following (0.3) recommenDation** (0.5) that we just add on two words and change one and that is at the TOP where it says (0.6) **the portFolio committee on transport having considered the budget of the department vote thirty-three transport (0.6) recommends that this rePORT be adopted** (0.7) and that's really all I'm saying (0.3) cause what what we DID is quite correct but (0.4) you know we we w- (0.5) the actual BUdget is being debated and stuff approved or rejected in the house **and that's all I'm saying** is this report's being ad[opted]

TD2: <[adOP]ted>=

TD1: =**If- if** that would be acceptable [I would be GRATEful]

TD2: <[()]>

TD1: ((clears throat))
(5.6)

TC: **That's not** the usual proCEdure

(26)

(1.0)

TD2: <ADOPT the report>

(1.0)

TC: **That's not** the USUAL procedure (0.8)

TA1: <Mmm>

TC: **What GETS adopted in the House (0.8) COUNTS as a recommendation of the portfolio committee**

TA1: <Mmm>

(1.2)

TC: **HOW** would the House (2.3) **Even** (0.6) put this on the agenda FOR (1.6) adoption BY the house when the committee itself **has not** said anything about the adoption of the port- o- o- of the bu[dget]

TA1: [**<Ex>**actly>

(27)

TD2: Can I- Can I FOLlow up madam chair? (1.6) **we're talking** about seMANtics here ((clears throat)) **your colleague here who's just been talking ABOUT** (0.6) **adopting** a report- what do we do? we aDOPT a report we accept it as we see it here (0.7) **but** to **PASS** a report is a different story because then you are endorsing it you are actually RUBberstamping it saying this is (1.0) **that is the difference in English** [()]

(28)

TC: [CAN I can-
can I inter]ject what you are saying?=
TD2:

=<Ja>

TC: (1.2) **we ARE** a portfolio committee

TA1: <mm>

TC: (1.1) our **duty** is to PASS (0.8) **this** (0.9) and REcommend to the House to do the same (0.9) THAT is our **responsibility**

TD2: <but it's semantics>
TC: AND (0.5) AND (0.7) aMONG us (0.5) are PEOPle (0.2) that would say (0.2) we are NOT in favour of this budget and those people should come forward and say so (1.1) if we need to VOTE in the committee we need to vote in the committee and say (0.5) THOSE that are in favour of the- o- o- of passing the budget=
TA1: =<mmm>=
TC: =should say so and those that are not in favour of (0.2) and then that would happen even in the HOUSE

(29)
TA1: UH I'm just speaking to what you're saying Chairperson that's exactly what wha- e- what should happen=
TC: =<mmm>=
TA1: =because I feel we are IN disagreement (0.5)
TC: <mmm> (3.0)
TA1: because [()] and in FACT only if it's on Tuesday (0.4) THERE will be
TC: [HOnourable (TD1)]
TA1: given time (0.2) to- to- to MAKE their declaration (0.4) AND I think DA has (0.1) I mean they'll have the ample time to actually say they don't agree to the budget because of A B C D (0.1) and we'll vote in the HOUSE

(30)
TC: <mhm> (1.6) HoNOUrabLe (TD1)?
TD1: Thanks thanks madam ch- I wonder if I could come up with a proposal as a COMpromise (0.8) that we LEAVE the word pass but instead of the word it (0.7) that we say recommends that THIS report be passed (0.5) would THAT be acceptable (2.5)

(31)
TC: It's NOT a report that gets passed it's a budget (2.0)
TD2: ()
TC: It's a BUDget (0.8) you HAVE the right to abstain you have the right to vote [not in=
TD2: [(
TC: =favour of] but we canNOT (1.4) FAIL to do our duty because the DA is not in=
TD2:)]
TC: =agreement with the budget (1.3) our duty is to enSURE that the department of transport has got a budget (1.0) and the HOUSE deliberates on that budget (0.5) and the budget gets PASSED

Stage 4: Proposal and acceptance of abstention

TD2: Can WE then (0.3) abstain from this particular ab- () PUREly over the word pass madam chair
TC: That's fi[ne]
TD2: [PU]REly over that because we will have our RIGHT to do it and as the- my colleague here mister (TD) says (0.6) it still has to go back to our caucus (1.0) and THOSE caucuses just like yours will have to decide ultimately what will be the outcome...

(32) we accepting this report and I MUST stress that I want that minuted we are accepting this

report (0.4) for aDOption for passing and tabling into the parliamentary system (0.1) because it is verBATim we have all been here there is nothing in this report which we didn't hear (0.5) so we are not ARguing on the content of the report we are arguing on the content of the saying that this- we are passing this (0.7) we are NOT passing this budget

(1.07) we will then have our OPtions open for us for debate when it does come (0.3) but I just want to stress that we would (0.72) Table that (0.44) that we are saying that we acCEPT this report (0.42) for aDOption and recommendation and for consideration as it is (0.25) given HERE (0.11) but the word PASsing (0.22) does NOT (0.3) UH- cannot be- be agreed to (0.16) until such TIME we have discussed it with our relevant caucuses
(2.0)

TC: We understand er- where that comes from because you ARE an opposition (0.9) you have the RIGHT to oppose the- the- the- [a recommendation (0.3) to have the budget] (0.4) passed

TD2: [(more than a right)]

TC: (0.8) but the comMITtee as a whole (1.5) doesn't share the same (0.6) so there ARE p- there are parties here (0.6) who would WANT to see this budget (0.9) er- vote being PASSED that is why we are recommending (0.6) to parliament to PASS the budget

TD2: (< >)

TC: This is a recommendation to [parliament to have the- to HAVE the budget passed]

O: [((< >)]

(1.69)

O: (<ALL of us>)

(0.13)

TD2: That's what you're saying

(0.46)

TC: [Ja that i- that- THAT is what we are saying]

O: [((< >)]

(0.16)

TC: [We are SAYing this committee re]commends that

O: [((< >)]

(0.83)

TC: THIS budget be passed (2.3) and withIN this committee there would be parties that would be saying (0.57) we are abSTAINing (0.51) beCAUSE we still have to apply our minds on it (0.42) and there WOULD be (0.13) PARTies that would be saying (0.25) we are opPOSED (0.27) to this budget being PASSED (0.49) it is their RIGHT to do so (0.32) but we canNOT (0.58) MOVE out of this room (1.07) with NO recommendation (0.35) to PARliament as far as the passing of the budget of the Department of Transport is concerned (2.46)

TD2: (< >)

(3.04)

TA1: Chairperson I have to attend the chief whips' forum but I'm SAYing I agree with you let us pass (0.16) this BUDget (0.72) and when you are SAYing we are doing that as the ANC passing the budget (0.83) with the recommendations that will aMEND wha- uh- whatever amendments that have to come up later but we're saying we are passing (0.45) this BUDget (0.27)

TC: Can I- can I also read (0.32) the SENTence

(0.14)

TA1: OK

(0.89)

TC: The PortFolio committee on transport having considered the budget of the department (1.23) vote thirty-three TRANSport (0.87) recomMENDS (1.16) that it be PASSED (1.5) it is our REsponsibility and our duty to recommend to parliament (0.73) because WE are the people

that have processed this (0.43) PARliament has not processed this [(0.29) THAT is our=

O: [(
TC: =responsibility that is what we are here for]
O: >)]

(0.4)

O: (< >)

