

Stance and Objectivity in hard news reporting

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the appearance of evaluative language and strategic adherence to the principle of objectivity in hard news reporting. While these concepts have traditionally been treated as distinct from each other, they are related. The study highlights a key relational tension between taking an evaluative stance and adhering to the requirement for objectivity. This relational tension is pointed out by Richardson (2007:87), who argues that news reporting is a value-laden process, and that journalists make language choices to express those values while remaining 'journalistically objective'. This demonstrates a two-sided tension that journalists strategically handle in news reporting. In this thesis, I examine this important aspect of the characteristics of hard news reporting, that is, how evaluative language and objectivity concurrently appear in the news. This is dealt with by considering 16 hard news articles from the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. The news articles cover the 2011 nationwide public sector workers' strike in Botswana. In this study a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches is used to compare how the two newspapers use evaluative language, and how they mitigate such evaluative language in order to remain objective. Four research questions are addressed in this study:

1. How frequent and varied is the use of evaluative language in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*?
2. Given the legal requirement for press objectivity in Botswana, what strategies are used by the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* to mitigate such evaluative language?
3. Are there significant differences in the strategies employed by the two newspapers to use and mitigate evaluative language?
4. Can any differences in the strategies of evaluation and mitigation be related to the newspapers' political positioning or the nature of the event covered?

Evidence from analysing comparable news articles indicates that, when studied within the context of hard news reporting, evaluation and objectivity are not mutually exclusive concepts, but that the variety of linguistic resources employed in news articles affords journalists success in expressing evaluative content while maintaining the objectivity ideal.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Context

The objective of this study is to investigate the appearance of evaluative language and strategic adherence to the principle of objectivity in hard news reporting. Of particular concern is how journalists succeed in expressing evaluative language and adhering to the principle of objectivity at the same time. I carry out this investigation in light of an analysis of 16 online articles from hard news sections of two Botswana dailies, the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. In the following discussion, I provide an account of the news item that is covered in the 16 articles, that is, the 2011 nationwide public sector workers' strike in Botswana. I discuss the significance of negotiations that were held between the government and the workers' unions during which workers' unions lobbied for a 16% salary increase. As I mention below, the government and workers' unions did not reach an agreement and the negotiations collapsed, leading to preparation of strike rules and ultimately the commencement of the strike.

1.1.1 The 2011 public sector workers' strike in Botswana

The 2011 public sector workers' strike was the longest strike by government employees that Botswana had experienced since independence in 1966 (Makgala and Malila 2014). It lasted for eight weeks and because of its magnitude, descriptions such as 'the mother of all strikes', 'the marathon 2011 civil service strike', and 'the historic strike' are not uncommon in reflective discussions about the strike (Werbner 2014). Makgala and Malila (2014) state that while it is common for such descriptions to be used in reference to the long duration of the strike, it is also important to interpret the descriptions in view of events that preceded the strike, particularly the negotiations that the government and workers' unions entered into at the beginning of 2011. The negotiation for

salary increase by the workers' unions therefore, forms a major part of the discussion in this section. Prior to the strike in 2011, Botswana, like the rest of the world, had experienced the global economic recession and as a result civil servants had not received salary increase for the past three years (Dibeela 2014). The workers' unions started negotiations with the government on the premise that the economy had recovered well enough to allow an increment on their salaries. The first stage of negotiations between the government and workers unions took place in two meetings on the 1st and 3rd of February 2011 with both parties presenting their positions with regard to increasing civil servants' salaries. For their part, workers' unions entered this stage of negotiations with a bargaining target of 16%, a target that comprised an inflationary adjustment of 13.8% and an increment of 2.2%. In responding to the unions' 16% bargaining target, negotiators representing the government stated that owing to the economic recession from which the country was still recovering, the employer could not increase salaries for civil servants. This triggered debates between the two parties and the first stage of negotiations adjourned without an agreement. This adjournment coincided with the presentation of the budget speech for the 2011/2012 financial year. In the speech, the Minister for Finance and Development Planning announced that there would be no salary increase for civil servants. Again the global economic recession was spelled out in the budget speech as one of the reasons for not increasing civil servants' salaries. Other reasons that were advanced by the government were argued on the basis of deficits that were projected in the budget allocations for the 2011/2012 financial year, and the government's commitment to retain civil servants in their jobs instead of making them redundant from their jobs.

Following the presentation of the budget speech, the workers' unions maintained the bargaining target of 16% in the subsequent stages of the negotiations. Makgala and Malila (2014) state that in light of the adjournment of the first stage of negotiations, the workers' unions were prepared to review the 16% bargaining

target if the employer would be willing to reach a reasonable compromise. While the subsequent stages saw the government proposing a conditional 2% and later on, a 5% salary increase, the workers' unions did not accept these conditional offers. It was estimated that conditional offers could come into effect in September 2011 if there was evident economic recovery. Two key meetings were held on 24th February 2011, and 25th March 2011 to attempt to resolve the negotiation dispute between the government and the workers' unions. However, no agreement was reached and the workers' unions took the decision for strike action. On 14th April 2011 representatives of the government and workers' unions met to discuss and agree on the rules that would govern the conduct of the strike¹. Once the process of negotiating strike rules was concluded and the rules were agreed, the strike commenced on 18th April 2011. At first the strike was planned to last for ten days, from 18th – 29th April 2011. However, at the end of the 10 days, the workers' unions announced an extension of the duration of the strike and the strike continued until 6th June 2011.

The collapse of negotiations between the government and workers' unions, and resultant eight-week strike attracted wide media coverage. As the events of the strike unfolded nationwide, the role played by the media in keeping the public informed could not be overlooked. Generally, the central perspective from which news about the strike was reported was somewhat set in implied antagonistic relations between the government and the workers' unions. Other sectors were presented in news reports as either on the side of the government or on the side of the workers' unions, while others were generally presented as victims affected by the industrial conflict between the government and unions. With this brief background in mind, let us revisit the focus of my investigation as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. I indicated that the focus of my investigation is on hard news articles from the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* in order to see how the two newspapers use evaluative language and strategically remain objective at the

¹ See Appendix 2 for the Strike Rules Agreement

same time. In light of the strike, it is important that these two newspapers be seen within the broad print media landscape in Botswana. In the next two sections therefore, I give an overview of the print media in Botswana and touch on why the reporting of the workers' strike by the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* is of interest, and how the research reported in this thesis provides an important opportunity to advance our understanding of the interaction between features of evaluative language and those of objectivity in hard news reporting.

1.1.2 The print media in Botswana

Until the early 1980s, the state-owned *Daily News* was acclaimed Botswana's largest and most influential newspaper. However with the establishment of a number of privately-owned newspapers, the print media in Botswana has had a steady growth over the years. In reflecting on the growth of the print media in Botswana, Rooney (2012:3) argues that despite the steady growth of private newspapers, the state-owned *Daily News* continues to dominate the print media landscape in Botswana. One of the reasons that this has been the case is that the majority of private newspapers are weeklies, and that the human and material resources at the *Daily News* are subsidised by the government. In Rooney's (2012) view, subsidisation undermines the ability of private newspapers to accrue revenue and in turn undermines profitability. Besides subsidisation, the language of reporting used by the different newspapers is a central element that differentiates the *Daily News* and private newspapers. In terms of the language of reporting, the *Daily News* reports in Setswana and English, the national and official languages of Botswana, while most of the private newspapers report predominantly in English. It should however be noted that the private newspapers do have occasional inserts that are reported in Setswana.

As I indicated at the beginning of this chapter, the 16 news articles that I analyse in this study have been obtained from two dailies, the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*.

The rest of the discussion in this section focuses on the reasons for the selection of these two newspapers for examining the appearance of features of evaluative language and those of objectivity in strike news. The starting point for the selection of the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* was on account of their daily circulation. Since the civil servants' strike occurred over consecutive days between 18th April and 6th June 2011, the two newspapers continually presented a build-up of events of the strike in a continual manner. This provided an opportunity to examine the news reports in order to identify cumulative patterns of evaluative language and patterns of objectivity from the news reported about the workers' strike.

An important approach that I take with regard to the analysis of the 16 news articles is the comparisons that I draw between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* to see how they each use evaluative language and adhere to the principle of objectivity. This approach is explained in more detail in chapter 3 and my focus here is on why it was anticipated that the two newspapers would use the features differently. Let us turn briefly to the following policy statements from the official web pages of the two newspapers, and consider them in relation to the requirement for objectivity, a highly esteemed ideal in Botswana press.

“The department of Information Services [under which the *Daily News* is published] exists to disseminate and communicate accurate, timely and balanced information to all citizens through print and online media”. (www.dailynews.gov.bw)

“*Mmegi* provides an alternative to the government-owned *Daily News*, and endeavours to make its coverage of issues in an unbiased manner in order to uphold the principles of democracy”. (www.mmegi.bw)

While the statements above are somewhat general and do not make direct mention of the term *objectivity*, they seem to point to some differences in the way the newspapers accomplish this requirement. *Mmegi* foregrounds its existence as an *alternative* to the *Daily News* and this implies that their dissemination of news is conducted differently. For the purpose of the investigation in this thesis,

such anticipated differences are examined in the two newspapers' use of linguistic features. Besides the self-descriptions by the newspapers, there have also been some differences of opinion with regard to the characteristics of state-owned and private media. In his inaugural speech at the beginning of his term in 2008, President Khama had cautioned against the use of "defamation, slander and false statements in the media". The statement from the president was interpreted by some political figures and other independent groups as targeting the private media. Interestingly, some media researchers in Botswana, particularly Tutwane (2011) and Rooney (2012) have added their voice to the characterisation of Botswana's print media. They have argued that the state-owned media selectively present the voice of the government, while other sectors like the opposition parties are side-lined. Rooney (2012:13) further argues that during the public sector workers' strike in Botswana, state-owned media did not report the news objectively but that their news reports about the strike were distorted. In view of the self-descriptions stated by the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* in their official web pages, the general arguments about the state-owned and private newspapers, it was anticipated that the comparable set of data from the two newspapers can give a holistic picture of how they each use evaluative language and attempt to achieve objectivity at the same time.

So far in this chapter, I have made several references to evaluative language and the principle of objectivity in news reporting. Based on some opinions about the state-owned and private media, I have also given some general indications that the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* seem to differ in how they use evaluative language and how they achieve objectivity. In the next section I discuss these concepts with reference to a news segment from *Mmegi* newspaper. The news segment was written in the context of the public service workers' strike.

1.1.3 Evaluative language and objectivity in the news

Why shoot the messenger?

The story was a report on a press conference addressed by four opposition MPs... The Monitor has been singled out for blame when it was not the only media house that reported on the press conference. This is disturbing. The fact of the press conference is a reality, as the statements we reported were made there. Ours was merely to convey the message to readers... (Mmegi, 22 June 2011).

The quotation above appeared in *Mmegi* newspaper, and the article was an editorial response to a government rebuttal. Prior to this editorial response, the government had refuted a report published a previous edition of *Mmegi*'s sister publication, *The Monitor*. In that edition, *The Monitor* had run an article that reported details of a press conference that was addressed by opposition party MPs. Some of the statements reported by the newspaper had been labelled by the government as a non-accurate version of the events in question. In addition, the government rebuttal stated that the coverage of the press conference had been clouded by the newspaper's unfair judgements and opinions, and contended that the newspaper used the report to target the government in a negative way. In light of the government's rebuttal, the editorial response lays out some points of contention that indicate a difference of opinion between the newspaper and the government.

As contested by *Mmegi*, their aim "was merely to convey the message to readers", and the newspaper emphasises this position by running the editorial response under the metaphorical expression in the headline *Why shoot the messenger?* By using this metaphorical expression, the newspaper maintains that the judgements made to target the government were in fact made by external sources, in this case, opposition party MPs. This contest demonstrates a negotiation of positions by the newspaper – that of a reporter who expressed no opinions of his/her own but whose task was to obtain news material from external

sources and reproduce such material to the readers. This editorial response deals with one of the most complex issues in news reporting, especially hard news reporting – the expression of evaluative or attitudinal opinions and standpoints, and adherence to the principle of objectivity. This complex issue is the central focus of my thesis. Specifically, I aim to investigate how we can account for the expression of evaluative standpoints and a simultaneous adherence to the legal requirement or professional code of objectivity in hard news discourse.

One of the implications of the editorial response above is an indirect emphasis on the importance of external news sources. The view presented by the newspaper in the editorial response is that external news sources have the most important role in the process of news reporting such that the news reporters take a backgrounded role. This view seems to reflect the observation made by Bell (1991) who argues that much of what gets reported is what an external news source tells the news reporter. The importance of external news sources in news reporting has therefore been explored in several studies. These include Calsamiglia and López Ferrero (2003), Piazza (2009), Jullian (2011) and Baden and Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2016). These studies have found an association between the inclusion of external news sources and the argument for objectivity on the part of news reporters. However there has also been a growing recognition of the elusive nature of the idealised notion of objectivity. More recent arguments that question the notion of objectivity and reporters' non-evaluative position include Stenvall (2008a; 2008b; 2014) and Haarman and Lombardo's (2009b) edited volume in which the overarching theme is that news comprises linguistic choices that are clearly marked expressions of evaluation. In view of evident evaluative meanings in the news, advocacy for an objective form of reporting hard news is brought into question. This brings about a tension involved in hard news reporting, that is, the tension between adhering to the demands of objectivity and taking an evaluative standpoint or what I refer to in this thesis as

taking an *evaluative stance*. As expressed in the editorial statement in the quotation at the beginning of this section, the point of contention is that the newspaper has been accused of taking an evaluative standpoint towards the government, and the newspaper responds with a denial of this, emphasising a claim towards the position of an objective disinterested party. What we see in the editorial from *Mmegi* newspaper is an implication that taking an evaluative stance and being objective are mutually exclusive. However, Richardson (2007) opines that news reporting is a value-laden process in which linguistic resources afford the journalists success in giving expression to such values while adhering to the professional requirements of journalism. The view that news reporters can articulate some values and achieve objectivity at the same time indicates a two-sided tension that journalists have to deal with in their profession. In light of the point of contest outlined by *Mmegi* in the editorial statement above, and how Richardson (2007) describes the process of news reporting, two general questions arise in my study:

1. Can evaluative stance and objectivity be seen as mutually exclusive concepts in hard news discourse, as the newspaper seems to argue?
2. If language choices are central to the journalists' ability to report value-laden news while remaining objective, what linguistic strategies do news reporters employ in order to succeed in expressing various evaluations while maintaining the objectivity ideal?

The purpose of these two general questions is to serve as a guide into assessing the extent to which existing research has addressed questions relating to the simultaneous expression of evaluative language and adherence to the professional code of objectivity in hard news discourse. In order to answer these general questions we turn to a synopsis of the literature to consider how the existing body of research on evaluative stance and objectivity approaches these two concepts. Generally, the literature indicates two main strands of approaches to evaluative stance and objectivity. In the first strand, it is established from a

variety of studies that despite strongly held views that hard news reports should be non-evaluative, as necessitated by the professional requirements in most journalistic contexts, all news reports always include evaluative material. Such evaluative material can be expressed either by the journalist or an external news source. Therefore it is important to identify the prevalent patterns that make up the evaluative material in news reports. In the second strand a number of researchers have sought to address the question of how objectivity can be realised in hard news articles. Among these are Thomson et al. (2008), Pounds (2010), White (2012), Sabao (2013), Sabao and Visser (2015), and Sabao (2016). Generally, these studies are informed by Martin and White's (2005) notion of 'reporter voice' key. One of the characteristics of 'reporter voice' key as outlined by Martin and White (2005: 169) is that if news texts include evaluative judgements that are explicit, they are attributed to external news sources. Overall the two strands of approaches to evaluative stance and objectivity demonstrate that these concepts remain an area of interest among researchers. So far, however, there seems to be much focus on discreet features when addressing questions of evaluative stance and objectivity in the news, resulting in less attention being paid to a systematic investigation of the concurrent appearance of these features in hard news reporting. Understanding the dynamic interaction of features of evaluative stance and objectivity as they appear in hard news reports is vitally important if we are to account for the expression of evaluation and simultaneous adherence to objectivity in the news. Drawing upon the foregoing strands of research on evaluative stance and objectivity in news reporting, my study explores the ways through which evaluative stance and objectivity interact in hard news articles. This is in order to carry out an investigation of the complex attributes of hard news reports, and gain a broader understanding of how journalists are able to give expression to evaluation while remaining objective as required by their professional regulations.

1.2 Aims

In the section above, I have highlighted that existing research has paid less attention to systematic investigation of the patterns of evaluative language and how such patterns are strategically mitigated by the journalist to achieve objectivity. The investigation carried out in the present therefore, addresses this area in hard news articles within the context of press reporting in Botswana. The study aims to address the following questions:

1. How frequent and varied is the use of evaluative language in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*?
2. Given the legal requirement for press objectivity in Botswana, what strategies are used by the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* to mitigate such evaluative language?
3. Are there significant differences in the strategies employed by the two newspapers to use and mitigate evaluative language?
4. Can any differences in the strategies of evaluation and mitigation be related to the newspapers' political positioning or the nature of the event covered?

As will be explained in more detail in Chapter 3, I take a cross-textual perspective to examine how the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* make use of evaluative content, how such evaluative content gets mitigated, and to explore the differences between the two newspapers. It is interesting that as per the details provided in the editorial response cited in section 1.1.3, the government pulled *Mmegi* and *The Monitor* up on upholding the principle of objectivity. In view of the points of contest raised in the editorial, one of the central issues I examine is to see how the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* manage an adherence to the ideal of objectivity.

1.3 Methodological framework and overview of the study

The methodological approach taken in this study is described in Chapter 3 and the purpose of this section is to provide a brief overview of the approach. As we

will see in Chapter 3, a key to our understanding of evaluative language is the exploration of linguistic features through which we can account for the different categories of evaluation. In terms of objectivity, it is essential to examine the types of features that are used in conjunction with evaluative language in order for the journalists to construct news reports that adhere to the professional requirements. Since the aim is to explore how these features appear in the news reports at the same time, an integrated framework into which all categories of features can be mapped is essential. To take account of the types of features that are categorised as evaluative, and those features that portray objectivity, it is important to begin with an understanding of how evaluation and objectivity are defined. Furthermore, it is crucial to establish how we can reconcile evaluation and objectivity in hard news reporting. Therefore, in Chapter 2, I begin with a review of key definitions of evaluation and objectivity, and move on to consider some features that we can group under the concept of objectivity. Following this, I then examine approaches to evaluation and objectivity in hard news reporting. The discussion in Chapter 2 aims at establishing a framework into which features of evaluation and features that are used to mitigate such evaluations can be mapped. Once we have established how existing research accounts for evaluative language and the ideal of objectivity in hard news reporting, we then move on to Chapter 3 in which I describe the process of collecting data and data sampling procedures. I also describe the process of coding the data set and present the integrated framework of analysis that I propose in Chapter 2. The analysis of data begins in Chapter 4 with a quantitative perspective. The purpose of the chapter is to examine the overall features of evaluation and mitigation and the interactive patterns between these features. The chapter also draws some statistical comparisons of how features of evaluation and mitigation are used in the *Daily News* as compared to their use in *Mmegi*. The analysis then moves on to a qualitative perspective in Chapters 5 and 6. In Chapter 7, I revisit the Research Question outlined in section 1.2 and draw the main findings together

before discussing the concept of objectivity in a broad sense. Next, I highlight the limitations of the present study with some suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2

Evaluation and objectivity, and their interaction in hard news reporting

2.1 Introduction

Research into evaluation and objectivity in hard news reporting has established that, despite differences in theoretical approaches and analytical focus, evaluation and objectivity can be described in terms of their constituent types or dimensions. A much debated question however, is whether we can make a claim that hard news reports can be exclusively objective. With reference to the appearance of evaluation and objectivity in hard news reports, Sabao and Visser (2015) and Sabao (2016) posit that while objectivity has traditionally been emphasised as a characteristic ideal of hard news reports, it is important to recognise that evaluative or attitudinal language always gets included in all news reports. This view is in line with Stenvall's (2008a; 2008b; 2014) earlier work on the same concepts. Stenvall argues that objectivity is an elusive concept and that its achievement in hard news reports is better thought of as a set of strategies that journalists use to fulfil the requirements of their profession. Sabao and Visser (2015:43) argue that the inclusion of evaluative language in news reports that are supposedly objective seems to betray and flout the objectivity ideal. Given the pivotal role that objectivity plays in hard news reports, and the inevitable use of evaluative language in such news reports, it is important to examine the ways through which the two concepts play out in the news texts. Thomson et al. (2008: 212) point out that when considered in terms of its importance in hard news reports, objectivity should be seen as a strategic constraint of explicit attitudinal language especially on the part of the journalist. This line of argument suggests that while the journalist may succeed in the strategic avoidance of explicit attitudinal language, there are other possible ways through which attitudinal language can be given expression. In addition, it is crucial to examine how the

strategic avoidance of explicit attitudinal language by the journalist interacts with instances where attitudinal language is given explicit expression. However, as I stated in Chapter 1, existing research has given less attention to the interaction between evaluation and objectivity in hard news reports. Consequently, a considerable amount of literature has tended to focus on either evaluation or objectivity, and this has in turn limited our understanding of the interactive patterns that occur between the two concepts in hard news reports. In this chapter, I examine existing approaches to evaluation and objectivity in order to determine how they account for the appearance of these concepts in hard news reports. In section 2.2 I begin with general discussions of evaluation and objectivity by reviewing some key definitions of these concepts. This is necessitated by the fact that in the literature, the definitions of evaluation and objectivity comprise references to other related concepts. This can leave us with ambiguous definitions in which evaluation or objectivity is used interchangeably with related terms. I then draw attention to mitigation as an overarching concept under which various strategies of reconciling evaluation and objectivity in hard news texts can be organised. In section 2.3, I provide an overview of some of the influential approaches to evaluation and objectivity. This will be followed by a review of studies that investigate evaluation and objectivity in hard news reporting. Following my discussion of the definitions of evaluation and objectivity, and studies that investigate these concepts in hard news reporting, is section 2.4, in which I reflect on the extent to which we can map analytical categories and insights discussed in sections 2.2 and 2.3 into an integrated framework that can then be used to account for the interactive patterns between evaluation and objectivity in hard news reports.

2.2 Evaluation and objectivity: A general perspective

As mentioned above, the purpose of this section is to examine the definitions of evaluation and objectivity, and discuss how these concepts can be reconciled.

2.2.1 What is evaluation?

For Thompson and Hunston (2000:5), evaluation is

the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker's or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about.

In the same vein, Bednarek (2006a; 2008; 2010) defines evaluation as a cover term for a speaker's or writer's attitude, and that such attitude is reflected in the expressions of opinion about entities, aspects of the world, and propositions. As can be noticed, Thompson and Hunston (2000) and Bednarek (2006a; 2008; 2010) foreground the attribute of evaluation as a "cover term" for several related notions. This view of evaluation allows for a varied choice of resources to be subsumed under one concept. Commenting on attitude and stance, Martin and White (2005: 1), and Coffin and O'Halloran (2006: 78) observe that as speakers and writers express their personal attitude about entities, aspects of the world, and propositions, attitudinal meanings have the potential to build up over single texts or a series of related texts. Such a build-up of attitudinal meanings gives rise to specific evaluative stances as speakers and writers approve or disapprove, applaud or criticise, enthuse and abhor (Martin and White 2005), and as speakers and writers use seemingly neutral meanings as an indirect way of expressing negative evaluations (Coffin and O'Halloran 2006).

Besides attitude and stance, two other notions are covered in the definition of evaluation as articulated by Thompson and Hunston (2000) and Bednarek (2006a; 2008; 2010), namely, viewpoint and feelings. Like other aspects of evaluation, viewpoint and feelings involve an individual's personal position towards entities, aspects of the world, and propositions that are being talked about. According to Stenvall (2008b: 1572), a speaker's or writer's viewpoint and feelings, or emotions in Stenvall's terms, can be categorised as essentially subjective. The idea of feelings or emotions is one of the components in the corpus-based framework (Bednarek 2006a) and Appraisal theory (Martin and

White 2005), two approaches to evaluation that I will discuss in section 2.3. However, it is important to highlight at this point that emotions are not the only aspect of evaluation that is associated with subjectivity. Several lines of argument indicate that subjectivity is at the heart of evaluation. Martin and White (2005:1) state that as speakers and writers evaluate entities, states of affairs and propositions through texts, the evaluations that are expressed are representative of the subjective presence of the speakers and writers in those texts. Similarly, Richardson (2007; 2008) and Pounds (2010) make the case for the expression of value judgements, and interpretation of events as indicators of speakers' and writers' subjectivity. Drawing on some cases of news reports from British newspapers (Richardson 2007) and a comparison of British and Italian newspapers (Pounds 2010), the authors point to some differences in the way news writers represent people involved in similar events through alternate descriptive terms, mainly through a contrast of positive against negative assessment of the events or the people involved. In Richardson's (2007: 47) view, the use of alternate terms in reference to the same people or events signifies subjective standpoints of the news writers. Furthermore, Pounds (2010: 111) argues that news writers' evaluations can be indicative of culture-specific expressions of subjectivity. Collectively, these studies clearly indicate the critical role that subjectivity plays in the expression of evaluation.

As noted above, Coffin and O'Halloran (2006) highlight a link between expressions of evaluation and the notion of indirectness. This notion is part of a range of ways through which evaluation can be identified in texts. While indirectness has been studied extensively in investigations of evaluation, it is perhaps important to state that indirectness is not an isolated category. In their comprehensive outline of characteristics of evaluative language, Thompson and Hunston (2000) and Martin and White (2005) point out that evaluation may be expressed directly or indirectly. This creates a two-way choice that speakers and writers have when they express their attitude. The potential choice that speakers and writers have between direct and indirect expressions of evaluation however,

is not without analytical challenges. As stated by Bednarek (2010: 38), identifying indirect evaluation is problematic. One useful yardstick suggested by Thompson and Hunston to deal with the identification of indirect evaluation is signals of comparison. Since the focus of the discussion in this section is to provide an overview of what evaluation is, this point will be revisited later to determine how different authors account for direct and indirect evaluation in their analysis of hard news texts.

We have already noted that indirectness may be used for the purpose of expressing negative evaluations (Coffin and O'Halloran 2006). Similar to the choice that speakers and writers have between direct and indirect evaluations, speakers and writers can choose between positive and negative evaluations to assess entities, aspects of the world, and propositions. Thompson and Hunston (2000: 25) capture the positive-negative dimension of evaluation with their *good-bad* parameter of evaluation. For Thompson and Hunston, the *good-bad* parameter is the most basic attribute of evaluation, and they argue that all other parameters of evaluation hinge on this basic parameter. This view of the *good-bad* parameter as the most basic attribute of evaluation, highlights that similar to subjectivity, the *good-bad* parameter (positive or negative evaluation) is a core attribute of evaluation. Going back to Martin and White's (2005:1) examples of approval versus disapproval, applause versus criticism, enthusiasm versus and abhorrence it can be noted that speakers and writers have a range of meanings through which they can indicate their positive or negative evaluative position towards entities.

One aspect of evaluation that I have referred to several times so far is entities, aspects of the world, and propositions to which evaluations expressed by speakers and writers are directed. Bednarek (2009:180) refers to these as *attitudinal targets* and stresses their importance in the classification of evaluation types. Each approach to evaluation discussed in section 2.3 distinguishes between types of evaluation and such a distinction points to the tendency of

evaluation types to be matched against particular targets in texts. The final essential dimension of evaluation is that of speakers and writers who express evaluations in texts. As Martin and Rose (2007: 27) demonstrate, it is important to consider who the evaluations are coming from, that is, the source of the evaluation. The articulation of evaluation by certain speakers can serve to justify certain viewpoints, or in some cases form part of rhetorical devices in use (Stenvall 2008a). Arguably, specific identification of the source of evaluation is essential to our understanding of who can evaluate certain entities, or who/what can be evaluated in a certain way, and the effect of such evaluations.

In view of all that has been mentioned so far, it can be noticed that evaluation is a multifaceted concept that forms the basis of what speakers and writers do in texts. As Thompson and Hunston (2000: 8) argue, evaluation is a key linguistic concept in the study of what is good or bad, and what should or should not happen. As such, evaluation should be fully accounted for in linguistic studies.

2.2.2 What is objectivity?

Objectivity remains a challenging concept to define because it embodies a number of related, overlapping concepts. Stenvall (2008b: 1570) captures the complexity of objectivity by stating that due to the presence of value judgements within 'objective' news reports, "what is regarded as objective by a journalist may look vague, obscure and ideologically determined to the linguist". Like Stenvall, Richardson (2007; 2008) holds the view that since the process of building value judgements into news reporting does not stop the news reports from being 'journalistically' objective, journalists and linguists are likely to understand objectivity differently. Richardson (2008: 156) further states that the broad use of the term *objectivity*, especially in the journalistic tradition, is often equated with language that is free of subjective opinions and that this gives an implication of a cline in which subjective and non-subjective ('objective') meanings are on opposite ends. This journalistic approach to objectivity poses a problem because it suggests a mutually exclusive existence of subjective and objective meanings

in newspaper discourse. These problematic issues, together with overlapping concepts of neutrality, balance, reliability, factuality, and impartiality are at the heart of many studies that address objectivity in news reporting.

White (2000: 383) uses objectivity as an umbrella term for three inter-related text-construction principles - neutrality, balance, and reliability. In his explanation of each of these principles, White deals with a subtle tension between subjectivity, as represented by evaluative meanings, and objectivity, as demonstrated by an act of refraining from expressing evaluative meanings. As a principle of objectivity, neutrality involves transference of responsibility for the expression of subjective opinions – judgements and emotional reactions – from a speaker or writer to third party voices that are quoted in texts. As a text-construction principle, neutrality shares a key feature with balance, that is, the emphasis on third party voices. The notable difference between neutrality and balance is that while neutrality involves the overall principle of quoting third party voices, with balance, the presentation of more than one point of view that involves more than one third-party voice is emphasised. Finally, the principle of reliability requires that quoted sources who express subjective opinions have appropriate authority or social standing. The definition of objectivity as a concept that is organised into the aforementioned principles stresses the quotation of external sources as an important dimension of objectivity. Using a different term, *factuality*, Stenvall (2008b), states that factuality involves quotations from news actors. Again we see an emphasis on the voice of third parties or external news sources as a practice of achieving objectivity. Reliance on third party sources to achieve objectivity is still a respected view in many studies. It is a widely discussed characteristic of objectivity in hard news reporting and several works investigate this feature with a focus on how direct and indirect quotations fulfil functions of strategic impersonalisation or rhetorical constructions in news texts (Calsamiglia and López Ferrero 2003; Stenvall 2008b; White 2012).

Contrary to the perspective of third party voices as primarily an element of objectivity, Jullian (2011) and Baden and Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2016) take a different approach by pointing out that the practice of using third party voices involves processes of subjective selection, interpretation and exploitation of external voices for appraising purposes by the speaker or writer. One important theme that emerges from this perspective is that news writers embed their subjective evaluations within statements that are, on the surface, attributed to third party voices. Having established that reliance on external voices constitutes an element of objectivity and that in some cases this is seen as a subjective selection, we can already see that subjectivity, as represented in speakers'/writers' expression of evaluation, and objectivity are complex concepts. In section 2.3 we shall see how these differing views are dealt with in some influential studies on hard news reporting. In the following section, I focus on how we can reconcile evaluation and objectivity in hard news reporting.

2.2.3 Reconciling evaluation and objectivity through mitigation

Mitigation is a concept that has largely been studied from the perspective of Pragmatics with a focus on its association with the notion of *face* in spoken interactions. For example, mitigation is said to concern the reduction and avoidance of certain 'unwelcome' effects which a speech act may have on an addressee (Fraser 1980), or the softening of face threatening speech acts during spoken interactions (Brown and Levinson 1987). In this section I argue for an expanded view that treats mitigation as a "superordinate organising concept" (Caffi 1999) under which we can group a number of strategies through which we can account for the interaction between evaluation and objectivity in written texts. This broader perspective of mitigation is supported by Thaler (2012: 909), who argues that the idea of avoiding unwelcome or negative effects on addressees, as upheld in the pragmatic tradition, is not sufficient for explaining mitigation. A broader perspective of mitigation is useful because it moves beyond what

speakers and writers avoid, as emphasised in the pragmatic tradition, to what speakers or writers do to mitigate evaluations in order to achieve objectivity.

According to Fraser (1980: 344), the concern for the reduction and avoidance of unwelcome effects emphasises the role of mitigation as a self-serving and altruistic concept. This is because mitigation comprises a set of techniques that a speaker uses in order to gain some relief from the responsibility of the effects of what is being said. It can also involve an indication of a disinterested posture on the part of the speaker or what Fraser calls 'getting off the hook' (Fraser 1980: 345) through which the speaker implies that what she or he is saying needs to be said but does not wish to be committed to the associated implications that arise from saying it. What we see in this approach to mitigation is an emphasis on the role it plays in the likelihood of expressing contentious, debatable or controversial issues. Fraser (1980: 345) states that within the set of techniques that a speaker can use to gain some relief from the responsibility of the effects of what is being said is the use of indirect speech acts. What we then need to consider is how the notion of indirectness, as in the use of indirect speech acts, can be extended to cover mitigation in written texts? To gain insight on this aspect of indirectness let us turn to some of the work cited earlier. In their investigation of covert evaluation in the *Sun* newspaper, Coffin and O'Halloran (2006) state that news writers avoid a forthright denouncement of certain groups of people and instead use indirect words and phrases that have some evaluative weight to state their viewpoint. In that case, the news writers cannot so easily be accused of negative effects such as racism and bias. Similarly, Smith and Adendorff (2013) have the same view of indirect evaluative meanings in newspapers. They give an example of how indirect evaluative meanings mask racially-sensitive events and modify their language to express some underlying messages of disapproval and blame allocation. The evidence presented by Coffin and O'Halloran (2006) and Smith and Adendorff (2013) provide an indication of a relationship between mitigation and indirectness. Arguably, this illustrates Fraser's (1980: 345) notion of

speakers 'getting off the hook' and in the case of newspapers, news writers gain relief from the effects of negative messages.

Another technique of mitigation is what Fraser (1980: 347) classifies as the choice that speakers make between expressing statements with a preference for *immediacy* or *distance*. In Fraser's account preference for *immediacy* is often indicative of positive feelings towards the hearer while preference for *distance* positions the speaker as an individual who functions as "a mere instrument of others who are in authority". For now let us examine how the preference for *distance* works as mitigation. Preference for *immediacy* as mitigation will be returned to later. For the discussion of how the creation of *distance* can be a technique of mitigation, let us look at Lauerbach's (2006) notion of voicing. Drawing on the notion of distance, Lauerbach (2006: 198) states that "representing the discourse of others functions as a device whereby speakers can distance themselves from the content of what is being expressed". Lauerbach refers to this distancing device as *voicing* and states that in media discourse, journalists can embed other speakers' critical and controversial voices into their discourse to distance themselves from blame allocation and dispute. This distancing strategy of voicing seems to inform much research on the attribution of evaluations to third party or external voices in newspaper discourse. As we shall see in section 2.3, quotation of external voices in evaluative news content has been investigated extensively and informs much of the debates on the objectivity of hard news reports.

Having discussed indirectness and voicing as techniques of mitigation, I will now discuss one more technique by examining how Fraser's (1980) work on mitigation is complemented by Caffi's (1999; 2007) categories of *deontic mitigation* and *epistemic mitigation*. In her account, Caffi (1999: 883) observes that mitigation works in a multi-layered and multi-dimensional way. That means mitigation techniques are often used in combination such that in an instance of language use, one type of mitigation can be embedded within another. Caffi

(2007) develops this notion of multi-layered mitigation with her categories of deontic and epistemic mitigation. According to Caffi (2007:85) deontic mitigation operates on illocutions that pertain to deontic modality and in such instances, the degree of imposition is weakened. Supporting this view, Thaler (2012) describes mitigation as a form of modification of illocutionary force, and differentiates between *hearer-oriented* and *speaker-oriented* mitigation, terms that she equates to Caffi's (2007) categories of deontic mitigation and epistemic mitigation. According to Thaler (2012:910) hearer-oriented mitigation involves assertive or expressive acts that affect the hearer's negative face. Such acts, in Thaler's view include disapproval of behaviour, such as criticising and blaming, or expressing approval such as praising and complimenting.

Thus far, I have focused on the definitions of evaluation, objectivity, and mitigation. These concepts are crucial to our understanding of linguistic features and analytical categories that I will discuss in Chapter 3. In the following section, I examine evaluation and objectivity with reference to hard news reporting.

2.3 Evaluation and objectivity in hard news discourse

In this section, I begin with an overview of influential approaches to evaluation and objectivity. We shall then look at some of the studies that investigate evaluation and objectivity in hard news reporting across different journalistic contexts.

2.3.1 Appraisal Theory

Appraisal theory is a framework of analysis that is concerned with the evaluative use of language (Martin and White 2005; Martin and Rose 2007). According to Martin and Rose (2007:26), Appraisal is "a system of interpersonal meanings". Thus, resources of evaluative language are used for negotiating social relationships. Appraisal theory is made up of three interacting systems – Engagement, Attitude, and Graduation. Martin and Rose (2007:59) describe Engagement as an Appraisal system that involves resources through which

additional voices are introduced into a text. The second system, that is, Attitude, is made up of Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation. Martin and Rose (2007:59) refer to these resources of Attitude as the three major reasons of feeling. Finally, the system of Graduation covers resources for amplification. Appraisal Theory has been a focal framework for analysing evaluative language in news texts. To date, several studies have confirmed the effectiveness of using Appraisal Theory to account for direct and indirect, and positive and negative evaluative meanings. A detailed description of Appraisal Theory as presented by Martin and White (2005) and Martin and Rose (2007) is beyond the parameters of this chapter. However, its usefulness is evident in a number of empirical studies of evaluation in news discourse. The purpose of this section therefore is to examine studies that have used the framework to analyse news discourse. Among others, Coffin and O'Halloran (2006), and Smith and Adendorff (2013) have examined the ways in which overt and covert evaluative meanings appear in news texts and convey political positioning. The framework has also been utilised for the identification of evaluative meanings that are linked to the ways in which news reports are structured, particularly how the body of the hard news report is dependent on the news opening (Thomson et al. 2008). Furthermore, the ways in which news texts take account of evaluative meanings as sourced from external voices have also received extensive attention from researchers. These include, among others, Stenvall (2008a), White (2009; 2012), and Sabao and Visser (2015).

One of the levels of evaluative meanings in Appraisal Theory is the realisation of direct and indirect evaluative meanings. In a study investigating the expression of indirect evaluative meanings in the British tabloid *The Sun*, Coffin and O'Halloran (2006) aimed to determine how seemingly neutral meanings can in fact communicate negative attitudes about certain groups of people. In their case, they aimed to examine the types of attitude that, while restricting overt evaluations, certain groups of people are evaluated in subtle ways such that the evaluative meanings conveyed are not directly articulated. Through their diachronic method of analysing evaluative meanings that have built up over a

period of time in news texts, Coffin and O'Halloran found that *The Sun* newspaper repeatedly directed evaluative meanings to some central targets. These targets were evaluated variously depending on the type of attitude that the newspaper ascribed to such targets. Adopting a similar position, Smith and Adendorff (2013) investigate covert evaluative meanings as used to show disapproval and blame allocation. Through an identification of overt and covert evaluations that appear alongside one another, Smith and Adendorff make the case for using double codes in order to account for instances of evaluation in which both direct and indirect meanings can be found. The evidence from an investigation of direct and indirect meanings, as seen from Coffin and O'Halloran's (2006) and Smith and Adendorff's (2013) studies is revealing in two ways: they provide a valuable insight into the type of links that newspapers draw between certain evaluative opinions and particular groups of people. Specifically Coffin and O'Halloran make a valuable contribution with regard to the importance of the identification of targets that are evaluated in news texts and the differential evaluative meanings that are consistently ascribed to each target. Having looked at the valuable insights provided by Coffin and O' Halloran (2006) and Smith and Adendorff's (2013), it is also important to consider how some reworking of the general observations can be made about how particular groups of people are assigned negative evaluative meanings while others are assigned positive ones. An approach that looks at how targets appear alongside each other and thus form patterns of evaluative contrast would give us more insight into the positive-negative lines drawn between groups of people. In terms of evaluative meanings that require double codes, it is important to note that categories of evaluative meanings do not only overlap in terms of direct and indirect meanings, but can also overlap in relations to the different systems and subsystems of the framework.

In an earlier work, Thompson (2008) had proposed a broader perspective of dealing with evaluative meanings that are positive and negative, alongside those that are direct and indirect. In Thompson's (2008:169) view, Appraisal choices

can be seen as layered, such that a “choice in one system functions as a token of a choice in a different system”. In particular, Thompson’s notion of intersecting categories of Appraisal is substantial to the longer term understanding of evaluative categories and meanings as they interact in texts. Thompson (2008) draws from Macken-Horarik (2003: 318) who suggested that in order to recognise the choice of a system as a token of another, we need to pay attention to the context of individual choices.

So far in this section I have focused on the identification of positive and negative meanings, as realised through direct and indirect means. I have referred to Coffin and O’Halloran’s (2006) and Smith and Adendorff’s (2013) analyses of covert evaluation and how such indirect evaluations convey some negative meanings about certain groups of people. Having discussed these important aspects of evaluations in news text, I have suggested that Thompson’s (2008) model of intersecting categories can be useful in accounting for the multi coding of categories. In the next part of the discussion I will now move on to examine evaluative meanings in news texts as depicted through the structure of the text. Thomson et al. (2008) utilise a cross-cultural approach to investigate the structural relation between the opening and the body of hard news reports from different cultural contexts. Thomson et al. (2008: 219) reported that a hard news opening, often made up of a headline and a lead sentence, provide a focus or angle of a news text, such that the other components of the news text elaborate on, explain or comment on material presented in the opening. In order to capture the pivotal role that this approach offers, it is important to refer to Thompson and Hunston’s (2000), approach to evaluation. Thompson and Hunston (2000) have argued that evaluation is not confined to certain parts of a text, but occurs throughout the text. The cross-cultural study by Thomson, White and Kitley (2008) as just discussed, offers a good groundwork into the development of evaluative meanings in news texts. However, the scope of the study is relatively narrow, being primarily concerned with preliminary insights into cross-cultural elements of hard news texts.

Another important aspect of evaluative meanings in news texts is the notion of subjectivity. As conceived in Appraisal Theory, the expression of speakers' or writers' feelings about things and people is often made up of subjective opinions. The concept of subjectivity is therefore one of the analytical concerns of the framework. As explained by Martin and White (2005:1), Appraisal framework is concerned with "the subjective presence of writers/speakers in texts as they adopt stances towards both the material they present and those with whom they communicate". In Martin and White's (2005) view, subjectivity is one of the principal determining factors of the writers' and speakers' stance.