TC: WE are- (0.14) we are REcommending to parliament to pass the budget (3.35) THOSE who differ with that will differ in the house (0.95) and THOSE who want to abstain (0.57) HERE (0.27) can DO that from- (0.17) here (0.22) so we are NOT going to- (0.31) () anything here (0.44) WHAT is written here is (0.97) HUNdred percent correct (2.16) AFter having done that (0.54) we have considered the budget we are REcommending to the House to pass the budget (0.71) but we are also recommending- we are also reporting AS follows (0.41) THAT we have written here (1.53) THAT is the report from us (0.94) our FIRST and foremost thing (0.55) is to REcommend to the house to pass the budget (0.1) withOUT that recommendation there will be no debate (0.39) on THIS (0.67) TRANSport budget and there will be no voting on this transport budget because it our- (0.31) it is the responsibility of THIS committee (0.22) to recommend to the HOUSE (0.64) to PASS the budget (0.47) any party that differs with that (0.37) will HAVE its (0.74) TIME and opportunity to (0.41) say we are NOT in favour of- (0.16) we are NOT- (0.38) IN support of the budget of the trans- (0.21) and THEY (0.16) and there will be MANY (0.24) MEMbers from those political parties (0.34) who would be reCORded as having (0.2) opPOsed the budget (3.65)

(33)

TA4: ER comrade chairperson can we (0.6) proCEED (0.4) cause I can see that er (0.8) the HOnourable members from the DA have got their small caucus within the em eh- (0.4) portfolio committee so can we (0.5) just (0.3) they've GOT their opposition (0.2) let them HANG on it (0.6) then we are MOving (0.3) the COUNtry's waiting eh (0.4) for DEvelopment

O: (< >)

TA4: THANK you (2.05)

Stage 5: Vote

TC: THOSE in favour of recommending to the House that this budget be passed should raise their hands
((All ANC MPs raise their hands))
(20.79)
THOSE against er- er- this er- budget- er- recommended to the House for the House to pass it (0.31) raise THEIR hands
(3.39)
((No hands are raised))
Those who are abSTAINing
((TD1, TD2, TCo and TI raise their hands))
(2.0)

Stage 6: Reiteration of positions

(34)

TI: THANK you (1.1) I think I must rephrase MY position (0.6) I've SAID that I accept what's written here (0.2)

C: <mmm>

TI: (0.1) but I HAVE to meet my caucus tomorrow (0.7) and toMORrow that's where we take the final- (1.0) and the deBATE tomorrow (0.5) on S- Friday (0.5) this is WHERE we'll (1.0) I think (0.1) I accept what is here and it is MY duty to go and sell it to my colleagues

(1.2)

TC: <(TCo)> (2.4) (TCo) (0.9)

(35)

TCo: EH Ma- MAdam Chair (1.9) the rePORT is a true reflection of the transaction that we had together (1.8) we are NOT going to as Congress of the People (0.9) deBATE illogically () (1.5) we SAY the document is a true reflection (1.1) in terms of whether our position would be (0.8) to vote for the PASSing of the budget it's an- it's a horse of a different kind (1.0) THAT we'll get to in the debate (0.3) on FRIday (0.4) Thanks Madam Chair

(4.4)

TC: I THINK this matter is closed (2.2)

TA3: MAdam Chair (2.5) Honourable Chairperson I MUST say I'm still confused (1.1) because HERE (0.6) LIKE the honourable member just said (0.3) this is a TRUE reflection of what the department presented to us (1.2) and IN this report is our concerns are raised (0.2) and there's recommendations like we discussed (1.3) but my confUSion is (0.6) as a comMITtee (0.4) we acCEPT this report (0.6) AND (0.4) doesn't matter WHAT political party we belong to (0.6) and that WE as a committee recommend (0.4) that THIS (0.3) be PASSED (0.4) in the BUdget vote (0.4) if they CA- if we do not do this they can't proceed with their work (0.5) WHAT are we saying as a committee (1.1) YES (0.5) on Tuesday you have a CHANCE to say that you not going to um- support this (0.5) I'm disapPOINTed (0.2) if members do not WANT to approve this (4.7)

TC: I THINK this matter is closed (1.2) if we GO according to the (0.3) e- principles of deMOcracy (1.1) the maJOrity has it (2.44) <it is er- FOUR against three> (2.4) so THIS report will be recommended to the House for the House to pass it (1.2) the BUdget will be recommended to the House (1.1) FOR the House to (0.5) PASS the budget (0.6) and those THAT are opposing (0.1) the- the- the- the- the- the- the BUdget (0.3) ((clears throat)) VOTE against the budget in the House (7.54) We move to Item number three

((TC holds whispered discussion with a woman from the Committee Section who has come to give additional procedural advice)) (1:18.84)

Stage 7: Recording of decision

TC Be- (0.19) before we CLOSE the item number two (0.45) we have uh- TWO things to do (0.45) the first one is to have a MOver (0.57) and a seCONder (0.75) FOR (0.18) this rePORT (1.69) for the BUdget (0.46) to BE (1.78) REcommended to the House that is the par- (1.62)

MOver and a seconder
(7.85)
TA2: CHAIR I (*TA5*) move (for-) (2.81) that the report (1.0) be adopted (0.98) and the recommendations be tabled to the House for considerAtion
(2.32)
TC: HOnourable ()
O: I second
(5.18)
TC: OpPOSED? (3.59) there's NO one opposing so-

(36)
TC: WHAT we are then going to be doing (0.5) WE are going together with- (0.9) with THIS report going to have (0.8) an- e- a PAGE that says (1.8) WHEN we were doing this (3.8) the (1.4) COPE. IFP and DA abstained (1.2) for PURposes of (1.0) going back to THEIR caucuses (6.5) is THAT OK?
TD2: Yes fine
TC: Thank you

Extracts from final committee report

(37) Opening paragraph:
The Portfolio Committee on Transport, having considered the budget vote of the Department of Transport, Vote 33 reports as follows:
...
Closing paragraphs:
The Democratic Alliance (DA), Congress of the People (COPE) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), **while accepting the contents of the report**, abstained from recommending the **acceptance of the Budget Vote because they had not consulted with their relevant parties in caucus.**

The Portfolio Committee on Transport recommends that Budget Vote 33 be passed.

Appendix 8: Committee secretaries' commentary on data

In this appendix, I reproduce the sections of data I showed to two committee secretaries, along with the questions I asked them on this data and notes from the answers they gave me. S2's answers are reproduced from an email she wrote to me (with some grammatical editing) and S4's answers are compiled from handwritten notes I made during a face-to-face interview with him. The data sections that the committee secretaries commented on appear first, followed by my questions in bold, and the answers of the committee secretaries, who are identified by their pseudonyms.