It is important to recognise the complementarity and interaction of stance, evaluation and objectivity in discourse. In general terms, the build-up of forms of attitudes, positions and values over texts gives rise to particular types of stance that writers/speakers take. To look into the notion of subjectivity, we turn to White's (2004) differentiation between positive or negative assessments that a journalistic author presents on his/her behalf, and those that are not clearly linked to the author but operate through association, metaphor, implication or inference. White (2004) argues that seemingly neutral terms that may not indicate an explicit evaluation can equally convey a writer's stance. This is because meanings get activated in texts. White (2004:8) draws a link between attributed news content and subjectivity. The author argues that while the notion of neutrality, as defined by the attribution of evaluative material to third parties, the subjectivity can be found in cases where the news reporter and the external news sources seem to present a merged evaluation. In merged evaluations, the voice of the news reporter cannot be clearly separated from that of the external news source. Another view of attribution and subjectivity is presented by Piazza (2009). According to Piazza (2009:170), attribution in the news can be viewed as an act of advancing the news narrative through a co-construction of discourse by the journalist and some external authoritative sources. In Piazza's view, when statements are attributed to outside sources, journalists can highlight or downplay the voices of those to whom statements are attributed. When we take

the idea of co-construction of discourse and relate it to the expression of evaluative meanings in news texts, there seems to exist some ways in which journalistic authors manage to embed their own subjective opinions within news content that is attributed to outside sources. As Jullian (2011: 766) argues, attribution can be an indirect resource for the conveyance of journalists' own evaluative standpoints. Such evaluative standpoints can include, for example, supporting and reinforcing the evaluations that are expressed by the outside sources. Returning to White (2004), it has already been noted that news texts can display linguistic patterns that do not clearly separate the textual voice of the journalistic author from the voices of quoted and referenced sources. In White's (2004) view, journalists have various means through which they can frame the attribution in such ways that indicate their alignment with the quoted sources and the attributed material. With this in mind, for the remaining part of the discussion I will examine some of the ways in which attribution can be seen to have a double function, that is, as an "evaluation outlet" (Jullian 2011, p. 766) for the outside news sources, and as a means for journalists to convey their evaluations as well. For this purpose let us first turn to Stenvall (2008a), who examined how the use of unnamed external news sources contributes to the rhetorical standpoints that can be observed in a news text. Stenvall (2008a) argues that the use of attribution in news reports implies that the news sources who are quoted are credible individuals or groups of people who can be relied on. When the news sources are unnamed, their credibility does not seem to be established. Due to this seeming less credibility of unnamed news sources, news reporters make use of some strategies in order to establish such news sources as credible. Stenvall (2008a) argues that such strategies serve rhetorical purposes in the news reports. A similar view about the rhetorical effects of a seeming backgrounding of the journalist's voice is held by White (2009), who argues that even when the voice of the journalistic author is backgrounded, news texts can still indicate a subtle favouring/disfavouring of the people or the events that are described in the news report. White (2004; 2009) and Jullian (2011) as discussed above provide a

link between what is seen as subjective meanings that are indicated by evaluation in the news texts, and what is seen as objective.

The 'reporter voice' key as proposed by Martin and White (2005) has informed a number of studies that investigate the concept of objectivity in news texts. In the preceding discussion, I have made reference to the attribution of evaluative news content to external news sources. In such cases evaluative or subjective news content is confined to some voices other than that of the journalist. Attribution of evaluations is one of the characteristics that are dealt with in the 'reporter voice' key. Thomson et al. (2008) have argued that despite a general advocacy for objectivity and neutrality in news reporting, news reporters do take a stance and express their evaluations of what is reported. In their case study Thomson et al. (2008) consider the strategies that journalists incorporate into their reporting in order to avoid explicit attitudinal language in hard news stories. Attitudinal language, as Thomson et al. (2008) mention, is constrained by the professional requirements of journalism.

The constraining of evaluative and subjective attitudes in hard news discourse has been investigated in other studies. Pounds (2010) has investigated the notion of 'reporter voice' key in a cross-cultural perspective. Her investigation focuses on subjectivity markers in news discourse and provides an insightful approach with regard to salient evaluative meanings that convey authorial stance. As Pounds (2010:117) argues, attribution as a resource for impersonalisation is debatable. In view of the elusive nature of objectivity, as reflected in the appearance of a range of subjectivity markers, Pounds (2010) suggests that a unified model of analysis can be useful in accounting for the differences in how objectivity is viewed in different cultural contexts. Overall, Pounds's study is a powerful explanation of how we can take account of analytical categories that arise out of data. She proposes a unified model that takes account of subjectivity markers in conjunction with mediated news material. In a later work, Sabao (2013; 2016) argues that objectivity is controlled by news

reporters and that the news reporter selects what gets reported. In view of this control that news reporters hold, Sabao (2016) suggests that new ways of interrogating objectivity are needed.

In the discussion above, I have focused on approaches and views about evaluation and objectivity from an Appraisal perspective. In the rest of this section, I consider other approaches to evaluation. Bednarek (2006a; 2008) proposes a parameter-based approach to evaluation that synthesises and develops several previous approaches to evaluation. According to Bednarek (2008: 11), this approach takes account of similarities between evaluations on one hand, and recognises the basic differences between evaluations on the other. In her insightful analysis of the expression of assessments of knowledge in newspaper discourse, Bednarek (2006b) examines the distinction between attribution and averral. She argues that because the news story is a genre that can be classified as a source of knowledge, assessments of 'who' the source of information is, can be a complex phenomenon to analyse. Bednarek states that assessments of the source of knowledge are complicated by the fact that newspaper discourse can display a great amount of interaction between attribution and averral. In newspaper discourse, it is the writer or the news reporter who is responsible for the inclusion of attributed material but the quoted source is responsible for the statements that are articulated. Bednarek's (2006b) discussion of the complex nature of attribution in news discourse is similar to Martin and Rose (2007) notion of recursive sources. Martin and Rose (2007:50) state that the introduction of additional sources into a text can be complex, particularly in cases where the text displays a 'source of sources'.

2.4 Towards an integrated framework of analysis

In the discussion above, I have paid attention to how the appearance of evaluation and objectivity is accounted for in different studies. Evidence presented by different authors indicates that much as objectivity is advocated for in many journalistic contexts, evaluative content is a major component of hard

news reporting. As we have seen above, features of evaluation accumulate in news articles to convey certain evaluative stances and through a number of linguistic features, evaluative content that gets included in the news articles gets mitigated to achieve objectivity. Having established that evaluative content always gets included in hard news reporting, and that news reporters succeed in maintaining the objectivity ideal, it is important to reflect on the approaches we take to account for the appearance of these concepts in hard news reporting. In this thesis, I argue for an integrated approach that takes account of the simultaneous appearance of evaluation and objectivity in hard news reporting. Features that make up these concepts can be investigated more effectively when they are mapped into a framework that allows for the identification of superordinate categories under which we can classify categories of evaluation. As I have discussed above, we can reconcile the two concepts of evaluation and objectivity by taking account of mitigation strategies that are present in texts. As such our approaches should reflect features of evaluation as well as mitigation strategies that are essential in the strategic adherence to objectivity. Once these are identified the next step will be to establish the patterns of interaction or combinations between sets of features that have been identified under each category. With such an analytical model, we can examine the categories for consistent combinations between certain features of evaluation and mitigation. I argue that when we establish the types of interactions between sets of features, we will gain a holistic view of how news reporters advance evaluative and subjective news content and make a claim towards objectivity at the same time. The integrated framework will be presented in Chapter 3. As will be seen in Chapter 3, the model has drawn some features from categories of Appraisal Theory. In my analytical model I have modified the categories from Appraisal Theory in order to address the specific questions in this study.

CHAPTER 3

Evaluation and objectivity in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*: Methodological Framework

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter 2, I examined existing approaches to establish how they account for the appearance of evaluation and objectivity in hard news reporting. I considered some key definitions of evaluation and objectivity, and discussed mitigation as an important concept as we seek to reconcile evaluation and objectivity in hard news reporting. In light of insight drawn from existing approaches to evaluation and objectivity, I proposed that in order to account for interactive patterns between evaluation and objectivity in hard news reporting, it is essential to map analytical categories into an integrated framework that takes account of categories of evaluation, and strategies that news reporters use to mitigate evaluative language in order to achieve objectivity. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the methods by which the research and analyses of features of evaluation and strategies of mitigation in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* were conducted. As we shall see below, the news articles selected for analysis were set within the context of the public sector workers' strike in Botswana as discussed in Chapter 1. Overall, issues that were regarded as central to the workers' strike, and the arguments advanced in relation to differences between state-owned and private media in Botswana informed methodological decisions that are outlined and discussed in this chapter. In section 3.2 I begin by laying out the methods that I employed in the process of collecting data and sampling a comparative data set. This is followed by a discussion of analytical procedures in sections 3.3 and 3.4. In section 3.3 I give an account of the iterative process of data coding and classification of analytical categories. This process was essential as I developed and applied an integrated framework of analysis to the

news articles selected. The integrated framework is presented in Figure 3.1. The final section, 3.4, is concerned with the role of quantitative and qualitative approaches to the analysis of features of evaluation and mitigation strategies in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*.

3.2 Data collection and sampling

This section begins with an overview of how the overall data for the present study was accessed and obtained, and the steps taken to manage the initial data set, out of which comparable news articles were sampled from the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. In Chapter 1, I stated that the analytical approach taken in this study involves a comparative analysis of how the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* use and mitigate evaluative language in their reporting of the public sector workers' strike. In section 3.2.2 therefore, I will discuss the rationale for this comparative approach. This will be followed by a description of the criteria that I used for sampling a comparable data set from the total number of news articles that were collected. Results from data collection and sampling are presented in section 3.2.4.

3.2.1 An overview of the data set

News articles collected for the purpose of investigating patterns of evaluation and mitigation strategies in hard news reports were obtained from online archived editions of the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* between July 2013 and December 2014. These were accessed from the two newspapers' official websites, that is, www.dailynews.gov.bw for the *Daily News* and www.mmegi.bw for *Mmegi*. At the time, online archived news articles for the two newspapers dated as far back as 2003 and this provided a wide set of past news articles. Within this wide set of news articles, the item of interest was the newspapers' coverage of the 2011 public sector workers' strike, specifically in their *News* sections. As a result, the search and collection of articles from the *News* sections was restricted to the year 2011. The dates that covered the duration of the workers' strike were the

parameter that was imposed on the available newspaper editions of 2011, so the time frame for the search was restricted to dates between, and inclusive of 18th April 2011 and 6th June 2011, the dates on which the strike commenced, and ended. Once the availability of news articles was established, the word *strike* was used to search for relevant news articles. This was necessary because the events of the strike between April and June 2011 were reported in the newspapers alongside other events that were unrelated to the strike. The use of the word *strike* as a search term did not solve all the issues concerning the relevance of news articles as every news article in which the word *strike* was used appeared among the initial hits. A decision was made to exclude news articles which reported issues that I considered peripheral to the strike. These included news articles disseminating press release/statements, and those in which the strike was not the major subject of the news report. Following the restricted search, and the exclusion of news articles that reported issues that were peripheral to the strike, the initial amount of data consisted of 50 news articles from the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. This amount of data was not surprising, owing to the status of the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* as consistent dailies. Since I had aimed for an in-depth qualitative analysis of single texts, and a comparative discussion of the news articles, there were some practical considerations to make for the purpose of achieving these aims. In the following section I discuss the rationale behind the comparative approach and this will be followed by a discussion of how news articles that were selected for the final data set were matched.

3.2.2 Rationale for a comparative perspective

The usefulness of a comparative approach to analysis can be traced to earlier studies such as Entman's (1991), investigation of contrasting news frames in the coverage of tragic air incidents by U.S.A media outlets, and Caldas-Coulthard's (1993; 1994) investigation of differential representations of quoted speakers in British newspapers. The authors concluded that differential textual choices are

bound to be undetected if texts are not placed alongside other sets of texts that report the same subject matter, and that such choices can reflect news reporters' ideological and cultural belief systems. Richardson (2007) and Haarman and Lombardo (2009a), advance similar arguments for comparative approaches to data analysis. For examples of findings from comparative approaches, Richardson (2007: 46) cites alternate words and descriptions in British newspapers and argues that such words and descriptions can only be observed when news stories covering the same event are compared. Likewise, Haarman and Lombardo (2009a: 2) are of the view that a comparative perspective presents a useful design for the researcher to identify key textual choices that frame a specific news story in comparison to another that reports the same matter. Following Richardson (2007) and Haarman and Lombardo (2009a), I considered a comparative approach as an essential element that would test for, and potentially bring out distinct ways that the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* use to express and manage evaluative language, and how they each strategically adhere to the requirement for objectivity. From the foregoing arguments it can be concluded that at the heart of comparative approaches to the analysis of media outputs is the quest for identifying similarities and differences between distinct media outlets. Another significant aspect of comparative approaches is their effectiveness in measuring and understanding difference (Lewis and McNaughton Nicholls 2014). This is a point I will return to in section 3.4, when I discuss the role of quantitative and qualitative approaches to the analysis of evaluation and objectivity in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*.

In the rest of this section, I will focus on the advantage of taking a comparative approach to the analysis of evaluation and objectivity with specific reference to the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* and their coverage of the public sector workers' strike. To place this discussion in context, let us return briefly to the reasons I outlined in Chapter 1 for the selection of the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* as data sources for the investigation of evaluation and objectivity during the reporting of the workers' strike. Firstly, the selection of the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* was on

account of their daily circulation, and as I highlighted in Chapter 1, this provided an opportunity to examine cumulative patterns of evaluative language and how such patterns were mitigated to achieve objectivity as the newspapers presented a build-up of events of the workers' strike in a continual manner. Secondly, there were anticipated differences between the newspapers due to a distinct approach to objectivity that is implied in their respective policy statements. Finally, I made reference to the arguments put forth by some media researchers in Botswana, for example, Rooney (2012) who have argued that during the public sector workers' strike, state-owned media did not report the news objectively but presented a distorted view of the strike. This argument by Rooney (2012) was central to my choice of the comparative approach that I have taken in this thesis. Rooney's argument is similar to those of other authors who make the case for an apparent news blackout from the state-owned media during the workers' strike. This is briefly discussed below.

Apparent news blackout from government media during the strike

As pointed out above, the view that state-owned media presented a distorted view of the strike, as advanced in Rooney's (2012) assessment of the press in Botswana has been echoed by other writers. In particular, Werbner (2014: 186) is of the view that despite the fact that the strike was a topical event throughout its eight-week duration, state-owned media continually presented a one-sided type of reporting in which government officials were dominant. Werber argues that in much of the reporting, government officials used the media to talk a lot about negotiations that were held prior to the strike, and addressed the public mainly to apportion blame on civil servants for the collapse of negotiations. In Werbner's view, the public was not given an update about the state of negotiations from the perspective of workers' unions. Adopting a similar position, Makgala and Malila (2014) hold the view that many events that took place before, during, and after the workers' strike were a subject of interest to the public, and because such were given less coverage by the state-owned media, the public

relied heavily on the private media for information. The authors argue that as a result of the public's reliance on the private media for updates about the strike, state-owned media, which included the *Daily News*, *Radio Botswana*, and *Botswana Television*, had neglected their duty to keep the nation well informed.

The differences that Werbner (2014) and Makgala and Malila (2014) draw between the state-owned and private media with regard to their reporting of the strike seem to point to differences in the standpoints that were taken by the two media outlets. On the basis of this characterisation of the media in Botswana, and views about comparative approaches, as outlined by, among others, Richardson (2007) and Haarman and Lombardo (2009a) as noted at the beginning of this section, a comparative approach to analysis was adopted in this thesis. This approach was adopted to gain an in-depth understanding of the strategies that the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* use to express and mitigate evaluative language in order to achieve objectivity. A general observation that I made about the overall data set described in section 3.2.1 was that *Mmegi* appeared to run additional reports on how the workers' strike was affecting provision of services across the country while the *Daily News* seemed to focus a lot on the availability of services despite the ongoing workers' strike. A question that remained to be answered was whether this general trend was a coincidence or whether it pointed to more subtle differences in the strategies that the two newspapers use to express and mitigate evaluative language in their coverage of the strike. Since my aim was to conduct some in-depth analysis of a manageable size of the data, I examined the news articles in order to sample a comparable set of news articles. In the next section therefore, I discuss the criteria for establishing the comparable data set.

3.2.3 Criteria for sampling a comparable data set

The comparable data set that was compiled was made up of 8 news articles from the *Daily News* and 8 news articles from *Mmegi*, making a total of 16 news articles that were selected for analysis. The selection of the 16 news articles was

carried out on the basis of the subject matter being constant between the two newspapers. Commonality of subject matter was considered as an essential methodological parameter in the selection of news articles. This was to ensure that any possible contrasts between the newspapers' choice of evaluative language and strategies of mitigation would not be a finding that was somewhat pre-set or predictable from differences in the subject matter covered. As such it would have been a disadvantage if the subject matter covered in the two newspapers was on random basis. Commenting on the importance of keeping the subject matter constant in a comparable corpus, Bednarek (2006a: 5) states that

a constant subject matter in a comparable corpus ensures that a topic which is central to society is chosen. This is because if a topic is covered in all the newspapers that are included in the sample, the topic can be considered the most significant.

The similarity of subject matter, based on its attribute of being central to society was insightful in considering news articles that would be included in the comparable data set. Before discussing the topics that were used as part of the criteria for selecting the 16 news articles, it is important to mention that the commonality of subject matter does not refer to identical news headlines. The subject matter concerns the main topic that is being discussed or that is featured in the news articles whereas the headlines refer to the titles of the news articles. Having pointed out this difference, let us now consider the main topics that were searched for coverage in the news articles. These topics are documented in Makgala and Malila's (2014:80) account of the causes, course, and aftermath of the public sector workers' strike.

Negotiations between the government and workers' unions

Negotiations between the government and the workers' unions were a central factor that would determine the nature of relations between the government (the

employer) and civil servants (the employees) in the course of the workers' strike. According to Makgala and Malila (2014:43), the collapse of negotiations and subsequent preparations for the strike were the main issues spoken about as the government and workers' unions attempted to justify their respective positions to the public. Related to the topic of negotiations was the political atmosphere² in which the government and workers' unions were in at the time (Makgala and Malila 2014: 90). This is discussed next.

Political contention and the government's response to the workers' strike

The collapse of negotiations between the government and workers' unions led to a drawing of political lines between the government and opposition parties. Makgala and Malila (2014: 90) state that the collapse of negotiations, the strike, and the arguments raised about the ongoing recovery of the economy from the global recession, were seen as political matters, such that the workers' strike drew an indirect involvement of many political opinions. The authors argue that opposition parties saw the workers' strike as an opportunity to exploit for political gain by stating their support for the workers' unions in the course of the strike. With respect to the response of the government to the strike, Makgala and Malia (2014: 121) cite several failed attempts for the workers' unions to meet with President Khama³ to resolve issues surrounding the strike. The authors state that as a result of the failed attempts for workers' unions to meet with the state president, opposition parties expressed solidarity with the workers' unions while the government was seen as responsible for the declining relations between the employer and the workers' unions.

² At the time of the workers' strike, political parties were involved in some initial preparations for the 2014 general elections in Botswana

³ President Khama held office from 1 April 2008 until 31 March 2018, and the workers' strike has been described by some writers as one the most challenging events during his term of office

The workers' strike and provision of services

The strike and how it would affect the provision of services in different institutions was a contested subject between the state-owned media and the private media (Makgala and Malila, 2014:78). This led to differing views of whether the workers' unions had complied with the strike rules by providing minimal service in government departments, or whether provision of services was adversely affected. This issue was raised again when the workers' unions announced an extension to the duration of the strike at the end of the first ten days that were initially agreed between the government and the unions.

Implications of the extended duration of the strike

According to the rules of the strike that were negotiated between the government and workers' unions, the strike was planned to last for ten days, ending on 29th April 2011. At the end of the ten days, union leaders announced an extension to the duration of the strike. Makgala and Malila (2014:92) state that the extension to the duration of the strike, which was decided during the Labour Day celebrations on 1 May 2011, was viewed by union leaders as an event that would culminate in the workers' triumph in their conflict with the government.

Implications of the ending of the strike

The final topic outlined by Makgala and Malila (2014:144) concerns the decision by the workers' unions to 'suspend' the strike. Makgala and Malila point out that the leaders of the workers' unions urged their members to return to work in order to hold discussions with the employer on some pending issues. Such pending issues, it turned out, included questions of whether members of the workers' unions would carry out duties in relation to work that had accumulated during the strike.

While these main topics were used as a yardstick for the inclusion of news articles in the comparable data set, there still remained one methodological issue to be dealt with - the possibility that the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* would run news

articles on these topics more than once. It was decided that to take this into account, reference to the topics by the two newspapers should be guided by their coverage on a date that is identical or if the dates were not identical, the differences in terms of the dates would be close enough within the same week. Thus the news articles that matched the main topics of the strike and the dates of coverage were included in the final sample of 16 news articles. These are presented in Table 3.1 in the next section.

3.2.4 Results of data collection and sampling

In Table 3.1 I present results from the process of data collection and sampling. The news articles are numbered chronologically and annotated with either *DN* or *MM* to indicate whether the news article being referred to was selected from the *Daily News* (DN) or *Mmegi* (MM). Thus *1DN* and *1MM*, for example, refer to the first news article from the *Daily News* and the first news article from *Mmegi* respectively.

Table 3.1 Results of data collection and sampling

Text annotations	Headlines	Date of reporting
1DN	Govt. protects workers' rights	18 April 2011
1MM	Masisi 'raps' opposition MPs over strike	18 April 2011
2DN	Khama appeals to workers	18 April 2011
2MM	Khama rules out salary increase	18 April 2011
3DN	Opposition supports workers	18 April 2011
3MM	Opposition backs civil servants' strike	18 April 2011

4DN	Border posts report normal operations	21 April 2011
4MM	Borders open as workers ignore strike	19 April 2011
5DN	Strike continues?	3 May 2011
5MM	Strike extended to Friday	4 May 2011
6DN	Lobsec students threaten to boycott classes	16 May 2011
6MM	Venson-Moitai leaves Lobsec students out in the cold	13 May 2011
7DN	Strike cripples health services	20 May 2011
7MM	Hospitals close as medics hit back	19 May 2011
8DN	Govt., unions agree to overcome differences	6 June 2011
8MM	Reconciliation	6 June 2011

3.3 Data coding and classification of analytical categories

The process of coding the 16 news articles that were selected, and classification of analytical categories was carried out by synthesising insights gained from the topics of coverage discussed in section 3.2.3 above, and from some linguistic approaches. Before elaborating on these, let us turn to Figure 3.1 on the next page.

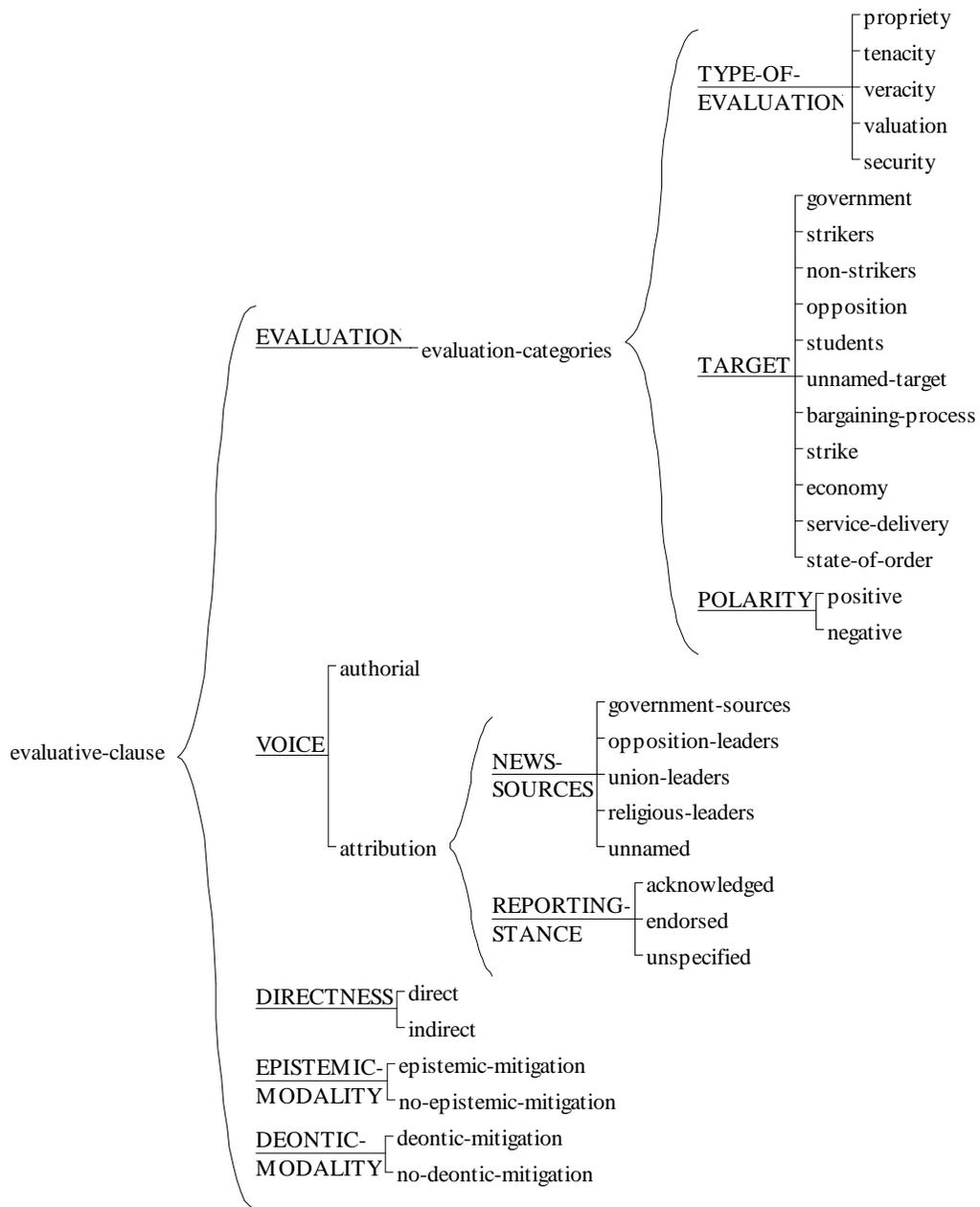


Figure 3.1 Integrated Framework of evaluation and mitigation strategies in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*

Figure 3.1 displays the integrated framework into which I mapped features of evaluation and mitigation strategies identified in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. For the purpose of analysis, each news article was divided into clauses in order to locate instances where the news articles displayed some evaluative language. Following this, every evaluative clause was then marked-up for the features displayed in Figure 3.1. Division of news articles into clauses meant that in every place where the news articles included quotations, the resultant structure would be that of a clause complex. However, my main interest was not on the differentiation between simple and complex clauses. As such, I have used the term *evaluative clause* for every segment of the news articles that displayed evaluative language regardless of whether it was a simple or a complex clause. In the following discussion, I describe how features in each category were coded.

3.3.1 Evaluation: coding of evaluation categories

Every clause that comprised expressions of attitudinal assessment was first marked-up for three types of categories:

- The type of evaluation
- The target of evaluation, that is, the entity that was evaluated
- Polarity of evaluation, that is, a specification of whether the evaluation that was expressed was positive or negative

Types of evaluation were drawn from the system of Attitude in Appraisal Theory (Martin and White 2005). One of the guiding factors for the identification and classification of types of evaluation was the emphasis on the rules of the strike as negotiated between the government and workers' unions. On the basis of the emphasis on rules and implications for ethical behaviour, Martin and White's (2005) categories of Propriety and Veracity were included in the analytical framework. These categories were included in the framework to take account of evaluations that expressed speakers' opinions about other people's compliance or non-compliance with the rules. According to Martin and White (2005:52),

evaluations of Propriety and Veracity fall within the category of Social Sanction and are often linked to regulations, laws and rules that are codified in writing. Since negotiation and documentation of the rules of the strike were crucial to the conduct of the strike, Propriety and Veracity were considered as important categories of evaluation in the reporting of the strike. With regard to Tenacity, interest was on how news articles presented human targets that belonged to the same groups as making resolute decisions. Examples of such groups included the government, opposition parties, and workers' unions. The category of Valuation was selected in relation to non-human targets looking at whether the evaluation expressed referred to the target as a worthwhile course. With regard to the identification of the targets, that is, the evaluated entities, the news articles specified who or what was being talked about in most cases. For coding the human targets of evaluation, I relied on White's (2006) notion of agency and affectedness. Agency and affectedness is concerned with the representation of participants in a reported event who are assigned an agentive role and those who are assigned an acted-upon role. According to White (2006:40), these roles have the potential to influence "who is to be seen as more to blame and who is less to blame". The idea of seeing participants as more to blame or less to blame is closely connected to whether the evaluation is expressed in positive or negative terms. Thus, in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*, every attitudinal assessment ascribed to a specific target was coded for the polarity of the expression depending on whether their role was approved or disapproved, or, praised or criticised. The linguistic resources that guided the process of coding categories of evaluation were complemented by Makgala and Malila's (2014) views on the workers' strike being a conflict between the government and civil servants. As such, these two groups were considered as central targets in the news articles. The ideas of a political contention, the negotiations between the government and unions, and provision of services, all discussed in section 3.2.3 were also considered as having a bearing on the entities that were evaluated in the news articles. As a result, opposition parties, the bargaining process, service

delivery, were considered and coded as targets. Let us look at the following illustrative examples. The process of assigning codes was based on the expressions in bold.

(1) GABORONE: **Government will ensure protection of workers' rights during industrial action**, presidential affairs and public administration minister assured Parliament on Friday. (Text 1DN)

(2) To that, Mr Masisi said indeed **unions were negotiating in bad faith**. (Text 1DN)

Table 3.2 Coding for examples 1 and 2

	Type of evaluation	Target	Polarity
(1)	Propriety	Government	Positive
(2)	Propriety	Strikers ⁴	Negative

In examples (1) and (2) the government and the strikers (unions) were coded as the targets of evaluation that are presented in agentive roles. The type of evaluation for both is coded as Propriety. For example (1) the category Propriety is selected on the basis of the rules of the strike that were negotiated between the government and the unions. According to the *Strike Rules Agreement*, rules 13.4 and 13.6⁵ were laid out and agreed between the government (employer) and the workers' unions:

Rule 13.4 Employer shall not intimidate employees who participate in the strike

Rule 13.6 The Employer party agrees to designate facilities such as use of ablution blocks, drinking water and any other welfare service that may be agreed upon for employees participating in the strike

⁴ For ease of classification of targets, all references to 'civil servants', and 'unions' have been categorised as strikers

⁵ See Appendix 2 for the complete Strike Rules Agreement document

On the basis of the rules that were agreed, the government is presented as a target that is in compliance with the terms of the rules, hence, the coding for polarity as positive. In contrast to positive polarity in example (1) the unions in example (2) are presented in an agentive role, and they are being criticised and blamed for the failed negotiations, hence the code for negative polarity.

3.3.2 Voice: coding of appraisers

Once the categories of evaluation were identified and coded as discussed above, the next step was to trace the speaker who was expressing the evaluation. This category was assigned the code 'voice'. As can be seen from Figure 3.1, voice is made up of two major categories – authorial voice and attribution. The code *authorial voice* was assigned to all evaluations that were expressed by the news reporter, while attribution was assigned to all evaluations expressed by external news sources. Since interest was on patterns that indicate the expression and strategic avoidance of evaluative language to achieve objectivity, the category of attribution was based on White's (2000) discussion of objectivity in terms of neutrality, balance and reliability, all of which make reference to quotations as an element of objectivity in the news. Based on the view that the workers' strike was a conflict between the government and the workers' unions, and that the two groups were seeking to justify their respective positions to the public, the government and union leaders were mapped into the sub-category of external news sources. Opposition party leaders on the other hand were in a political contention against the government and a code for opposition leaders as news sources was assigned to evaluations attributed to any of the opposition MPs mentioned by name in the news articles. Illustrative examples are as follows:

(3) Govt⁶. protects workers' rights (Text 1DN)

Example (3) is a news headline in Text 1DN, and it is not associated with any external news source. Thus it was coded as an evaluation expressed by the

⁶ The abbreviation Govt. was used in the news articles as a short form for 'Government'

author. For examples of how attribution was coded in the news articles, let us revisit examples (1) and (2), which were discussed in the previous section. In the two examples, the external news source is specified by official title and by name. Due to the numerous news sources specified by name and official titles/roles, the news sources were classified into the superordinate categories of government, opposition leaders, religious leaders, and union leaders. As can be noticed in Figure 3.1, there is another category of external news sources – the unnamed news sources. This code was assigned to individuals or groups who were quoted in the news articles but were referred to in generic terms, or were presented as anonymous news sources. Examples (4) and (5) illustrate instances where the code *unnamed* [news source] was assigned to an evaluative clause. In (4) the quoted student is presented as an anonymous news source while in (5) the news reporter uses generic reference *students* to present the news sources.

(4) In an interview **the student, who did not want to be named**, said as a result of the letter the minister addressed the school on Wednesday, insisting they communicate their concerns in writing. (Text 6MM)

(5) After the assembly **students could be heard whispering** that it was time the ministry explained to them what was going on, saying that since the strike started the ministry has not consulted them.
(Text 6MM)

A comment needs to be made about the inclusion of religious leaders as news sources. Similar to other news sources, religious leaders in the news articles were specified by name and the title *reverend*. The main role that religious leaders played was that of mediation (Makgala and Malila, 2014:126).

Besides coding the news articles for the category of news sources, attributed evaluations were also marked for the types of reporting stance. The types of reporting stance were mainly made up reporting expressions through which news sources were quoted. The classification of reporting stance was as follows:

- Acknowledged: This category was made up of reporting expressions that did not indicate an explicit evaluative position of the news reporter with respect to the statements or the news source being quoted.
- Endorsed: In this category, the news reporter's choice of the reporting expressions gave an indication of his/her evaluative position with respect to the statements or the news source being quoted.
- Unspecified: This code was assigned to all instances where the news reporter quoted external news sources without using any reporting expression. This was mainly in cases where news sources were quoted expressing direct quotations and the news reporter presented the quotations with a turn-taking structure.

Using examples (3) and (4) let us look at how the coding of the category of voice was carried out in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Coding for examples 3 and 4

	Voice	Reporting stance
(3)	Authorial	-
(4)	Unnamed	Acknowledged

The types of reporting stance were assigned to evaluations that specifically cited external news sources. As such evaluations that were expressed by the author were not marked for reporting stance as this category was created to account for the ways that news reporters used to introduce external voices into the news articles. Following Caldas-Coulthard (1994) and Piazza (2009) the category *acknowledged* was assigned to the evaluation attributed to the unnamed student because the reporting expression *said*.

3.3.3 Directness

For the sub-categories of *direct* and *indirect* evaluations, I relied on Martin and White's (2005) classification of evaluations into inscriptions and invocations. For Martin and White, attitudinal inscription involves attitudinal words that have stable and identical meanings across all contexts. Invocation on the other hand, refers to indirect realisations of evaluative meaning. Martin and White's approach to indirect realisations includes expressions of evaluation that trigger certain responses from readers, such that texts naturalise certain reading positions and in turn achieve a level of alignment and solidarity with the readers. While my approach to directness has drawn from Martin and White's classifications of inscription and invocation, I did not consider notions of alignment/solidarity as my interest was in how assertive or categorical evaluations were expressed and mitigated on one hand, and the instances in which the news articles relied mainly on indirectness as a mitigation strategy.

3.3.4 Epistemic and deontic mitigation

The advantage of including epistemic and deontic mitigation within the framework in Figure 3.1 was based on the fact that the events and issues surrounding the workers' strike were presented in the news articles from the point of view of assertions, expressives and impositions. Taking some examples, assertions that were made about the state of the economy led to the collapse of negotiations, the rules of the strike implied certain levels of imposition of behaviour, and expressives involved declarations of support for the workers' strike. To take account of these different viewpoints, Caffi's (2007) and Thaler's (2012) models of epistemic and deontic mitigation were used to examine how the news sources that were quoted in the news articles made references to strategic assertions, expressives, and impositions for the purpose of mitigating their evaluative statements. Let us turn to examples (6) and (7) for illustration:

(6) Briefing MPs on the impending public sector strike, Mr Mokgweetsi Masisi said **government was obliged** in the rules of the strike to make sure that workers' rights were protected⁷. (Text 1DN)

(7) Saleshando⁸ said that **it is the role of government to ensure that** its people have a dignified existence through better pay. (Text 3MM)

To understand the type of imposition in example (6), we need to take note of the news source that was being quoted, Mr Mokgweetsi Masisi. By virtue of his position as the Minister for Presidential Affairs and Public Administration, he was speaking on behalf of government. In (6) compliance with the rules of the strike is self-imposed. In Caffi's model of deontic mitigation, example (6) represents an imposition that is weakened because it is directed to 'self'. With regard to example (7), the speaker directs an imposition [of certain behaviour/actions] on the government, for the government to give civil servants better pay. Notice that by using this imposition, the opposition leader strategically avoids an evaluation such as the invented example (7a) below:

(7a) The government is **bad/evil** because it is not giving civil servants better pay.

For an example like (7) above Thaler (2012) argues that the mitigation is hearer-oriented. While the opposition leader makes an assertion that disapproves and criticises the government, the criticism is modified in deontic terms.

Taken together, these analytical categories, as displayed in Figure 3.1, capture the types of resources that were examined in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* and they are discussed in more detail in the analytical chapters in this thesis. In the following section, I briefly discuss the role of quantitative and qualitative approaches that I in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 to analyse the features.

⁷ In the complete mark-up of the clause, the government is evaluated through positive Propriety

⁸ Leader of one of the opposition parties

3.4 The role of quantitative and qualitative approaches to analysis

In section 3.2.2 I outlined the rationale behind the use of a comparative approach to analysis. As I explained, adopting a comparative approach was aimed at testing for and bringing out possible differences in the ways that the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* used features of evaluation and strategies of mitigation in their coverage of the workers' strike. On the basis of anticipated differences, one of the aims of my study was to establish whether differences that would be found between the two newspapers were significant. To avoid basing my conclusion for differences on intuition, it was decided that a quantitative analysis of features of evaluative language and mitigation strategies in the two newspapers would be employed to test for statistical significance. The chi-square test was selected for this purpose. Bryman (2012) points out that chi-square is a test of statistical significance and that it is used to establish "how confident we can be that there is a relationship between two variables in a population". By employing a quantitative analysis, I aimed to establish whether features of evaluation and mitigation strategies found in the news articles could be associated with a particular newspaper. Significance level was set at the 5% level using the chi-square test and a p value <0.05 was considered significant. To carry out the quantitative analysis, an online chi-square calculator for a simple 2x2 contingency table was used. The calculator is available at <https://www.socscistatistics.com/tests/chisquare>. The tests that were carried out are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. Due to the size of the data being relatively small, the statistical tests carried out were not exhaustive and were used to identify some indicative differences between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. It is important to mention that the raw numbers used to carry out the statistical tests represent the number of times a particular feature has been referred to and not the number of words in the news articles.

As already mentioned, the size of the data did not allow for exhaustive sets of tests to be carried out, and the tests that were carried out were aimed at identifying differences that could be followed up in qualitative analysis. In terms of qualitative analysis, the approach provided an opportunity for an in-depth analysis of evaluative language and mitigation strategies in the news articles. This is because a qualitative method offers an effective way of analysing features in context. Furthermore, if differences were identified through statistical tests, a qualitative analysis would be more useful for identifying and characterising the specific ways through which the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* use and mitigate evaluative language. Lewis and McNaughton Nicholls (2014) point out that the effectiveness of comparative approaches is that they enable the researcher to measure and understand difference. In the case of differences between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*, the combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis was aimed at the complementarity of the approaches to establish the level of significance of difference, that is, measuring the difference, and to establish the context in which the differences are found, hence providing an opportunity to understand the difference.

CHAPTER 4

Evaluation and objectivity in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*: A Quantitative perspective

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of the three chapters in which I present findings from analyses of the 16 news articles that were selected from the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. The purpose of the chapter is to identify features of evaluative language and strategies of mitigation in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* through a quantitative analysis. A quantitative approach is employed in order to examine the appearance of the main features of evaluation and mitigation strategies, and examine how such features are used in strategic combinations in the two newspapers. This is done in order to determine the nature of the frequency of evaluative language and derive some indicative differences between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. The focus on the main features of evaluation and mitigation strategies as they appear in the two newspapers has been necessitated by the fact that for some features, the number of times the interactive patterns appear is already low and when subdivided at various levels of delicacy the figures do not allow for statistical comparisons. It is appreciated that it is possible to carry on the tests indefinitely, but for the purpose of portraying a general picture of evaluative language and mitigation strategies, and gaining a basis for a more in-depth qualitative analysis, the statistical tests that are carried out in this chapter are chosen because they are the most revealing tests. In addition, the strategic use of features of evaluative language and mitigation can only be fully understood in context and the quantitative analysis cannot account for their use in context. Therefore the presentation of findings in this chapter is not exhaustive but complemented by the in-depth qualitative analysis that follows in Chapters 5 and 6. In order to gain a comprehensive view of the overall features of evaluative language and mitigation, this chapter begins with a presentation of the total numbers for all the features in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. These are presented

in system networks in Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2 and they represent the total number of times that each feature has been coded in the news articles.