Data discussed in 4.3: "The example that I can relate to"

(14)

TD1: YES madam chair um er- uh- (0.11) I feel QUITE (0.05) just as STRONGLY as what the member was talking about in this last respect (0.7) there are TWO parts (attached) the department's had a dilemma with (0.33) (to me) the FIRST is that many of the things have been spoken about (0.43) are not COMpetencies of the department but pertain to provincial and local government (0.21) so my QUEStion is (1.35) IS there any co-ordination if at all (0.49) in WHAT is being done there has- there has to have some kind of formal co-ordination (0.97) UM- (0.55) FOR these things to happen or these issues to (come out) (0.06) that's- that's the FIRST aspect (0.05) if THAT would be unpacked discussed with us (0.12) I suspect perhaps that there ISN'T that co-ordination perhaps there's a challenge (0.59) but I MIGHT be wrong (0.39) I HOPE I am (0.35) the second is although a LOT of people have been uh- (0.41) QUITE rightly saying that these issues exist in the rural areas (0.71) I must point out that these THINGS happen equally (0.96) in the- in the urban areas as WELL (0.48) I'll give you an example (clears throat) my son stays in (EmDENi) with his mother (0.45) and that's on the Other side of Soweto (0.54) it takes him two hours to get to school every morning gotta wake up at half past- he's gotta LEAVE the house at half past five every morning (0.67) by the time that- he's at school he exhausted it- you know it's a tiring exercise just to GET to school (0.49) not even talking going back home after a long day maybe having played SPORT (0.84) he's TIRED all that kind of thing only do his homework from seven eight o'clock that evening (0.73) so it HAS all these social impacts (0.26) ((clears throat)) this this UM (0.69) aPARTheid style planning that still exists unfortunately (0.89) has these SOcial impacts and economic as well (0.27) it COSTS money um (0.21) to TRANSport people around and so forth (0.52) now the PROblem is and I'll give you the example that I can relate to in Emdeni there is no (0.51) train station not even remotely near there's no nothing there's ONLY (0.28) uh- uh- uh MINibus taxis (0.75) which in its OWN are dangerous and all the other issues that go with it (0.8) so I- I just say there should be stronger co-ordiNATION (0.65) that would almost force or START or- or- (0.5) PUSH-start (0.62) LOcal governments and- and uh- provincial governments to get these developments going to get (0.5) things HAPpening that people can move around a lot easier (0.6) um- you know I won't go ON but I think you get the gist thank you

(2.76)

O: ((clears throat))

(0.52)

TC: JA

(15)

TC: ((coughs)) (2.06) eh- HONourable (TD1) you are raising a question of uh- (0.41) you are saying that the Issues raised also relate to the role of the provincial and local government (1.02) (and we HAVen't heard) (1.64) for the integrated UM- (1.98) DEvelopment framework (0.39) AT (0.33) which UM- (0.32) which reQUIRES (1.08) that WHEN (0.35) dePARTments plan (1.43) they (PLAN) together and the co-ordination happens at the district (0.45) municipality level which MEANS (1.44) the IDP process (1.64) reQUIRES (0.73) ALL departments (0.41) that would BE (1.03) HAVing projects (0.53) WITHIN that district (1.07) starting at national provincial and local level to BE (0.51) part of that PROcess meaning that (0.99) the NAtional departments will be sharing their (0.37) strategic PLANS (0.53) in reLATION to (1.23) DEvelopment that is going to be taking place at uh- at uh- that district (0.84) the SAME would happen with the provincial departments (0.35) AND (0.83) the LOcal municipality (1.02) THAT has not happened (2.67) that has not happened the CO-ORdination role of a district municipality (1.33) is ONE not taken seriously (0.67) the integrated development uh- FRAMEwork at (1.12) is as IF (0.78) it's THERE but uh- it- it [doesn't] force us=

O: [< () >] = < () >

TC: to PLAN (0.69) toGether (0.71) whi- there it doesn't force US (1.02) to implement together HENCE the duplication and also (0.39) the MISmatch (0.56) of UH- (0.48) the IMplementation of the programme (0.38) you SEE a school (0.8) where there is a plan for a ROAD (0.52) but the ROAD's () (0.39) will BE (0.75) BUILT (0.54) FIVE years after the school has been delivered (0.66) there will be a SCHOOL (1.25) AND uh there- there will be a plan (0.39) for WAtter and sanitation (0.53) BUT (1.15) The IMplementation of that water and sanitation would take (0.44) FIVE years (0.71) MEANing then that eh- (0.86) (clears throat) (0.21) to the PERson who is receiving these services (1.08) the school is THERE but I'm not happy (0.72) to be in the SCHOOL (0.45) because I don't have the toilets and I don't have WAtter (0.93) SO (0.74) ((coughs)) (1.69) the Freedom Charter aspect there will be COMfort (0.67) and seCUrity (1.05) is NOT met (0.97) the SERvice has been delivered there has been PLANning but there is no co-ordination (0.23) IN the implementation process (0.45) THEREfore you don't reach (1.42) the FREEdom Charter (0.27) COMfort and security (5.05) the SCHOOL is there (0.41) the DOORS of learning have been opened but (0.35) they are NOT (meet) (0.62) to COMfort (0.6) and security aspect of the Freedom Charter (0.99) therefore the quality of life of the PERson (0.79) doesn't CHANGE (0.9) MOney is spent (0.57) but the PERson who is receiving (0.47) doesn't FEEL (1.04) the VALue (1.39) THAT is what we are saying here (0.6) to say at CLUster level as well as (1.45) the vertical and eh-horizontal WHERE do we meet each other as a department (1.45) SO that (0.52) when a SCHOOL is being delivered (0.69) the Electricity yo- to the school is also delivered (0.35) the ROAD to school is also delivered (0.26) the water and sanitation to the school is delivered so that when the school is handed over it is a COMPLETE (0.46) LEARning centre (5.57) AND

O: [((sneezes))]

TC: [what] we're asking from the department is TELL us (0.89) WHAT we should do (0.93) to ensure to facilitate that WHAT are the bottlenecks (0.52) from YOUR side (0.58) SO that (0.52) there can be then (NObody) (9.43) can NOW (0.29) we can NOW hand over to the department to respond to

1. **I'd like you to read these extracts from the transcript of a meeting, and when you are finished, please tell me what you'd say in a paragraph about them if you were to write a committee report on the meeting that these extracts were taken from.**

S2:

In this extract, both speakers are requesting that there be better coordination of transport services, in provincial and local government level. TC was referring to the integrated developmental plan that departments should work in a coordinated manner to ensure effective service delivery.

S4:

The member (TD1) acknowledges a lack of co-ordination, and suggests there needs to be better co-ordination. Secondly he says these challenges are similar both in urban and rural areas. Challenges of transport have adverse effects on people, causing them to be tired. It should be easier for people to move around.

The Chairperson (TC) says that the IDP requires that all spheres of government should plan together and their strategic plans must speak to each other. He says the IDPs are not effective because all the spheres don't work together, forcing services not to be integrated. She wants to know what the challenges are that the department faces.

(17)

- The master plan and integrated development planning occurs at the planning phase coordinated by the district municipalities but the committee observed that this function was not implemented to its maximum. The implementation of programmes do [sic] not accommodate integrated planning and integrated service delivery which is a concern.

2. **How would you combine what TD1 was saying with what TC was saying to put together a report paragraph on both?**

S2:

Well I would look at what they have both been requesting for in the end, which was the better

coordination of services which impact on transport to ensure better delivery....

3. Why do you think the committee secretary who compiled this report chose not to say anything in the report about TD1's story about his son and his troubles in getting to school?

S2:

A committee report is mainly based on resolutions, that is what a member is resolving, hence the paragraph on coordination... I refrain from using personal examples of members' stories in the reports are write because that's not how our minutes are written instead it would be long. There are other members in previous meetings that have made personal examples that I also have never included because that's what they do all the time and it would be a challenge to put all their individual stories in. Instead I capture the essence or point that the member once to say based on that story... which in this case was the lack of coordination of transport services which creates burdens for children.