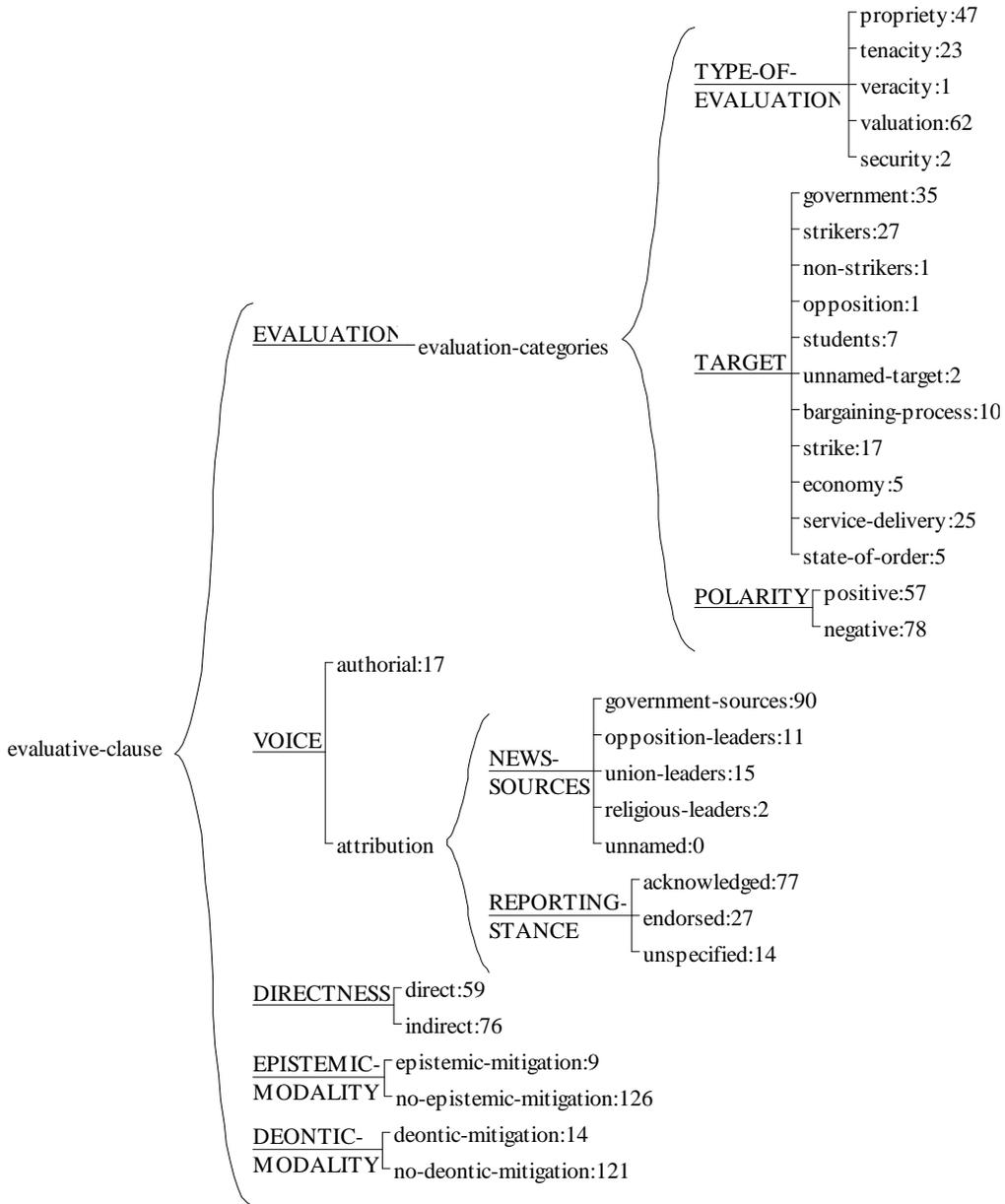


Figure 4.1 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in the *Daily News*

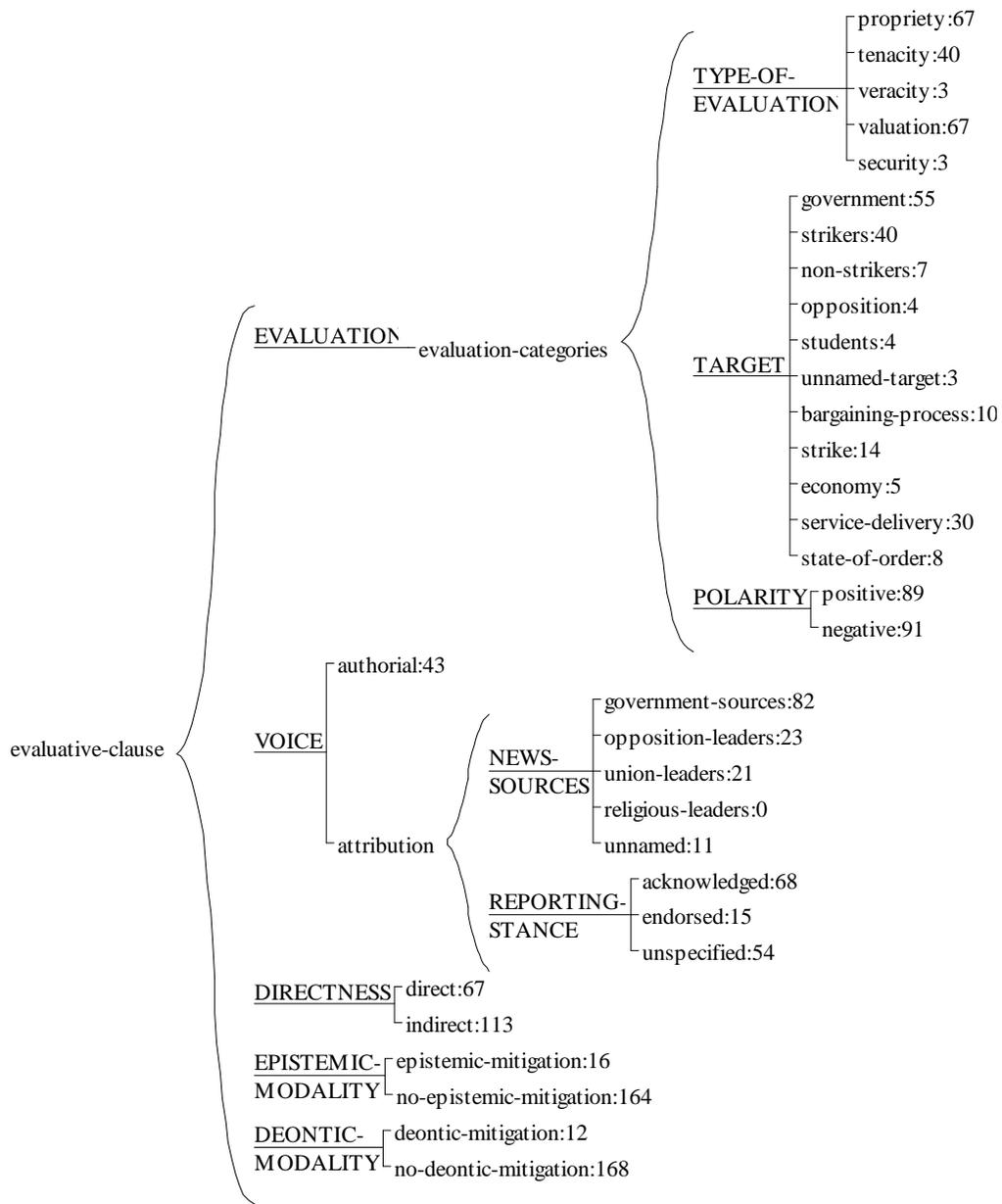


Figure 4.2 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in *Mmegi*

As can be seen in Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2 above and as previously explained in Chapter 3, the news articles from the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* are analysed for their use of categories of evaluation, voice, directness, epistemic and deontic

mitigation. In light of the total numbers for each feature presented in Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2, the chapter is first concerned with establishing the overall appearance of types of evaluation in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. The overall appearance of types of evaluation is then followed up with 4 additional tests. The purpose of these further tests is to determine whether there is an indication of association between a specific newspaper, and specific types of evaluation, the targets of evaluation, and the type of polarity through which the evaluation is expressed. The additional tests are subdivided into the following:

- The distribution of each specific type of evaluation in relation to the total number of evaluations
- The distribution of the main targets of evaluation in relation to the total number of evaluations
- Combinations of specific types of evaluation and targets
- The polarity with which evaluations are expressed in relation to specific targets.

The second concern of the chapter is to establish the overall appearance of types of mitigation strategies in the two newspapers. This overall appearance of mitigation strategies is then followed up with 2 additional tests. The first additional test deals with the distribution of each mitigation strategy compared to its opposite category. Thus attribution is compared against non-attribution (expressions of evaluation by the authorial voice), indirect evaluations compared against direct evaluations, epistemic mitigation against non-modalised evaluations, and deontic mitigation compared against non-modalised evaluations. Once this is established the second additional test deals with the distribution of specific news sources, and the distribution of specific types of reporting stance in relation to the total number of attributed evaluations. These 2 additional tests are the only ones carried out as a follow up to the overall test because attribution is the only mitigation strategy that is made up of conjunctive options of news sources and reporting stance.

The final concern of the chapter is to establish the types of strategic combinations of evaluative language and mitigation strategies in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. For each of these tests, the interactive patterns identified in the *Daily News* are compared with those identified in *Mmegi*. In this dimension of analysis, the focus is on the following:

- The distribution of specific types of evaluation as they combine with mitigation strategies
- The distribution of evaluations as they combine with specific targets and mitigation strategies.

Thus each set of analyses begins with the overall appearance of features, followed by analyses of features in isolation, and then the ways in which these features combine at various degrees of delicacy in order to see what patterns emerge when features are used in conjunction with others. In the analysis of features at both the overall level and at various intricate levels of combination I test for differences in how the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* use the features of evaluative language and how they mitigate evaluative language, and determine the significance of such differences. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, much research has tended to examine evaluation and objectivity with a lot of focus on features in isolation, and little attention has been given to the more complex nature of how features of evaluation and objectivity combine at various levels of delicacy. In addition the approach to features of evaluation and objectivity in isolation gives an implication that evaluation and objectivity can be mutually exclusive in hard news reporting. Therefore an analysis of how features are used in isolation as well how such features combine with others is vital to our understanding of the complexity of the expression and mitigation of evaluation in hard news reporting. As stated in Chapter 2, it is important to pay attention to the complex ways through which news reporters succeed in expressing evaluations while remaining objective.

4.2 Evaluative language in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*

In Table 4.1 I present the overall distribution of types of evaluation in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*, as shown also in Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2. Also presented in Table 4.1 are the results of a chi-square test to establish whether this overall distribution of types of evaluation differs between the two newspapers. These are discussed below the table.

Table 4.1 Overall types of evaluation

Type of evaluation	Propriety	Tenacity	Valuation	Security	Veracity	N
<i>Daily News</i>	47 (34.8%)	23 (17%)	62 (45.9%)	2 (1.5%)	1 (0.7%)	135
<i>Mmegi</i>	67 (37.2%)	40 (22.2%)	67 (37.2%)	3 (1.7%)	3 (1.7%)	180
p-value	0.537					
Significance	Not significant					

As indicated in Table 4.1, the news articles in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* are made up of more evaluations of Judgement, comprising Propriety, Tenacity, and Veracity, than those of Appreciation, comprising Valuation, and those of Affect, comprising Security. Among the evaluations of Judgement, Propriety is the most frequently used type, with a distribution of 34.8% and 37.2% in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* respectively, while Veracity is the least used resource of Judgement with a distribution of 0.7% in the *Daily News* and 1.7% in *Mmegi*. Security, a type of Affect is also used minimally across the data with a distribution of 1.5% in the *Daily News* and 1.7% in *Mmegi*. To see whether the type of evaluation is dependent on the newspaper, a chi-square test was conducted and the results show that the overall distribution of types of evaluation and the source newspaper are not significantly related. With a *p*-value of 0.537 the result is not significant at $p < 0.05$. Therefore at the overall level, the results in Table 4.1

suggest that the two newspapers follow similar patterns in their use of evaluative language.

In the next three tables, 4.2 – 4.4, the main types of evaluation, Propriety, Tenacity, and Valuation are individually compared against the total number of evaluations. This test is carried out because it is foundational to tests that are discussed later with reference to how specific types of evaluation are used in conjunction with specific targets and with specific types of polarity. A chi-square test was run for each of these types of evaluation in which *N* was 135 for the *Daily News* and 180 for *Mmegi*⁹. For Propriety, the *p*-value is 0.659 and this result is not significant at *p* < 0.05, for Tenacity, the *p*-value is 0.255 and the result is also not significant at *p* < 0.05. For Valuation as well, the result is not significant at *p* < 0.05 as the test yields a *p*-value of 0.120. When individually compared, the results in Tables 4.2 - 4.4 indicate no significant difference in how the newspapers use specific types of evaluation.

Table 4.2 Propriety compared against total evaluations

Type of evaluation	Propriety	Other	N
<i>Daily News</i>	47	88	135
<i>Mmegi</i>	67	113	180
p-value	0.659		
Significance	Not significant		

Table 4.3 Tenacity compared against total evaluations

Type of evaluation	Tenacity	Other	N
<i>Daily News</i>	23	112	135
<i>Mmegi</i>	40	140	180
p-value	0.255		
Significance	Not significant		

⁹ The total number of evaluations in the *Daily News* was 135 and in *Mmegi* it was 180

Table 4.4 Valuation compared against total evaluations

Type of evaluation	Valuation	Other	N
<i>Daily News</i>	62	73	135
<i>Mmegi</i>	67	113	180
p-value	0.120		
Significance	Not significant		

With the comparison of individual types of evaluation indicating no significant difference between the newspapers, we now turn to another aspect of the expression of evaluation and, in Tables 4.5 – 4.8 the main targets of evaluation are compared against total evaluations in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. Similar to the discussion of types of evaluation in Tables 4.2 - 4.4 this is another foundational test that will become relevant in a later discussion when we consider if there is a difference in how the different targets are evaluated by specific news sources in each newspaper.

Table 4.5 Evaluation of strikers compared against total evaluations

Main targets	Strikers	Other targets	N
<i>Daily News</i>	27	108	135
<i>Mmegi</i>	40	140	180
p-value	0.633		
Significance	Not significant		

Table 4.6 Evaluation of government compared against total evaluations

Main targets	Government	Other targets	N
<i>Daily News</i>	35	100	135
<i>Mmegi</i>	55	125	180
p-value	0.368		
Significance	Not significant		

Table 4.7 Evaluation of service delivery compared against total evaluations

Main targets	Service delivery	Other targets	N
<i>Daily News</i>	25	110	135
<i>Mmegi</i>	30	150	180
p-value	0.668		
Significance	Not significant		

Table 4.8 Evaluation of the strike compared against total evaluations

Main targets	Strike	Other targets	N
<i>Daily News</i>	17	118	135
<i>Mmegi</i>	14	166	180
p-value	0.156		
Significance	Not significant		

For Tables 4.5 – 4.8 above, a chi-square test was run for evaluations of strikers, government, service delivery, and strike in which *N* was 135 for the *Daily News* and 180 for *Mmegi*. When the main targets were compared against the total number of evaluations, the following *p*-values were obtained: 0.633 for strikers, 0.368 for government, 0.668 for service delivery, and 0.156 for the strike. All these results are not significant at $p < 0.05$.

Thus far we have seen that when considered in isolation, types of evaluation and targets of evaluation show no significant difference in their distribution between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. We now turn to the more complex question of whether there is a difference in the ways in which these categories combine at various degrees of delicacy between the newspapers. Therefore the aim of the next sets of analyses is to see whether there is a difference between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* when types of evaluation combine with targets in Tables 4.9 and 4.10, and when types of evaluation combine with targets and types of polarity in Tables 4.11 – 4.17.

Propriety and Tenacity are the only types of evaluations of Judgement used by the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* to target the strikers and the government. Therefore in Tables 4.9 and 4.10 we look at how evaluations of Propriety and Tenacity are used in the news articles when the strikers and the government are the targets. For Table 4.9 a chi-square test was run for Propriety and Tenacity when strikers are the target, in which *N* was 27 for the *Daily News* and 40 for *Mmegi*. These numbers represent the total number of evaluations that are used to target the strikers in the *Daily News* (27) and *Mmegi* (40). For Table 4.10 a chi-square test was run for Propriety and Tenacity when government is the target, in which *N* was 35 for the *Daily News* and 55 for *Mmegi*. Again these numbers represent the total number of evaluations that are used to target the government in the newspapers.

Table 4.9 Evaluation of strikers through Propriety and Tenacity

Strikers as target	Propriety	Tenacity	N
<i>Daily News</i>	17	10	27
<i>Mmegi</i>	15	25	40
p-value	0.041		
Significance	Significant		

Table 4.10 Evaluation of government through Propriety and Tenacity

Government as target	Propriety	Tenacity	N
<i>Daily News</i>	24	11	35
<i>Mmegi</i>	45	10	55
p-value	0.147		
Significance	Not significant		

When the strikers and the government are tested in relation to the evaluations of Propriety and Tenacity, a significant difference can be noted in Table 4.9. With a *p*-value of 0.041, the result is significant at $p < 0.05$, indicating that the strikers

are evaluated differently by the two newspapers when Propriety and Tenacity are in use. The *Daily News* evaluates the strikers in terms of Propriety more than *Mmegi*, while *Mmegi* uses more evaluations of Tenacity to target the strikers than the *Daily News*. The result in Table 4.10 differs with that in Table 4.9. In Table 4.10 the result, with a *p*-value of 0.147 shows no significant difference in how the government is evaluated by the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* at $p < 0.05$.

Moving on to how Propriety and Tenacity combine with types of polarity to target the strikers and the government we see that in Table 4.11 the comparison between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* is tested in terms of negative Propriety. The figures for the distribution of positive Propriety were low and could not be compared to generate an answer for statistical comparison. Similarly in Table 4.12 only positive Tenacity is dealt with. Let us now turn to Tables 4.11 – 4.15.

For Tables 4.11 and 4.12, a chi-square test was run for negative Propriety and positive Tenacity when strikers are the target. In both tables *N* was 27 for the *Daily News* and 40 for *Mmegi*¹⁰. A chi-square test was also run for positive Propriety, negative Propriety, and positive Tenacity when government is the target in Tables 4.13 -4.15. For these tables *N* was 35 for the *Daily News* and 55 for *Mmegi*.

Table 4.11 Evaluation of strikers: Negative Propriety

Strikers as target	-ve. Propriety	Other	N
<i>Daily News</i>	15	12	27
<i>Mmegi</i>	12	28	40
p-value	0.036		
Significance	Significant		

¹⁰ These represent the total number of evaluations that are used to target the strikers in the *Daily News* (27) and *Mmegi* (40)

Table 4.12 Evaluation of strikers: Positive Tenacity

Strikers as target	+ve. Tenacity	Other	N
<i>Daily News</i>	5	22	27
<i>Mmegi</i>	22	18	40
p-value	0.003		
Significance	Significant		

Table 4.13 Evaluation of the government: Positive Propriety

Government as target	+ve. Propriety	Other	N
<i>Daily News</i>	17	18	35
<i>Mmegi</i>	26	29	55
p-value	0.904		
Significance	Not significant		

Table 4.14 Evaluation of the government: Negative Propriety

Government as target	-ve. Propriety	Other	N
<i>Daily News</i>	7	28	35
<i>Mmegi</i>	19	36	55
p-value	0.138		
Significance	Not significant		

Table 4.15 Evaluation of the government: Positive Tenacity

Government as target	+ve. Tenacity	Other	N
<i>Daily News</i>	9	26	35
<i>Mmegi</i>	6	49	55
p-value	0.066		
Significance	Not significant		

The ways in which Propriety and Tenacity combine with either positive or negative polarity when strikers and the government are evaluated yields some

interesting results. In Tables 4.11 and 4.12 there is a significant difference between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* when strikers are the target. With p -values of 0.036 and 0.003 the results are significant at $p < 0.05$. The results in Table 4.11 indicate a significant difference between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* when the two newspapers use Propriety to evaluate the strikers, with *Mmegi* evaluating the strikers far more positively than the *Daily News* in this regard. A similar pattern can be noticed in Table 4.12 with *Mmegi* evaluating the strikers disproportionately in terms of positive Tenacity. This is in contrast to the figures in Tables 4.13 and 4.14 where the government is the target and the results indicate no significant difference in the evaluation of the government through positive or negative Propriety, and positive Tenacity in Table 4.15. The results, with p -values 0.904, 0.136, and 0.066 in Tables 4.13 – 4.15 are not significant at $p < 0.05$.

Moving on to the final set of analyses of Polarity, in Tables 4.16 and 4.17 I compare the use of positive and negative Valuation targeting service delivery and the strike. Before looking at the numbers in Tables 4.16 and 4.17, it is worth mentioning that service delivery and the strike are evaluated through Valuation only, hence the focus on polarity without comparison to any other type of evaluation. A chi-square test was run for positive and negative Valuation for service delivery in Table 4.16 in which N was 25 for the *Daily News* and 30 for *Mmegi*, and negative Valuation for the strike in Table 4.17 in which N was 17 for the *Daily News* and 14 for *Mmegi*. Therefore the N values reflect the total number of evaluations that are used to target service delivery in Table 4.16 and the strike in Table 4.17.

Table 4.16 Polarity and Valuation for service delivery

Service delivery as target	+ve. Valuation	-ve. Valuation	N
<i>Daily News</i>	13	12	25
<i>Mmegi</i>	11	19	30
p-value	0.254		
Significance	Not significant		

Table 4.17 Polarity and Valuation for the strike

Strike as target	+ve. Valuation	-ve. Valuation	N
<i>Daily News</i>	2	15	17
<i>Mmegi</i>	6	8	14
p-value		0.048	
Significance		Significant	

On the newspapers' evaluation of service delivery and the strike, as presented in Tables 4.16 and 4.17, the only significant difference that can be noted between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* is in Table 4.17 where the newspapers evaluate the strike through negative Valuation, with the results yielding a p -value of 0.048, which is significant at $p < 0.05$. *Mmegi* evaluates the strike more positively than the *Daily News*, while the *Daily News* leans more towards negative evaluation of the strike.

Before proceeding to examine the types of strategies that are used to mitigate evaluative language in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*, it is necessary to revisit the previously stated idea in which I highlighted the importance of comparing individual types of evaluation and targets against the total number of evaluations. This was highlighted in relation to Tables 4.2 – 4.4, and Tables 4.5 – 4.8. It was mentioned that the tests were foundational to those that would be carried out with reference to how specific types of evaluation are used in conjunction with specific targets and with specific types of polarity. Having added the new variables to the earlier results it has become clear that there is some form of complex interaction

of features when they combine at various degrees of delicacy. So far the findings indicate some interesting patterns of difference. As we have seen in Tables 4.9, 4.11, 4.12 and 4.17, the *Daily News* evaluates the strikers in terms of Propriety more than *Mmegi*, while *Mmegi* uses more evaluations of Tenacity than the *Daily News* to target the strikers. Among evaluations of Propriety that are directed at the strikers, *Mmegi* evaluates the strikers far more positively than the *Daily News*. It is also interesting that *Mmegi* evaluates the strikers disproportionately in terms of positive Tenacity. In terms of evaluations that assess the strike, *Mmegi* evaluates the strike more positively than the *Daily News*, while the *Daily News* leans more towards negative evaluation of the strike. These indicative findings are followed up through an in-depth qualitative analysis in Chapters 5 and 6.

We now move on to the next part of quantitative findings with a focus on types of mitigation strategies in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*.

4.3 Types of mitigation strategies in the Daily News and Mmegi

The overall types of strategies that are used to mitigate evaluative language in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* are presented in Table 4.18. Before discussing the strategies in Table 4.18 in detail let us look briefly at Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2, which were presented at the beginning of this chapter in section 4.1. In Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2, we can notice that within the category of voice, more evaluations are attributed to external news sources than are expressed by the author. Similarly, more evaluations are expressed in indirect than direct terms. However the use of epistemic and deontic mitigation is limited in both the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. Turning now to Table 4.18, let us begin with a general observation about the value of the *N*-figures. As can be noticed, the value of the *N*-figures is higher than the total number of evaluations in the whole data. This is because the strategies that are used to mitigate evaluative language overlap with one another within the news texts and they do not appear as discrete categories.

Table 4.18 Overall types of mitigation strategies

Mitigation strategy	Attribution	Indirectness	Epistemic mitigation	Deontic mitigation	N
<i>Daily News</i>	118 (54.4%)	76 (35%)	9 (4.1%)	14 (6.5%)	217
<i>Mmegi</i>	137 (49.3%)	113 (40.6%)	16 (5.8%)	12 (4.3%)	278
p-value	0.347				
Significance	Not significant				

As the numbers in Table 4.18 show, attribution is the most prevalent strategy that the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* use to mitigate evaluative language, and it makes up 54.4% and 49.3% of the strategies that are used in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* respectively. Indirectness follows attribution with a distribution of 35% in the *Daily News* and 40.6% in *Mmegi*. Compared to the use of attribution and indirectness, epistemic and deontic mitigation are used to a less extent, with a distribution of 4.1% in the *Daily News* and 5.8% in *Mmegi* for epistemic mitigation, and 6.5% in the *Daily News* and 4.3% in *Mmegi* for deontic mitigation. A chi-square test yielding a *p*-value of 0.347 showed that the overall distribution of types of mitigation strategies and newspaper are not significantly related, $\chi^2(3, n=495) = 3.306, p=0.347$.

The result in Table 4.18 shows us no difference in relative distribution of mitigation strategies in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. However we also need to see if there are differences between the newspapers when each mitigation strategy is compared against its parallel category – that is attribution compared against non-attribution, indirect evaluations compared against direct evaluations, and epistemic and deontic mitigation compared against non-modalised evaluations. This is carried out in Tables 4.19 – 4.22. A chi-square test was run for each of the mitigation strategies in which *N* was 135 for the *Daily News* and 180 for *Mmegi*. Each type of mitigation strategy is compared against the total number of evaluations in each newspaper.

Table 4.19 Attributed evaluations compared against authorial evaluations

Mitigation strategy	Attribution	Authorial voice	N
<i>Daily News</i>	118 (87.4%)	17 (12.6%)	135
<i>Mmegi</i>	137 (76.1%)	43 (23.9%)	180
p-value	0.011		
Significance	Significant		

Table 4.20 Indirect evaluations compared against direct evaluations

Mitigation strategy	Indirect	Direct	N
<i>Daily News</i>	76 (56.3%)	59 (43.7%)	135
<i>Mmegi</i>	113 (62.8%)	67 (37.2%)	180
p-value	0.245		
Significance	Not significant		

Table 4.21 Epistemic mitigation compared against non-modalised evaluations

Mitigation strategy	Epistemic mitigation	Other	N
<i>Daily News</i>	9 (6.7%)	126 (93.3%)	135
<i>Mmegi</i>	16 (8.9%)	164 (91.1%)	180
p-value	0.470		
Significance	Not significant		

Table 4.22 Deontic mitigation compared against non-modalised evaluations

Mitigation strategy	Deontic mitigation	Other	N
<i>Daily News</i>	14 (10.4%)	121 (89.6%)	135
<i>Mmegi</i>	12 (6.7%)	168 (93.3%)	180
p-value	0.237		
Significance	Not significant		

When it comes to the use of attribution as reflected in Table 4.19, we can see that the *Daily News* uses attribution more than *Mmegi*, with a distribution of 87.4% compared to that of *Mmegi* which is 76.1%. The result from the chi-square test confirms this difference between the newspapers with a *p*-value of 0.011 which is significant at $p < 0.05$. This result differs from the results in Tables 4.20 – 4.22 on indirect evaluations, and epistemic and deontic mitigation with *p*-values of 0.245, 0.470, and 0.237. These are not significant at $p < 0.05$ and indicate no significant difference in the distribution of these mitigation strategies between the newspapers.

What follows are two tests that take account of the distribution of specific news sources, and the distribution of types of reporting stance in relation to the total number of attributed evaluations. We have already seen that the *Daily News* uses attribution significantly more than *Mmegi*. The results in the following set of tables build on to those in Table 4.19. Specifically I examine whether the main types of news sources, that is, the government, opposition leaders and union leaders, and the types of reporting stance that are used to quote them can be associated with a specific newspaper. The results are presented in Tables 4.23 – 4.30. For each of these tables a chi-square test was run in which *N* was 118 for

the *Daily News* and 137 for *Mmegi*¹¹. Let us begin with Tables 4.23 – 4.25 in which the main news sources are each compared to other news sources in attributed evaluations.

Table 4.23 News sources: Government sources

Attribution	Government sources	Other news sources	N
<i>Daily News</i>	90 (76.3%)	28 (23.7%)	118
<i>Mmegi</i>	82 (59.9%)	55 (40.1%)	137
p-value	0.005		
Significance	Significant		

Table 4.24 News sources: Opposition leaders

Attribution	Opposition leaders	Other news sources	N
<i>Daily News</i>	11 (9.3%)	107 (90.7%)	118
<i>Mmegi</i>	23 (16.8%)	114 (83.2%)	137
p-value	0.080		
Significance	Not significant		

¹¹ These represent the total number of attributed evaluations in the *Daily News* (118) and in *Mmegi* (137)

Table 4.25 News sources: Union leaders

Attribution	Union leaders	Other news sources	N
<i>Daily News</i>	15 (12.7%)	103 (87.3%)	118
<i>Mmegi</i>	21 (15.3%)	116 (84.7%)	137
p-value	0.549		
Significance	Not significant		

From Tables 4.23 – 4.25 it can be seen that government news sources are quoted more than opposition leaders, and more than union leaders. From Table 4.23, in which I compare the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* when government news sources are quoted in attributed evaluations, we get a p -value of 0.005, a result that is significant at $p < 0.05$, indicating a significant difference between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* when they quote the government news sources. With a distribution of 76.3% for the *Daily News* and 59.9% for *Mmegi*, it is clear that the *Daily News* relies on news content that is attributed to government sources significantly more than *Mmegi*. However we get a different picture in Tables 4.24 and 4.25 in which the opposition leaders and union leaders are the news sources. For the opposition leaders the p -value is 0.080 while for union leaders we get a p -value of 0.549, results that are both not significant at $p < 0.05$.

We have so far seen some differences between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* with regard to attribution in general, and when government news sources are quoted in evaluations that are attributed. The *Daily News* uses attribution significantly more often than *Mmegi* and within attribution, the *Daily News* relies on the government as a news source significantly more often than *Mmegi*. In the case of the types of reporting stance, we take a closer look at whether there are differences between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* when news sources are quoted through specific types of reporting stance. This is in order to compare the relative validity that is attributed to each news source by the two newspapers. The results

are presented in Tables 4.26 – 4.30. Before taking a closer look at the results it is important to mention that the numbers indicate an interesting trend. The numbers for all the three types of reporting stance are high enough to allow comparison only for the government news sources as reflected in Tables 4.26 – 4.28. In the case of opposition leaders and union leaders as news sources, as presented in Table 4.29 and Table 4.30 respectively, the only type of reporting stance that is compared against total attributions is the reporting stance *acknowledged*. The numbers for reporting stances *endorsed* and *unspecified* were low to draw any comparisons between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* when opposition leaders and union leaders are the news sources. In attributing evaluations to opposition leaders, the *Daily News* used the reporting stance *endorsed* 5 times while *Mmegi* used it once, and there were no evaluations attributed to opposition leaders in which the reporting stance was *unspecified* whereas in *Mmegi* there were 5 evaluations attributed to opposition leaders in which the reporting stance was *unspecified*. For union leaders, 1 evaluation was quoted through the reporting stance *endorsed* in the *Daily News* while in *Mmegi* there were 3, and there were 2 evaluations in which the reporting stance was *unspecified* in the *Daily News* while in *Mmegi* there were 9. Let us now turn to the results in Tables 4.26 – 4.30.

A chi-square test was run for reporting stances *acknowledged*, *endorsed*, and *unspecified* for the government sources in Tables 4.26 – 4.28, and for reporting stance *acknowledged* for opposition leaders, and for union leaders in Tables 4.29 and 4.30 respectively. For all the tables *N* was 118 for the *Daily News* and 137 for *Mmegi*. These represent the total number of attributed evaluations for the *Daily News* (118) and for *Mmegi* (137).

Table 4.26 Government sources: Acknowledged evaluations

Government as news source	Acknowledged	Other	N
<i>Daily News</i>	57 (48.3%)	61 (51.7%)	118
<i>Mmegi</i>	33 (24.1%)	104 (75.9%)	137
p-value	0.000055		
Significance	Significant		

Table 4.27 Government sources: Endorsed evaluations

Government as news source	Endorsed	Other	N
<i>Daily News</i>	21 (17.8%)	97 (82.2%)	118
<i>Mmegi</i>	10 (7.3%)	127 (92.7%)	137
p-value	0.010		
Significance	Significant		

Table 4.28 Government sources: Evaluations with unspecified reporting stance

Government as news source	Unspecified	Other	N
<i>Daily News</i>	12 (10.2%)	106 (89.8%)	118
<i>Mmegi</i>	39 (28.5%)	98 (71.5%)	137
p-value	0.00027		
Significance	Significant		

When government sources are quoted in the news articles, there is a difference in the relative distribution of the three types of reporting stance - *acknowledged*,

endorsed, and *unspecified* – in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. When quoting government news sources, the *Daily News* uses the reporting stance *acknowledged* significantly more than *Mmegi* with a distribution of 48.3% compared to that of *Mmegi* which is 24.3%. With regard to quoting government news sources via the reporting stance *endorsed*, again we see that the *Daily News* uses the reporting stance *endorsed* significantly more than *Mmegi* with a distribution of 17.8% while in *Mmegi* the use of the reporting stance *endorsed* is 7.3%. In contrast to the use of the reporting stance *acknowledged* and *endorsed* to quote government sources, the reporting stance *unspecified* appears significantly more in *Mmegi* than in the *Daily News*. From Table 4.26 – 4.28 there are differences between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* in *acknowledged*, χ^2 ($N = 255$), $p = 0.000055$; *endorsed*, χ^2 ($N = 255$), $p = 0.010$; *unspecified*, χ^2 ($N = 255$), $p = 0.00027$. These are all significant at $p < 0.05$.

Table 4.29 Opposition leaders: Acknowledged evaluations

Opposition as news source	Acknowledged	Other	N
<i>Daily News</i>	6 (5.1%)	112 (94.9%)	118
<i>Mmegi</i>	17 (12.4%)	120 (87.6%)	137
p-value	0.042		
Significance	Significant		

Table 4.30 Union leaders: Acknowledged evaluations

Union leaders as source	Acknowledged	Other	N
<i>Daily News</i>	12 (10.2%)	106 (89.8%)	118
<i>Mmegi</i>	9 (6.6%)	128 (93.4%)	137
p-value	0.297		
Significance	Not significant		

The results shown in Tables 4.29 and 4.30 indicate that there is a significant difference between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* at $p < 0.05$ when evaluations are attributed to opposition leaders, $\chi^2 (N=255), p = 0.042$. *Mmegi* quotes opposition leaders via reporting stance *acknowledged* significantly more than the *Daily News* with distributions of 12.4% for *Mmegi* and 5.1% for the *Daily News*. This is unlike in cases where evaluations are attributed to union leaders – there is no significant difference between the newspapers when union leaders are the news source, $\chi^2 (N=255), p = 0.297$.

Up to this point the focus of analysis has been on how the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* use evaluative language, the types of strategies they use to mitigate evaluative language, and the ways through which different features under each combine at various degrees of delicacy. We have seen that the results suggest that there is no significant difference between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* when evaluative language on one hand, and mitigation strategies on the other are compared at overall levels. However we began to notice some differences between the newspapers when further variables were added and various combinations of features were tested. It is now necessary to move the analysis further by examining the types of interactive patterns between features of evaluative language and mitigation of such evaluative language in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. In the following tables, we consider the distribution of specific types of evaluation as they combine with strategies of mitigation, and the distribution of evaluations as they combine with specific targets and mitigation strategies. As will be noticed in the tables below, the distribution of types of evaluation as they combine with mitigation strategies is restricted to the combination of types of evaluation and their combination with indirectness. Attribution is not dealt with in relation to types of evaluation because the breakdown of the numbers according to numerous news sources and types of evaluation results in low figures from which comparisons cannot be drawn. Turning now to Tables 4.31 – 4.33, we consider the types of evaluation that are expressed in indirect terms. A chi-square test was run for indirect Propriety,

indirect Tenacity, and indirect Valuation in which N was 135 for the *Daily News* and 180 for *Mmegi*. The figures for N are the total number of evaluations in the *Daily News* (135) and in *Mmegi* (180).

Table 4.31 Indirect Propriety compared against total evaluations

Indirectness	Propriety	Other	N
<i>Daily News</i>	32	103	135
<i>Mmegi</i>	48	132	180
p-value	0.549		
Significance	Not significant		

Table 4.32 Indirect Tenacity compared against total evaluations

Indirectness	Tenacity	Other	N
<i>Daily News</i>	20	115	135
<i>Mmegi</i>	32	148	180
p-value	0.483		
Significance	Not significant		

Table 4.33 Indirect Valuation compared against total evaluations

Indirectness	Valuation	Other	N
<i>Daily News</i>	23	112	135
<i>Mmegi</i>	30	150	180
p-value	0.930		
Significance	Not significant		

When tested against the total number of evaluations across the data, indirect Propriety, indirect Tenacity, and indirect Valuation yielded p -values of 0.549, 0.483, and 0.930, indicating no significant difference between the newspapers at $p < 0.05$. The results in Tables 4.31 – 4.33 therefore indicate no association between indirect types of evaluation and a specific newspaper. Having established this, we also need to see if there is a change when the distribution of indirectness is used in conjunction with specific targets of evaluation. The results

of a chi-square test which was run for indirectness and strikers, indirectness and government, indirectness and service delivery, and indirectness and strike, are presented in Tables 4.34 – 4.37. For this test *N* was 135 for the *Daily News* and 180 for *Mmegi*. Again these are the total number of evaluations in the *Daily News* (135) and in *Mmegi* (180).

Table 4.34 Indirect evaluation of strikers

Indirectness	Strikers	Other targets	N
<i>Daily News</i>	20	115	135
<i>Mmegi</i>	32	148	180
p-value	0.483		
Significance	Not significant		

Table 4.35 Indirect evaluation of the government

Indirectness	Government	Other	N
<i>Daily News</i>	29	106	135
<i>Mmegi</i>	43	137	180
p-value	0.614		
Significance	Not significant		

Table 4.36 Indirect evaluation of service delivery

Indirectness	Service delivery	Other	N
<i>Daily News</i>	8	127	135
<i>Mmegi</i>	14	166	180
p-value	0.523		
Significance	Not significant		

Table 4.37 Indirect evaluation of the strike

Indirectness	Strike	Other	N
<i>Daily News</i>	8	127	135
<i>Mmegi</i>	8	172	180
p-value	0.553		
Significance	Not significant		

Similar to the results in Tables 4.31 – 4.33, the comparison of indirectness, when used in conjunction with targets of evaluation in Tables 4.34 – 4.37 indicate no significant difference between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* at $p < 0.05$ as the p -values are 0.483 for strikers, 0.614 for government, 0.523 for service delivery, and 0.553 for the strike.

Having compared indirect types of evaluation against the total number of evaluations, and how indirect evaluation combines with specific targets, it is possible to scrutinise the combination of features further to check whether specific types of evaluation are expressed indirectly when they are used to evaluate specific targets. However we have already established that there is no significant difference between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* when we consider the combinations of features presented in Tables 4.31 – 4.37, and we are likely to get a result that shows no significant difference when indirectness combines with types of evaluation and target. Therefore the intriguing combinations of specific types of evaluation that are expressed indirectly when they are used to evaluate specific targets are followed up through the in-depth qualitative analysis in Chapters 5 and 6 to see whether the two newspapers display any distinctive patterns of such combinations.

The final sets of analyses in Tables 4.38 – 4.43 are for comparisons of attribution when it combines with the main targets. Specifically we look at the main targets as evaluated by specific news sources. For each of the tables the N -figures represent the total number of evaluations attributed to each news source in each newspaper. For Tables 4.38 - 4.41 a chi-square test was run for the strikers, the government, service delivery and the strike as evaluated by government news sources in which N was 90 for the *Daily News* and 82 for *Mmegi*. The results of the chi-square test are: strikers, $\chi^2 (N=172)$, $p = 0.249$; government, $\chi^2 (N=172)$, $p = 0.082$; service delivery, $\chi^2 (N=172)$, $p = 0.663$; and strike, $\chi^2 (N=172)$, $p = 0.646$. All these results are not significant at $p < 0.05$.

Table 4.38 Evaluation of strikers by government sources

Government as source	Strikers	Other targets	N
Daily News	18	72	90
<i>Mmegi</i>	11	71	82
<i>p-value</i>	0.249		
Significance	Not significant		

Table 4.39 Evaluation of the government by government sources

Government as source	Government	Other targets	N
Daily News	21	69	90
<i>Mmegi</i>	29	53	82
<i>p-value</i>	0.082		
Significance	Not significant		

Table 4.40 Evaluation of service delivery by government sources

Government as source	Service delivery	Other targets	N
Daily News	20	70	90
<i>Mmegi</i>	16	66	82
<i>p-value</i>	0.663		
Significance	Not significant		

Table 4.41 Evaluation of the strike by government sources

Government as source	Strike	Other targets	N
Daily News	7	83	90
<i>Mmegi</i>	8	74	82
<i>p-value</i>	0.646		
Significance	Not significant		

A chi-square test was also run for government as evaluated by opposition leaders in which *N* was 11 for the *Daily News* and 23 for *Mmegi*¹², and strikers as

¹² The figures represent the total number of evaluations attributed to opposition leaders, 11 in the *Daily News* and 23 in *Mmegi*

evaluated by union leaders in which *N* was 15 for the *Daily News* and 21 for *Mmegi*¹³. The results are presented in Tables 4.42 and 4.43.

Table 4.42 Evaluation of the government by opposition leaders

Opposition leaders as source	Government	Other targets	N
<i>Daily News</i>	7	4	11
<i>Mmegi</i>	12	11	23
p-value	0.529		
Significance	Not significant		

Table 4.43 Evaluation of strikers by union leaders

Union leader as source	Strikers	Other targets	N
<i>Daily News</i>	7	8	15
<i>Mmegi</i>	15	6	21
p-value	0.133		
Significance	Not significant		

The results of the chi-square test in Table 4.42 are: government, χ^2 ($N=34$), $p = 0.529$; and in Table 4.43 strikers, χ^2 ($N =36$), $p = 0.133$. Both results are not significant at $p < 0.05$ and they indicate no significant difference in how the main targets are evaluated by specific news sources in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*.

Having looked at the different mitigation strategies in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* to test for differences, I now provide a summary of the significant findings established in this section. One of the points made at the beginning of this section was that news texts in both the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* are mainly characterised by attributed evaluations. With this commonality established, it was

¹³ The figures represent the total number of evaluations attributed to union leaders, 15 in the *Daily News* and 21 in *Mmegi*

also found in Table 4.19 that the *Daily News* uses attribution significantly more than *Mmegi* and that within attribution the *Daily News* relies on the government as a news source significantly more often than *Mmegi* in Table 4.23. Another significant finding was that among the choices of reporting stance that are used to attribute evaluations, the *Daily News* was found to quote the government via the reporting stances *acknowledged* and *endorsed* significantly more than *Mmegi*. In contrast to the use of reporting stances *acknowledged* and *endorsed* to quote government sources, the reporting stance *unspecified* was found to appear significantly more in *Mmegi* than in the *Daily News*. These results were presented in Tables 4.26 – 4.28. With regard to evaluations that are attributed to opposition leaders, *Mmegi* was found to quote opposition leaders via the reporting stance *acknowledged* significantly more than the *Daily News* in Table 4.29.

4.4 General discussion and summary of quantitative findings

This chapter set out with three main aims:

- To establish the overall appearance of evaluative language, as well as the interaction of specific types of evaluation with the total number of evaluations, the targets evaluated, and the type of polarity with which evaluations are expressed.
- To establish the overall appearance of strategies that are used to mitigate evaluative language, as well as the interaction of specific types of mitigation with their parallel categories, specific news sources, and types of reporting stance.
- To establish the types of interactive patterns between features of evaluative language and mitigation strategies.

In addressing these three aims and carrying out the analysis of features at both the overall level and at various intricate levels of combination I tested for

differences in how the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* use the features of evaluation and mitigation in order to determine the significance of such differences.