(16)

TC: ...can you STOP there

O: ((coughs))

TC: MY understanding of the BRT is that it is happening in big cities (1.55) it is LINKED to twenty ten for now
(0.23)

TA1: <mmm>
(3.62)

TC: can WE really be driven by an event (1.84) TO- to- to- t- to- to address issues of development (0.88) MNA (I) I was born in Harding (2.11) and there ARE people in Harding that have been travelling on wheelbarrows because there are (0.77) THEY have um- (0.48) they are physICALLY (0.97) CHALLenged (2.13) THE people in Harding that have been (0.6) TRAvelling (1.26) IN uh- (1.02) IN (the) (0.63) sledge (0.12)

TA1: <SLEDGE mmm>
(0.14)

TC: SLEDGE (0.92) to COLlect i-pension
(0.59)

TA1: <mmm (1.18) mmm (1.09) mmm>
(0.1)

TC: because there is NO (0.27) ONE (1.68) Adequate (0.56) ROAD infrastructure (0.19)

TA1: < mmm>
(0.66)

TC: but Also (0.43) there is NO mode of transport adequate mode of transport that accommodates them (1.83) NOW (1.93) when we TALK BRT we talk BRT as if we are talking (1.43) something that is going to address the problem that we are talking about in the rural areas we MUST understand that e- we are living in a country that has got two faces (0.89) MAYbe when we hear the the- the- the- the- the terminology second economy (0.83) we LOSE (0.22) what we ACTually mean (0.73) we have a THIRD and a first-world country in South Africa (2.59) AND (0.27) the maJOrity of the people are living in the third-world part of South Africa (2.66) SO let us talk about interventions that are upgrading (0.5) and improving the quality of LIFE (0.62) of the THIRD world (0.78) PART of the community (0.31) withIN South Africa (0.38) because the first-world PART (0.37) has had it ALL right all these years (1.82) so that is NOT our pri- we are not saying we are going to neglect them (0.77) but we are SAYing (0.68) there are people that have BEEN (1.47) treated as less citizens of this country for THREE hundred and sixty-five years (0.69) beFORE (0.73) THIS government came into power (0.51) so the priOrities of this government (0.85) should NOT be skewed (1.16) to first address and imPROVE (1.53) the- the- the services that already exist and neGLECT (1.76) areas WHERE (0.7) there are NO services (0.67) WHEN we see a person that goes to collect pension on a wheelbarrow (2.0) the Situation be changed (1.98) WHEN shall we see (0.53) a TRANS- a form of transport that covers because (0.46) ALso we must bear in mind that e- most of those people (0.23) are in the rural areas beCAUSE (0.99) the HEALTH fo-facilities (0.43) they're NOT provided so we have many people (0.92) who could NOT be immunized (1.08) for THEM not to have polio (1.36) so it is NOT (0.48) THEIR desire that they find them (0.29) in THOSE situations (0.74) it's beCAUSE o- of how apartheid was structured (0.56) AND (1.03) HOW apartheid (0.76) exCLUded them (0.38) and dePRIved them of the services (0.82) SO (0.35) TALK to us

(0.63) aBOUT (0.31) let's SEE the target group IN- the target group of the BRT the re- (0.3) BRT the rural communities

- 4. Now I'd like you to tell me what you'd say in a paragraph about this extract if you were to write a committee report on it.**

S4:

A concern is raised that BRT only serves the elite. Money allocated to transport serves the elite and not the underdeveloped. Here the chair is complaining that the BRT neglects the people who need it, because there's no road infrastructure. People are unable to access basic social services.

- 5. What are the guidelines about including stories like the first MP's story about his son and the second MP's story about carrying elderly people around in wheelbarrows in reports?**

S2:

I would use TC's example in a committee report because it's community specific or community based...

S4:

The reports would not be as specific as my answers to 1 and 4 above. We would convert all the comments I have highlighted into point form. We only include examples like the stories that TD1 and TC told when a statement is not clear and needs clarification.

Appendix 9: MPs' commentary on data

In this appendix, I reproduce the sections of data I showed to various MPs that I interviewed, along with notes from the answers they gave me. These answers appear in the form of notes compiled from my audio recordings of these interviews. They are not verbatim, but give a summary of the MPs' answers. The appendix is arranged in the order followed in the body of the thesis, with comments on the data discussed in 4.2. appearing first, followed by comments on the data discussed in 4.3. and 4.4. Within each of these sections, I reproduce each data extract shown to the MPs, followed by their comments on it. These comments were made in response to questions from me which are not included in this appendix, in order to simplify its layout. In certain cases I have added information that was not explicitly stated by the MPs, but which could be inferred from my question or the context of the interview. In these cases, I have placed this information in square brackets.

Data discussed in 4.2: "Be careful of percentages"

(1)

PD1: ...but I just want to ask on the fiNANcial one (1.55) MANpower (0.47) to ME it means (0.27) SALaries actually (0.02) I DON'T know what else they could put under that one (0.51) and if it IS salaries (0.44) sixty two perCENT (0.4) of the MOney go to salaries (0.32) which doesn't SOUND alright (1.34) and I can SEE they are trying to cut it down (0.03) but CUTting it down I don't know whether they are going to cut me- eh- employees (0.14) that's another thing that we don't want to see...

PD1:

They come with the presentation, and in most cases we receive this document, and it was the Department of Public Works that was supposed to employ 500 000 people, and Agrément SA also wanted to employ people, but the budget for manpower was going down. The other thing was that their manpower amount exceeded their real operational budget. It was more than 60%. I wanted to say "What is this? What is included?" Consultants?"

Human resources or salaries would have been a clearer word. If they say "salaries" you know it's salaries. And this is a problem especially if it exceeds your operational budget, because most of your budget should be going to operations.

(2)

PC: Honourable (PA1) (0.56) Eh (0.35) Mister (A1) (0.34) I don't know whether I should TAKE (0.36) the hands, NOTE them or send a report of (0.75) this one- (2.32) Eh Honourable (PA1) (0.46) Honourable (PI) (0.64) Honourable (PA3) (2.49)

(3)

PA1: Eh (0.37) YES chair (0.26) Eeem (1.01) Yes I WONder if- it would be able to assist (0.27) Em (0.82) It apPEARS that I've taken notes that when you pose questions (0.94) too MAny (0.61) eh (0.73) they DON'T get answered all of them (1.46) em (0.48) um I'm- I'm JUST sceptical to (1.37) to continue because you COME with many questions and you'll have (0.67) ten questions and you'll be able to answer FIVE questions (0.91) and then it seems as if you'll be answering ALL questions (0.32) then (0.51) I'm JUST looking for (instructions)

(4)

PC: PRObably if we can just agree to take three hands (1.22) then he ANSwers (0.46) and then we- we- we- we- eh (0.77) eh- work ON that (1.8) UM

PA1:

Questions get lost: when you keep bombarding an entity with questions, they can have to write down and answer 12 questions at once! You lose the ability to do oversight correctly.

I don't think everyone fields questions in groups. Chairs differ. If you don't have enough time, it's often a time-saving device: questions can be summarized. It is natural for MPs to lose questions. But if I'm expecting an answer, I will prompt the presenter to remind him/her of the question.

PI:

We often get debate about the number of questions that should be asked in a round. Half the questions disappear. I think one question at a time is sufficient. Otherwise, in trying to save time, oversight is compromised.

The big problem with communication in committees is taking lots of questions.

Presenters either 'lose' questions on purpose, or because there are just too many.

PC:

I think PA1 here, what he was seeking- I thought I would open a round of hands to allow the CFO to respond. But PA1 sought to assist: let's group questions. So I said, "Let's take three questions." If you do what PA1 is suggesting, you run out of time, because there will be follow-up questions. As a chair, you must allow yourself to be guided by the members as well. When you are a chairperson, you must allow it to take a certain direction, but it is not your meeting. PA1 was saying that the presenters would lose questions, but if you are sharp, you can keep track of all the questions. So we agreed to take three hands.

At end of recording:

PC:

I have a problem when people start undermining parliament. The CFO of this meeting; I didn't want to be harsh, so I gave him another chance. So I said, please come back when you are more prepared. If you listen to PA1, PA3 and PD1, they were angry, and the CFO was sweating- literally. The CEO himself was worried. So I had to come in and say "Please come more prepared". We had limited time, but I also had to give them another chance. Probably they used to be able to do this in half an hour, but now they're realizing that this Parliament is serious. In fact they did much better when they came to present again, and a bit prepared. But when entities start undermining Parliament, we will have a problem. When we speak about accountability, we mean you must maintain consistency. Where is the money going to? Even when you want to move a 2% from finance to human resources, you must account for it. We're not saying budgets must not be adjusted, but they must be accounted for.

Data discussed in 4.3: "The example that I can relate to"

(14)

TD1: YES madam chair um er- uh- (0.11) I feel QUITE (0.05) just as STRONGly as what the member was talking about in this last respect (0.7) there are TWO parts (attached) the department's had a dilemma with (0.33) (to me) the FIRST is that many of the things have been spoken about (0.43) are not COMpetencies of the department but pertain to provincial and local government (0.21) so my QUEStion is (1.35) IS there any co-ordination if at all (0.49) in WHAT is being done there has- there has to have some kind of formal co-ordination (0.97) UM- (0.55) FOR these things to happen or these issues to (come out) (0.06) that's- that's the FIRST aspect (0.05) if THAT would be unpacked discussed with us (0.12) I suspect perhaps that there ISN'T that co-ordination perhaps there's a challenge (0.59) but I MIGHT be wrong (0.39) I HOPE I am (0.35) the second is although a LOT of people have been uh- (0.41) QUITE rightly saying that these issues exist in the rural areas (0.71) I must point out that these THINGS happen equally (0.96) in the- in the urban areas as WELL (0.48) I'll give you an example (clears throat) my son stays in (EmDEni) with his mother (0.45) and that's on the Other side of Soweto (0.54) it takes him two hours to get to school every morning gotta wake up at half past- he's gotta LEAVE the house at half past five every morning (0.67) by the time that- he's at school he exhausted it- you know it's a tiring exercise just to GET to school (0.49) not even talking going back home after a long day maybe having played SPORT (0.84) he's TIRED all that kind of thing only do his homework from seven eight o'clock that evening (0.73) so it HAS all these social impacts (0.26) ((clears throat)) this this UM (0.69) aPARTheid style planning that still exists unfortunately (0.89) has these SOcial impacts and economic as well (0.27) it COSTS money um (0.21) to TRANSport people around and so forth (0.52) now the PROblem is and I'll give you the example that I can relate to in Emdeni there is no (0.51) train station not even remotely near there's no nothing there's ONLY (0.28) uh- uh- MINibus taxis (0.75) which in its OWN are dangerous and all the other issues that go with it (0.8) so I- I just say there should be stronger co-ordiNAtion (0.65) that would almost force

or START or- or- (0.5) PUSH-start (0.62) Local governments and- and uh- provincial governments to get these developments going to get (0.5) things HAPPening that people can move around a lot easier (0.6) um- you know I won't go ON but I think you get the gist thank you (2.76)

O: ((clears throat)) (0.52)

TC: JA

TD1:

[I was talking about] co-ordination of the different spheres of government and- One I was talking about some kind of formal co-ordination and the second is the lack of public transport, really, and I unpack it in a story here. I didn't realize I was so long-winded. So are you asking if I could say this in one sentence? Yes, but it's just bones, no skin, no meat, and I need to explain, unpack it. Also, because we were so strange to each other, we needed to explain things more to each other. I hope I'm not still like this. Politicians love to talk.

[Emdeni] is sort of on the Roodepoort side of Soweto. If you're coming from the Jo'burg side, that's the near side of Soweto. Of course it's a black area. So there's no facilities for public transport. He goes to school in the East Rand, but it's a long way to go to Primrose where he goes to school. So that's the reality of the situation of the country. Until we normalize ourselves, we're going to have this situation.

I'm very- my big passion is public transport, so I used the opportunity- I wanted almost to put on the agenda that public transport is absolutely the number one thing and that the backbone of public transport must be rail. And I've succeeded in that. But it doesn't happen in one meeting; you sort of have to cajole a bit.

TA2:

I think that the point here was that of rural development or lack of services in other parts of the country in other areas, and also he was talking about the intergovernmental relations, but that vision is not cascaded to the provinces, so the three spheres of government are supposed to work in an integrated and co-ordinated manner. So he's complaining about the three spheres of government not engaging to ensure service delivery.

[The place where TD1's son comes from] can be a farm, you can think of a farm, you can think of a rural area where there's no transport, no train station, the movement of buses at certain times. That's why it takes the son longer to get there.

You know, we can interpret it differently. We can say that we are from different racial groups, but we are all concerned about service delivery. He may not have been talking about his biological son but about a son living in a neighbouring farm.

TA3:

I remember he said something about his son and I remember it was linked to a transport issue. I can't remember what his point was. We discussed the need for transport for school children.

(15)

TC: ((coughs)) (2.06) eh- HOnourable (TD1) you are raising a question of uh- (0.41) you are saying that the Issues raised also relate to the role of the provincial and local government (1.02) (and we HAVen't heard) (1.64) for the integrated UM- (1.98) DEvelopment framework (0.39) AT (0.33) which UM- (0.32) which reQUIRES (1.08) that WHEN (0.35) dePARTments plan (1.43) they (PLAN) together and the co-ordination happens at the district (0.45) municipality level which MEANS (1.44) the IDP process (1.64) reQUIRES (0.73) ALL departments (0.41) that would BE (1.03) HAVING projects (0.53) WITHIN that district (1.07) starting at national provincial and local level to BE (0.51) part of that PROcess meaning that (0.99) the NAtional departments will be sharing their (0.37) strategic PLANS (0.53) in reLation to (1.23) DEvelopment that is going to be taking place at uh- at uh- that district (0.84) the SAME would happen with the provincial departments (0.35) AND (0.83) the Local municipality (1.02) THAT has not happened (2.67) that has not happened the CO-ORdination role of a district municipality (1.33) is ONE not taken seriously (0.67) the integrated development uh- FRAMEwork at (1.12) is as IF (0.78) it's

THERE but uh- it- it [doesn't] force us=

O: [< () >] = < () >

TC: to PLAN (0.69) toGether (0.71) whi- there it doesn't force US (1.02) to implement together HENCE the duplication and also (0.39) the MISmatch (0.56) of UH- (0.48) the IMplementation of the programme (0.38) you SEE a school (0.8) where there is a plan for a ROAD (0.52) but the ROAD's () (0.39) will BE (0.75) BUILT (0.54) FIVE years after the school has been delivered (0.66) there will be a SCHOOL (1.25) AND uh there- there will be a plan (0.39) for WAtEr and sanitation (0.53) BUT (1.15) The IMplementation of that water and sanitation would take (0.44) FIVE years (0.71) MEAning then that eh- (0.86) (clears throat) (0.21) to the PERson who is receiving these services (1.08) the school is THERE but I'm not happy (0.72) to be in the SCHOOL (0.45) because I don't have the toilets and I don't have WAtEr (0.93) SO (0.74) ((coughs)) (1.69) the Freedom Charter aspect there will be COMfort (0.67) and seCUrity (1.05) is NOT met (0.97) the SERvice has been delivered there has been PLANning but there is no co-ordination (0.23) IN the implementation process (0.45) THEREfore you don't reach (1.42) the FREEdom Charter (0.27) COMfort and security (5.05) the SCHOOL is there (0.41) the DOORS of learning have been opened but (0.35) they are NOT (meet) (0.62) to COMfort (0.6) and security aspect of the Freedom Charter (0.99) therefore the quality of life of the PERson (0.79) doesn't CHANGE (0.9) MOney is spent (0.57) but the PERson who is receiving (0.47) doesn't FEEL (1.04) the VALue (1.39) THAT is what we are saying here (0.6) to say at CLUster level as well as (1.45) the vertical and eh-horizontal WHERE do we meet each other as a department (1.45) SO that (0.52) when a SCHOOL is being delivered (0.69) the Electricity yo- to the school is also delivered (0.35) the ROAD to school is also delivered (0.26) the water and sanitation to the school is delivered so that when the school is handed over it is a COMPLETE (0.46) LEARning centre (5.57) AND