In terms of addressing the Research Questions from a quantitative perspective, it is now possible to state that there is evidence of a high frequency of the use of evaluative language in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. We have also seen that evaluative language in the two newspapers is made up of evaluations of Judgement and the variation is between the specific categories of Judgement. The results suggest that at the overall level the relative saturation of types of evaluation, and when individual types of evaluation are compared against total evaluations, the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* follow similar patterns. With regard to strategies of mitigation, the results also suggest that there is no difference between the newspapers when the mitigation strategies are compared at the overall level. However we began to see some significant differences emerging when mitigation strategies are compared against their parallel categories. The use of attribution, the results of which were presented in Table 4.19, the quotation of specific news sources as in Table 4.23, and the combination of specific news sources with types of reporting stance in Tables 4.26 – 4.28 are all cases in point.

In terms of the final dimension of the analysis which was, to establish the types of interactive patterns between features of evaluative language and those of mitigation, the results indicate no significant difference between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. This is the case in Tables 4.34 – 4.37, and Tables 4.38 – 4.43 in which the interaction between indirectness and main targets, and attribution (news sources) and main targets were tested for differences between the newspapers. While the results showing no significant difference between the newspapers hold, it is important that they be interpreted holistically in relation to the earlier results in, for example, Tables 4.27 – 4.29, which indicate some significant differences between the newspapers. When all these sets of results are considered jointly, they are indicative of more complex patterns that

constitute the news texts in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. It is therefore important to investigate the nature of such complex patterns in context. Taking the example of attribution in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*, the differences between the two newspapers seem to point to some strategic use of this type of mitigation in context. It was also highlighted at the beginning of section 4.3 that mitigation strategies overlap with one another within the news texts. This suggests that even within attributed evaluations other features are used, indicating that it is possible to find that there are other combinations of features that can only be established and understood in context. Due to the limitation of the quantitative analysis, the Research Questions have so far been answered only in part. The purpose of the next two chapters therefore is to build onto the current chapter by exploring the prevalent interactive patterns between evaluative language and its mitigation in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. This is achieved by taking account of such patterns in each of the news texts. Since the news texts are paired according to the subject matter as explained in Chapter 3, each pair of news articles is then compared to identify any distinctive patterns between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*.

CHAPTER 5

Evaluation and mitigation strategies: The first phase of the strike

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4 I identified some of the main patterns of evaluative language, the main strategies used to mitigate such evaluative language, and the types of interactive patterns between these two categories. This was carried out through a basic quantitative analysis. Some indicative differences between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* were established from the analysis. As was mentioned in the chapter, the system networks presented for each newspaper in Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2 displayed the overall categories of evaluation and the overall strategies that the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* use to mitigate evaluative language in their news articles. As was explained at the end of Chapter 4, the Research questions have only been answered in part through a basic quantitative analysis. It is now essential to consider the patterns of evaluative language and mitigations strategies in their context. In this chapter and later in Chapter 6, I examine the interactive patterns between evaluative language and mitigation strategies from a qualitative perspective. This is done by carrying out an analysis of single texts which are chronologically ordered and paired according to the topic they cover. Four pairs of news texts, representing the first phase of the strike, that is, Text pairs 1 – 4, are analysed in the present chapter while Text pairs 5 – 8 are dealt with in Chapter 6. As will be noticed in the discussion throughout Chapters 5 and 6, the main headings under which every pair of news texts is analysed represent the gist of topics of the coverage by each pair. I begin the analysis of each news article by considering its overall evaluative orientation. I then examine the dynamic development of evaluative language and how mitigation of such evaluative language is achieved and enhanced in the news articles. This is then followed by a comparative discussion of each pair of news articles. As such, Chapters 5 and 6 move beyond a discussion of common features shown by the

quantitative analysis to an in-depth analysis of features as they combine and develop over the texts. It was noticed in Chapter 4 that the quantitative findings showed some general trends. In some instances the differences that showed between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* were not statistically significant, suggesting that the two newspapers use evaluative language and strategies of mitigation in similar ways. There were also differences that were statistically significant, suggesting that some patterns of evaluation and mitigation can be associated with a specific newspaper. However, on both counts the findings were not exhaustive and the patterns will only be comprehensively understood from a qualitative perspective. Thus the analysis in Chapters 5 and 6 seeks to extend the quantitative findings presented in Chapter 4 by addressing each of the research questions in detail.

Research Questions

1. How frequent and varied is the use of evaluative language in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*?
2. Given the legal requirement for press objectivity in Botswana, what strategies are used by the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* to mitigate such evaluative language?
3. Are there significant differences in the strategies employed by the two newspapers to use and mitigate evaluative language?
4. Can any differences in the strategies of evaluation and mitigation be related to the newspapers' political positioning or the nature of the event covered?

In light of these research questions, the analysis of each news text in this chapter and the next is organised as follows:

- Patterns of evaluative language and mitigation strategies that are used in each news articles are first discussed in terms of their overall distribution within the news article. A summary of features in each news article is presented at the beginning of the discussion of the news articles.

- Patterns of evaluative language and mitigation strategies are then discussed from a dynamic point of view. As I have mentioned above, the dynamic analysis involves an investigation of how evaluation and mitigation are achieved and enhanced, how they combine, and how each news text compares with its counterpart reporting the same event.

The complete mark-up of each news article is presented in tables. The analytical key for the mark-up in each table is as follows:

Analytical Key for mark-up within the news texts

Italics underlined: Direct positive evaluation

Italics: Indirect positive evaluation

Bold underlining: Direct negative evaluation

Bold: Indirect negative evaluation

Boxed material: content that is attributed to external news sources

Gov.: Government

<ack.>: Acknowledged

<end.>: Endorsed

+Prop, Direct: Direct Positive Propriety

-Prop, Direct: Direct Negative Propriety

+Prop, Indir.: Indirect Positive Propriety

-Prop, Indir.: Indirect Negative Propriety

+Ten, Direct: Direct Positive Tenacity

-Ten, Direct: Direct Negative Tenacity

+Ten, Indir.: Indirect Positive Tenacity

-Ten, Indir.: Indirect Negative Tenacity
+Val, Direct: Direct Positive Valuation
-Val, Direct: Direct Negative Valuation
+Val, Indir.: Indirect Positive Valuation
-Val, Indir.: Indirect Negative Valuation
-Ver, Direct: Direct Negative Veracity
-Ver, Indir.: Indirect Negative Veracity
-Sec, Direct: Direct Negative Security

5.2 Text 1DN and Text 1MM

Text 1DN and Text 1MM report the Question Time session during debates in the National Assembly of Botswana. The debate in question had taken place on 15th April 2011, a few days before the workers' strike began and in these news articles the debate was reported on 18th April 2011, the date on which the workers' strike commenced. The question being addressed concerns the government's level of preparedness in dealing with some anticipated negative effects of the strike on the provision of services in government departments. The complete mark-up of features in the news articles is presented in Tables 5.1 and 5.2.

5.2.1 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 1DN

In this section, I examine features of evaluative language and mitigation strategies in Text 1DN. A summary of the overall appearance and distribution of the features is displayed in Figure 5.1.

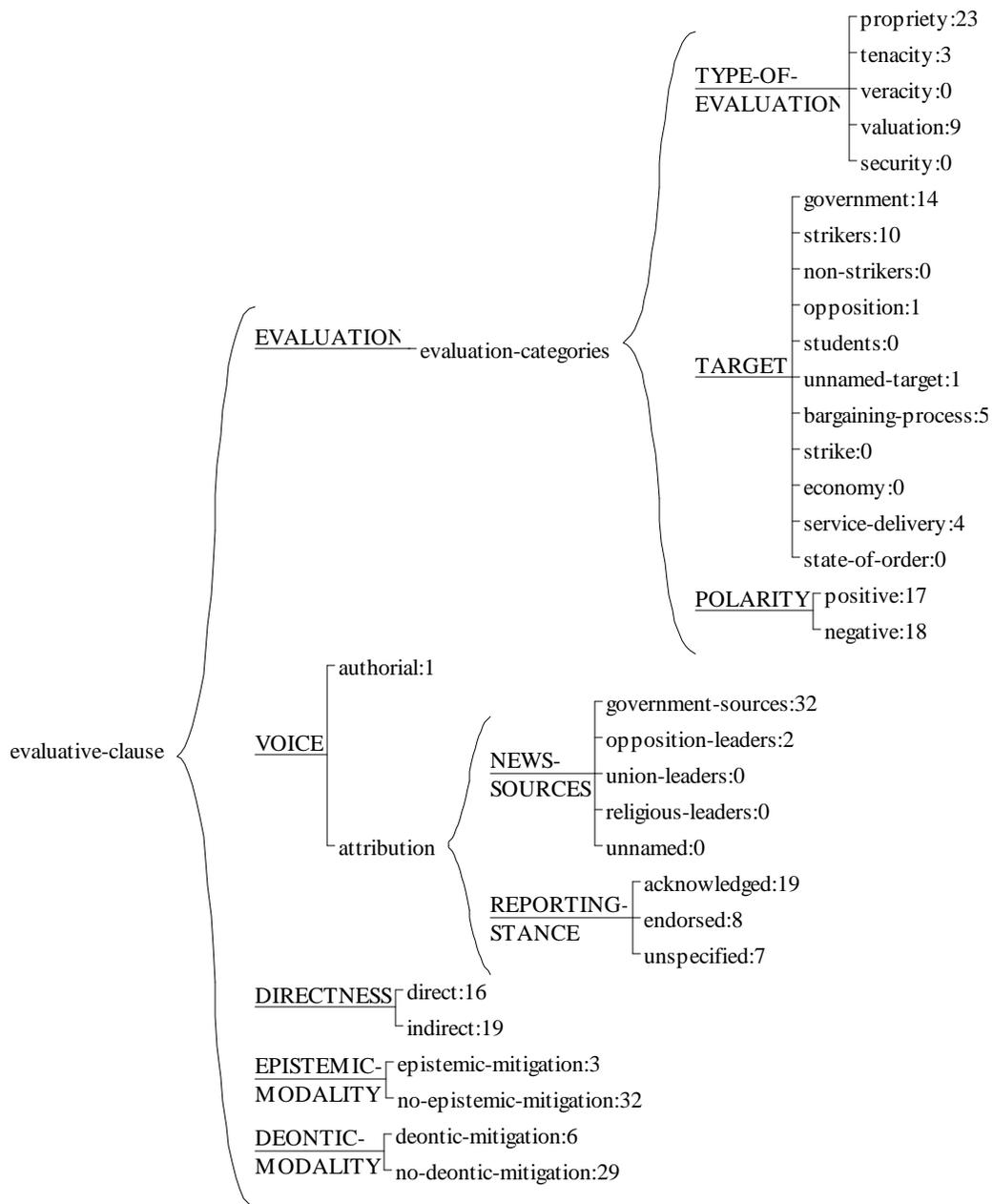


Figure 5.1 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 1DN

Starting with the category of evaluation, we can notice that Text 1DN makes use of Propriety, which appears in the news article 23 times; Tenacity, which appears 3 times; and Valuation, which appears 9 times, resulting in the saturation of more

evaluations of Judgement than those of Valuation. In terms of categories of polarity, the spread of positive and negative evaluations in Text 1DN is almost equal, with 17 positive and 18 negative evaluations. On the question of targets that are evaluated in Text 1DN, the government is the most frequently assessed target (14 times) and the strikers are evaluated slightly less than the government (10 times). Compared to human targets, the bargaining process and service delivery are moderately evaluated in the news text - they are evaluated 5 times and 4 times respectively. The opposition and unnamed targets are the least evaluated, each evaluated once. When we consider the category of voice, we can notice a high prevalence of the voice of the government. The authorial voice and that of opposition leaders is limited. In the news article 32 evaluations are attributed to the government voice while 2 are attributed to opposition leaders, and 1 evaluation is expressed by the author. As displayed in Figure 5.1, the majority of attributed evaluations in Text 1DN are reported via the reporting stance *acknowledged* (19), while for evaluations that are reported via the reporting stance *endorsed* (8) and those for which the reporting stance is *unspecified* (7) are distributed nearly equally in the news article. The directness with which evaluations are expressed in the news article does not indicate a vast difference between the spread of direct (16) and indirect evaluations (19). The analysis also indicates a general preference for non-modalised expressions of evaluation. In general terms, Text 1DN presents a government perspective on the justness or otherwise of the different actions undertaken by the different targets. Such a perspective is largely presented via the reporting stance *acknowledged*. In the rest of the discussion we will see how and to what extent this overall orientation is played out through the dynamic development of evaluation in the news article, particularly as we take on board other features such as the role of the reporting stances *endorsed* and *unspecified*, and the way specific targets are evaluated through the choice of polarity. For this purpose let us turn to Table 5.1 for the detailed mark-up of Text 1DN on the next page.

Table 5.1 Analysis of Text 1DN

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(1) <i>Govt. protects workers' rights</i>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
(2) GABORONE: <u>Government will ensure protection of workers' rights during industrial action</u> , presidential affairs and public administration minister assured <end.> Parliament on Friday.					
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	High obligation
(3) Briefing MPs on the impending public sector strike, Mr Mokgweetsi Masisi said <ack.> <u>government was obliged in the rules of the strike to make sure that workers' rights were protected</u> .					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Direct	High obligation
(4) On the issue of <u>maintaining essential services and ensuring service delivery</u> , Mr Masisi said <ack.> <u>that was part and parcel of what was negotiated in the rules of the strike</u> .					
Gov.	Acknowledged	High probability	Service delivery	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	High obligation
(5) He also assured <end.> MPs <u>that government would ensure that there was minimal disruption in service delivery</u> and appealed to them to remain calm and reassure their constituents of such.					
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Direct	High obligation
Gov.	Endorsed	High probability	Service delivery	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(6) Mr Masisi added <ack.> <u>that the rules of the strike would be shared with all members to ensure that as leaders they were informed so as to inform their constituents</u> .					

Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	High obligation
<p>(7) The minister noted <end.> <u>that part of the negotiation process and bargaining on affordability or otherwise of awarding an increase had been predicated upon the discussion of issues of efficiency in the public service and its size.</u></p>					
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Bargaining process	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
<p>(8) He indicated <end.> <u>that issues of inefficiency such as collection of rubbish</u> as Gaborone Central MP, Mr Dumelang Saleshando alluded to <u>had been in existence for a while and had nothing to do with the strike.</u></p>					
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
<p>(9) Taking members through the negotiation process, Mr Masi indicated <end.> <u>that a dispute was declared between the employing party and employees on the bargaining of salaries increase.</u></p>					
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Bargaining process	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
<p>(10) He said <ack.> <u>initially the employer offered a zero per cent increase but union representatives, comprising five unions under the umbrella of BOFEPUSU, rejected the offer and refused to proceed with the negotiations.</u></p>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
<p>(11) <u>Consequently</u>, he added <ack.>, <u>the negotiating party representing the employer on the second round of talks offered a two per cent increase on condition that it would be determined at the end of the first quarter review of the performance of the economy.</u></p>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
<p>(12) However, Mr Masi reminded members <u>that the first quarter would end in June while figures were, as usual, expected in July.</u></p> <p>Non-evaluative</p>					

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(13) [Therefore, the analysis of such will be in August while determination will be made soon thereafter]. Non-evaluative					
(14) Regrettably , he said, <ack.> the union representatives rejected the offer on the interpretation that the conditional was offensive and as such wanted that removed.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
(15) He said <ack.> the gesture could be interpreted as negotiating in bad faith since it ignored reality of the economic situation.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
(16) <i>On the third round, government offered five per cent still with the same conditions attached</i> but the union leaders rejected the offer again.					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Ten, Direct	Non-modalised
(17) The minister added <ack.> <i>that the processes of bargaining had been conducted in a mutually cordial and respectful manner while government generally kept mum and left it to negotiators to do the talking with the unions.</i>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Bargaining process	+Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Government	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(18) "I cannot, however, say the same about the union representatives who breached the principle of respecting the negotiation process ", he said <ack.>.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
(19) Mr Masisi also regretted <end.> that there were other parties outside the negotiating team who sought to take advantage of the situation which could be					

interpreted to be prejudicial to the process.					
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Unnamed target	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
(20) Thus, a deadlock was declared between the negotiating parties following due process.					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Bargaining process	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(21) He said <ack.> as the law prescribed, there was a luminal period of 30 days leading to the onset or mandatory stage reached on April 12.					
Non-evaluative					
(22) A dispute was, therefore, registered with the negotiator which mandated that rules of the strike be negotiated and agreed to by both parties.					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Bargaining process	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(23) Mr Masisi further indicated that there were two options at the end of the 30-day luminal period which entailed going by a way of the arbitrator or choosing industrial action.					
Non-evaluative					
(24) But the union party chose to go into industrial action while government on the other hand and negotiators for government pleaded for going the route of arbitration which in law mandates that the decision of the arbitrator be respected.					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Government	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(25) He highlighted <end.> that unions chose to take the strike route which obliged both parties to discuss rules.					
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(26) The parties , he said <ack.>, met on Friday to finalise such rules that according to a process were to be tabled before the mediator who ought to be satisfied that both parties agreed and signed on such.					

Non-evaluative					
(27) He added <ack.> that in the event that there was some disagreement, the mediator was empowered by the law to help to generate and finalise those rules which would be binding to both parties.					
Non-evaluative					
(28) On the issue of conditionality on the salary increase as Gaborone Central MP asked, the minister said <ack.> government went back on such as it was convinced that was a non-issue in terms of a determination to refuse to negotiate because government was trying to make the unions to look at the objective reality.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(29) “How do you go and award money that is not there”? he asked <ack.>.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Opposition	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(30) South East South MP, Mr Odirile Motlhale, asked <ack.> the minister how he viewed statements the President made and if they did not amount to accusing unions of not having acted in good faith when he spoke about negotiations before they were concluded.					
Opposition	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(31) To that, Mr Masisi said <ack.> indeed unions were negotiating in bad faith.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised

(32) “When you go out and you have a process established and there are rules governing it, you got to respect that.”					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Indir.	High obligation
(33) <i>“Now it is fundamentally different from what the President said in response to questions made in a kgotla meeting”</i> , he said <ack.>.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(34) He added <ack.> <i>that the President said nothing about the negotiations but that government could not afford to increase allowances in the face of the current economic situation.</i>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(35) The South East South MP had asked <ack.> the minister to brief Parliament on the impending strike as well as give specific interventions government had drawn up to minimise service disruption should the strike go ahead.					
Opposition	Acknowledged	High probability	Service delivery	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised

In this part of the discussion of Text 1DN, I now move to an investigation of how the overall orientation of the text, as discussed at the beginning of this section is shown in the development of the news article. Text 1DN is overwhelmingly made up of evaluations of Propriety, with 11 instances of positive Propriety and 12 instances of negative Propriety, the majority of which are used to target the government and the strikers. From Table 5.1, we can notice that the news article shows a distinctive pattern of the spread of Propriety - while negative Propriety is spread among all the human targets in the text, that is, the government, strikers, opposition and an unnamed target, a directly opposite pattern occurs in instances where positive Propriety is expressed. In contrast to the spread of negative Propriety, positive Propriety is used exclusively to evaluate the government. In

order to explore this trend let us begin with clauses (1) – (3) in Table 5.1. These clauses comprise direct expressions of positive Propriety that are used to evaluate the government.

(1) Govt. protects workers' rights

(2) Government will ensure protection of workers' rights during industrial action presidential affairs and public administration minister assured Parliament on Friday.

(3) Briefing MPs on the impending public sector strike, Mr Mokgweetsi Masisi said government was obliged in the rules of the strike to make sure that workers' rights were protected

Clauses (1) – (3) project a positive evaluation of the government through the explicit repetition of the act of protecting workers' rights. In (1) the news article opens with a non-modalised direct evaluation of the government. The author expresses a positive evaluation of the government in a categorical tone, potentially setting a positive evaluative orientation of the government from which the rest of the news text can be read. This finding is consistent with White's (2003:79) suggestion that news openings with a third-person focus generally establish targets for, for example, criticism, sympathy and moral (dis)approval. In the case of Text 1DN the news opening in clause (1) establishes the government as a target for moral approval, and can be seen to function as an affirmation of clauses (2) and (3), in which the voice of a government news source is introduced into the text. In clauses (2) and (3) two phrases, *will ensure* and *to make sure* stand out in the news article as they reinforce the positive Propriety that is directed at the government. These phrases mark the moral duty of the government to protect the workers' rights with an unequivocal tone. The direct expression of positive Propriety is also used alongside expressions of commitment by the government to their obligations. Such imposition of obligation on the self, as presented by the government news source underscores the commendation of the government by both the author's voice in clause (1) and the voice of the government in clauses (2) and (3). Let us now consider how this

foremost positive Propriety that is ascribed to the government combines with other evaluations. At the beginning of this section, I mentioned that the general orientation of Text 1DN could be seen to present a government perspective in which the justness or otherwise of different actions that are undertaken by the various targets in the news article is presented. In the following discussion I examine the various combinations of evaluative language in order to establish how such a perspective is played out. I first look at the combination of Propriety and Valuation. As Table 5.1 shows, the first binary evaluation that immediately follows clauses (1) – (3) is in clause (4). It is a combination of positive Propriety that is used to evaluate the government as in the first three clauses, and Valuation. Here I begin with the combination of these types of evaluation when the type of polarity is the same, and I exemplify this combination using clauses (4), (5), and (17).

(4) On the issue of maintaining essential services and ensuring service delivery Mr Masisi said that was part and parcel of what was negotiated in the rules of the strike.

(5) He also assured MPs that government would ensure that there was minimal disruption in service delivery.

(17) The minister added that the process of bargaining had been conducted in a mutually cordial and respectful manner while government generally kept mum and left it to negotiators to do the talking with the unions.

In clause (4) the idea of maintaining services is expressed as a highly probable occurrence, with an indirect expression of positive Valuation. In the first part of clause, the author introduces a talking point that indicates the issue at hand. The indirect positive outlook can be noticed in the expressions *maintaining essential services* and *ensuring service delivery*. These are immediately followed by the words attributed to the government news source. The high probability of provision of services intersects with a high obligation that is self-imposed on the government, giving expression to an indirect expression of positive Propriety that is used to target the government. In this case the focus is on positive Valuation of

service delivery as a target, and the simultaneous reference to the positive role of the government in maintaining normal services. Interestingly, a pattern of intersecting evaluations that involve Propriety and Valuation recurs in clauses (5) and (17). In both clauses positive Propriety intersects with positive Valuation of service delivery and the bargaining process. Again we see a self-imposition of high obligation on the government in clause (5), followed by an indirect expression of positive Valuation of service delivery that is expressed as a highly probable event, and an emphatic tone of certainty marked by the verb *ensure*. In clause (17) the positive Valuation of the bargaining process is given in direct terms and is combined with an indirect positive Propriety ascribed to the government. When considering the binary evaluations between Propriety and Valuation in clauses (4), (5) and (17), a continuity of positive polarity can be noted in the news article. This continuity of positive polarity is set off with the introduction of the government as a target at the beginning of the news article, and is sustained with the introduction of other targets, service delivery and the bargaining process.

Before examining other clauses that are made up of binary evaluations, it is important to consider the way another prevalent target, the strikers, are introduced into the news article. For this purpose we look at clauses (10), (14), and (15) in Table 5.1.

(10) He said initially the employer offered a zero per cent increase but union representatives, comprising five unions under the umbrella of BOFEPUSU, rejected the offer and refused to proceed with the negotiations

(14) Regrettably, he said, the union representatives rejected the offer on the interpretation that the conditional was offensive and as such wanted that removed.

(15) He said the gesture could be interpreted as negotiating in bad faith since it ignored reality of the economic situation.

In clauses (10), (14), and (15) the strikers are evaluated in negative polarity through direct expressions of Propriety. As such, the introduction of the strikers into the news article contrasts with that of the government in clauses (1) – (3). Let us now turn to the binary evaluations in clauses (16), (24), and (28) below. In each of these clauses, the type of polarity that is used to evaluate the parallel targets is set in contrast.

(16) On the third round, government offered five per cent still with the same conditions attached but the union leaders rejected the offer again.

(24) But the union party chose to go into industrial action while government on the other hand and negotiators for government pleaded for going the route of arbitration which in law mandates that the decision of the arbitrator be respected.

(28) On the issue of conditionality on the salary increase as Gaborone Central MP asked, the minister said government went back on such as it was convinced that was a non-issue in terms of a determination to refuse to negotiate because government was trying to make the unions to look at the objective reality.

In clause (16) positive Tenacity is used to evaluate the government and it intersects with negative Tenacity for which the strikers are the target, giving a contrastive view of the government and the strikers. This contrastive evaluation of the government and the strikers is in relation to their respective approaches to the bargaining process. When reading clause (16) alongside other evaluations in the preceding clauses, there seems to be an emphasis on the successive projection of the government's positive Tenacity to negotiate with the strikers on one hand, and the intransigent approach of the strikers on the other. The key to understanding the contrastive evaluations that are projected is in the contrastive marker *but* and the adverb *again*. These two words emphasise the difference and the successive way with which the strikers approached the bargaining process. In clauses (24) and (28) we see a different set of contrasting evaluations of the strikers and the government. In the two clauses, we still see some reference to

the approaches of the two parties towards the bargaining process. While the government is evaluated positively, the impropriety of the strikers is emphasised.

In view of all the patterns of evaluative language that I have discussed so far, there is a consistent positive evaluation that is used to target the government while the strikers are ascribed negative evaluation. However there remains another aspect of evaluation in Text 1DN that illustrates the combination of evaluations. This pattern involves the expression of evaluation which takes the form of counter moves. This is evident in clauses (30) – (34) in Table 5.1.

(30) South East South MP, Mr Odirile Motlhale, asked the minister how he viewed statements the President made and if they did not amount to accusing unions of not having acted in good faith when he spoke about negotiations before they were concluded.

(31) To that, Mr Masisi said indeed unions were negotiating in bad faith.

(32) “When you go out and you have a process established and there are rules governing it, you got to respect that.

(33) “Now it is fundamentally different from what the President said in response to questions made in a kgotla meeting”, he said.

(34) He added that the President said nothing about the negotiations but that government could not afford to increase allowances in the face of the current economic situation.

In clause (30) we encounter the first instance in which the government is evaluated through negative Propriety in the news article and from then on there is an exchange of views about each target that is mentioned, that is, the strikers and the government. The evaluation in clause (30) is not articulated in the form of a statement but in the form of a question to dispute the negative Propriety that has been used to evaluate the strikers in an indirect manner. In response, the negative Propriety is countered with an emphasis of the impropriety of the strikers in clauses (31) and (32), and a view of the positive Propriety of the government that is reinforced in clauses (33) and (34). Taken together, clauses (30) – (34) are an example of intersecting evaluations. While each clause can

stand alone, they represent a set in which there is a concerted focus on the direct exchange between the government and the opposition voices.

So far I have looked at the combinations of evaluation in Text 1DN with very little reference to how such evaluations are mitigated. I have mentioned the indirect expression of some evaluations and have only done this in passing. Up to this point there is an indication of an imbalance in the way evaluations are used in the news article to assess different targets. In the following part of the discussion, I examine strategies of mitigation to see how the ideal of objectivity is adhered to in Text 1DN. When Text 1DN was introduced above, it was highlighted that the majority of evaluations are quoted from external news sources. Therefore in addressing the question of mitigation in Text 1DN I treat attribution as an umbrella strategy of mitigation on which other combinations of features are hinged.

In clause (4), in which we saw a pattern of intersecting evaluations of Propriety and Valuation earlier, there is a multifaceted form of mitigation in which the positive Propriety of the government and positive Valuation of service delivery are expressed through indirect evaluations. In the clause the evaluations are not marked by some explicit attitudinal lexis but the use of the verbs *maintaining* and *ensuring*, together with the idiomatic expression *part and parcel*, mark the targets and types of evaluation for attention. Furthermore, the mitigation of evaluations is reinforced by the choice of the reporting stance *acknowledged*, as well as the self-imposition of obligation on the government by the government news source. Clause (5) is slightly different. While attribution is the foremost strategy of mitigation in clause (5), the first part of the evaluation is a direct expression of Propriety that is quoted via the reporting stance *endorsed*. The choice of the reporting stance *endorsed* displays the author's validation of the evaluation that is expressed by the government voice and adherence to the ideal of objectivity is at stake in this part of the news article. An insightful approach to the dynamics of attributing evaluations is found in White's (2012: 60) discussion of how the

naming and designation of news sources can be an indirect way of assigning news sources the authority to make certain attitudinal assessments. This is especially in cases where news sources are presented as credible because of their social standing or their expertise. In order to examine the mitigation of evaluative language in clause (5), particularly the evaluation of the government through a direct expression of positive Propriety, we need to consider clause (5) in relation to clauses (2) and (3). The pronoun *he* at the beginning of clause (5) is an anaphoric reference to *presidential affairs and public administration minister* (clause 2) and *Mr Mokgweetsi Masisi* (clause 3). Therefore in Text 1DN the use of the direct expression of Propriety and the reporting stance *endorsed* seems to be validated by the official position of the news source that is highlighted in clause (2).

In clauses (16) and (17) we see another instance in which the mitigation of evaluations transcends the attribution of evaluations to external news sources. While one of the targets in each clause is evaluated through a direct expression, the types of reporting stance selected come into play to reinforce the mitigation. In clause (16) the reporting stance is *unspecified*, and in clause (17) the evaluations are quoted via the reporting stance *acknowledged*. In clause (24) the choice of the reporting stance is *unspecified* and the indirect expression of evaluations of Propriety enhances the mitigation. Similarly clause (28) makes use of indirect expressions for both evaluations as well as the reporting stance *acknowledged*. Arguably, for clauses (17) and (28) the almost imperceptible role of the reporting expressions *added* and *said* gives more weight to the mitigation of those evaluations.

To conclude this discussion of Text 1DN, I revisit the point I made earlier that the aim of carrying out a dynamic analysis of the news articles was to examine the ways and the extent to which the actions undertaken by different targets were reported from the perspective of the government. What we have seen in Text 1DN is that the prosody of positive Propriety of the government, and positive

Valuation of (maintaining) service delivery, is established on one hand, and the evaluation of the strikers in negative terms is facilitated on the other. We have seen that in the majority of evaluations in the news article, the government voice weaves a pattern in which the protection of workers' rights and adequate provision of services are underlined. This is achieved by advancing the role of the government in relation to services, the rules of the strike, and the bargaining process. The success of these clauses in the articulation of positive evaluation underlines dissociation with the negativity that is articulated later in the news article in clause (30). It is also important to appreciate that while attribution is itself a form of mitigation, in some parts of the news text attribution may be more or less mitigating and other features within the attributions enhance the degree of mitigation. The analysis of Text 1DN has shown that the news text uses attribution as the main strategy of mitigation, and that this strategy is complemented by a combination of other features.

5.2.2 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 1MM

In this section, I examine features of evaluative language and mitigation strategies in Text 1MM, the second news text in Text pair 1. A summary of overall features of evaluation and mitigation strategies in this news article is presented in Figure 5.2.

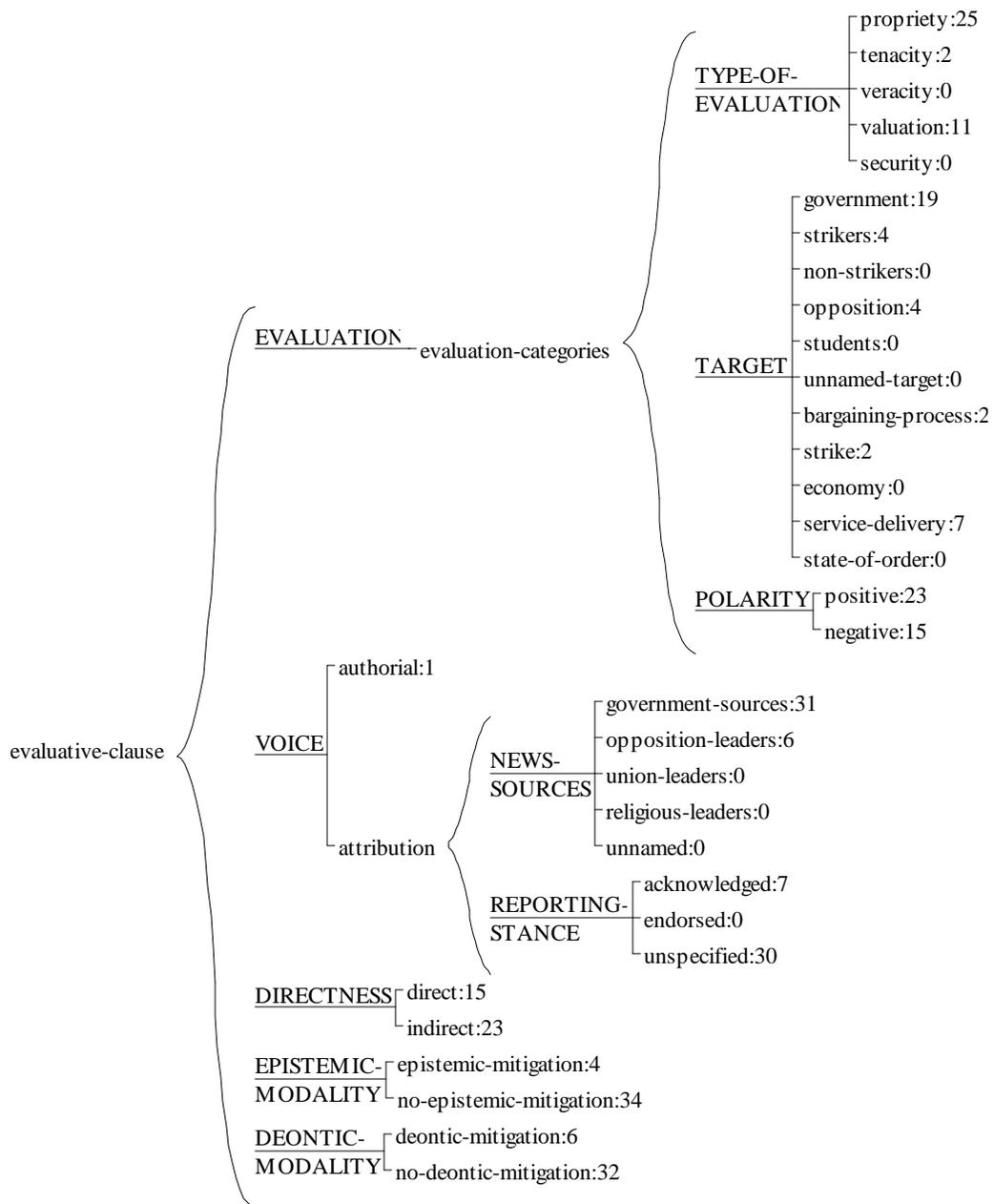


Figure 5.2 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 1MM

Looking at the category of evaluation in Figure 5.2, we can notice that Text 1MM is made up of evaluations of Propriety, Tenacity, and Valuation. Among these, Propriety is the most frequently used type, appearing 25 times, while Valuation and Tenacity appear 11 and 2 times respectively. Evidently, Text 1MM is saturated with more evaluations of Judgement than those of Valuation. In terms of categories of polarity, the distribution of positive evaluations (23) is more than the distribution of negative evaluations (15). On the question of targets that are evaluated in Text 1MM, the government is the predominant target (in 19 evaluations) while the bargaining process and the strike are the least evaluated, each appearing twice in the news text. The strikers and members of the opposition parties are each evaluated 4 times while service delivery is evaluated 7 times. Turning now to the category of voice, we notice that the voice of the author appears in one evaluation while two external news sources are quoted within the text, the government and opposition leaders. Among these external voices the government is the most frequently quoted voice, appearing in 31 evaluations while opposition leaders are quoted in 6 evaluations. Figure 5.2 also shows a marked saturation of the *unspecified* reporting stance in 30 attributed evaluations. The reporting stance *acknowledged* is limited to 7 attributed evaluations while the reporting stance *endorsed* is not used at all. With regard to the directness with which evaluations are expressed, Text 1MM is predominantly made up of indirect evaluations (23 evaluations) there are only 15 evaluations that are expressed directly. The majority of evaluations in the news article are non-modalised. Looking at these general trends in Text 1MM, we see a foregrounding of the government perspective while the perspective of the opposition is restricted. These perspectives are largely presented through evaluations for which the reporting stance is *unspecified*. In the rest of the discussion of Text 1MM, I examine this difference of perspectives in order to see how it is played out through the expression of the different evaluations in the news article. Let us turn to Table 5.2 for the detailed mark-up of the news article.

Table 5.2 Analysis of Text 1MM

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(1) Masisi 'raps' opposition MPs over strike					
Author	-	Non-modalised	Opposition	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(2) <u>Only an irresponsible government like the one the opposition wishes to form would promise on public service salary increments when they do not have the money</u>, the Minister for Presidential Affairs and Public Administration, Mokgweetsi Masisi said <ack.> in Parliament on Friday.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Opposition	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
(3) He was responding to a question by South East Central MP, Odirile Motlhale who had asked <ack.> <u>what interventions government has drawn up to minimise service disruption should the planned strike by public sector workers go ahead.</u>					
Opposition	Acknowledged	High probability	Service delivery	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(4) Masisi said <ack.> <u>the strike is legal and government is in discussions with the unions to finalise the strike rules, which will determine how services are rendered during the walkout.</u>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strike	+Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir	Non-modalised
(5) He stated <ack.> <u>that government would make sure that in the event that there is disagreement over strike rules the mediator, who is empowered by the law, would help generate and finalise those rules which shall be binding on both parties.</u>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir	High obligation
(6) <u>"We are going to ensure that as always we protect the rights of those who wish to strike.</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Direct	High obligation

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(7) <u>"We here in government are the protected and that is why some of you are as healthy as you are and as free as you are,"</u> Masisi said <ack.>.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir	Non-modalised
(8) <u>"We are also protectors for those who wish not to engage in the strike."</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
(9) <u>"Essential services, in terms of ensuring that those are maintained, ensuring that government continues and services are delivered are part and parcel of what is negotiated in the rules".</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	High probability	Service delivery	+Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir	High obligation
(10) <u>"The outcome will be informed by the principal to ensure that everything continues with as minimal disruption as possible".</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir	High obligation
Gov.	Unspecified	High probability	Service delivery	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(11) <u>"I wish to assure this House that government has been working around the clock to ensure that is so".</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Ten, Direct	High obligation
(12) <u>"With respect to the rules of the strike, MPs must assure constituents that essential services will be available".</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	High probability	Service delivery	+Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(13) <u>"The rules of the strike will be shared with all so that leaders can pass the message on to their constituents,"</u> he said <ack.>, after which MPs asked supplementary questions leading to a question and answer session below:-					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir	Non-modalised

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(14) Gaborone Central MP Dumelang Saleshando: "I want the minister to explain now that without a strike, it is difficult to deliver services as collection of rubbish in the city and does he think our constituents will believe us if we tell them everything will run smoothly during the strike?"					
Opposition	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(15) If they offered the two percent with conditions and come with the five percent still with conditions, did they honestly think the workers would agree to that"?					
Opposition	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(16) Masisi: <i>Part of the negotiation process and bargaining of the affordability and otherwise of awarding an increase has been predicated upon the discussions of the issue of efficiency and the size of the public service.</i>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Bargaining process	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(17) Issues of inefficiency such as collection of rubbish have been with us for a while but have nothing to do with strike.					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(18) I did not say services will be normal <i>but there will be minimal disruptions.</i>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Service delivery	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(19) <i>The issue of conditionality, we went back because we are convinced that was a non-issue in terms of determination to refuse to negotiate.</i>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(20) <u>We are trying to make the unions look at objective realities.</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(21) <u>“How do you go about awarding money that is not there”?</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Opposition	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(22) <u>“Only an irresponsible government like the one you wish to form would do that”.</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Opposition	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
(23) Chobe Legislator Nshingwe: <u>Is the strike legal or illegal?</u> Non-evaluative					
(24) <u>If the past offers were with conditions does government want to say that the negotiations were in good faith or not?</u>					
Opposition	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(25) Masisi: <u>The strike is perfectly legal and will be governed by the law and rules as established.</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Strike	+Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(26) <u>It was negotiated in good faith.</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Bargaining process	+Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(27) <u>We revealed all and there is no better faith.</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
(28) <u>It is bad faith to allege what you do not have.</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(29) Gaborone South MP Botsalo Ntuane: <u>What percentage of the unionised workforce constitutes essential services?</u>					
Non-evaluative					
(30) Masisi: <u>I do not have the figures before me but I can promise to get them for you honourable members.</u>					
Non-evaluative					
(31) Motlhale: <u>The minister is accusing the unions of not having acted in good faith because they went out and spoke about the negotiations before they were finalised.</u>					
Opposition	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(32) <u>What does he make of the statements made by the President during the same period if it does not amount to the same thing?</u>					
Opposition	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(33) Masisi: <u>Yes the unions are negotiating in bad faith, very bad faith.</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
(34) <u>When you go out and you have a process established and there are rules governing it, you have to respect that.</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Indir.	High obligation
(35) <u>It is fundamentally different from what the President said in response to a question asked in a Kgotla meeting.</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir	Non-modalised

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(36) <u>He was saying nothing about the negotiations.</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(37) <u>The VDC members at that meeting asked that their allowance be increased and the President said <i>we cannot do it, we cannot increase allowances, that is his presidential response, honourable and responsible.</i></u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Direct	Non-modalised

A close inspection of evaluations of Propriety, as presented in Table 5.2, indicates that in all the instances in which positive Propriety is used, the government is the target. References to the government in terms of negative Propriety are limited to only four instances. This is unlike evaluations in which the strikers and members of the opposition are the targets - they are each evaluated four times through negative Propriety. In the following discussion I examine how Propriety, as the most prevalent type of evaluation in Text 1MM, combines with other types, and how such combinations are mitigated in the news article.

Text 1MM opens with evaluations of negative Propriety that are used to target members of the opposition parties in clauses (1) and (2).

(1) Masisi ‘raps’ opposition MPs over strike

(2) Only an irresponsible government like the one the opposition wishes to form would promise on public service salary increments when they do not have the money, the Minister for Presidential Affairs and Public Administration, Mokgweetsi Masisi said in Parliament on Friday.

In clause (1) the author opens the news text with a non-modalised indirect expression of negative Propriety to evaluate opposition leaders while in clause

(2), the government voice uses a direct expression of negative Propriety to evaluate the opposition leaders. Both of these evaluations establish members of opposition parties as a target for moral disapproval. The moral disapproval in clause (2) is achieved through the use of the adverb *only* and the adjective *irresponsible*. These modifiers seem to suggest an implicit positive self-presentation of the government and dissociation with the opposition parties from which evaluations of positive Propriety in clauses (4) - (8) can be interpreted. In clause (4) we see a binary evaluation in which the strike is evaluated alongside the government through a direct expression of positive Valuation and an indirect expression of positive Propriety respectively. The evaluation of the strike in positive terms can be seen as an implicit counter statement to the earlier evaluation in clause (3) with an emphasis on the role of the government in being considerate of the workers by engaging in discussions with them. What we then see from clause (5) is an emphasis of the government's commitment to resolving the issues surrounding the strike. Expressions such as *would make sure; we are going to ensure, and we are protectors...* mark this positive self-presentation.

(6) "We are going to ensure that as always we protect the rights of those who wish to strike".

(8) "We are also protectors for those who wish not to engage in the strike.