O: [((sneezes))]

TC: [what] we're asking from the department is TELL us (0.89) WHAT we should do (0.93) to ensure to facilitate that WHAT are the bottlenecks (0.52) from YOUR side (0.58) SO that (0.52) there can be then (NObody) (9.43) can NOW (0.29) we can NOW hand over to the department to respond to

TD1:

She didn't get my name right; that's how new it was. And she was talking about this, it all sounds great, but in reality it's not happening. And she should have this experience because she was in government itself.

She's basically agreeing with me, supporting and explaining it in a different way. And she's also-, then she's concluding by saying "This is the problem, now how do we solve it", which is helpful.

She's not familiar with urban areas, so it's her experience. And I mean it comes up all the time. I mean we've got another member who comes from the rural Eastern Cape. So that's her experience. I'm from the city, so that's why I talk about the city.

TA3:

Yes [TC had understood what TA1 said]. The whole thing was about the integration plan which is not happening. The school is far but you know obviously the transport is not available and the local government municipality must make sure that the transport and other services are integrated.

I think she was building on, making an emphasis on his point and just building on to it.

TA2:

According to me, TC was trying to build on what TD1 said. She's saying that has not happened: the co-ordination role of the district municipality does not happen. So she's agreeing with him. The national department is supposed to consult the province, the province is supposed to consult local government.

(17)

- The master plan and integrated development planning occurs at the planning phase coordinated by the district municipalities but the committee observed that this function was not implemented to its maximum. The implementation of programmes do [sic] not accommodate integrated planning and integrated service delivery which is a concern

TD1:

Well, I mean this is a very sort of- sweeping statement. I go into a lot of detail. At the time we had a temporary secretary who wasn't very efficient. It's up to the secretaries to write out [the reports], and we have to ratify. I would unpack a little more and explain more, but the gist of it is right and it's broad brush strokes.

TA3:

[This is] maybe a good summary but a summary, yes. It's about what has happened, what should happen, but not a summary of the members' concerns. And that's what we find often in parliamentary reports or meetings. It's all summaries, but not really taking into account what members say. That's where we find the flaw.

I would prefer if the report went into more detail, and many members have asked for more detail, but I'm not sure from the committee section why that is not done, why it's not detailed.

(16)

TC: ...can you STOP there

O: ((*coughs*))

TC: MY understanding of the BRT is that it is happening in big cities (1.55) it is LINKED to twenty ten for now (0.23)

TA1: <mmm> (3.62)

TC: can WE really be driven by an event (1.84) TO- to- to- t- to- to address issues of development (0.88) MNA (*I*) I was born in Harding (2.11) and there ARE people in Harding that have been travelling on wheelbarrows because there are (0.77) THEY have um- (0.48) they are physiCAlly (0.97) CHAlleged (2.13) THE people in Harding that have been (0.6) TRAvelling (1.26) IN uh- (1.02) IN (the) (0.63) sledge (0.12)

TA1: <SLEDGE mmm> (0.14)

TC: SLEDGE (0.92) to COLlect i-pension (0.59)

TA1: <mmm (1.18) mmm (1.09) mmm> (0.1)

TC: because there is NO (0.27) ONE (1.68) Adequate (0.56) ROAD infrastructure (0.19)

TA1: < mmm> (0.66)

TC: but Also (0.43) there is NO mode of transport adequate mode of transport that accommodates them (1.83) NOW (1.93) when we TALK BRT we talk BRT as if we are talking (1.43) something that is going to address the problem that we are talking about in the rural areas we MUST understand that e- we are living in a country that has got two faces (0.89) MAYbe when we hear the the- the- the- the- the terminology second economy (0.83) we LOSE (0.22) what we ACTually mean (0.73) we have a THIRD and a first-world country in South Africa (2.59) AND (0.27) the maJOrity of the people are living in the third-world part of South Africa (2.66) SO let us talk about interventions that are upgrading (0.5) and improving the quality of LIFE (0.62) of the THIRD world (0.78) PART of the community (0.31) withIN South Africa (0.38) because the first-world PART (0.37) has had it ALL right all these years (1.82) so that is NOT our pri- we are not saying we are going to neglect them (0.77) but we are SAYing (0.68) there are people that have BEEN (1.47) treated as less citizens of this country for THREE hundred and sixty-five years (0.69) beFORE (0.73) THIS government came into power (0.51) so the priOrities of this government (0.85) should NOT be skewed (1.16) to first address and imPROVE (1.53) the- the- the services that already exist and neGLECT (1.76) areas WHERE (0.7) there are NO services (0.67) WHEN we see a person that goes to collect pension on a wheelbarrow (2.0) the SIuation be changed (1.98) WHEN shall we see (0.53) a TRANS- a form of transport that covers because (0.46) ALso we must bear in mind that e- most of those people (0.23) are in the rural areas beCAUSE (0.99) the HEALTH fo-facilities (0.43) they're NOT provided so we have many people (0.92) who could NOT be immunized (1.08) for THEM not to have polio (1.36) so it is NOT (0.48) THEIR desire that they find them (0.29) in THOSE situations (0.74) it's beCAUSE o- of how apartheid was structured (0.56) AND (1.03) HOW apartheid (0.76) exCLUded them (0.38) and dePRIved them of the services (0.82) SO (0.35) TALK to us (0.63) aBOUT (0.31) let's SEE the target group IN- the target group of the BRT the re- (0.3) BRT the rural communities

TD2:

I think they mean a sleigh rather than a sledge. You know what it is? It's one of those two forked stick pieces of wood that are pulled by oxen that kind of thing.

I know this debate, I've talked about it before. Well, her emphasis coming from a rural area is such that there is a major discrepancy between the funding that goes into our main infrastructure and that which goes into accessibility to the rural areas. There's a confusion here and I often bring it up. I say we are a national committee and therefore our responsibility is primarily to look after the N-roads and allocate funds accordingly. The equitable share and the Shaba Zonke funding gives money to the provinces and they're supposed to distribute that. The province is responsible for the P- and R-roads, and the municipalities for other roads. So we had a big debate about this. It's nice to think that somewhere along the line we should plan for a blacktop on every road in the country. But when they talk about road classification I understand because I'm an engineer. They say, "There has to be an amount spent on maintenance for Road X, otherwise we're going to lose this asset. Here is another one which is getting to the end of its use, and here's a one which needs improvement of access." And unfortunately people do not see the difference between these roads, including these committee members. You know they say "In my area there are potholes which are a problem when accessing my village," and I say "We don't appropriate those funds, madam. You must go to your ward committee and challenge that district council or that municipality." and those funds you get from the district are grant funds, and that's how the pecking order starts. So what she's saying here is absolutely correct, and here we're talking about plans to adopt these BRTs in the urban areas, but those BRTs are essential: we're not talking about one or two people but hundreds. So she was reflecting on that, and I come from a rural area as well, so I have sympathy, and I would do everything in my power to make sure the roads are kept up. So she's trying to highlight the sufferings of the rural poor. And it's a good reflection because sometimes we have to go back and consider the process that allows for reallocation of resources to those rural areas. And maybe where she should be directing her questions is to the DPLG [Department of Provincial and Local Government] and Housing.

[She uses the example of pensioners being transported in wheelbarrows] because she's talking about people who basically don't have accessibility to roads or transport. I've got a community which I work with called Rhabula near Keiskammahoek, and the people there can't get to the hospital. So we're talking about getting a culvert at the lower level, allowing them to get onto the tar road and straight to the clinic in Keiskammahoek. We are also constituency-bound: she must fight for her voters in her village, just as I must fight for my constituencies in the areas of Keiskammahoek and Rhabula.

TD1:

Her point is that she wants more attention paid to transport in rural areas. There's a lot of things I disagree with there. But she's expressing frustration that there's too much attention on urban areas. She uses the example of pensioners being transported in wheelbarrows because that's her experience. That's what she's seen.

She's a woman in her late fifties, she's lived most of her life through apartheid. She's seen black people being second-rate, third-rate, and we're all these years into democracy and we're still in a situation in which people are being transported in the same way as during apartheid.

There is that tug-of-war that often happens in discussions in committees. And this is her experience, and it's very difficult when you've got a limited budget and you're trying to maximize it, and the tendency is to put services in the urban areas where people are, but one mustn't forget the urban areas, so it's a tightrope you have to walk. Here in the cities we're getting all this, but in the rural areas we're forgotten again.

I would agree with what she's saying. Getting urban transport doesn't mean you don't get rural either. We're right on both sides. When I was listening to that she was agreeing. I think if you had to ask her, she would probably say she's adding on to what I'm saying.

I think she understands this now, but the BRT is not a bus system, cause that's what she's talking

about. The BRT was not created for 2010, and it is created as a link for other services, so it's meant to take you to a place where you can catch a train or something else. But I think now she knows what BRT is, but then she was interpreting it incorrectly.

TA3:

There are two points: firstly, talking about the urban areas, where there are transport facilities and rural areas where there are no transport facilities. So where the resources are there pre-1994, do we improve on that or provide accessible transport for those who have none?

[She uses the example of pensioners being transported in wheelbarrows] because she was referring to what he was saying and based on what he was saying, she elaborated.

OK, he [TD1] didn't finish, um, ja, he didn't finish what he wanted to say. Maybe the chairperson elaborated on what he was saying.

(18)

- The Committee requested DOT [the Department of Transport] to develop a comprehensive plan in the rural areas for public transport since most people in the rural areas use taxis which are not subsidised by government and the challenge of un-roadworthy buses still remains. There is no adequate transportation for old people in the rural areas some still get their pension money using wheelbarrows and this was unacceptable.

TD1:

[This paragraph] is very general, but then it gets too specific when she talks about old people. I'd either make it more general or more specific right through.

[If I was to compare this with Extract 17] I would jump into thinking the committee secretary is ANC, she wants to put her own agenda on there, but I don't want to speculate on that.

TA3:

[In TC's utterance] we are given a comparison between what happened before 1994 and what should be happening now, and that comparison is not in this paragraph at all.

I think you need to ask a committee secretary [why this extract was far more specific than Extract 17]. Why they would do a summary like that and maybe here there was more explanation? Because I'm representing my constituency, I would like my constituency to know that I brought the issue up, but I don't see anything there about my constituency. The committee clerks don't go to my constituency or see what I see there, so you should bring this up with them. But I would like to see the issue in the report, because I brought up the issue from my constituency.

Data discussed in 4.4: "We're talking about semantics here"

(20)

TC: Can we THEN have a- a mover for the adoption of the- (1.4) of the rePORT? Honourable (TD1)?

TD1: I'm SORRY just one- one thing I just want to- (0.4) we- we- we're agreeing to PASS (0.7) this rePORT (1.1) that's what we're- that's what we're agreeing to?

TC: <Mhm>

TD1: Because um (0.6) the HEAding may be mis- a bit misleading and perhaps it should just be rephrased- the beginning (0.8) um (0.8) recommends that we PA- that we agree to this rePORT not the BUdget that's what it's implying over here (2.8) did I make myself clear (5.6)

TC: I'm- I'm NOT clear (0.6) the rePORT- the rePORT is on the budget

TD1:

She just doesn't get my name right; I'm called all sorts of things. I think there's a context. What has actually happened there is that there was some tiptoeing. We didn't want to commit to this report, and so I wanted to in a careful way without being too confrontational say let's change this word. But obviously the ANC caucus said this was the way it was going to be. I think my colleague may

have got too excited. We had just become members and this was probably the second, third meeting we were in, and this is not a kind of thing we had planned.

I don't think she was confused, it was part of the political game she was playing. She was saying "How can you not agree with me?"

TA3:

I remember there was an argument. The chairperson wanted to adopt, and the DA didn't agree to the whole report as is. What the member wanted to change the heading of the report to was not clear.

TD2:

OK, now this is a typical confusion where committee clerks record information incorrectly. We had been through presentations. The typical appropriation process is that every party has a chance to approve the budget or not. The wording of the first sentence was wrong. After this whole debate, the actual presentation that came the next time had that section taken out, and they said the budget had been tabled. The fact that it said here that it was passed; it wasn't passed.

The change wasn't agreed to here [in the meeting], but it was changed afterwards. Because the officials noticed something was amiss. The committee should not be doing party politics; it should be a technical committee where we get things done.

TD1 is my deputy, so we work together. I arrived late to this meeting, when TD1 was talking about this. I had to take it on, because if that had gone through, we would have had difficulty with our caucus. I had to literally take over here and make sure the correction was made. All we were asking for was for the word "pass" to change. I went to see the chairperson about it. She said "Oh no, it was a misunderstanding."

I believe that the chairperson was new and procedurally did not know what to do, but clearly from my point of view, she didn't have too much knowledge about what should take place. In the house we either divide or agree on it.

(21)

TD2: Madam chair first of all my apologies for being late ((*clears throat*)) (0.8) um- I had other meetings (0.7) If you look at the first opening paragraph there of the rePORT (it is) the rePORT of a tabled rePORT which was presented to us (1.0) relating to matters pertaining to the department and this budget (1.0) but it's not passing the BUDget (1.0) that has got to be done through the appropriation process in parliament on FRIday (0.8) when we stand up and debate this budget (0.8) and by neCESsity it might not mean that every one of us here is going to pass that budget (0.6) () (0.7) so that word pass there is incorRECT (4.5) recommends or considers this rePORT (3.3) we're NOT passing the budget

TD1:

The argument we were making is that we're agreeing on the report. We said we were not recommending that the budget be passed; we were recommending the report. They were trying to put us in a corner to commit us to agreeing to the budget. When the final report came out in the ATC, it reflected our version. I don't know if that was a slip-up, or just a casual concession that we were right. It would mean the same thing if it was "recommends that the budget be adopted". If you look at the whole process here, the report comes first. They were trying to corner us into voting a certain way.

TA3:

The second member [TD2] said we're not passing the budget because of the budget timing, and he tried to clarify that. He said "Pass" is incorrect. The wording can be complicated, because if we consider the report, what are the consequences of it. The difference was never explained to us, and if the committee clerk, didn't know, then there were delays.

[There is] no difference [in meaning] if [the committee report] says "adopted", not "pass". We adopt the report, they will decide what will be discussed in the house or not. There's another word which says it will be debated in the house, and I'm never sure which it is. Members whose first

language is not English, and who do not understand the language of Parliament will not be able to do it. So we depend on the committee clerk or legal advisors, especially bearing in mind there are more new members now than in previous years.