In these two clauses the expression of positive Propriety is emphasised through the adverb *always* and the first-person pronoun *we*, both of which draw attention to positive self-identity of the government by the government news source. The imposition of high obligation on the government in clause (6), which is used alongside the direct expression of Propriety, establishes an emphatic tone through which the character of the government is presented as unquestionable.

Let us now turn to clauses (9) and (10) in Table 5.2.

(9) "Essential services, in terms of ensuring that those are maintained, ensuring that government continues and services are delivered are part and parcel of what is negotiated in the rules".

(10) “The outcome will be informed by the principal to ensure that everything continues with as minimal disruption as possible”.

In clauses (9) and (10) the success of maintaining services is presented as a highly probable event, as evident in the expression of positive Valuation. The high probability of provision of services intersects with a high obligation that is self-imposed on the government, giving expression to an indirect expression of positive Propriety that is used to evaluate the government. In this case the focus is on the positive Valuation of service delivery as a target, as well as the simultaneous reference to the positive role of the government in maintaining normal services. This is different to the type of binary evaluations in clause (19) in which the government is evaluated alongside the strikers in contrastive terms. This contrast is underlined by the opposite type of polarity that is used to evaluate these parallel targets.

(19) The issue of conditionality, we went back because we are convinced that was a non-issue in terms of determination to refuse to negotiate.

Clause (19) is a response to the question that the opposition MP asks in clause (15) in which an indirect expression of negative Propriety is used to target the government. In these clauses we see an indirect expression of positive Propriety on one hand, and an expression of negative Propriety on the other.

So far evaluations of Propriety have been discussed in relation to the contrast between the government and the members of opposition parties. Another aspect of Propriety that is prevalent in Text 1MM is the negative evaluations that are used to target the strikers to apportion blame on them for their impropriety during the bargaining process. Clause (19), referred to above, is an illustrative example. In clause (19) a contrast is drawn between the government and the strikers. This contrast is drawn by using indirect expressions of positive Propriety to target the government on one hand, and negative Propriety to target strikers on the other. These expressions of evaluation are non-modalised. By drawing this contrast, the government news source cites the negative Valuation of the negotiation

process, mentioned in other parts of the news article as a point to blame on the impropriety of the strikers.

Taken together, the results that have been discussed so far suggest that through combinations of evaluations that are used to assess the targets in Text 1MM, there is an adversarial tone that is maintained throughout the news article through declarative evaluative opinions, questioning, and counter-questioning between the government and opposition MPs. The direct question-and-answer exchange in the clauses clustered from (14) to (22) occurs between opposition MPs and the government news source. First a non-modalised direct expression of negative Valuation of service delivery is put forth in clause (14), followed by an indirect expression of negative Propriety that is used to target the government in clause (15). Both of these evaluative statements are expressed by an opposition MP. In response the government news source uses an indirect expression of positive Valuation to target service delivery in clause (18) as a counter-move against the evaluation that is expressed by the opposition MP. In responding to the indirect expression of negative Propriety directed at the government, the government news source again uses a non-modalised evaluation to reiterate his evaluation of the strikers' negative Tenacity in clause (20). Finally in clause (21) a counter-question is used to dismiss the opposition MPs' judgement of the government and reinforces this with a derogatory description *irresponsible government* in clause (22) to underline the opposition's negative Propriety. Overall, positive Valuation in Text 1MM is linked to adequate services, while negative Propriety and negative Tenacity are tied to dissociation between the government and opposition parties, and apportioning of blame on the strikers for the collapse of the bargaining process.

In the discussion of features so far I have made reference to government and opposition leaders as the news sources who articulate the evaluations. This makes attribution a very salient feature in Text 1MM and it is the foremost type of mitigation strategy in the news text. Its construction in the news text is achieved

in two ways, through a narration by the author and quotations of direct exchanges between the news sources. At the beginning of this section, I stated that when we look at the interaction of voices in Text 1MM, the government perspective is foregrounded while that of the opposition leaders is restricted. What we have seen in the discussion so far is a foregrounding of the government perspective in which positive evaluation is largely ascribed to the government while the strikers and the opposition leaders are evaluated negatively. It was also pointed out earlier that the reporting stance for evaluations that make up the perspective that is presented in Text 1MM is largely *unspecified*. I will now move on to discuss mitigation strategies in more detail, with some attention to the role of the *unspecified* reporting stance in the mitigation of evaluations and in turn adherence to the ideal of objectivity. In the remaining part of the discussion, I examine attribution as the starting point of mitigation and how other features combine within attribution to enhance mitigation of evaluations in Text 1MM. Let us revisit clause (2), which was discussed at beginning of this section. The clause is reproduced below for ease of reference.

(2) Only an irresponsible government like the one the opposition wishes to form would promise on public service salary increments when they do not have the money the Minister for Presidential Affairs and Public Administration, Mokgweetsi Masisi said in Parliament on Friday.

In clause (2) the negative Propriety of opposition leaders is expressed through a direct evaluation, and for this evaluation, the government voice uses a 'contentious statement' (Coffin and O'Halloran 2006) to describe opposition leaders. In order to mitigate this evaluation, the author quotes the government voice via the reporting stance *acknowledge*, a choice of reporting stance that seems to presents the author in a neutral position. Furthermore, mitigation of evaluation in clause (2) is owed to the news source descriptor *the Minister for Presidential Affairs and Public Administration, Mokgweetsi Masisi*. This descriptor foregrounds the position of the government news source and emphasises his official capacity.

Unlike the minimal appearance of the reporting stance *acknowledge*, the *unspecified* reporting stance is distinctively prevalent in Text 1MM. Taking the example of evaluations of Propriety and Valuation in the news text, there are cases in which we see negative evaluations that can be classified as contentious statements or “maximal crisis points” (Thomson et al. 2008). In other cases we see expressions of Propriety and Valuation in which the government news source uses evaluations that draw attention to the justness of the actions that are undertaken by the government. In such cases the news reporter leaves the reporting stance unspecified possibly to attain some distance from the evaluations that are expressed. Such a strategy can be equated to what Caldas-Coulthard describes as “transferring averral to other people” in order for the reporters to detach themselves from the statements expressed (1994: 307). This seems to be the case in Text 1MM such that the news reporter leaves the external news sources to co-construct the evaluative tone without the reporter’s interference in such a tone. In clauses (6) and (8), the government voice projects the government’s moral duty to protect not only civil servants who wish to go on strike but also those who wish not to participate in the strike. Interestingly, as statements that depict high stakes of the government’s commitment, they are quoted without a specified reporting stance. In these clauses mitigation of non-modalised evaluations of Propriety, alongside the imposition of obligation in clause (6), is achieved primarily by leaving the reporting stance unspecified.

In the foregoing discussion, I have examined the nature of evaluative language and the strategies that are used to mitigate such evaluative language in Texts 1DN and 1MM. I have drawn attention to the ways in which the voice of the government commends the government while the opposition leaders and strikers are criticised and disparaged. In section 5.2.3, I bring the two news texts together in a comparative discussion.

5.2.3 Comparative discussion of Texts 1DN and 1MM

From the analysis of evaluation and mitigation in Texts 1DN and 1MM, some key similarities can be observed. In both news articles there is more saturation of evaluations of Judgement than those of Valuation. One of the functions of the evaluations of Judgement, as we have seen above, is to set up human targets for either praise or condemnation, and admiration or criticism. In Texts 1DN and 1MM, this has been in cases where contrastive evaluations of the government against the strikers, and the government against the opposition leaders were articulated. An example can be drawn with reference to evaluative structures such as counter-moves. We have also seen the prevalence of binary evaluations in both news texts such that the combinations between types of evaluation were one of the ways in which the perspectives that were presented in the texts were advanced. In both news texts, the ways in which targets are evaluated in conjunction with others was essential in advancing the perspective of the government in which the actions undertaken by the government were praised and admired while those of strikers and opposition leaders were criticised. In terms of mitigation strategies, Texts 1DN and 1MM use attribution as the most prominent type of mitigation. As discussed above, the majority of evaluations in the texts are attributed to external news sources from which other features of mitigation combine, indicating multifaceted forms of mitigation of evaluation. As we have seen in instances where targets are evaluated in conjunction with others, there have been evaluations that differ in terms of the category of directness. In such cases, it would appear that evaluations that are direct are closer to non-mitigation than mitigation. However a close reading of such evaluations indicated that the evaluations were mitigated in other ways. One example of evaluations that seemed not mitigated was in the case of evaluations of Propriety that were quoted through the reporting stance *endorsed*. In such cases the news texts made use of a wealth of news source descriptors as an indirect form of mitigation that is merged within the main strategy of attribution.

Having noted these similarities between Texts 1DN and 1MM, it is worth pointing out that Text 1DN differs from Text 1MM in a number of important ways. The ways of formulating attribution differ in these news articles. While in Text 1DN attributed evaluations are very much narrated by the author, in Text 1MM there is a prevalent use of direct attributions, hence the differences in the choice of reporting stances in the texts. We have already seen that both news texts use government voices as the most common news source. However, Text 1DN is slightly more skewed in terms of the reporting stance. As was stated in the discussion of the evaluative orientation of the news articles, Text 1DN differed with Text 1MM in terms of the reporting stance *endorsed*, with 1DN quoting 8 evaluations via reporting stance *endorsed* while 1MM did not use this type of reporting stance at all. In terms of *unspecified* reporting stance, Text 1MM quoted 30 evaluations by leaving out reporting expressions while in Text 1DN 7 evaluations were quoted without reporting expressions. This differing formulation of attributions in the news articles suggests that the news texts use similar strategies to adhere to the legal requirement for objectivity, as in the foregrounding of external voices, but also use these strategies differently. Another difference to note is that unlike Text 1MM, Text 1DN begins by foregrounding the protection of workers' rights by the government and from such a point of view, other evaluations that are expressed in the text project a focus on the positive actions undertaken by the government. In contrast, Text 1MM begins with a negative introduction of opposition leaders and an implicit comparison between the opposition leaders and the government. Finally, the use of contrastive pairs marked by *but*, and *however* are more prominent in Text 1DN than in 1MM. Within Text 1DN, it is evident that the introduction of contrastive pairs occurs when the minister details the negotiation process. Following this trail of contrastive pairs, which appear in the content attributed to the government voice, are expressions of prefaced negative evaluation of the strikers (workers' unions).

The overall orientation of the news texts which was highlighted at the beginning of the analysis was seen to play out in the dynamic development of the news texts. These can be explained in terms of antagonistic positions from which expressions of evaluation were articulated on the basis of political differences between the government and opposition leaders. In terms of the overall interplay between evaluative stance and objectivity in Texts 1DN and 1MM, it can be argued that the re-contextualisation of the parliamentary debate as reported in the news articles is a rich resource for bringing to bear evaluations that are held in a political context which in turn extend scope to the media. Text 1DN presented a single view of the strike whereas Text 1MM presented an antagonistic view that was played out in the direct exchanges.

Before moving on to the next section, it is important to provide a brief context with regard to how Texts 1DN and 1MM relate to the pair of news texts in the next section, that is, 2DN and 2MM. Both news texts make reference to some exchanges between the government voice and opposition leaders. In the evaluations expressed, the government voice emphasises that the statements that opposition leaders are referring to, were made in response to questions by members of the community in a *kgotla*¹⁴ meeting. The *kgotla* meeting that the government voice refers to in Texts 1DN and 1MM is the one reported in Texts 2DN and 2MM. With this brief context let us now move on to section 5.3.

5.3 Text 2DN and Text 2MM

As already mentioned, Texts 2DN and 2MM recount details of a community meeting that was addressed by the president. The community meeting was held on 14th April 2011 and Texts 2DN and 2MM reported details of the meeting on 18th April 2011, the date on which the workers' strike commenced. As reported in the news articles, the president was addressing the community in a *kgotla* meeting. In a typical *kgotla* meeting, there would have been a number of issues

¹⁴ *Kgotla* is a loan word that is translated from *court*. It refers to a traditional meeting place among ethnic communities in Botswana

discussed and it is interesting that the two newspapers single out issues surrounding the strike as the main topic of coverage.

5.3.1 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 2DN

In this section, I examine features of evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 2DN, the first news text in Text pair 2. A summary of overall features of evaluation and mitigation strategies in the news article is presented in Figure 5.3.

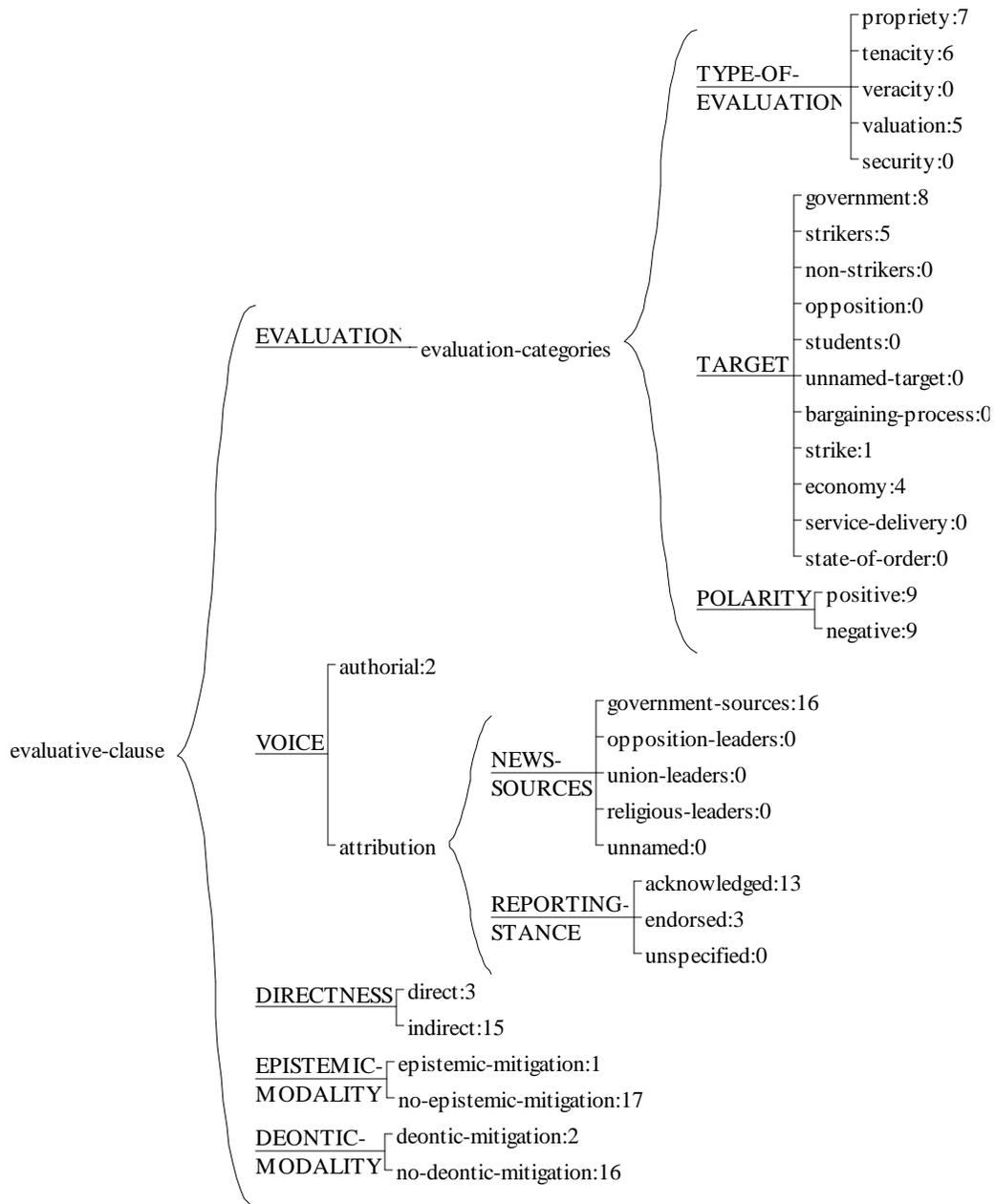


Figure 5.3 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 2DN

Text 2DN comprises evaluations of Propriety, Tenacity, and Valuation. With Propriety appearing 7 times, Tenacity 6 times and Valuation appearing 5 times, the news article shows an overall leaning towards more resources of Judgement than those of Valuation, among which more are expressed in indirect (15) than direct (3) terms. When it comes to polarity, there is no difference in the frequency with which positive or negative evaluations appear in the news article. Each type of polarity is used 9 times in the text. In terms of the targets, the government is the most frequently evaluated target, appearing 8 times, while the strike is the least evaluated target. It is evaluated once in the whole article. The strikers are evaluated 5 times while the economy is evaluated 4 times. In Figure 5.3, the interaction of voices is one of the most striking characteristics in Text 2DN. Apart from two evaluations that are expressed by the author, 16 evaluations in the news article are attributed to the exclusive voice of the government. In terms of the types of reporting stance that are used to quote the voice of the government, the reporting stance *acknowledged* is used 13 times while the reporting stance *endorsed* is used 3 times, indicating that in the text the reporting stance *acknowledged* is preferred over the reporting stance *endorsed*. The reporting stance *unspecified* is not used at all in the news article. In terms of epistemic and deontic mitigation, Text 2DN shows a preference for non-modalised evaluations, with only traces of both types of mitigation in the whole news article.

From the overall appearance of features as displayed in Figure 5.3, we can say that Text 2DN presents an exclusive perspective of the government which is largely quoted via the reporting stance *acknowledged*. The perspective of the government is largely expressed in indirect ways. In the rest of the discussion, I examine these overall features in order to see how they play out in the news article. One of the features that will be of interest in the following discussion is to see how the voice of the government and that of the author make use of types of polarity in the news text as these are used equally in the news text. Table 5.3 shows the complete mark-up of features in Text 2DN

Table 5.3 Analysis of Text 2DN

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(1) <i>Khama appeals to workers</i>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(2) TUTUME: <i>President Lt Gen. Seretse Khama Ian Khama, Thursday, pleaded with public servants not to proceed with their strike planned for today.</i>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(3) Addressing a kgotla meeting at Natale in Tonota North constituency, President Khama said <ack.> <u>the economy is showing signs of recovery</u> but said <ack.> <u>if civil servants go ahead with the strike, government will lose a lot of money and this might reverse the economic recovery mode.</u>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Economy	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
Gov.	Acknowledged	Median	Economy	-Val, Indir.	
(4) He said <ack.> <u>even though government workers had not experienced increments over the recent past, they are better off than some citizens who are unemployed.</u>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(5) He said <ack.> <u>government has been trying to better civil servants lives through measures such as the introduction of low interest loans, salary advances, a system of pensions in which government pays 15 per cent while employees pay five per cent as well as the medical aid cover for which the government contributes.</u>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(6) <u>The economic downturn</u> , President Khama said <ack.>, <u>forced some developed countries to retrench employees, but Botswana opted to borrow money instead of retrenching workers.</u>					

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Economy	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Ten, Indir.	High obligation
(7) President Khama wondered <end.> whether going on a strike is the right way of thanking the government <i>for its efforts to safeguard the welfare of the civil servants.</i>					
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Ten, Direct	Non-modalised
(8) He said <ack.> instead of embarking on a strike and risk crippling the economy, civil servants should be working hard to help the country in its recovery process.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strike	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Ten, Indir.	High obligation
(9) He further said <ack.> civil servants are in a better position to appreciate the poor performance of the economy because they know of projects that have been shelved due to economic difficulties.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Indir	Non-modalised
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Economy	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(10) The President informed <end.> his audience that government has suspended many projects such as construction of roads and bridges to focus on priority projects such as construction of dams as well as Morupule B project.					
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(11) Lt Gen. Khama said <ack.> government is continuing with programmes such as ISPAAD, Ipelegeng and the Youth Development Fund because they are crucial in alleviating citizens from the pangs of poverty.					

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(12) <u>When the economy sufficiently improves</u> , the President said <ack.>, <u>salary increment could be considered alongside other allowances such as old age pension and the ones for village development committee members</u> .					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir	Non-modalised

For the discussion of features in Text 2DN I begin by taking a close look at the indirect expressions of positive Tenacity that are used by the author to target the government in clauses (1) and (2).

(1) Khama appeals to workers

(2) President Lt Gen. Seretse Khama Ian Khama, Thursday, pleaded with public servants not to proceed with their strike planned for today.

Why do these two clauses, set at the beginning of Text 2DN, draw our attention and how is evaluation achieved in the clauses? Positive Tenacity here is achieved through verbs that depict an emotionally-charged choice of language which produces a global positive evaluative tone that the author uses to target the government. The government is seemingly depicted in a symmetrical relationship with the strikers. Another key aspect of the choice of verbs in clauses (1) and (2) is the pattern of interdependence through which the positive Tenacity that is prompted in the headline (clause 1) is emphasised in the lead sentence (clause 2). The pattern of interdependence occurs between the verb *appeals* and the phrasal verb *pleaded with*. This constructs a structure in which the headline functions as a sign post to meanings that are presented in the lead sentence. As Thomson et al. (2008:214) state, typical hard news openings, constituting a headline and a lead sentence, often function as a single unit and the selection of expressions that make up the unit is guided by the issues that the news reporter

views as socially significant. In clauses (1) and (2) the author evaluates the government positively - the government is presented as undertaking the initiative to converse with the strikers to call off their planned strike. The positive evaluation of the government, as set out in clauses (1) and (2) seems to provide the overarching evaluative orientation of the news text. As evident in the rest of the news text, all other types of evaluation that are expressed in positive polarity are used exclusively to target the government. With this in mind, let us consider clauses in which targets are evaluated in conjunction with others. For this discussion let us begin with clause (3), which displays a tripartite form of evaluation.

(3) Addressing a kgotla meeting at Natale in Tonota North constituency, President Khama said the economy is showing signs of recovery but said if civil servants go ahead with the strike, government will lose a lot of money and this might reverse the economic recovery mode.

What we see in clause (3) are two indirect expressions Valuations of the economy which are expressed in contrastive types of polarity, and an indirect expression of negative Propriety that is used to evaluate the strikers. The pattern of evaluation in this clause is revealing in a number of ways. First, it is the only instance in the text in which the same target is evaluated twice in the same clause with differing types of polarity. Second, the indirect expression of positive Valuation that is expressed to assess the economy is negated by the introduction of the conditional clause in which the strikers are evaluated with an indirect expression of negative Propriety. Through the use of the conjunction *but*, an indirect expression of negative Propriety is highlighted with an emphasis on an action that will present a situation that is contrary to the recovery of the economy. Third, the double evaluation of the economy is merged with a conditional clause in which it is stated that government's loss of money is a likely event under the condition that civil servants carry on with the strike. It is possible that these forms of evaluation are used in a strategic way in order to preface the rest of the

evaluations that are expressed in the news text. These are dealt with in the remaining part of the analysis starting with evaluations in clauses (4) and (5).

(4) He said even though government workers had not experienced increments over the recent past, they are better off than some citizens who are unemployed.

(5) He said government has been trying to better civil servants lives through measures such as the introduction of low interest loans, salary advances, a system of pensions in which government pays 15 per cent while employees pay five per cent as well as the medical aid cover for which the government contributes.

In clause (4) the advantageous financial position of civil servants is contrasted against the financial position of citizens who are not employed, a contrast that is used possibly to castigate civil servants as greedy. This evaluative contrast indirectly brings out the impropriety of civil servants and is emphasised with the preceding statement in the same clause that civil servants have not experienced increments over the *recent past*. Arguably, by informing the audience that civil servants have not experienced increments over the recent past, the government could be seeking to reinforce the contrastive evaluations in which the government is evaluated positively while the strikers are evaluated negatively.

In clause (5) there is an indirect expression of positive Tenacity through which the actions undertaken by the government are outlined to the audience. The key to understanding the link between clauses (4) and (5) is that the description of the better state of civil servants, mentioned in clause (4) is implicitly emphasised in clause (5) when the government voice emphasises how the government has been making the welfare of civil servants a priority by making their lives better. In the clause, the welfare of civil servants is outlined in terms of low interest loans, salary advances, pensions, and medical aid cover. With this perspective, the evaluations project some divergent approaches to the industrial conflict between the government and the strikers. As the news text progresses, the combination of

types of evaluation in clauses (6) – (9) also adds to the divergent opinions between the parties involved.

(6) The economic downturn, President Khama said, forced some developed countries to retrench employees, but Botswana opted to borrow money instead of retrenching workers.

(7) President Khama wondered whether going on a strike is the right way of thanking the government for its efforts to safeguard the welfare of the civil servants.

(8) He said instead of embarking on a strike and risk crippling the economy, civil servants should be working hard to help the country in its recovery process.

(9) He further said civil servants are in a better position to appreciate the poor performance of the economy because they know of projects that have been shelved due to economic difficulties.

The evaluations in clause (6) are prefaced by an indirect expression of positive Tenacity in clause (5), and this brings up a noticeable recurrence of indirect expression of positive Tenacity that is used to evaluate the government. Here the actions of the government are emphasised and the members of the audience are also apprised on the position of the government to protect the welfare of civil servants. In order to make the actions of the government prominent, the government news source uses a structural opposition in which Botswana's solution to the economic recession is compared more favourably than that of some developed countries. This is articulated through the use of the contrastive conjunction *but* and the adverb *instead*. Notice also the significance of the reporting expression *wondered* accompanying a direct expression of positive Tenacity through which the government is evaluated in clause (7). The government voice is presented as expressing doubt about the legitimacy of the strike. The choice of the reporting expression *wondered* to quote the evaluation expressed by the government seems to indicate a rhetorical invitation for the audience to take sides, notably with the government.

Having examined these expressions of Tenacity in Text 2DN, it is now important to address how these evaluations establish a positive or negative orientation of the news text towards the targets. By presenting the government as ‘appealing’ and ‘pleading’ with the strikers, the author constructs the position of the government as an employer that recognises that it is within the rights of civil servants to embark on a strike. While recognising this right, the government is given the voice to present an alternative option to the strikers by outlining how the government has made their welfare a priority, hence the ‘plea’ to call off the strike.

Through the discussion of the spread of Tenacity in Text 2DN, I have so far shown that the government is largely evaluated positively while the strikers are evaluated negatively, a pattern that presents an evaluative contrast within the news text. With these evaluations of Tenacity in mind, I now focus on the role of Valuation in the news text. In the text, the economy and the strike are evaluated through Valuation. In the news text, the state of the economy is the basis of the arguments advanced by the government. Both local and global economic conditions are presented as entities that dictate decisions made in respect to the bargaining process, perhaps to validate such arguments. The argument advanced by the government emphasises how the negative financial situation is instinctively implicated in the considerations for making an increase to the workers’ salaries. Another crucial point to make about the economy as a target of evaluation is that it is evaluated in terms of present as well as potential or hypothetical conditions.

In contrast to negative Valuations of the economy that intersect with the actions of the strikers in Text 2DN, negative Valuation of the economy in clause (6), described as *the economic downturn* intersects with the actions of the government. In this clause the government voice sets the evaluations in what can be referred to as an *occasion – response* pattern to emphasise the resilience of the government in dealing with the negative state of the economy. In addition to

being linked with the actions and decisions of the government and that of the strikers, we can also see the economy as a proxy target among evaluations that target the strike. In clause (8), for example, an indirect expression of negative Valuation of the strike is achieved by emphasising its impact on the economy as expressed in the descriptive phrase *crippling the economy*. The imposition of high obligation on the strikers and the mention of the economy as a proxy target reinforce the negative Tenacity that the government voice uses to evaluate the strikers. In accordance with this finding in Text 2DN, Coffin and O'Halloran (2006:83) have argued that human targets can be implied to be the cause of negative conditions and that this strategy can build up the patterns of Valuation in news articles. As evident in, for example, clause (8) and clause (3) that was discussed earlier, the strikers are implicated in the potential loss of money by the government and the implied collapse of the economy. This potential state of the economy is viewed by the government in negative terms in the news text.

Overall, Text 2DN foregrounds the perspective of the government and as I stated earlier, the government is the only external voice that is quoted within the news text. The evaluations that are attributed to the government voice are expressed in indirect terms and an evaluative contrast is drawn between the government and the strikers. While the government is presented in positive terms, the strikers are evaluated negatively. At the beginning of this discussion, I highlighted that the choice of polarity was one of the features that drew our attention in the news text. This was because in the overview of features in the news text, there was no difference between the distribution of positive and negative evaluations. However, when evaluations are considered alongside either positive or negative polarity in context, we have found that all evaluations that are ascribed to the government are positive, while the evaluations for strikers and the strike are negative – the government and the strikers are presented as targets that are on opposing sides. Furthermore three of four evaluations of the economy are negative. Interestingly all the 9 negative evaluations in Text 2DN are expressed by the government news source.

Thus far in the analysis of Text 2DN, the way evaluations are ascribed to targets, particularly when we consider the polarity with which evaluations are expressed, shows an imbalance. The evaluations can be seen as one-sided since the text quotes the exclusive voice of the government. Even with the use of attribution in the news text, the author's use of positive Tenacity at the beginning of the text to evaluate the government can be viewed as in support of the government's perspective. White (2004) argues that when news material is attributed to external sources, journalists are able to claim a distant position in relation to such evaluations. However, in the case of Text 2DN, the author's subtle support for the government perspective is evident. In general terms, mitigation of evaluative language through attribution may be questionable. Having noted this critical point about attribution in Text 2DN, the following discussion focuses on mitigation strategies that can be observed in the text.

Clauses (1) and (2), that I referred to earlier, will be our starting point. The evaluations of positive Tenacity in these clauses are expressed indirectly. As was noted previously, they are not expressed in direct or explicit terms but the author uses emotionally-charged verbs/phrasal verbs *appeals* and *pleaded with* to present the government in a symmetrical position with the strikers. What we see in these clauses is that the author relies on indirect means to make his/her view match the perspective of the government.

Besides the author's mitigation of evaluation through indirect expressions, Text 2DN also uses attribution as the overall form of mitigation. In addition, the majority of attributed evaluations in the news text are also expressed indirectly and quoted via the reporting stance *acknowledged*. These are discussed together and examples from the text are referred to for illustration of the points discussed. All examples referred to can be seen in Table 5.3. Attributed evaluations that are not expressed in indirect means or quoted via the reporting stance *acknowledged* are also examined to see how mitigation is achieved in such.

As we have seen earlier, the voice of the government is introduced in clause (3), where we see a tripartite form of evaluation, first the evaluation of the economy, followed by an evaluation of the strikers, and lastly an evaluation of the economy again. All three evaluations are expressed indirectly and quoted via the reporting stance *acknowledged*. Looking closely at the evaluations in clause (3), it seems the negative evaluation of the strikers through Propriety is emphasised or justified with the double reference to the economy that is made with contrasting types of polarity. Through these evaluations, the government voice is presented as advocating for economic recovery. Besides the evaluations in clause (3), other evaluations in clauses (4) – (5), (8), and (11) – (12) are also expressed in indirect terms and they are quoted via the reporting stance *acknowledged*. The use of the reporting stance *acknowledged* as a form of mitigation is a finding that broadly supports the work of other studies in this area linking particular verbs of saying with a neutral point of view on the part of the news reporter. According to Caldas-Coulthard (1994: 305), verbs that signal the illocutionary act introduce a ‘saying’ or a quotation without evaluating it. In the case of Text 2DN we find the prevalence of the verb *said* introducing 13 evaluations, thus reinforcing the form of mitigation that is achieved through indirect expressions.

Moving on to other evaluations in the text that are neither expressed indirectly nor quoted via reporting stance *acknowledged*, we find three clauses that comprise binary evaluations. Let us look at clauses (6), (7) and (9) in Table 5.3. While attribution is the main strategy of mitigation in all three, one of the targets in each clause is evaluated in direct terms. In clause (6), we see a direct negative Valuation of the economy, in (7), a direct expression of positive Tenacity of the government and the use of the reporting stance *endorsed*, and in (9), again we see a direct expression of negative Valuation of the economy. In these clauses, mitigation is primarily achieved through attribution and there are no other features that combine within attribution to enhance the mitigation. In summary, Text 2DN has been found to be characterised by an evaluative stance that foregrounds Judgement over Valuation. This evaluative stance is mainly

articulated by the government voice using indirect means to draw contrasts between the government and the strikers. The evaluative contrasts are seen in the positive and negative differentiation between the evaluations directed at these two targets.

5.3.2 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 2MM

In this section, we now consider features of evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 2MM, the second news text in Text pair 2. The overall appearance of these features is displayed in Figure 5.4.

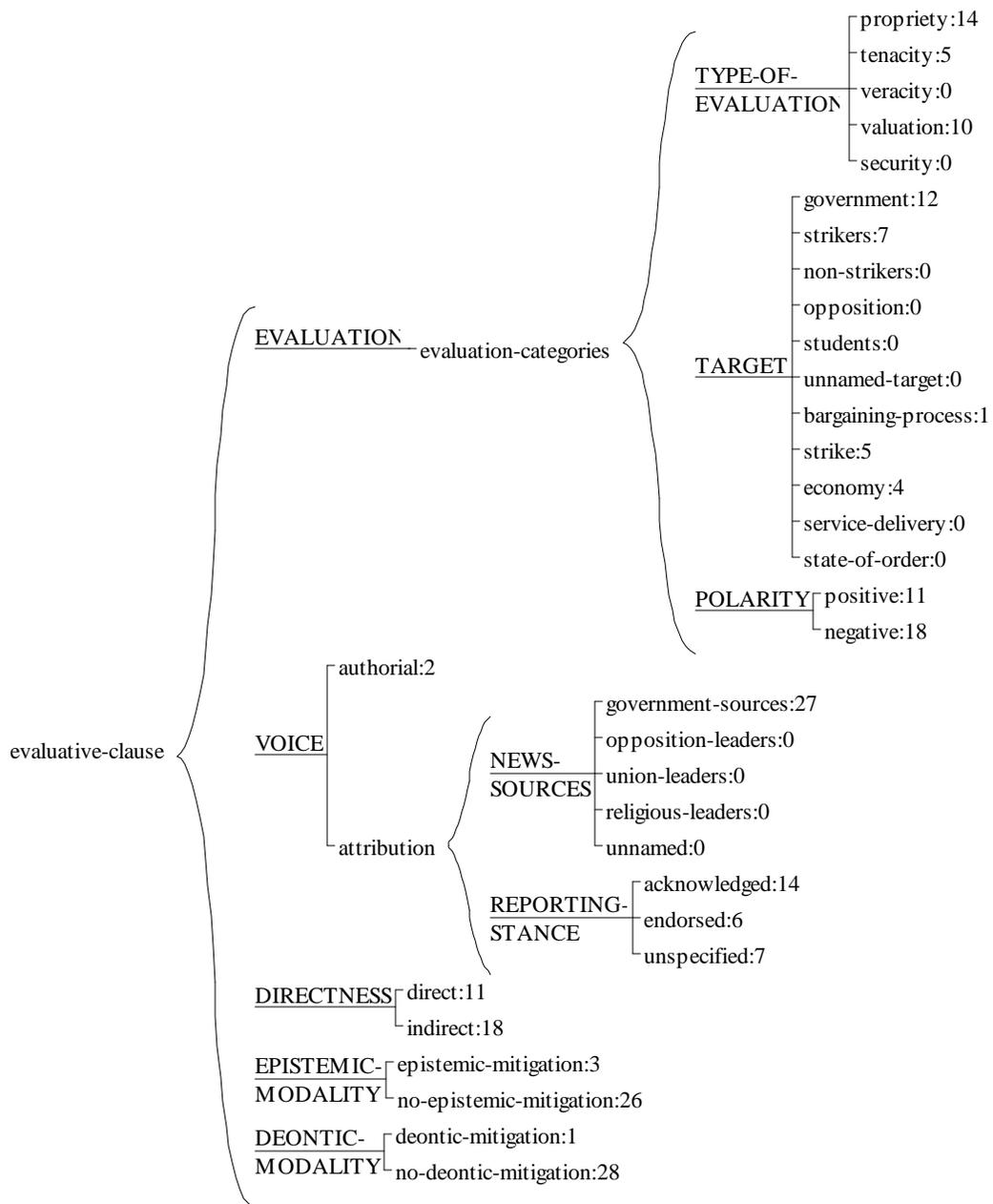


Figure 5.4 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 2MM

Text 2MM is made up of more resources of Judgement than those of Valuation with Propriety appearing 14 times, Tenacity 5 times and Valuation 10 times in the text. In the news article, more evaluations (18) are indirect expressions while 11 are direct expressions. When it comes to polarity, negative evaluations (18) take precedence over positive ones (11). In terms of the targets, we see five targets that are central in the news text - the bargaining process is evaluated once, strikers are evaluated 7 times, the economy is evaluated 4 times, the government is evaluated 12 times while the strike is evaluated 5 times. Overall, the government is the most frequently evaluated target in the news article. With regard to the category of voice in Text 2MM, we see exclusive quotation of the government as an external news source in 27 evaluations, which means the three types of reporting stance that appear in the text, that is, *acknowledged*, *endorsed*, and *unspecified* which appear 14 times, 6 times, and 7 times respectively, are all used alongside evaluations that are attributed to the same news source. The voice of the author is confined to only 2 evaluations. In terms of epistemic and deontic mitigation, the majority of evaluations in Text 2MM are non-modalised, and the news text shows only traces of these types of mitigation. In view of the exclusive quotation of the government voice, the news text can be said to present the perspective of the government. In such a perspective, the reporting stance *acknowledged* takes precedence over the reporting stance *endorsed* and the reporting stance *unspecified*. In the discussion that follows Table 5.4, I examine how the government's perspective is played out in the development of the news text. I also examine how the voice of the author interacts with the overall perspective of the government and how these two voices make use of the types of polarity and those of directness.

Table 5.4 Analysis of Text 2MM

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(1) Khama rules out salary increase					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(2) NATALE: President Ian Khama has said <ack.> <u>there will be no salary increment even if the public sector workers engage in a national strike scheduled to start today.</u>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strike	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(3) Khama's statement is contrary to the government position <u>in the stalled talks with unions</u> where Department of Public Service Management (DPSM) has tabled two offers of pay hikes.					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Bargaining process	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(4) The President said <ack.> during his tour of Tonota North constituency villages on Thursday <u>that the public sector is seeking increments at a financially difficult time for the government.</u>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Economy	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(5) He wondered <end.> <u>why the Botswana Federation of Public Sector Unions (BOFEPUSU) is attacking the government.</u>					
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
(6) <u>"This surprises me because the government has made it clear that there is no money,"</u> he said <ack.>.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(7) He faulted <end.> <u>civil servants for seeking higher pay yet they work in government and know the financial position of the state.</u>					

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(8) He said <ack.> <u>"Botswana is currently experiencing a budget deficit of over P7 billion and the government is struggling to get the P12 billion needed annually to pay civil servants"</u> .					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Economy	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(9) He said <ack.> <u>the strike is going to cripple the economy of Botswana and will not be easy to recover from the effects</u> .					
Gov.	Acknowledged	High probability	Strike	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(10) He stated <ack.> <u>that the economy is still recovering from recession and the strike will make matters worse</u> .					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Economy	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
Gov.	Acknowledged	High probability	Strike	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(11) <u>"Major development projects were halted due to lack of funds"</u> .					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Economy	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(12) <u>"Unemployed people depend on the government poverty eradication schemes like the Ipelegeng, youth grants and the old age pension"</u> .					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir	Non-modalised
(13) <u>"If we give workers 16 percent increment, should we stop supporting the poor and the old?"</u> Khama asked <ack.>.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(14) He said <ack.> <u>the government should be commended for making sure that civil servants were not retrenched during the economic meltdown</u> .					

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Ten, Direct	Non-modalised
(15) He said <ack.> <u>the public servants are ungrateful and now want to engage in strikes as a 'thank you' to the government.</u>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
(16) <u>"The government made pension schemes for public servants".</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(17) <u>"It contributes 15 percent whilst public servants pay 5 percent".</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(18) <u>"The government pays 50 percent of their medical aid".</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(19) <u>"There are also salary advances to keep them from loan sharks, plus we give them loans".</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(20) <u>"These are the benefits they are ungrateful for,"</u> Khama lamented <end.>.					
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
(21) He said <ack.> <u>that unlike Botswana, Britain is currently in plans to retrench at least 300,000 to 450,000 workers because it cannot pay them.</u>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(22) <u>"Retrenchment has not been our option".</u>					

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(23) "Public servants should rethink, if the living expenses are costly for the employed, then how would they be for the unemployed?" he wondered <end.>.					
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Indir.	High obligation
(24) The President pleaded with <end.> the public servants to call off the strike because the industrial action will not avail the money for the increment.					
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Strike	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(25) He explained <end.> <i>that the government wishes to increase salaries but there is no money.</i>					
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(26) He said <ack.> that the strike will cripple the economy for years and government will be compelled to retrench the public servants, thus increasing the statistics of unemployment in Botswana.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	High probability	Strike	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised

At the beginning of Text 2MM we see an alternation between the voice of the author and that of government. This alternation of voices seems to display a strategic interconnection in clauses (1) – (3) which I examine below.

(1) Khama rules out salary increase

(2) President Ian Khama has said there will be no salary increment even if the public sector workers engage in a national strike scheduled to start today.

(3) Khama's statement is contrary to the government position in the stalled talks with unions where Department of Public Service Management (DPSM) has tabled two offers of pay hikes.

In this cluster of clauses the author evaluates the government via an indirect expression of negative Tenacity in clause (1). This is followed by an indirect expression of negative Valuation that the government voice uses to evaluate the strike in clause (2), and in clause (3) we see a direct expression of negative Valuation of the bargaining process that is expressed by the author. To examine this alternation of voices my interest is in how the voice of the government intervenes between clauses (1) and (3), and the role it plays in the strategic interconnection between the evaluations in these clauses. In general terms, clauses (1) – (3) seem to highlight a confrontational perspective that is presented in the news text. The author begins the news text by ascribing negative Tenacity to the government. This negative Tenacity possibly establishes that the government is not likely to change its standpoint about salary increase, and this negative Tenacity is tied to clause (2). The use of the conjunctive phrase *even if* in clause (2) is the key to our understanding of this seeming confrontational perspective of the government. The government voice is reported to have presented the strike as of no effect on the decision of the government not to increase workers' salaries. Having established the confrontational perspective by quoting the government voice in clause (2), the author's voice re-appears in clause (3) with a direct expression of negative Valuation of the bargaining process. The direct evaluation in clause (3) seems to present a form of justification/explanation for the earlier negative Tenacity in clause (1). While the bargaining process is the target on which the evaluation is focused in clause (3), the author brings into the account extra information about the contrary position that the president takes. This is a surprising finding in the news text. In clause (3), we see the individualisation of the president through which he is presented as differing with the government. One possible interpretation of this statement is that the author seems to criticise the government in an indirect way. The president is evaluated by the author as an individual whereas the president sees

himself as representing the government as shown in the rest of the news text. In the next step of the discussion, I examine the binary evaluations in clauses (4), (8) and (10).

(4) The President said during his tour of Tonota North constituency villages on Thursday that the public sector is seeking increments at a financially difficult time for the government

(8) He said "Botswana is currently experiencing a budget deficit of over P7 billion and the government is struggling to get the P12 billion needed annually to pay civil servants".

(10) He stated that the economy is still recovering from recession and the strike will make matters worse.

One of the most striking observations about this set of clauses (4), (8), and (10), is how the government voice weaves a pattern of evaluations in which notions of *difficulty* and *struggle* take precedence – the government is presented as contending with the negative state of the economy in order to prevent negative effects on the welfare of civil servants. Another interesting aspect of the evaluations that are directed at the government is that they are all positive, and in each evaluation where the government is targeted via positive Tenacity, the government voice brings up a comparative entity to emphasise the reputable stand of the government. In clause (8), the indirect expression of positive Tenacity that is used to evaluate the government is expressed parallel to a direct expression of negative Valuation of the economy. One notable pattern about evaluations that express Valuation in the text is that they are all negative, which means the economy, the strike, and the bargaining process are all presented in negative terms. It should be noted that in clause (10), there is a seeming positive expression of the state of the economy by referring to its recovery from recession. However the adverb *still* marks the negative state of the economy in an indirect manner. In addition the strike and the economy are subtly presented as having a reciprocal effect on each other. The high probability of a direct

expression of negative Valuation of the strike in the latter part of the clause projects an aura of negativity on the state of the economy.

In clause (12), in Table 5.4, the government voice expresses an indirect positive Propriety to target the government via a non-modalised affordance of what the government does for the unemployed citizens. It seems there is a relationship of interdependence between clauses (12) and (13), in which the adjective *unemployed* is rhetorically linked to the adjectives *poor* and *old*. With this interdependence of adjectives clause (13) evasively flags the impropriety of civil servants by weighing it against the established positive evaluation of the government. This point of view is maintained in clause (23) with a conditional rhetorical question that is emphasised with an obligation imposed on civil servants. Returning to an earlier argument about the state of the economy, the government voice expresses an indirect positive Propriety to evaluate the government in clause (25). In this clause the indirect expression of positive Propriety to target the government is afforded via the projection of the government's contending against the adversative situation of the poor state of the economy.

Overall, Text 2MM presents the government as explicitly and implicitly evaluated via praise and admiration while the strikers are expressly condemned. On one level, a similarity can be observed between these patterns of evaluation and those described by White (2008: 568) who has argued that when communicating evaluations, speakers and writers have various options available to them. One set of options is variation in positive and negative attitude, and speakers and writers can advance their evaluations through either of these options. We have seen this demonstrated at different points in Text 2MM. On another level, we have seen these options of variation in positive and negative attitude put to use within the same clause. This has been the case in clauses that are made up of binary evaluations, some of which constituted targets that are both evaluated negatively. As we have seen in Text 2MM, the strikers are expressly

condemned, and since we have a single-sided perspective in the text, that is, the perspective of the government, the evaluation of the strikers is somewhat combative. At the beginning of this section, I made reference to the author's set of evaluations in clauses (1) and (3) where we found negative evaluations of the government and the bargaining process. While the author's voice is confined to two evaluations, it can be argued that the perspective that the author presents is in contrast to that of the government voice. The author's use of negative Tenacity at the beginning of the text to evaluate the government can be viewed as in opposition to the government's perspective in which the government is evaluated in positive terms.

In the preceding discussion I have made reference to indirect expressions of evaluations and also referred to evaluations that are attributed to the government voice. These aspects of evaluations are both forms of mitigation in the news text and in the remaining part of this discussion I focus on the mitigation of evaluation in order to see how the ideal of objectivity is achieved.

In terms of the spread of specific evaluation types that are attributed, it is notable that evaluations of Propriety are the most attributed, with 3 direct evaluations and 11 indirect evaluations. In Text 2MM Propriety is the most frequent type of evaluation that is attributed to the government, with an interesting pattern in which the number of times Propriety is used to target the government and strikers is equal.

In summary, it can be said that Text 2MM is characterised by an evaluative stance that foregrounds Judgement over Valuation. Through resources of Judgement, positive evaluation of the government is starkly contrasted with the negative Judgement levelled against the workers' unions. The news text displays a confrontational perspective that is articulated by the government. This confrontational perspective is strategically highlighted by the author at the beginning of the news text.

5.3.3 Comparative discussion of Texts 2DN and 2MM

In the preceding sections, I have examined evaluation and mitigation strategies in Texts 2DN and 2MM. I have discussed features of evaluation and mitigation as displayed in these texts and pointed out how the two news texts present the perspective of the government in response to the workers' strike and how the government uses the sets of evaluations to articulate the position of the government. I have also looked at how features combine in the two news texts for the expression and mitigation of evaluations. In this section I take a comparative perspective of these news texts in order to examine similarities and differences that make the texts distinct and how the news texts use various features to adhere to the ideal of objectivity and at the same time maintain their ideological voice.

As shown in the preceding discussion of both news texts, the category of voice was clearly dominated by the voice of the government. I stated that both news texts present the government's perspective in which Judgement resources are foregrounded. Furthermore, indirect expressions of evaluation are dominant in the news texts. The appearance of categories of epistemic and deontic mitigation is limited and the majority of evaluations are non-modalised. With regard to Valuation, we see evaluations that are predominantly negative. In the following discussion I discuss these overall similarities in terms of whether and how each text uses them distinctively to project their stance and adhere to the ideal of objectivity at the same time.

While we see both texts presenting the government's perspective, this perspective is presented differently. In Text 2DN the perspective is set as an *appeal* to workers while in Text 2MM there is a confrontational tone that is presented. In one of the positive evaluations that are ascribed to the government in Text 2DN, the president stated that salary increment can be considered when the economy sufficiently improves. In addition, the president made reference to the old age pension and allowances for village development committee

members, (Clause 12). Using such references in a setting of a community meeting in a village would have appealed to senior citizens who were in attendance. Such a statement seems to be premised on the traditional value of acknowledging and honouring the elderly. As one of the traditional values, honouring the elderly is considered to be linked to one's wellbeing. Text 2DN seems to project this value as per the values linked to the traditional setting that the president was in. Interestingly, Text 2MM, though highlighting the same subject matter in clause (12), the presentation is set in an informative manner without any prospects of an increment of the allowances. In Text 2MM, the elderly seem to be presented as dependants who are supported by the government. This difference in the presentation of the perspectives of the same voice seems to underline some ideological differences between the news texts such that Text 2DN is seen to be in support of the president while Text 2MM quotes the words of the government voice and yet takes a strategic negative stance towards the government.

In the preceding analysis of Text pairs 1 and 2, I have suggested that attribution is a major strategy of mitigation and that, other features such as indirect expressions and the types of reporting stance *acknowledged* and *unspecified* combine from within attribution to enhance the mitigation of evaluations. Besides attribution, I have also suggested that the alternation of voices between the author and external news sources has a role in the way evaluations establish the overall orientation of the news texts. We have seen that while the author's voice is mainly in the background, it also has a role in setting the evaluative tone of the news texts, or presenting a perspective that is somewhat in support or in dissent of the perspective of external news sources. In the following sections we continue with this investigation of the patterns of evaluation and their interaction with mitigation strategies.

5.4 Text 3DN and Text 3MM

Texts 3DN and 3MM recount the details of a press conference that was addressed by opposition party leaders in the context of the workers' strike. In Chapter 1, I cited an editorial response in which *Mmegi* newspaper was contesting a government rebuttal. As I explained in Chapter 1, the government had contested the way the newspaper reported the details of another press conference that was addressed by opposition MPs. As the press conference reported in Text 3DN and 3MM was also addressed by members of the opposition, it will be interesting to examine how the evaluations and mitigations are managed in these news texts. Interestingly the press conference covered in Texts 3DN and 3MM, reported on 18th April 2011, was addressed by opposition leaders on 15th April 2011, the same date on which the parliamentary debate in Texts 1DN and 1MM was held.

5.4.1 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 3DN

In this section, I examine features of evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 3DN and I begin with the overall appearance of these features as displayed in Figure.

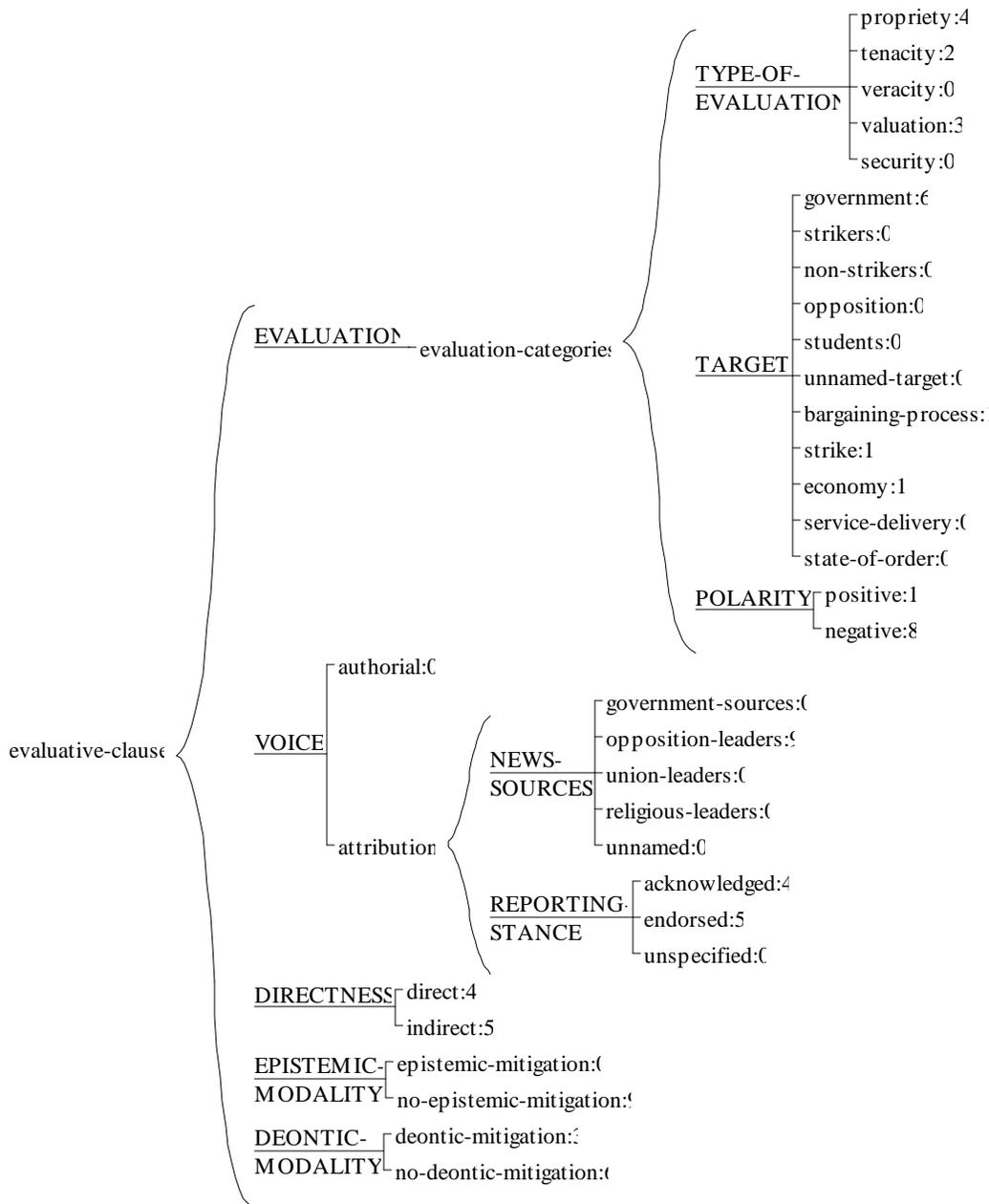


Figure 5.5 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 3DN

Text 3DN is made up of evaluations of Propriety, Tenacity, and Valuation, and these appear in the text 4 times, 2 times, and 3 times respectively. As can be seen in Figure 5.5, the types of evaluation are dominated by negative polarity,

with 8 negative and 1 positive evaluation. Of the four targets that are evaluated in Text 3DN, the government is the most frequently evaluated target, with 6 evaluations. The other targets, the bargaining process, the economy, and the strike are each evaluated once. The category of voice in Text 3DN, as we see in Figure 5.5, is exclusively made up of the voice of opposition leaders. No evaluations in the text are expressed by the author and all 9 evaluations are attributed to opposition leaders. Attributed evaluations are quoted via two types of reporting stance, *acknowledged* and *endorsed*, which appear 4 and 5 times respectively. There are no evaluations for which the reporting stance is *unspecified*. There is no pronounced preference for either direct or indirect evaluations. 4 evaluations are expressed in direct terms while 5 are expressed indirectly. While the majority of evaluations in the news text are non-modalised, there are some traces of expressions of deontic mitigation in the text. I have already mentioned that the voice of the opposition leaders is exclusive in this news text and we can say that this text presents the perspective of opposition parties. In order to examine this and other overall features of the news text, let us turn to Table 5.5 and consider the repetition of the modal *must*, which is used in clauses (2), (3) and (5).

Table 5.5 Analysis of Text 3DN

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(1) Opposition supports workers Non-evaluative					
(2) GABORONE: Government must show commitment when engaging civil servants over salary negotiations , Botswana Congress Party (BCP) president, Mr Dumelang Saleshando said <ack.> at a press conference last Friday.					
Opposition	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Ten, Indir.	High obligation
(3) Grievances by public workers unions , he said <ack.>, must be taken serious and they must be respected by the government .					
Opposition	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Indir.	High obligation
(4) He affirmed <ack.> that opposition parties support <i>civil servants legal strike</i> whose first phase will last for 10 days .					
Opposition	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strike	+Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(5) He said <ack.> public workers' salaries must be increased because they were being paid peanuts when compared to other countries of the same economic status as Botswana .					
Opposition	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Indir.	High obligation
(6) He noted <end.> that the cost of living in the country was high, while government had worsened the situation by increasing value added tax (VAT) .					
Opposition	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Economy	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Opposition	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
(7) The BCP leader criticised <end.> government for allegedly not showing any commitment to avert the salary increment crisis .					

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
Opposition	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
Opposition	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Bargaining process	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(8) He therefore urged <end.> government to show sympathy towards the workforce.					
Opposition	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(9) Also at the press conference was the leader of the Botswana Movement for Democracy (BMD), Mr Gomolemo Motswaledi and the leader of Botswana National Front (BNF), Mr Duma Boko, who shared the same sentiments.					
Non-evaluative					

(2) Government must show commitment when engaging civil servants over salary negotiations, Botswana Congress Party (BCP) president, Mr Dumelang Saleshando said at a press conference last Friday.

(3) Grievances by public workers unions, he said, must be taken serious and they must be respected by the government.

(5) He said public workers' salaries must be increased because they were being paid peanuts when compared to other countries of the same economic status as Botswana.

The repetition of the modal *must* in clauses (2), (3) and (5) is a feature that stands out in Text 3DN. It is tied to the indirect expressions of negative Tenacity and negative Propriety that opposition leaders ascribe to the government. Specifically, the modal *must* indicates an imposition of obligation on the government to act in a certain way – to *show commitment*, to *take workers seriously/respect their grievances* and to *increase workers' salaries*. Through the expression of high obligation that is imposed on the government, opposition leaders assert their criticism and denouncement of the government. This negativity, as will be discussed further below, is carried on as the news text develops. It is important though, to point out that within the overall negative tone

of the news text, there is one positive evaluation in clause (4). This positive evaluation immediately follows the negative evaluations of the government in clauses (1) – (3). In clause (4) the opposition evaluates the strike with a direct expression of positive Valuation.

(4) He affirmed that opposition parties support civil servants' legal strike whose first phase will last for 10 days.

The evaluation of the strike in clause (4) draws our attention as it is the only positive evaluation in the whole news text. It intervenes between indirect expressions of negative Propriety that are used to evaluate the government. In this clause, the descriptive adjective *legal* underscores the positive tone through which the strike is evaluated, thus legitimising the strike. When opposition leaders legitimise the strike in such a positive evaluation, they seem to present themselves in the role of the advocate, taking the side of the civil servants, and this in turn reinforces their criticism of the government on one hand, and validates the actions of the civil servants on the other. While there is no pronounced type of evaluation that is used to evaluate the opposition in the clause, their support for the *legal strike* seems to place them in a favourable position that is self-articulated.

In contrast to positive Valuation of the strike, the economy and the bargaining process are each evaluated through negative polarity. This is evident in clauses (6) and (7) which comprise binary evaluations of the economy and of the government, and binary evaluations of the bargaining process and the government.

(6) He noted that the cost of living in the country was high, while government had worsened the situation by increasing value added tax (VAT).

(7) The BCP leader criticised government for allegedly not showing any commitment to avert the salary increment crisis.

The initial segment in clause (6), in which the opposition is reported to have stated that *the cost of living in the country was high*, denotes a categorical negative evaluation of a general economic situation. In this case the description of the negative Valuation of the economy is specifically in relation to the workers' welfare. Interestingly, the government is accorded negative Propriety in the last segment of the same clause. Here, we see an apportioning of blame for the negative state of the workers' welfare.

Another set of binary evaluations, in clause (7), provides another example of evaluations in which a direct expression of negative Valuation is blamed on the government. In the case of clause (7), the bargaining process is described as a *salary increment crisis*. Indirect expression of negative Tenacity in clause (7) is made prominent in the news text owing to the introductory reporting expression *criticised*, an expression through which the author indicates the speech act carried out by the opposition leaders. Having looked at the foregoing evaluations it can be concluded that the issues at the centre of the industrial conflict between the government and the civil servants are discussed in a negative way, contributing to the less diplomatic tone of the opposition leaders towards the government.

I have already pointed to the overall negative tone that opposition leaders use to evaluate the government. As we saw earlier in clause (2), the imposition of high obligation on the government brings about a negative tone into the news text through which an undependable approach of the government is underlined. Through negative evaluations, the government is assessed as acting contrary to expectation. Potentially, the imposition of high obligation on the government does not present the government as necessarily lacking resolve but as disloyal. An important aspect of the evaluations is that they point out the opposition's position about the government's protection of workers' rights. Through the voice of opposition leaders, the combination of the use of the modal *must* and the flagging of counter-expectation functions to over-emphasise the protection of

workers' rights and concurrently question the government's loyalty to the welfare of civil servants. Therefore through evaluations of Tenacity in Text 3DN, we see a parallel drawn between the protection of workers' rights and the expected commitment to such on the part of the government.

At the beginning of this discussion, I stated that there were no evaluations in Text 3DN that were articulated by the author and that all evaluations in the text are attributed to opposition leaders. I also highlighted the types of reporting stance that are used to attribute evaluations to the opposition leaders. It has been shown in this section that types of evaluation that are expressed by opposition party leaders to target the government repeatedly display a critical perspective and seem to appeal to political lines between the government and the opposition parties.

In terms of mitigation strategies in Text 3DN, two prominent types of mitigation, attribution and indirectness, can be observed. Evaluation in Text 3DN, as has been stated, is characterised by the exclusive voice of the opposition leaders. Through these quotations, evaluations are confined to the external voices. However, besides the specification of quoted news sources, the choice of reporting stance also stands out. With regard to *acknowledged*, a notable pattern that is prevalent in the news text is the choice of less interpretative reporting expressions where opposition leaders express contentious viewpoints. Evaluations in which the government's commitment to the workers' welfare is questioned are an example of such contentious viewpoints. With such evaluations illustrating the category of Judgement, the author appears to resort to expressions of *acknowledge*, possibly signalling a strategic ascription of denouncement exclusively to opposition leaders. Turning briefly to the use of the reporting stance *endorsed* in the text, the choice of the reporting expressions seems to place mitigation of evaluation at stake. In clauses (6), (7) and (8) the author uses the reporting expressions *noted*, *criticised*, and *urged*. While the author does not express an obvious evaluation through statements, the use of

these expressions seems to reflect the author's subtle stance. Caldas-Coulthard (1994:306) classifies such expressions as 'directives' and 'expressives'. Interestingly, the author maintains a distance in, for example, instances where opposition leaders project their dissension with the government. While the government is directly criticised in clause (6), the foregrounding of Valuation of economy before the Judgement that is used to evaluate the government seems to obscure the Judgement. In clauses (7) and (8), the reporting stance *endorsed* is mitigated through the expression of an indirect evaluation. The categories of reporting stance demonstrate how the author succeeds in expressing evaluation while the evaluations get mitigated through other means.

5.4.2 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 3MM

In this section, I focus on the second news text in Text pair 3, that is, Text 3MM. The overall appearance of features of evaluation and mitigation in this news text are displayed in Figure 5.6.

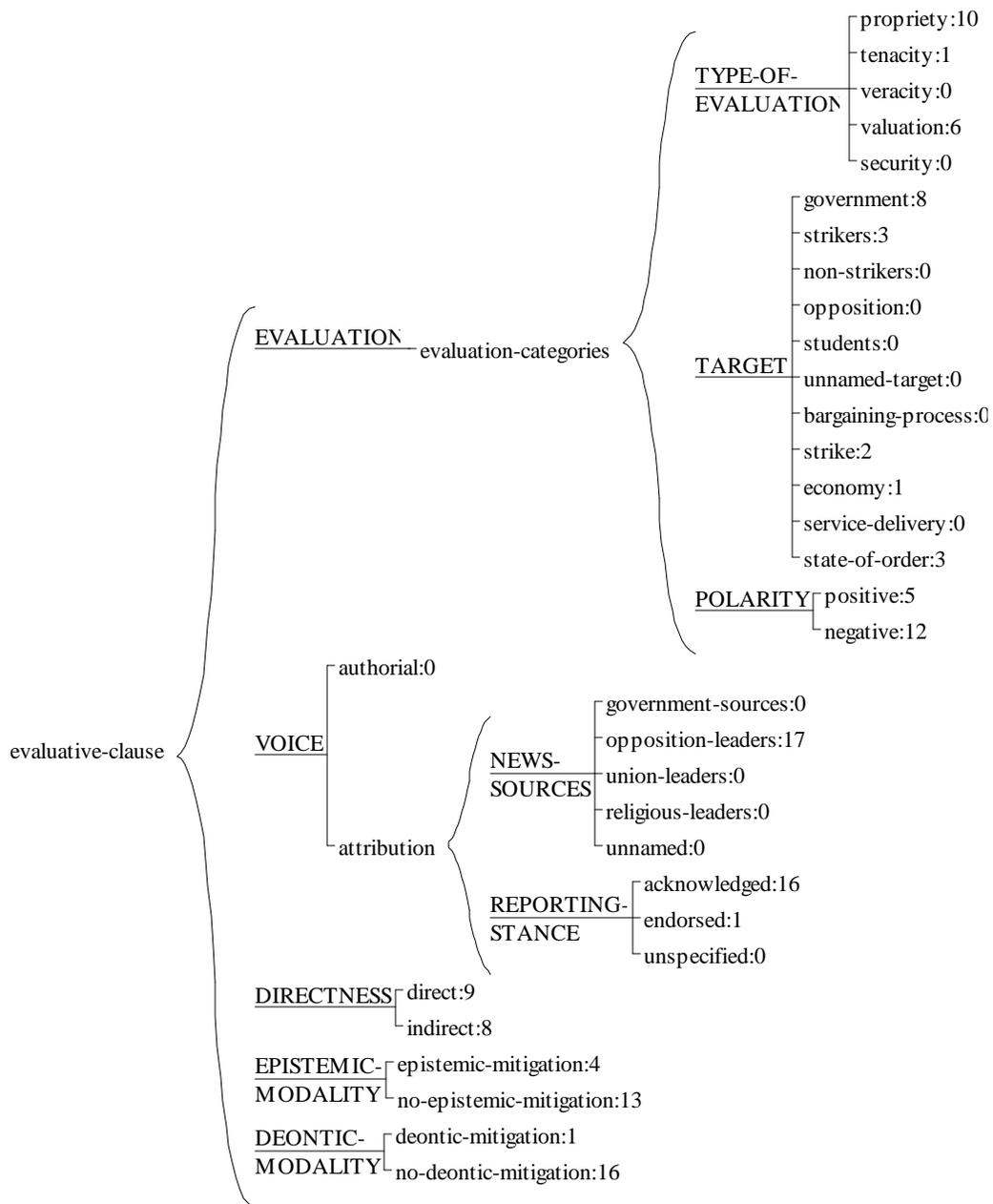


Figure 5.6 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 3MM

Among types of evaluation in Text 3MM, Propriety is the most prevalent, appearing 10 times in the text, followed by Valuation, which is used 6 times, while Tenacity is the least used type of evaluation, used only once. There is also an overall leaning towards more negative than positive evaluations in the text, with 12 negative evaluations and 5 positive ones. With regard to targets, the government is the most frequently evaluated target, appearing 8 times in the text while the economy is the least evaluated target and is evaluated once. The strikers are evaluated 3 times while the strike is evaluated twice. As can be observed in Figure 5.6, Text 3MM introduces a target that has not featured in the analysis up to this point – the target *state of order*. It is evaluated 3 times in the text. Moving on to the category of voice, we see opposition party leaders exclusively quoted in 17 evaluations. No evaluation is expressed by the author. 16 of the attributed evaluations in the text are quoted via the reporting stance *acknowledged* and reporting stance *endorsed* is used in one attributed evaluation. In terms of epistemic and deontic mitigation, Text 3MM uses a limited amount of modalised evaluations. As far as directness is concerned, Text 3MM does not indicate a marked difference between direct and indirect evaluations, with 9 evaluations expressed directly and 8 expressed indirectly. Looking at the overall appearance of features in Text 3MM, we see a foregrounding of the perspective of opposition leaders, a perspective that is largely presented via the reporting stance *acknowledged*. We have also seen the prevalence of Judgement in the text and an introduction of ‘state of order’ as a target. In the discussion that follows I examine these overall features as they appear in the development of the text in order to see how the perspective of the opposition leaders is presented in context. In order to investigate these features we refer to Table 5.6.

Table 5.6 Analysis of Text 3MM

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(1) Opposition backs civil servants' strike Non-evaluative					
(2) Botswana's main opposition parties are fully behind the national strike called by public service workers starting from today. Non-evaluative					
(3) The leaders of the three parties told <ack.> a press conference last Friday <u>that they decided to back the strike after realising that government is not taking workers seriously</u> .					
Opposition	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
(4) The press conference was addressed by Duma Boko of the Botswana National Front (BNF), Dumelang Saleshando of the Botswana Congress Party (BCP) and interim Botswana Movement for Democracy (BMD) leader, Gomolemo Motswaledi. Non-evaluative					
(5) First to speak was Saleshando, who said <ack.> <u>that active unionism has become a vital element of Botswana's democracy and the growth of unions in the country has enhanced the system</u> .					
Opposition	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(6) He stated <ack.> <u>that unionists cannot afford to keep silent on important national issues, one of which is the salary disparity among the working class [ap.]</u> .					
Opposition	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
Opposition	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Economy	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(7) "We have very poor employed people " , he said <ack.>.					
Opposition	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(8) Saleshando said <ack.> that it is the role of government to ensure that its people have a dignified existence through better pay .					

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
Opposition	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Indir.	High obligation
(9) BMD interim leader Motswaledi said <ack.> it is sad that Batswana have been made to believe a lie, that their country is the epitome of democracy when that is not the case.					
Opposition	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
(10) This he said <ack.> was clear from government's refusal to accept workers' demands for a pay hike, under the pretext that the economy has not yet recovered from the recession.					
Opposition	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
(11) He dismissed the excuse saying <ack.> the same government continues to fund questionable projects and departments such as the Directorate of Intelligence and Security (DIS), yet it claims there is no money for workers.					
Opposition	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(12) He said <ack.> <i>the strike is a loud statement calling for improved conditions for workers.</i>					
Opposition	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strike	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(13) <i>"The workers strike should pave way for good working environment and for future employees,"</i> he said <ack.>.					
Opposition	Acknowledged	High probability	Strike	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(14) 'Dangerous' is how Boko described <ack.> government's attitude towards workers.					
Opposition	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
(15) He said <ack.> <i>that the workers have lost patience and now want change.</i>					
Opposition	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(16) He warned <end.> government that it would not be easy to control the direction of events once the strike gains momentum.					
Opposition	Endorsed	High probability	State of Order	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(17)Not in as many words, Boko said <ack.> that by turning a deaf ear to workers' cry, government could inevitably bring about its own collapse, even before the 2014 general election, considering the current protest mood and calls for reform in the continent.					
Opposition	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
Opposition	Acknowledged	High probability	State of Order	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(18) He said <ack.> that if matters reach boiling point, it will be difficult to wait for 2014 for the electoral process and no one wants this.					
Opposition	Acknowledged	High probability	State of Order	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised

In the clauses cited below, Text 3MM presents opposition leaders with a group identity in clause (3). They are referred to as *the leaders of the three parties*. The news text moves on to give the same opposition leaders individualised presentation by distinguishing each of them by name in clauses (5), (9) and (14).

(3) The leaders of the three parties told a press conference last Friday that they decided to back the strike after realising that government is not taking workers seriously.

(5) First to speak was Saleshando, who said that active unionism has become a vital element of Botswana's democracy and the growth of unions in the country has enhanced the system.

(9) BMD interim leader Motswaledi said it is sad that Batswana have been made to believe a lie, that their country is the epitome of democracy when that is not the case.

(14) 'Dangerous' is how Boko described government's attitude towards workers.

I have begun this section with this overall presentation of opposition leaders in order to point to the subdivision of the news text into evaluative segments. In view of this subdivision of the news text, it can be argued that the evaluative statement in clause (3) represents the foremost opinion on which evaluations in clauses (5), (9), and (14) are hinged. In clause (3), the impropriety of the government is articulated in direct terms and it is emphasised with the declarative statement *government is not taking workers seriously*. This articulation of the government's impropriety seems to draw an evaluative tone that sets the government and civil servants on opposite ends. As such the impropriety of the government that is expressed in clause (3) is then followed by an indirect expression of positive Propriety that is used to evaluate the strikers (civil servants) in clause (5). Through this positive Propriety, the strikers' participation in workers' unions is validated. With respect to evaluations in clauses (9) and (14), negative Judgement of the government is projected through evaluations of impropriety. Similar to the viewpoint in clause (3), these two negative Judgements are articulated in direct declarative terms. Overall the importance of these clauses in the realisation of evaluation in the news text is tied to the pattern of sub-division that has already been mentioned. They also have an important role in the organisation of the news text, indicating how opposition party leaders succeed in expressing their evaluations in a complementary manner, resulting in a collective voice that is highlighted in clause (3). In addition opposition leaders use the statements in clauses (5), (9), and (14) as prefatory remarks to introduce evaluations that make up each segment of the news text. In the remaining part of the analysis of evaluation in Text 3MM, I examine patterns of evaluation as articulated in each evaluative segment.

In the first evaluative segment of Text 3MM that is prefaced by clause (5), we see a binary evaluation in clause (6).

(6) He stated that unionists cannot afford to keep silent on important national issues, one of which is the salary disparity among the working class.

This binary evaluation is made up of an indirect expression of positive Propriety that the opposition leader uses to evaluate the strikers and a direct negative Valuation of the economy. It appears as a reiteration of the positive evaluation of strikers that was introduced in clause (5) and an indirect affirmation of civil servants' salary negotiations and ultimate strike action. The pairing of an indirect expression of positive Propriety with a direct expression of negative Valuation of the economy emphasises the welfare of civil servants as a deprivation. This can be observed in the descriptive phrase *salary disparity among the working class*. The first evaluative segment of Text 3MM ends with two indirect expressions of negative Propriety in clauses (7) and (8), both of which are used to evaluate the government. Notice also that the indirect expression of negative Propriety in clause (8) is reinforced with an implied imposition of high obligation on the government.

The second evaluative segment in Text 3MM is prefaced by a direct expression of negative Propriety that is used to evaluate the government in clause (9). This is followed by clauses (10) and (11) in which the criticism of the government is also expressed.

(9) BMD interim leader Motswaledi said it is sad that Batswana have been made to believe a lie, that their country is the epitome of democracy when that is not the case.

The direct expression of negative Propriety in clause (10) draws out a forthright criticism of the government by referring to *refusal* and *pretext*, to indicate disapproval of the government's approach towards the civil servants. All these negative evaluations of Propriety are immediately followed by positive Valuation

of the strike in clauses (12) and (13). The strike is seen in positive hypothetical terms and indirectly validated.

(12) He said the strike is a loud statement calling for improved conditions for workers.

(13) "The workers strike should pave way for good working environment and for future employees," he said.

In terms of how the indirect expression of positive Tenacity is linked with Valuations of the strike, an important observation can be highlighted about clauses (12), (13), and (15). Evaluations in these examples are associated through the process of synonymy. The *change* that civil servants are said to want in clause (15) is associated with descriptive expressions *improved conditions* and *good working environment* in clauses (12) and (13). In addition, positive Valuation of the strike is expressed indirectly through the lexical metaphor *loud statement*. When linked together, these evaluations present a merged opinion in which the protection of workers' rights is underscored. Notice also that in clause (13) indirect expression of positive Valuation of the strike is expressed as a highly probable fact through the verb *should*.

In clause (14), a direct expression of negative Propriety is used to target the government. As stated earlier, this clause is used as a prefatory statement to other evaluations in the final segment of the news text. Within the news text, the evaluation in clause (14) prefaces the following negative evaluations in clauses (16) – (18).

(16) He warned government that it would not be easy to control the direction of events once the strike gains momentum.

(17) Not in as many words, Boko said that by turning a deaf ear to workers' cry, government could inevitably bring about its own collapse, even before the 2014 general elections, considering the current protest mood and calls for reform in the continent

(18) He said that if matters reach boiling point, it will be difficult to wait for 2014 for the electoral process and no one wants this.

'Dangerous attitude' as articulated by the opposition leader in clause (14) is expanded by reference to an act of 'turning a deaf ear to the workers' cry' in clause (17). Alongside this direct expression of negative Propriety is the negative Valuation emphasised about the potential state of order and the government is indirectly blamed for such potential socio-political events.

Thus far we have looked at the ways through which evaluation is expressed in Text 3MM. As I have discussed above, negative evaluations that target the government are projected from the beginning of the news text and afford opposition leaders a way of criticising the government while validating the workers' strike. In Text 3MM we see attribution as the overall strategy that is used to mitigate evaluations. The whole news text comprises evaluations that are quoted from opposition party leaders, and the majority of evaluations are reported through the reporting stance *acknowledged*. The types of evaluation are also mitigated through indirect expressions.

5.4.3 Comparative discussion of Texts 3DN and 3MM

In this section I take a comparative perspective on Texts 3DN and 3MM in order to examine similarities and differences between them. Beginning with similarities, Texts 3DN and 3MM share a number of key features and these are dealt with in the following discussion.

As previously stated, Texts 3DN and 3MM are distinctively characterised by evaluative statements attributed exclusively to opposition party leaders, and the attributed statements in both news texts are quoted through either the reporting stances *acknowledged* or *endorsed*. Through the evaluations that make up these two news texts, opposition leaders take up a clear position that indicates their support for the strikers while they criticise the government, thus evaluating the government and the strikers in contrastive terms. As a result of some of the

evaluative contrasts that opposition leaders draw between the government and the strikers in Texts 3DN and 3MM opposition leaders project their dissension with the government and blame the government for the negative state of civil servants' welfare. Another interesting similarity between Texts 3DN and 3MM is the complementary manner through which opposition leaders express evaluations. In both news texts, opposition leaders are presented as constructing their evaluations in a successive and collective manner. However it should also be noted that while two news texts show that opposition leaders express their evaluations in a complementary manner, the way they achieve this is different. In Text 3DN, indication of a complementary manner is condensed in the final clause of the text, clause (9).

(9) Also at the press conference was the leader of the Botswana Movement for Democracy (BMD), Mr Gomolemo Motswaledi and the leader of Botswana National Front (BNF), Mr Duma Boko, who shared the same sentiments.

In clause (9) of Text 3DN the news text appears to back down from extended evaluations and the concluding part of the clause *who shared the same sentiments* seems to downplay the negative judgements about the government, which have a bearing on the negative Valuation of the bargaining process and the economy, and the positive Valuation of the strike. In Text 3MM opposition leaders are each given voice to articulate their evaluations. As demonstrated in the introduction of the section on evaluation in Text 3MM, each opposition leader uses a prefatory evaluative statement before giving additional evaluations in each segment of the news text.

On the question of targets, Texts 3DN and 3MM show differences in how the targets are associated to draw links through evaluative statements, particularly between Judgement and Valuation. In Text 3DN direct expressions of negative Valuation leads to an emphasis on dissociation between opposition party leaders and the government, and at the same time opposition leaders apportion blame on the government for the negative Valuation of the bargaining process and the

economy. However beyond this association of Valuation and Judgement in the text, Text 3DN appears to keep such associations minimal. In contrast to the patterns in Text 3DN, in Text 3MM the association drawn between Judgement and Valuation is maximal. In addition to blaming the government for the strike, opposition leaders evaluate the strike in relation to hypothetical socio-political events which are presented as the responsibility of the government. Furthermore in Text 3MM civil servants are praised for their tenacious approach in dealing with the negative economic situation, a pattern of evaluation that does not appear in Text 3DN.

In the last three pairs of news texts the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* reported events that took place in the week preceding the commencement of the strike. Even before the workers' strike started, political figures representing the government and opposition leaders expressed their perspectives about the strike. As we saw in the preceding analyses of Text pairs 1 – 3, the perspective of the government was largely presented in four news texts, 1DN and 1MM, and 2DN and 2MM. In Texts 3DN and 3MM, the opposition leaders were given voice to articulate their perspective. Each of these perspectives, as presented by the news texts, apportioned blame and ascribed negative evaluations that drew political lines. Caught in the middle of these two perspectives were the strikers/civil servants. In the next section, the analysis moves on to news texts that report events surrounding the commencement of the strike.

5.5 Text 4DN and Text 4MM

The news articles that are presented in this section focus on the provision of services. Service delivery is one of the five non-human targets identified across the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. It is the most frequently evaluated non-human target across the two newspapers. The analysis of Texts 1DN and 1MM that was carried out earlier indicated that during the parliamentary debate, the discussion surrounding the impending workers' strike drew a link to how the provision of services was going to be affected by the strike. In the following news texts, Texts

4DN and 4MM, we see service delivery appearing again as a target, and this time service delivery is mentioned in relation to the commencement of the strike.

5.5.1 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 4DN

In this section, I examine features of evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 4DN and I begin with the overall appearance of these features as displayed in Figure 5.7.

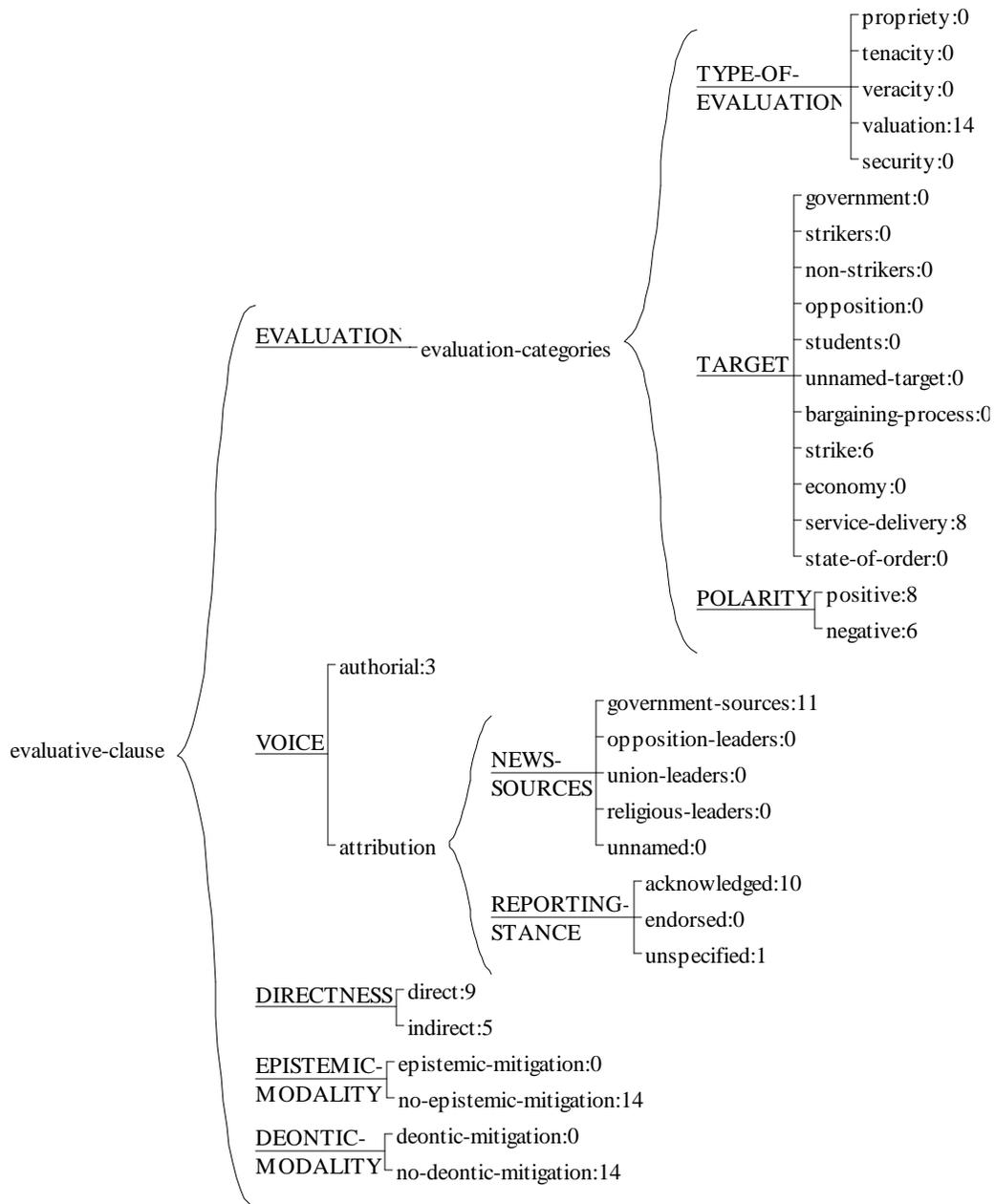


Figure 5.7 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 4DN

Text 4DN is distinctively characterised by Valuation, with 9 direct and 5 indirect expressions of evaluation. No other type of evaluation appears in the text. The evaluations within Text 4DN are used to target either the strike or service delivery. With respect to polarity, there is no vast amount of difference between positive and negative Valuation. As displayed in Figure 5.7, the category of voice in Text 4DN comprises 3 evaluations that are expressed by the author and 11 evaluations that are attributed to government sources. In the news text the voice of the government is represented by different immigration officials. In the news text 10 attributed evaluations are quoted via the reporting stance *acknowledged* and in 1 evaluation the reporting stance is *unspecified*. A characteristic that can be noted about Text 4DN is the complete absence of modalised evaluations. In the following discussion, I examine how the voice of the author interacts with that of the government and to see how the strike and service delivery are presented by the two voices. It is also of interest to examine how the strike and service delivery are evaluated in terms of polarity. Let us turn to Table 5.7.