This was the budget report, and I'm not sure why the opposition said no. The difficulty was because of the timing of parliament. We voted earlier than usual, because the bill had to be passed before the new Parliament came in.

TA2:

Procedurally, in committees, we recommend; we don't resolve. The House will adopt. We recommend as a committee and send it to the House for adoption.

According to my own understanding, we don't pass the budget as a committee. We recommend that the budget be passed. So if we recommend, that means it is not cut in stone.

According to me there's not a difference in meaning if it says the budget be adopted. Clearly the report recommends that the report and the vote be adopted by the House.

(22)

TA1: Ch- CHAIRperson this is a report (1.9) um (1.6) THAT we as a committee a () committee has deliberated (0.8) ON what (0.7) the dePARTment (0.5) CAME to us on Monday talking about (0.7) THEIR strategic plan for this financial year (1.1) and so because of the BUDget that we've been given (0.9) they have to come and report to this house or to this committee on what they have done with the budget WHETHER whether they've (0.3) e- used the whole BUDget (0.3) OR they didn't (0.4) you KNOW (0.5) SO (0.4) AS I understand this this- this is what we (0.6) AS this committee understands (0.5) FROM the budget vote (1.0) and I think- I don't see anything wrong with that I aGREE with what you are saying the Appropriation Bill (0.3) will be GOing to be passed on Tuesday (0.3) I aGREE with you on that (0.4) BUT we're talking about the budget vote which (0.6) E- the department (0.4) CAN produce a (0.8) COMmittee report on

TA2:

Her response is that after all the committees have presented their votes, at the end of the day we have to adopt each and every budget vote in the House. I think the challenge here was just the wording, because the budget will be passed by the House. The last stage is where every budget vote must be specified by the Speaker, saying we approve or don't approve.

TD2: CAN I in[terject]

TC: [MY un-] (0.2) MY understanding of the process is as follows (1.9) the COMmittee will be presented with- er by the department with the budget (1.8) the COMmittee will deliberate on the budget (1.5) em (0.8) looking e- also at the perFORMance of the department in the previous ye[ar]

TA1: <[Mmm]>
(1.4)

TC: BeFORE (1.3) the BUDget (0.6) also gets PASSED in the House (1.0) the COMmittee (0.8) also have to say whether (0.7) THEY are passing (0.4) the BUDget or not (0.6) AS a committee because what HAPpens also in the House (1.1) is what COMES from us (1.6) so we have to pronounce whether we ARE in agreement with (0.5) this budget (0.6) WANT this budget (0.6) to be passed or not (1.8) and (0.4) there COULD be different views (0.6) in terms of (0.6) WHICH would be minuted (0.8) just as the report- (0.6) and if there ARE dif- dissenting views (0.4) within the portfolio committee THAT THAT gets recorded that e- (0.8) Party So-and-So was not in agreement with the PARTS that relate to the PASSing of the budget at committee level

TI:

I think she was trying to short-circuit the system and avoid a debate in parliament. We need to take our parties with us, and so we can't just say in the meeting "We agree." I thought she was just pushing it a bit.

The process is you get the meeting, and it takes a number of discussions in committee, and then you can get to a point when you can decide, then you report to your caucus.

It would have changed the meaning if she said "this report to be passed".

(25)

TC: Honourable (TD1)?

(0.7)

TD1: Thanks Madam Chair I think () everything the HOnourable members have said has been correct I think it's just a matter of (0.6) how we inTERpret it I'd like to make the following (0.3) recommenDation (0.5) that we just add on two words and change one and that is at the TOP where it says (0.6) the portFOlio committee on transport having considered the budget of the department vote thirty-three transport (0.6) recommends that this rePORT be adopted (0.7) and that's really all I'm saying (0.3) cause what what we DID is quite correct but (0.4) you know we we w- (0.5) the actual BUDget is being debated and stuff approved or rejected in the house and that's all I'm saying is this report's being ad[opted]

TD2: <[adOP]ted>=

TD1: =If- if that would be acceptable [I would be GRATEful]

TD2: <[(])>

TD1: ((clears throat))

(5.6)

TC: That's not the usual procedure

TD1:

I was trying to be very approachable and not confrontational and also logical, to say "we agree on the report, and that's it". And the way to do it is to amend the report in a minimal way. I was trying to do it in a logical, step-by-step way.

TC presumes that because I'm a new member, she's trying her luck. That's not the procedure. She doesn't say the same thing to TD2.

(27)

TD2: Can I- Can I FOLlow up madam chair? (1.6) We're talking about seMANtics here ((clears throat)) your colleague here who's just been talking aBOUT (0.6) adopting a report- what do we do? we aDOPT a report we accept it as we see it here (0.7) but to PASS a report is a different story because then you are endorsing it you are actually RUBberstamping it saying this is (1.0) that is the difference in English

TD1:

There's a difference here. He tends to get a bit excitable; I was trying to get her on my side. TD2 was getting impatient. And I was trying to say the same thing, but do it in a different way. It wasn't a matter of semantics, but he was trying to minimize the issue. She says the same thing but in a different way to TD2 that she says to me; she says it differently because TD2 has been around longer. I didn't want to get into procedure because that's not where the focus should be; the focus is on the report.

At end of recording:

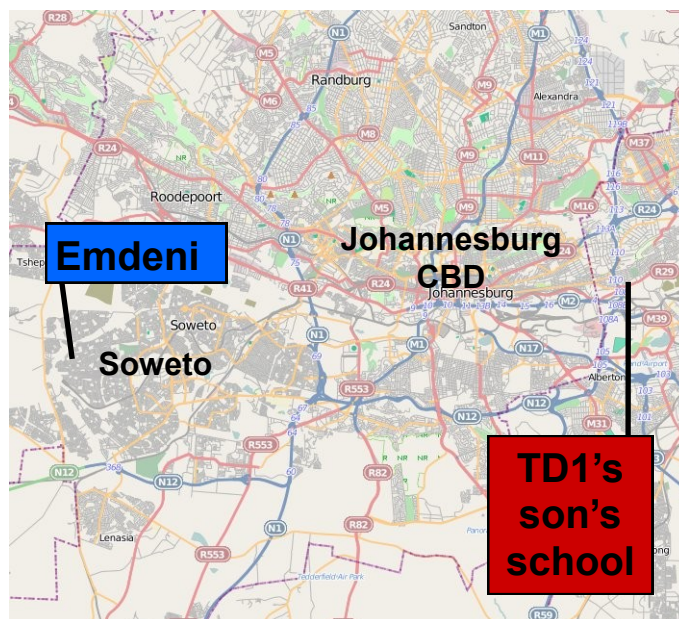
TA2:

It is as I said before that this is the wording; it's not a wording problem. The DA was not intending to disapprove the record, but wanted to correct the wording, so we know as a committee what our role and responsibilities are.

Appendix 10: Maps showing TD1 and TC's constituencies

These maps depict the places that TD1 and TC refer to in their examples from their constituencies discussed in 4.3. Map 1 shows Emdeni, the place mentioned by TD1 in his utterance discussed in 4.3.1, as well as his son's high school, as identified by TD1 in Appendix 9. According to Google Maps' driving directions feature (<http://maps.google.com>), the route between the two covers a distance of 49,4km. Map 2 shows Harding, the place mentioned by TC in her utterance discussed in 4.3.2, and places it in the isiZulu – isiXhosa dialect continuum which exists along the east coast of South Africa.

Map 1:



Map 2:



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