Table 5.7 Analysis of Text 4DN

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(1) Border posts report <ack.> <u>normal operations.</u>					
Government	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Service delivery	+Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(2) GABORONE: <i>Tlokweng Border Gate, one of the busiest in the country linking Botswana with South Africa, is 100 per cent operational despite the ongoing public servants strike.</i>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Service delivery	+Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Strike	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(3) Tlokweng border is one of the four border posts which were expected to be badly affected by the strike.					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Strike	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(4) Chief immigration officer in charge of the border post, Mr Donald Abueng said <ack.> <u>the strike had never affected operations since its commencement on Monday.</u>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strike	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(5) <u>"There is no change in our work, we work in two shifts and all the employees reported for duty on time in the past two days".</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Service delivery	+Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(6) Mr Abueng said <ack.> <u>the movement of people in and out of Botswana had been steadily increasing with further increases expected over the coming Easter weekend.</u> Non-evaluative					
(7) Still at the border gate, a Botswana Unified Revenue Service official, Mr Onkemetse Plaatje, said <ack.> <u>they had been experiencing an unusual movement of people especially those leaving the country.</u> Non-evaluative					

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
<p>(8) "It appears like it is a holiday, they kept on asking us if we will be on duty during the period of the strike". Non-evaluative</p>					
<p>(9) The Ramatlabama Border Gate Principal Immigration Officer, Mrs Idah Chalegwa also reported <ack.> <u>a business as usual working environment despite a few of her employees having opted for the strike action.</u></p>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Service delivery	+Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strike	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
<p>(10) Mrs Chalengwa said <ack.> <u>even though the rate of movement at the border gate was starting to increase, she had a good number of officers who could be equal to the task even during busy periods such as the Easter holidays.</u></p>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Service delivery	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
<p>(11) She stated <ack.> <u>that the five employees who joined the strike did not change anything in their daily operations.</u></p>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Service delivery	+Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strike	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
<p>(12) Martins Drift Border Gate Principal Immigration Officer, Ms Ontitle Maromoloa said <ack.> <u>the strike had not affected their daily operations and that everything was normal.</u></p>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strike	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Service delivery	+Val, Direct	Non-modalised
<p>(13) She said <ack.> <u>they were receiving numerous phone calls from foreign tourists who wanted to know about the effect of the strike and whether the employees of the immigration department were also on strike.</u> Non-evaluative</p>					

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(14) <u>"The response is that everything is normal"</u> , she said <ack.>.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Service delivery	+Val, Direct	Non-modalised

One of the ways through which evaluation is marked in Text 4DN is through repetition and synonymy. The repetition of such features as adjectives represents the overarching characteristic through which evaluative opinions are tied together in the news text. To discuss the overall patterns of repetition and synonymy in the news text let us turn to the following set of clauses.

(1) Border posts report normal operations

(2) Tlokweng Border Gate, one of the busiest in the country linking Botswana with South Africa, is 100 per cent operational despite the ongoing public servants' strike

(5) "There is no change in our work, we work in two shifts and all the employees reported for duty on time in the past two days"

(9) The Ramatlabama Border Gate Principal Immigration Officer, Mrs Idah Chalegwa also reported a business as usual working environment despite a few of her employees having opted for the strike action

(12) Martins Drift Border Gate Principal Immigration Officer, Ms Ontitile Maromoloa said the strike had not affected their daily operations and that everything was normal

(14) The response is that everything is normal she said.

Notice that the description of service provision as constituting *normal operations* in clause (1) is expanded with the synonymous descriptions *100 per cent operational*, *business as usual*, *no change in our work*, *everything was/is normal* in clauses (2), (5), (9), (12) and (14). These categorical expressions establish the positive Valuation of service provision at the different border posts that are mentioned in the news text. The articulation of evaluations in Text 4DN is

structured in a successive pattern such that immigration officials who are quoted in the text follow one another in their assessment of service provision and their assessment of the strike. This successive pattern of evaluations enables the immigration officials to present a collective voice and this reinforces the positive assessment of service provision in the text.

Another overall pattern of evaluations in Text 4DN is the articulation of contrasting states of affairs. This is indicated by the use of contrast that is demonstrated through the categories of polarity. In Text 4DN positive Valuation is used exclusively to target service delivery while the negative expressions of Valuation are used to target the strike. This pattern of evaluations signals a stark contrast between how service delivery and the strike are talked about in the news text. In clause (1) a direct expression of Valuation establishes positive evaluation of service delivery with the use of the adjective *normal*.

In clause (2) the author uses a binary evaluation in which a direct expression of positive Valuation of service delivery is expressed alongside a negative Valuation of the strike. The indirect expression of negative Valuation of the strike is facilitated by the contrastive conjunction *but*. Taking clauses (2) and (3) together, we see an expression of a counter-expectation that draws the polarised evaluations of service delivery and the strike. It is stated that the border gate being talked about is one of the *busiest* in the country, an adjective marking intensification. The contrastive conjunction *despite* is used by the author to draw the polarity between effective service delivery and the non-effective state of the strike.

An external voice, that of the immigration official, who represents the government, is introduced in clauses (4) and (5). With a shift to an external news source in clauses (4) and (5), we see a direct expression of negative Valuation and positive Valuation. The evaluations that are attributed to specified (named) news sources begin to tie in with the generic term *border posts* used in the

headline to indicate an array of government officials. In these clauses again we see a direct contrast drawn by a government voice between the positive state of service delivery and how the strike has fared negatively since its commencement.

We see another binary evaluation in clause (9), and a recurrence of the contrastive conjunction *despite* is much more meaningful, having echoes of evaluations expressed in clause (2). In clause (9), a direct expression of positive Valuation that is used to evaluate service delivery is emphasised in the phrase *business as usual*, while an indirect expression of negative Valuation for the strike is flagged via counter-expectation with the contrastive conjunction *despite* and the use of intensification marked by the expression *few* to underline the non-effective attempt by those who have joined the strike to disrupt the provision of services.

The same evaluative sentiment is maintained in clauses (10) and (11) where indirect expression of positive Valuation that is used to evaluate service delivery is flagged and emphasised via a contrastive phrase *even though* and clause (11) is used by the government news source to qualify an earlier reference *few* with the specific number *five*. Therefore clauses (10) and (11) are significantly functional to emphasise the preceding evaluations expressed in clause (9). Interestingly, clauses (12) and (14) appear to reiterate and sum up the successive pairings of evaluations of service delivery and the strike already expressed by other external government news sources. Again in clause (12) direct expression of negative Valuation of the strike is effectively contrasted with a direct expression of positive Valuation of service delivery. An emphasis of this positive Valuation of service delivery is drawn through the expression *everything was normal*, repeated in clause (14).

Text 4DN is mainly characterised by evaluations that are expressed by immigration officials who represent the voice of the government. Within the news

text, immigration officials are made to take successive turns to articulate their views about the state of service provision and the strike. As they take successive turns to express evaluations, immigration officials appear to echo one another such that an overall evaluative configuration is achieved. The majority of attributed evaluations in Text 4DN are quoted through the reporting stance *acknowledged*. A prevalent pattern within Text 4DN is the forthright positive assessment of service delivery and the reporting stances *acknowledge* and *unspecified* are used to mitigate the direct evaluations.

5.5.2 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 4MM

In this section, I examine features of evaluation and mitigation in Text 4MM and I begin with the overall appearance of these features as displayed in Figure 5.8.

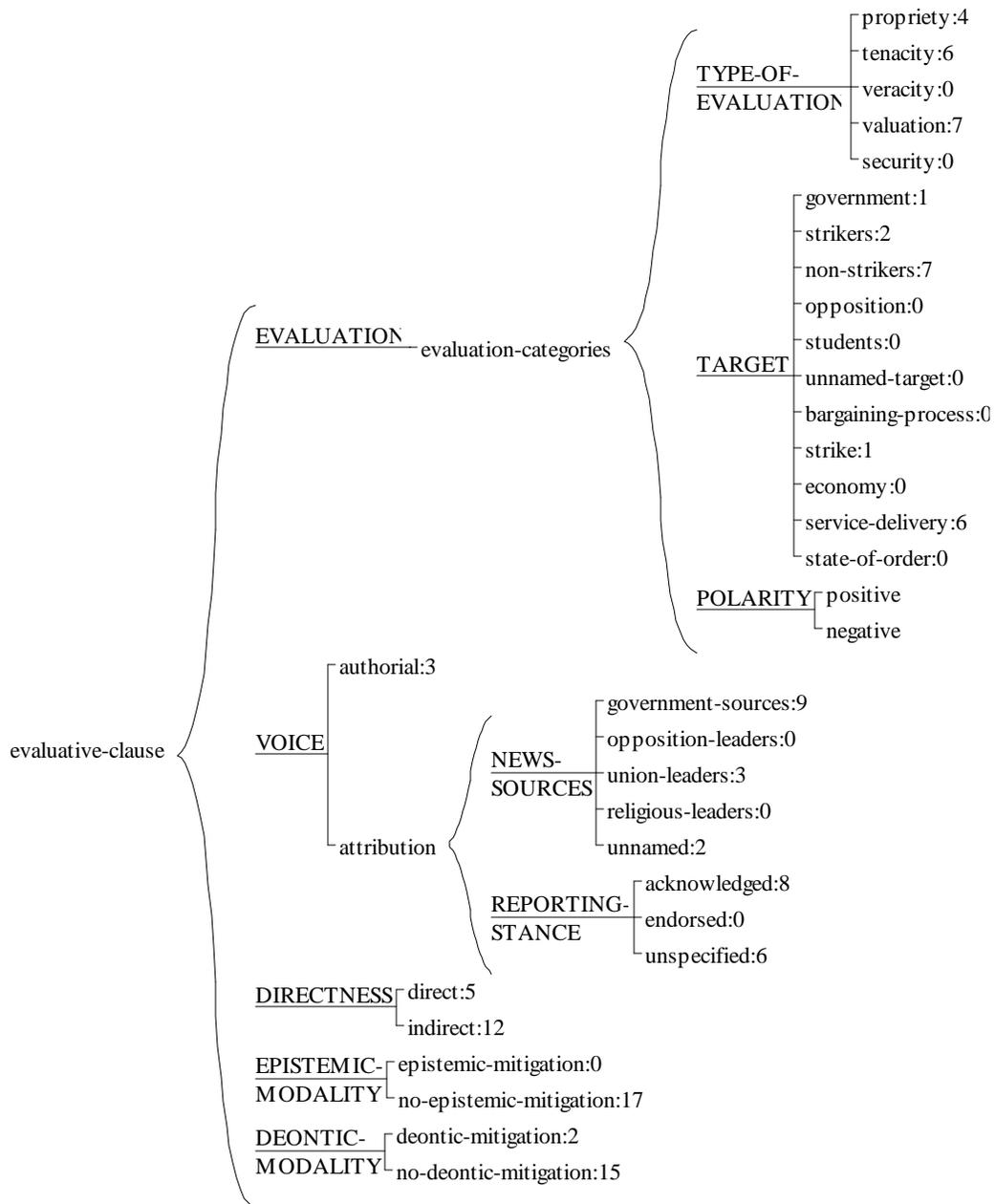


Figure 5.8 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 4MM

Text 4MM foregrounds more evaluations of Judgement than those of Valuation. With such foregrounding of Judgement, human targets are assessed in the majority of evaluations within the news text, with non-striking workers being

evaluated the most. In terms of non-human targets, service delivery dominates the evaluative statements within the text. A further interesting observation about Text 4MM is that there are clear preferential choices within the categories of polarity and directness. In terms of polarity, the news text shows a dominance of positive over negative evaluations, while within the category of directness indirect evaluations are referenced more than direct evaluations. In terms of the category of voice, it can be observed that the majority of evaluations, 9, are attributed to the voice of the government. Other external news sources can also be noted in the text. These are union leaders, who are quoted 3 times and unnamed sources who are quoted twice. The voice of the author appears in 3 evaluations. Attributed evaluations are quoted via the reporting stance *Acknowledge*, which is used 8 times while in 6 evaluations the reporting stance is *unspecified*. The reporting stance *endorsed* is not used at all in the news text. Let us now examine these overall patterns of features by paying attention to the mark-up of the news text in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8 Analysis of Text 4MM

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(1) <i>Borders open</i> as workers ignore strike					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Service delivery	+Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Strike	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(2) <i>It was business as usual at Tlokweng border post yesterday as the Mmegi team found immigration officers busy stamping passports and ushering in people from South Africa.</i>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Service delivery	+Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(3) <u>"We are working, there are no problems here".</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Service delivery	+Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(4) <u>"My officers are working two shifts, in the morning and another in the afternoon, so as you can see they are all here".</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Non-strikers	+Ten, Direct	Non-modalised
(5) <u>"I don't know what will happen in the next shift,"</u> said <ack.> Donald Abueng, officer-in-charge at the border post.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(6) When asked why his officers are not on strike he said <ack.> <u>he did not know, because: "I can't interview them and ask them why they are not striking as that will be tantamount to harassment and intimidation on my part."</u>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(7) <u>I have realised that people who work tough jobs like immigration officers are passionate about their work and would not want to stay away."</u>					

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Non-strikers	+Ten, Direct	Non-modalised
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Non-strikers	+Prop, Indir.	High obligation
(8) He said <ack.> <u>he was however, keeping watch to see if there are any changes</u> .					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(9) One of the immigration officers, speaking on condition of anonymity, told <ack.> Mmegi <u>that he would not go on strike</u> .					
Unnamed	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Non-strikers	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(10) <u>"I know that my job is about helping people, I know I need to help them and that is it,"</u> he told <ack.> this reporter.					
Unnamed	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Non-strikers	+Prop, Indir.	High obligation
(11) In the afternoon when Mmegi called his office, Abueng reiterated <ack.> <u>that the second shift had started without fanfare</u> .					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Service delivery	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(12) <u>Everybody reported to work</u> , he said <ack.>.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Non-strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(13) Contacted for comment, BOFEPUSU spokesman said <ack.> <u>a quick review of the strike nationwide has revealed that most government workers have responded well to "our call"</u> .					

Union leader	Acknowledge	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(14) <u>"They stayed away"</u> .					
Union leader	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(15) <u>"However at the Tlokweng border and Labour and Home Affairs headquarters, it would seem they heeded the employer's call not to strike"</u> .					
Union leader	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Non-strikers	-Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised

Text 4MM begins with binary evaluations that are used to target service delivery and the strike. These evaluations are expressed by the author in clause 1.

(1) Borders open as workers ignore strike

In clause (1), we see the same type of evaluation, Valuation, used in a binary evaluation. These evaluations differ in the category of polarity and the category of directness. Service delivery and the strike are treated as parallel targets in the news text – the success of service delivery is matched against the failure of the strike. In clause (1) we see a general reference to *borders*. The effect of such general reference is two-fold. Firstly, the author highlights the operational status of borders, thus setting up service delivery in positive terms. Secondly, the general reference appears to set up an indirect successive pattern of voicing that we may expect to see outlined in the subsequent clauses. However, the overall reporting of the news in the text makes reference to only one specific border post and sustains the positive evaluation of service delivery. The strike, which is evaluated once as shown in Figure 5.8 above, is backgrounded while service delivery is foregrounded. Through clause (1) the author sets up expressions of Valuation in Text 4MM by projecting a non-modalised contrast between positive Valuation of service delivery and negative Valuation of the strike. A surprising aspect about the negative Valuation of the strike in clause (1) is how the author

reports the intentional disregard for the strike by civil servants. Considering that the strike is called by the workers' unions, it is surprising that the author sets the tone of the news text to emphasise a generalised message about civil servants deciding not to take part in the strike, thus flagging a counter-expectation. This counter-expectation is then qualified by the author in the subsequent clause, clause (2), below:

(2) It was business as usual at Tlokweng border post yesterday as the Mmegi team found immigration officers busy stamping passports and ushering in people from South Africa.

In clause (2) the author makes reference to 'evidence' obtained by *Mmegi* team in finding officers carrying out their routine duties at the border post. Positive Valuation of service delivery is not only expressed in direct terms by an emphasis on the turnout of officers but emphatically achieved through the phrase *business as usual*.

We can note that evaluations of Valuation expressed by the author, particularly the positive Valuation of service delivery in clause (2), are immediately followed by a direct expression of positive Valuation of service delivery that is expressed by a government voice. Positive evaluation of service delivery is expressed with an inclusive *we* combined with the activity verb *working* to indicate the operational status at the border. It is also striking that the expression of an inclusive *we* in clause (3) precedes an expression by the same news source in which he then excludes himself from other immigration officers. In starting his positive assessment of service delivery by employing an inclusive *we* the news source can be viewed as expressing his commitment to duty. As a government news source he makes a shift in clause (4) with a potentially exclusive statement that sets non-striking workers in the spotlight as those performing the duties and ensuring the full operational state of the border.

Patterns of evaluations that express Tenacity in Text 4MM are distinctively split with respect to the specific news sources expressing the evaluations, and the

targets being evaluated. In the 6 instances in which evaluations of Tenacity are expressed in Text 4MM, non-strikers are clearly evaluated against the strikers. Returning to clause (4) that was cited earlier, non-strikers are evaluated positively by a government news source. The direct expression of this evaluation, which is non-modalised, reinforces the point of view expressed by the government news source. Maintaining the same evaluative tone in clause (7), the government news source expressly admires non-striking workers for their keenness to carry out the daily operations at the border. These positive evaluations of Tenacity, as expressed by the government news source, culminate in clause (12), with an indirect expression of positive Tenacity that echoes clause (4). The evaluative echo is achieved with a strategic repetition. The positive tone expressed in the phrase *they* [non-striking workers] *are all here* is repeated in clause (12) with the phrase *everybody reported to work*. A different point of view is observed in Text 4MM when the news text brings in the voice of union leaders in clauses (13) – (15). In clauses (13) and (14) the union leader accords positive Tenacity to the strikers. This is achieved in two ways. First there is intensification expressed through the adverb *most* which is combined with strategic synonymy. In the view of the union leader, *staying away* in clause (14) is equated to *responding well* in clause (13). Different to the views expressed by the government news source, the union leader draws a contrast between the non-strikers and the strikers by evaluating non-strikers negatively. While the union leader is given voice to evaluate both non-striking and striking workers in polarised terms, the government source talks about non-striking workers only. It is possible that the views of the government news source about the strikers are strategically left out of the news text and the implications can only be deduced on the basis of what he says about the non-strikers.

There is also an observable interaction between the voice of the government and that of an unnamed source, in which the unnamed news source echoes the evaluative tone expressed by the government news source. In order to examine this interaction, let us turn to clauses (6) and (7) and clauses (9) and (10).

(6) When asked why his officers are not on strike he said he did not know, because: "I can't interview them and ask them why they are not striking as that will be tantamount to harassment and intimidation on my part.

(7) "I have realised that people who work tough jobs like immigration officers are passionate about their work and would not want to stay away."

(9) One of the immigration officers, speaking on condition of anonymity, told Mmegi that he would not go on strike.

(10) "I know that my job is about helping people, I know I need to help them and that is it," he told this reporter.

Beginning with the indirect expression of positive Propriety in clause (6), the government voice can be seen to perform some self-evaluation. This positive self-evaluation is used by the news source simultaneously to evaluate the government in positive terms because in this case he is speaking in his capacity as a representative of the government. Having projected a positive evaluation of the government, the news source directs his other evaluation of Propriety to non-striking workers in clause (7). The unnamed non-striking officer in clauses (9) and (10) expresses evaluations that are in support of those already expressed in clause (7). Overall, non-striking workers are admired and praised by government news sources but criticised by union leaders. Much of the positive evaluation of behaviour is devoted to the non-striking workers. On the other hand, civil servants who are on strike are admired by union leaders for their tenacious approach to the course of the strike. What stands out in the text is the seemingly inconspicuous positive evaluation of the workers who are on strike. This positive evaluation of those on strike, alongside the positive Valuation of the strike, appears towards the end of the news text and it is referred to by the author as a 'comment' by the unnamed union spokesperson. The prominent positive evaluation of non-striking workers ties in with the positive Valuation of service delivery and negative Valuation of the strike. Service delivery and the strike are evaluated in contrastive terms. The news headline expresses the idea that contrary to what is expected, the situation at the border posts is positive, and this

is achieved through descriptions such as *business as usual* in the opening of the text, and *there are no problems here*. The news headline in this text also stands out especially as it is structured in the voice of the reporter stating that the workers have snubbed the strike. In terms of mitigation strategies in Text 4MM, it has been noted that attribution is the main type of mitigation strategy in Text 4MM. Through the use of attribution the perspective of the government is presented in the news text. The use of indirect expressions of evaluation, together with the quotation of news sources through the reporting stances *acknowledged* and *unspecified*, combine within attribution to reinforce the mitigation in the news text.

5.5.3 Comparative discussion of Texts 4DN and 4MM

Texts 4DN and 4MM are predominantly characterised by Valuation. This is not surprising because the news texts primarily focus on the state of service provision at the border posts. Service delivery is evaluated against the progress of the strike. In both news texts evaluations are largely expressed by external news sources. These attributed evaluations are quoted via the reporting stance *acknowledged* and for some evaluations the reporting stance is *unspecified*. The two news texts differ in how voices interact. In Text 4DN it is the perspective of the government that is largely presented. In contrast, Text 4MM includes the voice of the union leader who projects an argument that seems to counter the perspective of the government.

5.6 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have examined Text pairs 1 – 4. The news texts analysed in this chapter reported events during the initial ten days of the workers' strike. In general terms the news articles presented varying perspectives between the government, the opposition leaders, and union leaders. While the voice of government news sources was prevalent in the majority of evaluations, the voice of union leaders was minimal. We also saw that opposition party leaders features

in Texts 3DN and 3MM and expressed their evaluations that put the government in negative light while the workers' unions were evaluated positively. One interesting finding, particularly in Text pairs 1 – 3 was that the evaluations expressed were mainly based on differences in political standpoints such that the evaluations were set in contentious statements.

In this chapter, it has been observed that the news texts from the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* were characterised by a high frequency of evaluations. These evaluations were expressed by both the author and external news sources. While evaluations expressed by the author were observed to be restricted, they were highly meaningful. As we saw in some news articles, evaluations were used by the authorial voice to set the evaluative tone of the news texts, and to subtly support the perspective of external news sources. In other cases, the author's evaluations presented external news sources as confrontational and combative. It can be argued that in such instances, the author showed an indirect evaluative stance but such a stance was obscured by the prevalent use of attribution in the news texts. In the news texts analysed in this chapter, attribution was the most frequently used strategy of mitigation. As was indicated within the category of voice, the majority of evaluations were attributed to external news sources. Mitigation through attribution was enhanced by combinations with other features and there were overlaps between different strategies of mitigation in the news texts. Having noted the general patterns of findings in this chapter, the next chapter presents the second part of qualitative analysis. Further discussion of findings will be presented in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 6

Evaluation and mitigation strategies: The second phase of the strike

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the second part of qualitative analysis. In this chapter, I present the findings from an analysis of the remaining news texts, Text pairs 5 – 8. Similar to the analyses I presented in Chapter 5, I examine the patterns of evaluation and mitigation strategies in single news texts. This is then followed by a comparative discussion of each pair of texts that report the same event. As previously explained in Chapter 3, Text pairs 1 – 4, which I examined in Chapter 5, represented the first ten days of the strike and I have referred to the initial time frame as the first phase of the strike. Text pairs 5 -8, which I analyse in the present chapter, represent the time frame that begins with the extension of the duration of the workers' strike. It was also stated that the division of the news texts into the two categories was based on the anticipation that the initial 10-day strike period, and the subsequent extension of the duration of the strike would display some differing patterns in the ways in which evaluation of targets and the mitigation of evaluations are projected in the news articles. The second part of qualitative analysis in the following sections begins with Texts 5DN and 5MM, in which the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* report the announcement of the extension of the duration of the strike by the workers' unions.

6.2 Text 5DN and Text 5MM

At the point at which the extension of the duration of the workers' strike was announced by the workers' unions, the strike had been going on for 10 working days. The announcement of the extension of the duration of the strike was made after workers' day commemorations that took place on 1 May 2011. Moving on now to consider the expressions of evaluation in the second phase of the strike, we begin with the analysis of Text 5DN in the following section.

6.2.1 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 5DN

In this section, I examine features of evaluation and mitigation that make up Text 5DN. The overall appearance of these features is presented in Figure 6.1 below.

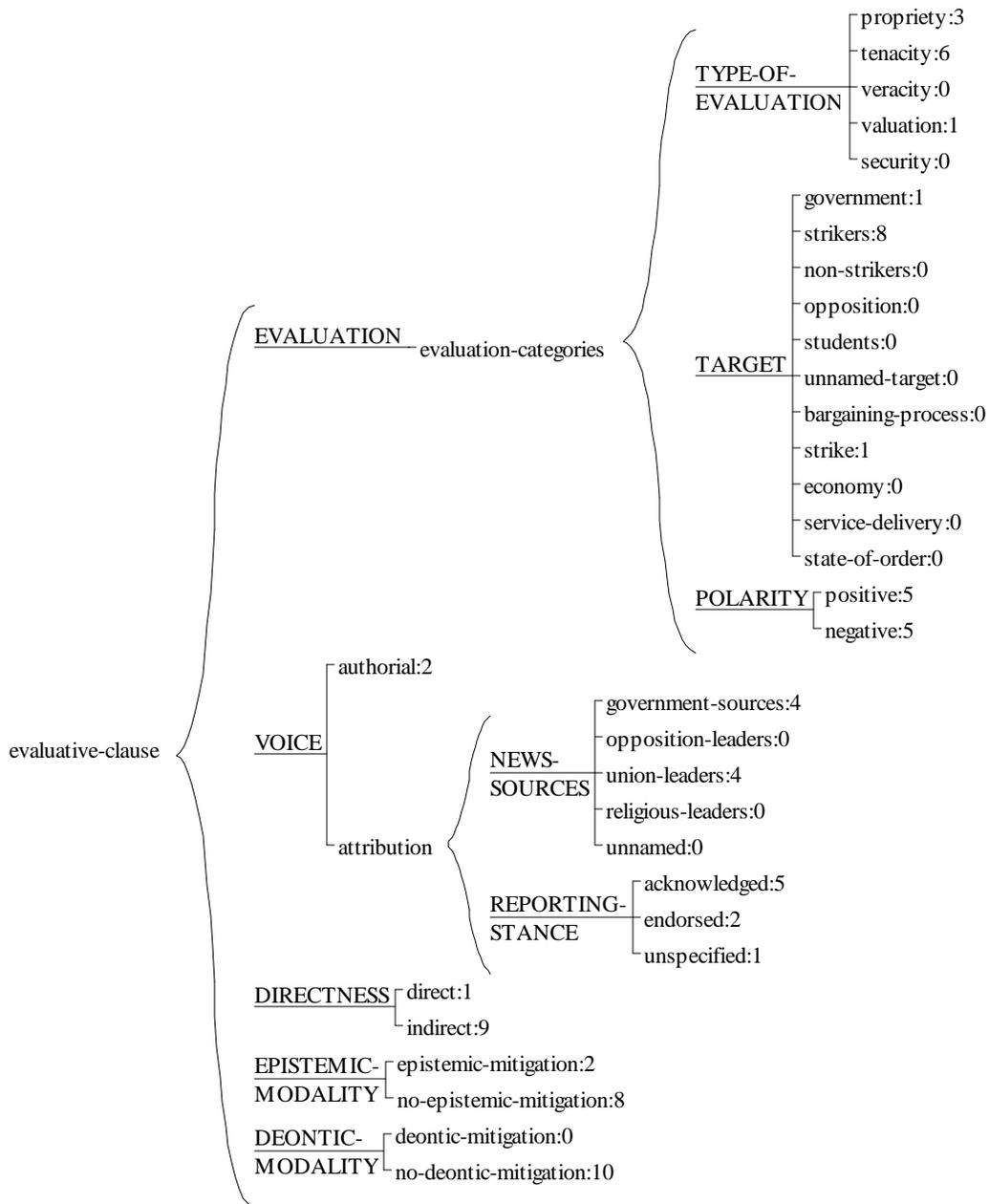


Figure 6.1 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 5DN

The presentation of features in Figure 6.1 shows that Text 5DN is made up of a prevalence of resources of Judgement - Tenacity and Propriety. A total of 6 evaluations of Tenacity appear in Text 5DN while Propriety appears in 3

evaluations. Valuation is the least used type of evaluation in the text, appearing only once. The majority of evaluations, 9 in all, are expressed indirectly while only one is expressed directly. Positive and negative evaluations appear equally in Text 5DN. With regard to targets of evaluation, the strikers are evaluated 8 times, making them the most evaluated target in the text. The government and the strike are each evaluated once in the news text. With respect to the category of voice, we can notice that the evaluations in Text 5DN are centred on the voice of the government and that of union leaders, with 4 evaluations attributed to each. The voice of the author is confined to 2 evaluations and as we will see in Table 6.1, these are expressed at the beginning of the news text. When we consider the types of reporting stance in the news text, 5 evaluations are quoted via the reporting stance *acknowledged*. Evaluations that are quoted via the reporting stance *endorsed* and those for which the reporting stance is *unspecified* are limited to 2 evaluations and 1 evaluation respectively. In general terms, and on the basis of the appearance of external voices, Text 5DN presents the perspective of the government and that of union leaders. These perspectives are largely presented through evaluations that are quoted via the reporting stance *acknowledged*. Two characteristics stand out in Text 5DN and these are evaluations that are predominantly indirect, and the equal use of positive and negative evaluations. In the following discussion, I examine how these overall trends are played out in the news article. First let us consider the detailed mark-up of the news article in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Analysis of Text 5DN

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(1) Strike continues?					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(2) GABORONE: Botswana Federation of Public Service Unions (BOFEPUSU) structures have resolved to continue with the strike after the first 10 days agreed on with the employer elapsed on Friday.					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(3) Confirming the resolution, National Amalgamated Government, Parastatals Manual Workers Unions' Mr Johnson Motshwarakgole said <ack.> <u>the structures made up of five public sector unions had suggested an extension by another five days.</u>					
Union leader	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(4) The BOFEPUSU leadership was at the time of going to press, still to meet and map the way forward. Non-evaluative					
(5) Mr Motshwarakgole stated <ack.> in an interview <u>that were the leadership to adopt the position of the structures, it meant that after the five days the striking workers might return to work but engage on a go-slow.</u>					
Union leader	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(6) "People should know that this is an indefinite strike and we have agreed that it (strike) will only come to an end after government had announced salary increment", he stated <ack.>.					
Union leader	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strike	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
Union leader	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(7) Meanwhile, the Director of the Directorate of Public Service Management (DPSM), Ms Festinah Bakwena said <ack.> in an interview yesterday <u>that she was not aware of the decision to continue the strike.</u>					

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(8) "What I know is that we agreed that the length of the strike will be 10 days after which they may engage on a go-slow after returning to work".					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(9) Ms Bakwena noted <end> that the April 26 interim court order on essential services employees was never adhered to hence <i>DPSM ended up going back to court, which ruled in favour of government.</i>					
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised

The news text begins with an interrogative headline in clause (1).

(1) Strike continues?

When read in isolation, this interrogative headline, which is expressed by the authorial voice, appears to be without an immediate or clear type of evaluation. However, it is striking that the beginning of the news text is set in this interrogative mood, a feature that is somewhat rhetorical and a prelude to other evaluations that make up the news text. Martin and White (2005:198) suggest that interrogatives invite a range of opinions which can be either positive or negative. As we saw at the beginning of this section, evaluative opinions attributed to external voices are spread equally between the government and union leaders. In view of this equal distribution of attributed evaluations between the government and union leaders, it is important to examine the range of opinions from these two voices in order to establish their polarity in relation to the

interrogative headline in clause (1). Before proceeding to examine this range of opinions between the government and union leaders, there is one more clause expressed by the author – clause (2) – that we need to briefly examine.

(2) GABORONE: Botswana Federation of Public Service Unions (BOFEPUSU) structures have resolved to continue with the strike after the first 10 days agreed on with the employer elapsed on Friday

Unlike clause (1), clause (2) is in the declarative mood. Taken together, it can be argued that in addition to inviting a range of opinions in clause (1), the author uses clause (2) to provide a foundational argument on which the range of opinions that are invited will be based. With this in mind, let us now examine expressions of evaluation in these two clauses. I have categorised clauses (1) and (2) as indirect expressions of negative Tenacity, both used to evaluate the strikers. In clause (2) the author underlines that prior to the commencement of the strike, the time period agreed between the government and civil servants was 10 days. This signals a contrast in the turn of events and is indicative of a counter expectation. I argue that the expression of contrast in the turn of events that the author outlines in clause (2) provides a cue for a subtle negative evaluation in clause (1). Expressed much like an exclamation, the news headline uses a connotative negative Judgement to evaluate the strikers. The type of evaluation that is used to target the strikers is, however, achieved by strategically pointing the reader's attention to the activity of the strike while civil servants, who are the participants in the strike, are left unstated until clause (2). The indirect expression of negative Tenacity that is expressed by the author in clauses (1) and (2) therefore opens the news text to the range of opinions expressed by the government sources and union leaders. This range of opinions is examined next, starting with clauses (3), (5) and (6). These are attributed to the union leader.

(3) Confirming the resolution, National Amalgamated Government, Parastatals Manual Workers Unions [chairman], Mr Johnson

Motshwarakgole, said the structures made up of five public sector unions had suggested an extension by another five days

(5) Mr Motshwarakgole stated in an interview that were the leadership to adopt the position of the structures, it meant that after the five days the striking workers might return to work but engage on a go-slow

(6) “People should know that this is an indefinite strike and we have agreed that it (strike) will only come to an end after government had announced salary increment”, he stated.

The transition from the author’s evaluations in clause (2) to the union leader’s evaluation in clause (3) can be read as a counter move. While we see the same type of evaluation used, that is Tenacity, in both clauses, the two evaluations are presented in contrasting terms of polarity and appeal to dichotomous activity verbs, *resolved* and *suggested*. In clause (2) the author makes a categorical statement that seems to present the strikers as obstinate but in clause (3), the union leader takes a different view and plays down the ‘resolution’ by using the verb *suggested*. A similar counter move is maintained in clause (5) to reinforce the positive Tenacity with which the union leader evaluates the strikers. While the resolution to go against the agreed time between the government and workers’ unions can be viewed as a combative decision, the expressions such as *were the leadership to adopt...* and *striking workers might return to work...* are strategically used by the union leader to play down the decision. The union leader presents the events around the extension of the strike as hypothetical. In both clauses, (3) and (5), the union leader evaluates the strikers (workers’ unions) through positive Tenacity and these evaluations are articulated indirectly. In clause (6), we encounter a binary evaluation in which the union leader evaluates the strike and the strikers in positive terms. Both evaluations are expressed indirectly.

Having looked at the evaluations that are expressed by the union leader in relation to those expressed by the author, I now move on to examine clauses (7) – (9). The evaluations in these clauses are attributed to the government voice.

(7) Meanwhile, the Director of the Directorate of Public Service Management (DPSM), Ms Festinah Bakwena said in an interview yesterday that she was not aware of the decision to continue the strike

(8) “What I know is that we agreed that the length of the strike will be 10 days after which they may engage on a go-slow after returning to work”.

(9) Ms Bakwena noted that the April 26 interim court order on essential services employees was never adhered to hence DPSM ended up going back to court, which ruled in favour of government

The evaluations in clauses (7) – (9) signal a difference of opinion between the government and the union leader. The government voice is introduced into the news text in clause (7) which begins with the adverb *meanwhile*. The strikers are evaluated through an indirect expression of negative Tenacity. The use of the adverb *meanwhile* is used to highlight the difference of opinion between the government and union leader. The expression of an indirect negative Tenacity in clause (7) resembles the evaluative opinion expressed by the author in clause (2) which was achieved via a counter-expectation, and the same sentiment is maintained in clause (8) though with an indirect expression of negative Propriety to evaluate the strikers. The repetition of the notion of ‘agreement’ between the government (employer) and civil servants is also evident in clause (8) and the evaluation is achieved via a counter-expectation. At the end of Text 5DN, we see a binary evaluation in which the government voice evaluates the strikers alongside the government in clause (9). These evaluations are marked by contrast in polarity. On one hand direct expression of negative Propriety is used by the government voice to evaluate the strikers while the government is evaluated via an indirect expression of positive Propriety on the other. Through the binary evaluation, the actions of the strikers, which are explained as non-

compliance of workers to the court order, are contrasted with the implied 'good' actions of the government.

To summarise this discussion of the use of evaluations in Text 5DN, I revisit the points I raised at the beginning of this section. I highlighted that the news text could be seen to present evaluations in two perspectives, that of the government and that of the union leader. We have seen that the two perspectives are set in contrast to each other – while the union leader takes a positive view of the strikers and the strike, the government evaluates them in negative terms. In addition, 90% of the evaluative statements in these contrasting perspectives are expressed indirectly. The only exception is in clause (9) in which the government voice evaluates the strikers through a direct expression of negative Propriety. So far I have focused on the perspectives of external voices and I now move on to consider the role of the author in relation to these contrasting perspectives. I stated earlier that the majority of evaluations in Text 5DN are attributed to external voices and that the voice of the author is confined to two evaluations. Now that the perspectives of the union leader and of the government have been established, it can be argued that the author's use of negative Tenacity to evaluate the strikers appears to be in support of the government's perspective. Even with the use of attribution, which I will revisit in the discussion of mitigation strategies, the author can be seen to take a negative evaluative stance towards the strikers.

Up to this point I have focused on the expression of evaluations in Text 5DN. In the remaining part of this section, I examine how the various evaluations are mitigated in the text. In clauses (1) and (2), the author expresses the negative evaluations of the strikers in an indirect manner. The use of indirectness in these clauses mitigates the negative Judgement that the author uses to evaluate the strikers. Turning now to other forms of mitigation in Text 5DN, I begin with a view of attribution as the overall strategy of mitigation. Other features combine from within attribution and enhance the mitigation of evaluation in the text. In clauses

(3), (5) and (6), in which we saw the union leader evaluating the strikers and the strike through positive Tenacity and positive Valuation, there is a multifaceted form of mitigation in which all the positive evaluations are expressed indirectly. In the clauses the evaluations are not marked by some explicit attitudinal lexis but the use of hypothetical expressions mark the targets for positive evaluations by a strategic downplaying of the workers' decision. Furthermore, the mitigation of the evaluations is reinforced by the choice of the reporting stance *acknowledged*, through which the author achieves some distance from the evaluative statements expressed. In clauses (7) and (8), the government voice also evaluates the strikers through indirect expressions. The reporting stance *acknowledged* is used in clause (7) while in clause (8) the reporting stance is *unspecified*. In clause (9), in which we find a binary evaluation, the evaluation of the strikers is a direct expression and the whole clause is quoted via the reporting stance *endorsed*. In this case, the mitigation is tied to the news source descriptor that begins in clause (7) to indicate the official position of the news source.

6.2.2 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 5MM

In this section I examine features of evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 5MM. A summary of all features of evaluation and mitigation strategies is presented in Figure 6.2.

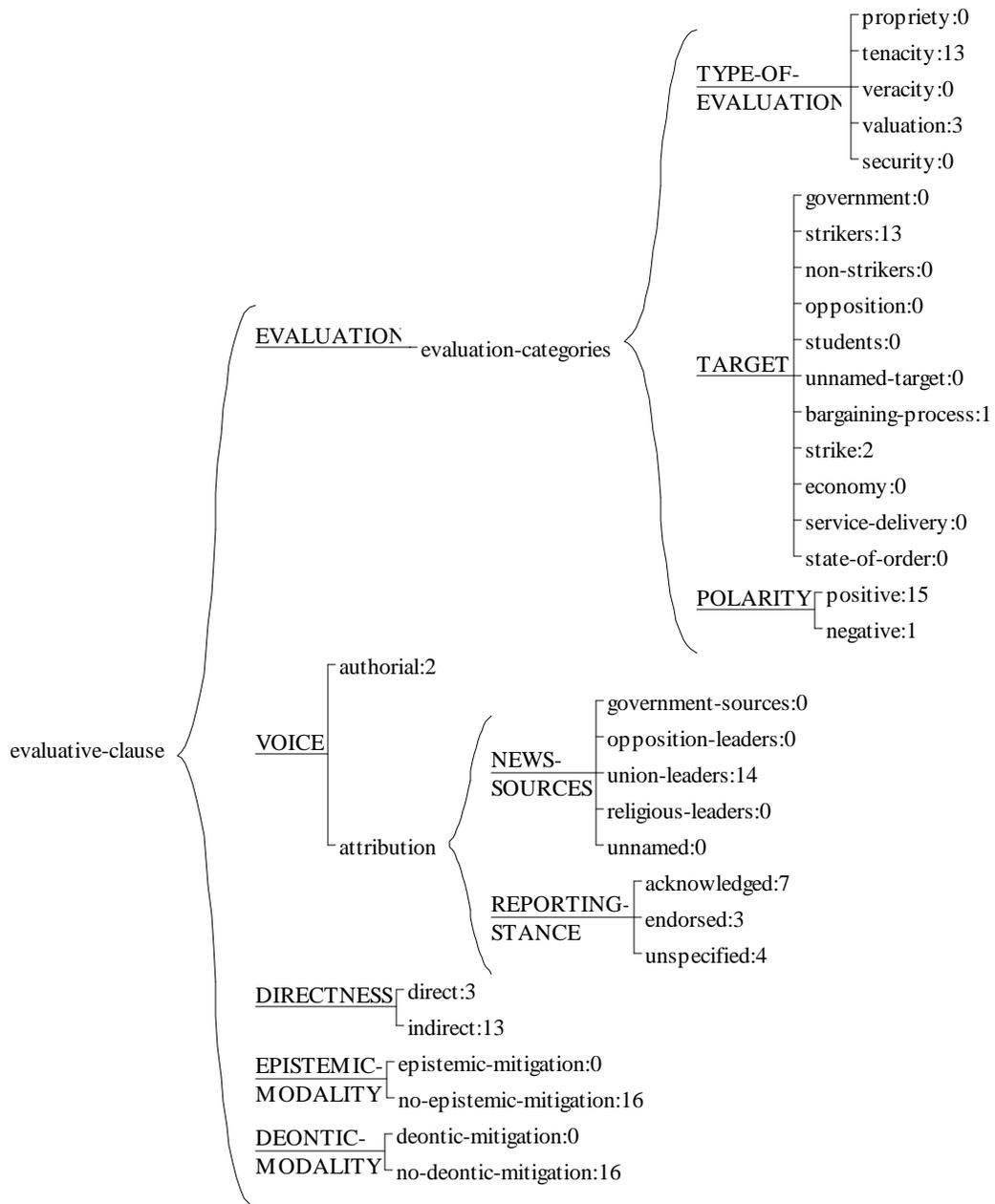


Figure 6.2 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 5MM

Looking at the category of evaluation, Text 5MM comprises Tenacity and Valuation which appear in the news text 13 times, and 3 times respectively. Figure 6.2 indicates that the strikers are the only human target in the news text, which means all the 13 evaluations of Tenacity are directed at the strikers while the other evaluations are used to target the bargaining process (1) and the strike (2). With regard to the category of voice in Figure 6.2, we see that the voice of the author is confined to 2 evaluations and the voice of the union leader is exclusively quoted in 14 evaluations. Attributed evaluations are quoted via the reporting stance *acknowledged*, which appears 7 times, the reporting stance *endorsed*, which appears 3 times, and for 4 evaluations the reporting stance is *unspecified*. In terms of the directness with which evaluations are expressed, it can be observed that indirect evaluations take precedence over direct evaluations, with a total of 13 indirect and 3 direct evaluations. This distribution of subcategories of directness will be explored in the next section to see how they are used in context. Finally, Figure 6.2 indicates that the polarity of evaluations is predominantly positive, with 15 positive evaluations and only 1 negative evaluation. Overall, Text 5MM presents an exclusive perspective of union leaders which is largely reported via the reporting stance *acknowledged*. In the discussion that follows, we will see how this overall orientation is played out in the news text, particularly in relation to the polarity and directness of evaluations, and how these relate to the targets that are evaluated in the text. Table 6.2 presents the complete mark-up of features in Text 5MM.

Table 6.2 Analysis of Text 5MM

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(1) Strike extended to Friday Non-evaluative					
(2) <i>The public service sector strike has been extended to Friday, 06 May, as workers remain resolute that government increase their salaries.</i>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Direct	Non-modalised
(3) Speaking to Mmegi, Secretary General of Botswana Federation of Public Sector Unions (BOFEPUSU), Andrew Motsamai said <ack.> <u>that the employer and the Commissioner of Labour were aware from the onset that the strike would be indefinite.</u>					
Union leader	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(4) <u>"It was intended that part one of the strike would go up to April 29, thereafter, workers would embark on a Go-Slow, which formed part two of the road map,"</u> Motsamai said <ack.>.					
Union leader	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(5) He explained <end> <u>that it has since emerged from the consultations that took place during the May Day celebrations on Sunday that workers all over the country are resolute that the total withdrawal of labour continue up to Friday.</u>					
Union leader	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Direct	Non-modalised
(6) <u>"Leadership has therefore heeded the call for members to continue assembling at the usual points and postponed the Go-Slow part two of the Road map until further review on Friday."</u>					
Union leader	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(7) He added <ack.> <u>that the leadership is also aware that some may have already gone back to work, as they believed that the strike ended last Friday.</u>					

Non-evaluative					
(8) <u>"To that end, workers are legally covered to continue with the strike until it has been officially called off by the Federation,"</u> Motsamai said <ack.>.					
Union leader	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strike	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(9) He indicated <end.> <u>that the union leaders will in the coming days approach the DPSPM to agree on a number of issues incidental to the strike including an understanding of 'No Work No Pay' in relation to duties not performed during the past two weeks.</u>					
Union leader	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(10) <u>"That is whether the employer is aware that our members will not be expected to teach, or collect refuse and any other work pending from the days that they would not be paid for".</u>					
Union leader	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(11) <u>"Members are to note that hard negotiations will take place before any deductions are made on our salaries,"</u> Motsamai said <ack.>.					
Union leader	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(12) The unionist further advised <end.> <u>employees discharging non-essential services within the institutions classified as essential, as agreed in terms of Rule 7.3, to join the strike.</u>					
Union leader	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Strike	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(13) <u>"That withstanding and abiding by the Interim Relief Court Order on the essential services, all workers rendering essential services are to go back to work,"</u> he said <ack.>.					
Union leader	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(14) <u>"Only 20 percent of workers in non-essential services are expected to remain behind, that is, inclusive of non-essential workers in essential service institutions".</u>					

Union leader	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(15) <u>It is our expectation that the employer, in terms of the rules, will provide the trade union party with the categories and/or names of employees required to participate in the strike,</u> he said <ack.>.					
Union leader	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(16) Adding <ack.> <u>that they are optimistic that the Industrial Court judgment on the essential services workers right to strike, which is expected to be delivered on Friday, would be in their favour.</u>					
Union leader	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(17) <u>"If we lose the case, the law provides that a note of appeal will suspend the judgement until the appeal is heard, of which the essential service workers will join the strike on 30 percent minimum service strike rules' provision by May 7."</u>					
Union leader	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(18) Public service employees embarked on a national strike <u>following a deadlock over salary increment negotiations.</u>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Bargaining process	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(19) The unions wanted government to give them 13.8 percent inflationary adjustment and a 2.2 percent increment totalling 16 percent. Non-evaluative					
(20) However, government, represented by the DPSM, has offered a five percent increment on condition that it is effected by September after the reviewing of the first quarter of the financial year and if the economy had improved by then. Non-evaluative					

(21) The unions rejected the conditional offer.

Non-evaluative

(22) This will be the third week that the public employees have been on strike.

Non-evaluative

In Text 5MM, the news headline in clause (1) bears no evaluation and my interest in this clause is in how the author begins clause (2) with a repetition of the information that is expressed in the preceding clause. The repeated information is highlighted in clause (2) below.

(2) The public service sector strike has been extended to Friday, 06 May, as workers remain resolute that government increase their salaries.

In addition to the repeated information, the author adds a direct expression of positive Tenacity to evaluate the strikers. Overall, what we see in clause (1) is non-evaluative news content that is repeated in clause (2), followed by an evaluative statement. Both of these clauses are declaratives and it is interesting that all the other evaluations in the rest of the news text are attributed to one external voice. It seems that by starting the news text with declaratives, the author makes categorical statements that largely invite a single perspective. Another aspect of the author's statements, particularly in clause (2), is that the direct evaluation of strikers puts the mitigation of evaluation in the news text at stake. This is a point I will return to later in the discussion.

The union leader is introduced into the news text from clause (3) in which the strikers are evaluated with an indirect expression of positive Tenacity.

(3) Speaking to Mmegi, Secretary General of Botswana Federation of Public Sector Unions (BOFEPUSU), Andrew Motsamai said that the employer and the Commissioner of Labour were aware from the onset that the strike would be indefinite

As I pointed out above, all evaluations of Tenacity in Text 5MM are used to evaluate the strikers. Among these, 12 are attributed to the union leader. A common characteristic in these attributed evaluations of Tenacity is that they are all positive and the only variation is in terms of the directness with which they are expressed. 11 evaluations of Tenacity are indirect expressions while 1 is a direct evaluation. As a result of this overall commonality, these evaluations of Tenacity will be discussed together and I will draw attention to some key aspects of these here. In general terms, these evaluations of Tenacity are used by the union leader to express admiration for the strikers.

The indirect expression of positive Tenacity in clause (3) appears to indicate the union leader's admiration of the strikers' decision to stay on course. The latter part of the clause reads *the employer and the Commissioner of Labour were aware from the onset that the strike would be indefinite*. By highlighting the prior knowledge of the employer and the Commissioner of Labour the union leader strategically backgrounds the decision of the strikers to continue with the strike and foregrounds the 'knowledge' of the employer/Commissioner of Labour about the indefinite duration of the strike. With this foregrounding of the employer's 'knowledge', the union leader implies that the strikers are doing what was planned from the beginning of the strike. The union leader's admiration of the strikers is an evaluative sentiment that continues throughout the news text with the majority of positive Tenacity of strikers expressed as indirect evaluations. In clauses (4) and (6) for example, the union leader uses some expressions (highlighted in the clauses below) to underscore his admiration.

(4) "It was intended that part one of the strike would go up to April 29, thereafter, workers would embark on a Go-Slow, which formed **part two of the road map**," Motsamai said

(6) "Leadership has therefore **heeded the call** for members to continue assembling at the usual points and postponed the **Go-Slow part two of the Road map** until further review on Friday."

In clause (4) the union leader talks about *part two of the road map*, a descriptive phrase that indirectly underlines that the long duration of the strike was well planned from the beginning. We see this phrase repeated in clause (6) alongside *heeded the call*, both of which present the strikers as determined. This is followed by the union leader's projection of the legality of the strike as the important factor on which the decision to continue with the strike is based.

So far I have examined the expression of evaluation in Text 5MM and made reference to some examples of evaluations that are expressed indirectly. It is important at this point to mention that the use of indirect evaluations is a very prevalent form of mitigation in the news text. In the rest of the discussion of Text 5MM therefore I focus on the patterns of mitigation in this news text. Earlier when I discussed the author's expression of evaluation in clause (2) I mentioned that the explicit evaluation of strikers appears to put the mitigation of evaluation in Text 5MM at stake. I now return to this point as I begin to examine the patterns of mitigation in Text 5MM. The direct expression of positive Tenacity that the author uses to evaluate the strikers is a surprising finding in the news text as there seems to be no attempt by the author to mitigate the evaluation. It is recognised that in the entire news text, the author uses a direct expression of Judgement only once and that it does not refer to the morality of the strikers but to their perseverance. We can also consider the explicit evaluation in clause (2) with reference to clauses (3) and (5) which foreground the union leader. The descriptors that are used to refer to the union leader may be used to indirectly point the reader to the fact that the lexical choice made by the author that strikers are resolute was in fact sourced from the union leader. This is achieved through repetition of the adjective *resolute* in the expression *workers all over the country are resolute*, an expression that is an echo of clause (2). In addition to the expression of direct positive Tenacity to target strikers in clause (2), the author expresses another direct evaluation in clause (18), a direct expression of negative Valuation of the bargaining process. It can be noted that clause (18) seems to be used by the author to provide some background information to

explain the earlier parts of the news text. However, a detailed discussion of evaluative meanings as reflected in the structural form of news texts is beyond the scope of this analysis.

In terms of evaluations attributed to the union leader, multifaceted forms of mitigation are evident. Specifically, we see a prevalence of combinations between indirect evaluations of the strikers' Tenacity and the positive Valuation of the strike quoted via the reporting stance *acknowledged*, and in some clauses the reporting stance is *unspecified*. This is evident in the majority of clauses and here we will look only at clauses (10), (11), (14) and (16) to illustrate this point.

(10) "That is whether the employer is aware that our members will not be expected to teach, or collect refuse and any other work pending from the days that they would not be paid for"

(11) "Members are to note that hard negotiations will take place before any deductions are made on our salaries," Motsamai said

(14) "Only 20 percent of workers in Non-essential services are expected to remain behind, that is, inclusive of non-essential workers in essential service institutions"

(16) Adding that they are optimistic that the Industrial Court judgment on the essential services workers right to strike, which is expected to be delivered on Friday, would be in their favour

In clauses (10), (11) and (14) the union leader seems to be alluding to some contentious issues to be discussed with the employer. With such contentious issues implicated around the opinions expressed, we see the union leader making the evaluations inexplicit. In clauses (10) and (14) the author leaves the reporting stance *unspecified* and displays apparent direct quotations, while in clause (11) the author uses the reporting expression *said* to quote the union leader. In clauses where the reporting stance is *unspecified*, where the news source is quoted directly, the news reporter seems to achieve a distance and allows the news sources to express what they hold as factual information. In

cases where the reporting stance is *acknowledged*, the news reporter takes a 'less interpretative type of discourse representation' (Piazza 2009:185).

6.2.3 Comparative discussion of Texts 5DN and 5MM

From the analysis of evaluation and mitigation strategies in Texts 5DN and 5MM, some key similarities and differences can be observed. In both news texts evaluations are largely expressed indirectly, the majority of which are directed at the strikers. There is also more saturation of evaluations of Judgement than those of Valuation and through this saturation of Judgement human targets are set up for praise or condemnation, and admiration or criticism. In terms of mitigation strategies, Texts 5DN and 5MM use attribution as the most prominent type of mitigation. As has already been discussed, the majority of evaluations in both texts are attributed to external news sources. At the beginning of this section, it was mentioned that Texts 5DN and 5MM report the extension of the duration of the workers' strike and it was pointed out that in both news texts, the strikers are the most evaluated target while other targets, that is, the government and the strike in Text 5DN, and the strike and the bargaining process in Text 5MM were evaluated to a limited extent. We also saw that in both news texts the voice of the author is backgrounded while the majority of evaluations are attributed to external news sources and expressed indirectly. The use of attribution and the indirect expression of evaluations within attribution is the most prevalent form of mitigation in Texts 5DN and 5MM.

Having noted these similarities between Texts 5DN and 5MM, it is important to also note that the news texts differ in a number of ways. In general terms, and on the basis of the appearance of external voices, Text 5DN seems to present a perspective that is balanced between the government and union leaders. However variations in other categories, particularly the spread of types of directness and the frequency with which targets are evaluated necessitates a more in-depth analysis in order to gain a more comprehensive view of these

features. Text 5MM presents an exclusive perspective of union leaders which is largely reported via the reporting stance *acknowledged*.

That being said, it should be noted that 5DN and 5MM are different in a number of ways. Returning to the category of voice, and especially the subcategory of attribution, we saw that in Text 5DN there was a presentation of a balanced perspective in which we saw evaluations distributed equally between the government and the union leader. Again the construction of the news headline in the interrogative provided such an evaluative platform which invited a number of evaluative opinions, hence seeing the opinion of the government and that of the union leader. In contrast to Text 5DN, attributed evaluations in Text 5MM are exclusive to the union leader. In Text 5MM we see the exclusive perspective of the union leader that is largely positive. While the strikers are evaluated in negative terms in Text 5DN, in Text 5MM they are evaluated in positive terms.

6.3 Text 6DN and Text 6MM

In Texts 6DN and 6MM, the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* report the general response of students following the extension of the duration of the workers' strike.

6.3.1 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 6DN

In this section I examine features of evaluation and mitigation in Text 6DN and I begin with the overall appearance of these features as displayed in Figure 6.3.

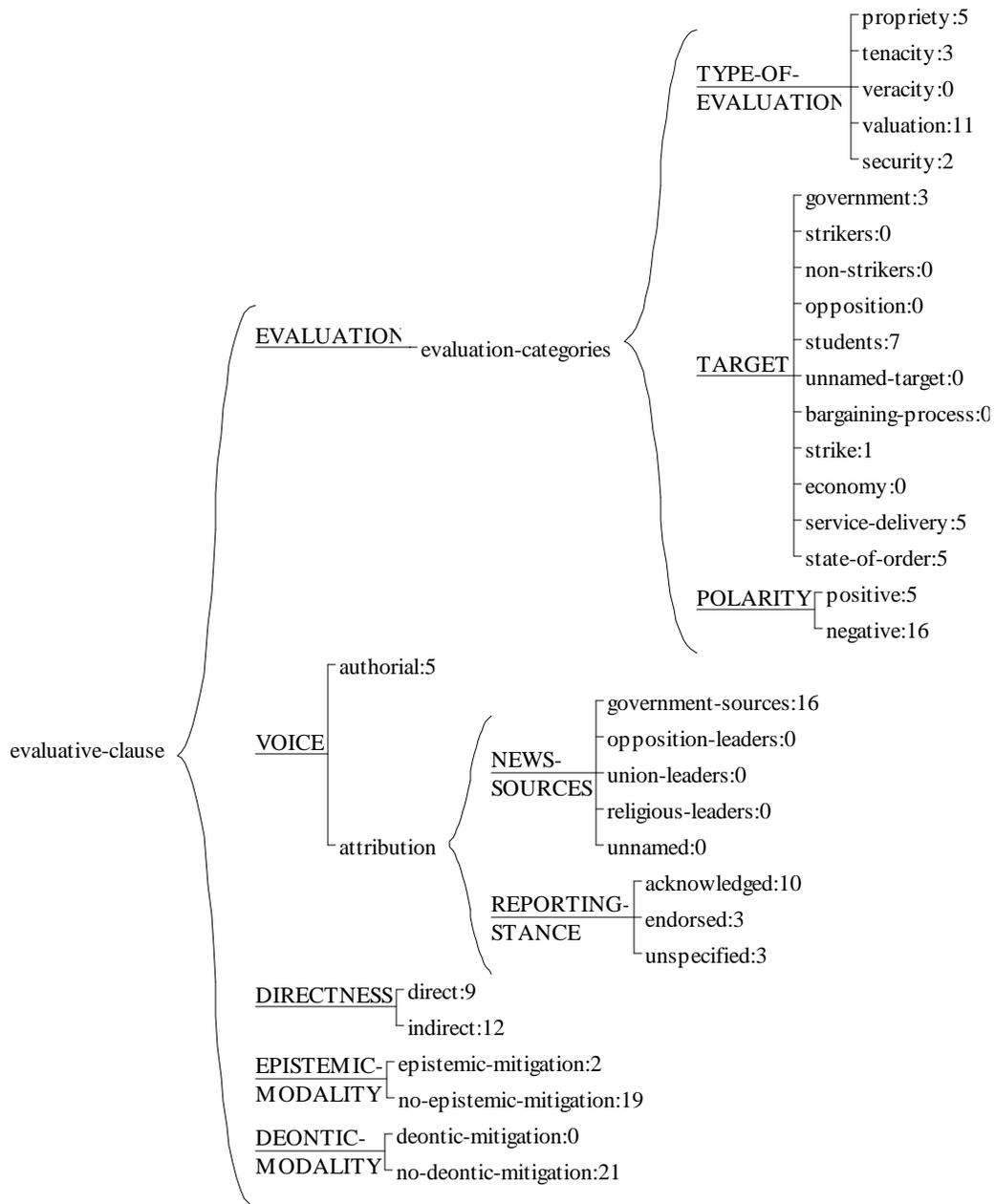


Figure 6.3 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 6DN

Among the types of evaluation in Text 6DN, Valuation is the most frequently used type and it appears 11 times in the news text, while Security is the least used

type of evaluation. It appears twice in the whole news text. Other types of evaluation, namely Propriety and Tenacity, appear 5 and 3 times respectively. Another observation about Text 6DN is that direct evaluations are employed 9 times as compared to indirect evaluations which appear 12 times in the text. With regard to polarity, there is a vast difference between the frequency of positive and negative evaluations. Positive evaluations appear 5 times while negative evaluations appear 16 times in the news text. Within the news text, students are the most evaluated target (7 times) while the strike is the least evaluated target (appearing once). The government is evaluated 3 times, service delivery 5 times and the state of order 5 times. Figure 6.3 indicates that the majority of evaluations in Text 6DN, 16 in all, are attributed exclusively to the government while the author expresses 5 evaluations. With regard to the types of reporting stance, the reporting stance *acknowledged* is the most used form of quoting the government – it is used in 10 evaluations. Evaluations that are quoted via the reporting stance *endorsed* and those for which the reporting stance is *unspecified* are equally distributed – these types of reporting stance are each used 3 times in the text. In general terms Text 6DN largely presents and acknowledges a government perspective on the events surrounding the students' response to the extension of the duration of the workers' strike. We now turn to Table 6.3 to examine this overall orientation of the news text.

Table 6.3 Analysis of Text 6DN

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(1) LobSec. students threaten to boycott classes					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Students	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
(2) LOBATSE: Lobatse Senior Secondary School students have requested the school management to call an emergency meeting to brief parents about the situation at the school.					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	State of order	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(3) The school head, Mr Moses Mongale disclosed this when briefing the area MP, Mr Nehemiah Modubule and councillors who visited the school to get information about the Wednesday incident which compelled the Minister of Education, Skills and Development, Ms Pelonomi Venson-Moitoi to come and address the students.					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	State of order	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(4) Mr Mongale said <ack.> <u>the students threatened to boycott the school on Thursday to protest the damage done to their education by the ongoing strike by teachers.</u>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Students	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(5) <u>The students were particularly concerned about the future of the form fives as they will be sitting for their final examinations at the end of year.</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Students	-Sec, Direct	Non-modalised
(6) He said <ack.> <u>the students called for temporary closure of the school as they were not taught and spent the time idling.</u>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(7) The school head managed to calm the students and called a meeting where they resolved to call an emergency meeting involving their parents so that they could raise their concerns and agree on a way forward.					

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(8) However, Mr Mongale explained <end> <u>that since the beginning of the strike there were no threats as there was proper consultation with students and they appreciated the problem with a hope that things would be back to normal after the initial 10 days of the strike.</u>					
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Students	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Indir.	
(9) He said <ack.> <u>after hearing that the strike had been extended by another five days, management found flyers all over the school expressing students' concerns.</u>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strike	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	State of order	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Students	-Sec, Direct	
(10) <u>Students also demanded that the remaining teachers should stop teaching as some classes were left without teachers.</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Students	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(11) Mr Mongale said <ack.> <u>the school had been operating with 36 per cent of teaching staff, adding <ack.> that on the day of the disturbance it was operating with 42 per cent of staff as some teachers had returned to work.</u>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	State of order	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Service delivery	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
<p>(12) The school head said <ack.> they contacted the office of the district commissioner as they felt that students might cause chaos in the school and the office of the commissioner informed the minister.</p>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Median	Students	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
Gov.	Acknowledged	Median	State of order	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
<p>(13) In her address, Ms Venson-Moitoi asked the students to write down their concerns and propose solutions.</p> <p>Non-evaluative</p>					
<p>(14) Mr Mongale also briefed <end> the area MP and his delegation that the students have written down their concerns and handed the letter to the DC who forwarded it to the ministry.</p> <p>Non-evaluative</p>					
<p>(15) <i>The school head is optimistic that the meeting with parents will help map a way forward.</i></p>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
<p>(16) The delegation advised the school head to work hand in hand with the town leadership on issues of concern in the school.</p> <p>Non-evaluative</p>					

The news text begins with a direct expression of negative Propriety that the author uses to evaluate students. Following the negative Propriety in clause (1), the author expresses two other evaluations in clauses (2) and (3), and these are expressed as indirect expressions of negative Valuation that are used to evaluate the general state of order in the school.

(1) LobSec¹⁵ students threaten to boycott classes

(2) LOBATSE: Lobatse Senior Secondary School students have requested the school management to call an emergency meeting to brief parents about the situation at the school

(3) The school head, Mr Moses Mongale disclosed this when briefing the area MP, Mr Nehemiah Modubule and councillors who visited the school to get information about the Wednesday incident which compelled the Minister of Education, Skills and Development, Ms Pelonomi Venson-Moitoi to come and address the students.

The evaluation in clause (1) is constructed as a declarative type of evaluation that is not expressed in any mitigated terms. This foremost negative Propriety is expressed as a categorical statement and it establishes the students as a target for moral disapproval. This finding accords with the earlier observation in Chapter 5, which showed that a news opening with a third-person focus does establish a target for moral disapproval as suggested by White (2003). The words that stand out in clause (1) are the two verbs, *threaten* and *boycott*. In the overall events of the strike, the verb *threaten* denotes a verbal action by the students while the action of *boycotting classes* denotes sense of protest. While the type of evaluation shifts from Judgement to Valuation in clause (2), there is still the same sense of an aura of disorder. Reference to *an emergency meeting* seems to reinforce the evaluative tone that the author established in clause (1). The author also makes reference to *the situation at the school*, an abstract entity. This is a strategic ambiguity that adds to the generalised negative atmosphere that the author depicts through the evaluations. It is possible that *the situation at the school*, mentioned in clause (2) can be interpreted as a reference to the state of service delivery, a target that appears later in the news text, or as a reference to the disorderly events carried out by students. As can be noticed in Table 6.3, I have coded *the situation at the school* as a negative Valuation of the unfolding

¹⁵ This is an abbreviated name of one of the senior secondary schools. The full name is Lobatse Senior Secondary School

events that students are implicated in. This is partly based on the fact that the threat of boycotting classes, described in clause (1) by the author, can be viewed as a type of event that would warrant an *emergency meeting*, also mentioned in clause (2).

6.3.2 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 6MM

In this section, I examine features of evaluation and mitigation in Text 6MM, the second news text in Text pair 6. The overall appearance of features of evaluation and mitigation in this text are displayed in Figure 6.4.

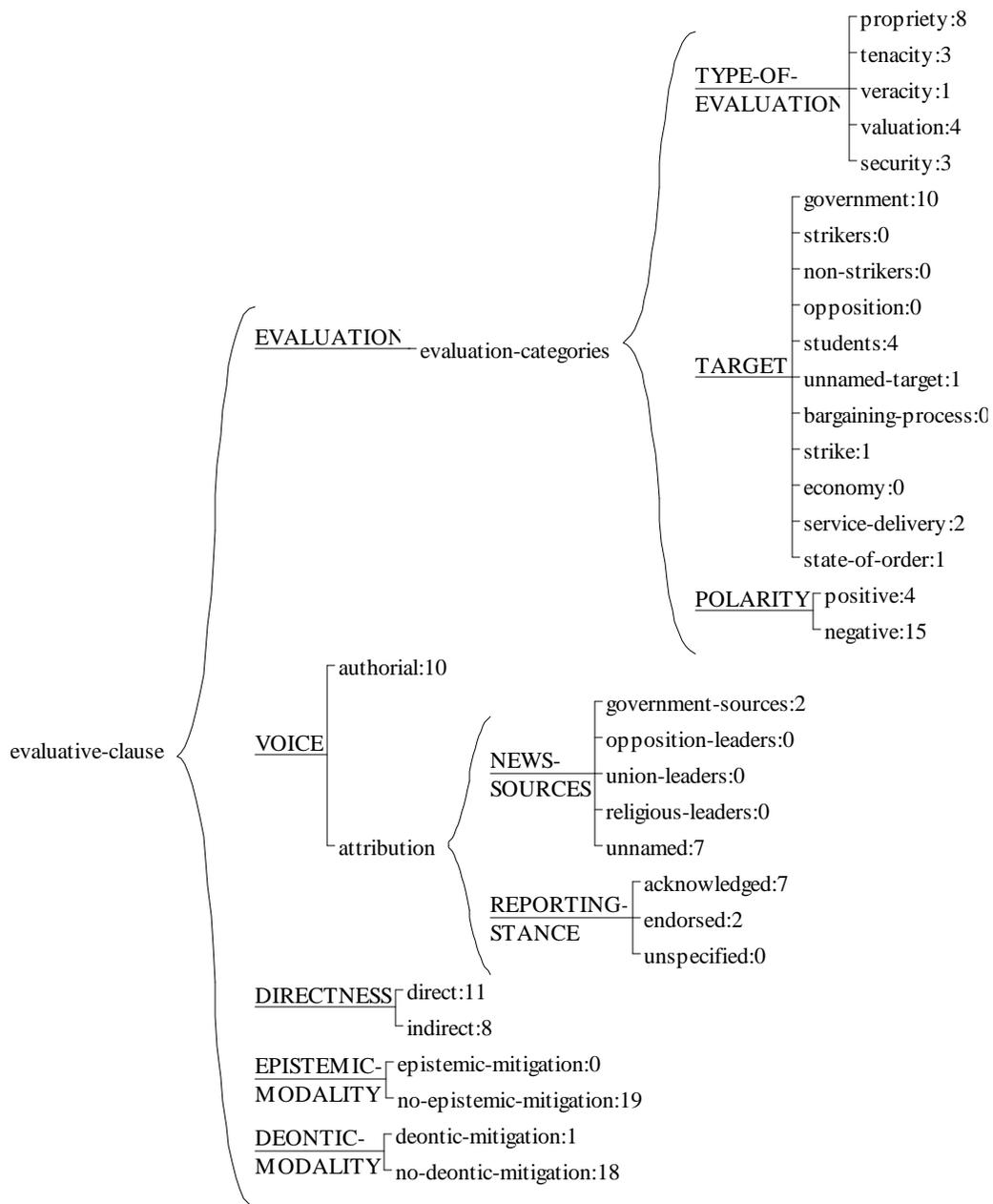


Figure 6.4 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 6MM

Looking at Figure 6.4, types of evaluation in Text 6MM are made up of 8 evaluations of Propriety, 3 evaluations of Security, 3 evaluations of Tenacity, 4 evaluations of Valuation, and 1 evaluation of Veracity. Evaluations in Text 6MM

therefore lean more towards Judgement than Appreciation and Affect. Categories of polarity show a marked difference between their frequencies. In the news text, only 4 evaluations are positive while 15 are negative. In terms of targets, the government is evaluated the most (10 times), followed by students (4 times), while service delivery (2 times), state of order (once), the strike (once) and an unnamed target (once) are evaluated to a limited extent. With regard to the set of voices that express evaluations in Text 6MM, we see the author's voice being the most frequent. This is a striking feature in the news text, one that I will return to in the discussion that follows. Of the 19 evaluations articulated in Text 6MM, 10 are expressed by the author, 7 are attributed to unnamed news sources, while 2 are attributed to government news sources. Turning now to the types of reporting stance, more evaluations, 7 in all, are quoted via the reporting stance *acknowledged* while only 2 are quoted via the reporting stance *endorsed*. There is no attributed evaluation in which the reporting stance is *unspecified*. In the news text 11 evaluations are direct while 8 are indirect. As I have mentioned above the voice of the author is prevalent in the text, followed by that of unnamed sources. The overall perspective in the text appears to be from the author's viewpoint, which then alternates with the voice of unnamed sources. I explore this overall orientation in the discussion below and we begin by looking at the features of Text 6MM presented in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4 Analysis of Text 6MM

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(1) <u>Venson-Moitoi leaves LobSec students out in the cold</u>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
(2) LOBATSE: <u>Lobatse Senior Secondary School students went home with dampened spirits yesterday</u> as Education and Skills Development Minister, Pelonomi Venson-Moitoi failed to respond to their letter <u>by 2:30 pm as promised</u>.					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Students	-Sec, Direct	Non-modalised
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Ten, Direct	High obligation
(3) <u>In the wake of Tuesday’s demonstrations sparked by notices posted around the school calling upon the student community to be revolutionary to counteract or tacitly support the ongoing civil service strike, which has led to a halt in their education, the students wanted to know the relevance of coming to school.</u>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	State of order	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(4) In an interview the student, who did not want to be named, said <ack.> <u>as a result of the letter the minister addressed the school on Wednesday, insisting they communicate their concerns in writing.</u>					
Unnamed	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(5) <u>“She said we should write to her, which we did and she promised to get back to us at 2:30 pm today (Thursday),”</u> the student said <ack.>					
Unnamed	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
<p>(6) Addressing the students, the school headmaster said <ack.> <u>their request to leave the school premises would not be possible since the minister had not responded.</u> Non-evaluative</p>					
<p>(7) <i>He appealed to them to remain on campus pending the Parent-Teachers Association (PTA) meeting scheduled for next Monday.</i></p>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
<p>(8) <u>"You can't leave now, remember we have been working together since the beginning of this, and we worked together cooperatively,"</u> he said <ack.>.</p>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Students	+Ten, Direct	Non-modalised
<p>(9) Despite some students demanding the letter to be read out, the headmaster insisted that the content should not be shared with all students.</p>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
<p>(10) <i>The headmaster changed his mind after an officer from the Regional Education Office secretly cautioned him against the idea, as he felt it was inappropriate and could be misinterpreted and possibly incite the students.</i></p>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
<p>(11) After the assembly students could be heard whispering <u>that it was time the ministry explained to them what was going on</u>, saying <ack.> <u>that since the strike started the ministry has not consulted them.</u></p>					
Unnamed	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
<p>(12) They added <ack.> <u>that with the final examination just four months away, it was disheartening that they were behind schedule in coursework – worrying that they may never catch up.</u></p>					
Unnamed	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Students	-Sec, Direct	Non-modalised

Unnamed	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(13) <u>“We can see that most of us won’t make it to tertiary education, and that will be the end of all the dreams we had for the future,”</u> one student lamented <end.>.					
Unnamed	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Students	-Sec, Direct	Non-modalised
(14) They said <ack.> <u>that the minister advised <end.> them to stay away from the strike, as it is politically fuelled.</u>					
Unnamed	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Strike	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(15) <u>Meanwhile, contrary to reports, students at Kagiso Senior Secondary School in Ramotswa have not engaged in demonstrations.</u>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Unnamed target	-Ver, Direct	Non-modalised

In clause (1), we see a non-modalised direct expression of negative Propriety, an evaluation that is expressed by the author to evaluate the government.

(1) Venson-Moitoi leaves LobSec students out in the cold

In clause (1), the government is established as a target for explicit criticism and moral disapproval. The emphasis of this criticism can be found in the idiomatic expression *leaves LobSec students out in the cold*. The moral disapproval that is directed at the government facilitates the view of students as victims who are accorded some sympathy in the news text. The criticism of the government is

carried on into clause (2) in which we see a tripartite form of evaluation with the government evaluated twice and students evaluated once.

(2) Lobatse Senior Secondary School students went home with dampened spirits yesterday as Education and Skills Development Minister, Pelonomi Venson-Moitoi failed to respond to their letter by 2:30 pm as promised.

This tripartite form of evaluation comprises a direct non-modalised negative Security that is used to evaluate the students in affectual terms, a non-modalised negative Propriety and a non-modalised negative Tenacity, both of which evaluate the government. What is interesting about this pattern of evaluations is how they are weaved in such a way that the negative Security that is used to evaluate the students is explained through the evaluations that are used to target the government. Still in clause (2) we see an imposition of high obligation on the government. The author highlights that the minister had *promised* to respond to the students' letter by a certain time (2.30pm). Having seen the author's direct expression in three of four evaluations in clauses (1) and (2), it can be argued that due to the saturation of direct evaluations in these clauses, mitigation of evaluation is at stake. In these clauses, only one evaluation (negative Propriety) is mitigated through an indirect expression. Having noted this overall absence of mitigation in clauses (1) and (2), we might also relook at the way the target is described. In clause (2) the target, who represents the government, is referred to by a descriptor that specifies her official position, and is also referred to by name. This elevates the target and somewhat calls the actions of the government to question. Much like news source descriptors, target descriptors could be seen to set the targets up for direct evaluation. In the case of clauses (1) and (2) in Text 6MM the descriptors that specify the official position of the target seem to hold them to a higher account, demanding that they should be beyond reproach.

In clause (3) the author turns attention to non-human targets, the state of order and service delivery, and these are also evaluated directly in a binary evaluation.

(3) In the wake of Tuesday's demonstrations sparked by notices posted around the school calling upon the student community to be revolutionary to counteract or tacitly support the ongoing civil service strike, which has led to a halt in their education, the students wanted to know the relevance of coming to school.

Clause (3) is made up of action descriptions: *to be revolutionary*, *to counteract or tacitly support the strike*. These descriptions seem to convey a heightened situation that students were involved in. The expressions also project an aura of disorder in the school. The evaluations in clause (4) and (5) provide a continuation of a heightened and tense encounter between the students and the minister.

(4) In an interview the student, who did not want to be named, said as a result of the letter the minister addressed the school on Wednesday, insisting they communicate their concerns in writing.

(5) "She said we should write to her, which we did and she promised to get back to us at 2:30 pm today (Thursday)," the student said.

In the initial segment of clause (4), the unnamed news source makes reference to *the letter*, a phrase that however has no previous object of reference and in order to comprehend this part of the clause we need to revisit clause (3) in which the author expresses a negative Valuation of service delivery. In the expression, the author appears to provide a summarised version of the content of the letter that is being talked about. Text 6MM also uses a recursive pattern of evaluation in clause (14). The clause is made up of a binary evaluation that makes reference to two news sources who evaluate two different targets.

(14) They said that the minister advised them to stay away from the strike, as it is politically fuelled.

The expressions *said* and *advised* indicate two types of reporting stance in the same clause. The reporting expression *said* is used to quote the students who evaluates the minister while *advised* is used to quote the minister as she evaluates the strike. Earlier in clause (3), the students were presented to have

had two options: “to counteract” the ongoing civil service strike or to “tacitly support the ongoing civil service strike”. In clause (4) it is stated that ‘the minister addressed the school on Wednesday...’ It appears that in clause (14) the advice being talked about is what the minister is reported to have said in her address. The question remains as to whether the students were given the option of ‘counteracting the strike’.

In Text 6MM there is a clear preference for unnamed news sources, students, who are referred to as a collective entity. Within the news text, the students are generally given a tone of sympathy while the government is criticised. Such a tone of sympathy is reinforced by the appeal to the students’ emotional reactions. The voice of the author alternates with the voice of the students. The author expresses both direct and indirect evaluations. In (1) and (2) the author relies on target descriptors to obscure the evaluations and in (6), (9) and (10) the author uses indirect expressions of evaluation. This is different to clause (15) where the author uses a direct evaluation- the author refers to ‘reports’ but the exact target is not mentioned. Leaving the target unnamed enables the author to express the evaluation in vague terms.

6.3.3 Comparative discussion of Texts 6DN and 6MM

In Texts 6DN and 6MM we see a presentation that projects heightened tensions in schools in response to the extension of the duration of the workers’ strike. Both news texts foreground evaluations about the students and the government. While Text 6DN evaluates students in negative terms at the beginning of the text, Text 6MM foreground negative evaluation of the government. In Text 6DN the voice of the author alternates with the voice of the government but in Text 6MM, the perspective of the government is restricted, instead the voice of the author alternates with the voice of unnamed news sources, that is, the students.

6.4 Text 7DN and Text 7MM

The focus of the news coverage in Texts 7DN and 7MM is the state of service provision in the health sector. With reference to the Botswana Trade Dispute Act, Motshegwa and Bodilenyane (2012:73) state that during the workers strike in 2011, employees in the health sector had been classified as essential services and their participation in the strike was considered unlawful. Following the extension of the duration of the strike, reported in Texts 5DN and 5MM, some employees in the health sector were dismissed from work due to their failure to comply with a court order in which they had been ordered to return to work. It is against this background that the news in Text 7DN and 7MM is reported.

6.4.1 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 7DN

In this section, I examine features of evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 7DN, the first news text in Text pair 7. The overall appearance of features of evaluation and mitigation in this text are displayed in Figure 6.5.

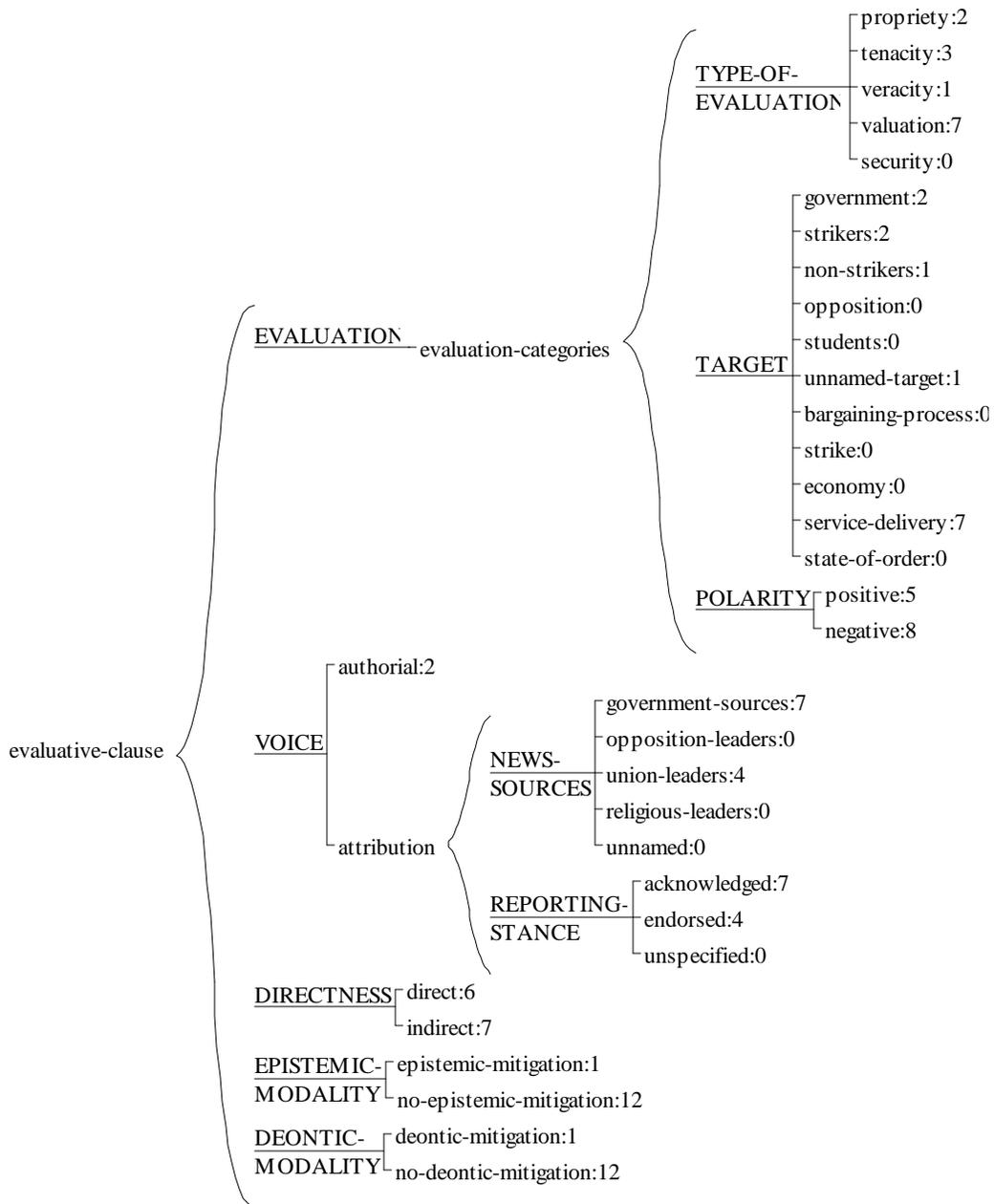


Figure 6.5 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 7DN

The spread of types of evaluation in Text 7DN comprises Propriety, Tenacity, and Veracity - resources of Judgement - which are used 2 times, 3 times, and 1

time respectively. Valuation is used 7 times in the text. Overall, the news text does not show a vast difference between the use of Judgement and Valuation. It can be seen in Figure 6.5 that service delivery is a central target in the text, it is evaluated 7 times, and it is not surprising that Valuation is the prominent type of evaluation in the text. The strikers and the government are each evaluated twice, while non-strikers and an unnamed target are each evaluated once. When we examine the category of voice in Figure 6.5, we notice that 2 evaluations in the news text are expressed by the author. Within the subcategory of attribution 7 evaluations are attributed to government news sources, while 4 are attributed to union leaders. Of the 11 attributed evaluations, 7 are quoted via the reporting stance *acknowledged* while 4 evaluations are quoted via the reporting stance *endorsed*. There is no evaluation in which the reporting stance is *unspecified*. In terms of the directness with which evaluations are expressed, Text 7DN does not show any pronounced preference for either direct or indirect evaluations, with 6 direct and 7 indirect evaluations. As far as polarity is concerned, the news text shows a slight difference between the appearance of positive and negative evaluations, with 5 positive and 8 negative evaluations. Overall Text 7DN foregrounds a government perspective but also includes the perspective of the union leader. Since the news text is predominantly about service delivery, in the following section I examine how each voice, including that of the author, evaluates this target. I also examine how other targets are positioned in relation to service delivery. Let us turn to Table 6.5.

Table 6.5 Analysis of Text 7DN

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(1) Strike cripples health services					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(2) GABORONE - Service provision in the public health facilities is taking a beating from the ongoing industrial action by government employees as more professionals are continuing to join.					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(3) Ministry of Health's chief public relations officer, Ms Doreen Motshegwa said <ack.> this had caused a setback in their service delivery.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(4) The situation has overstretched those who have remained behind , she said <ack.>.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(5) However, she pointed out <end.> that the sector was continuing to offer services as those remaining behind have to double their efforts to ensure service continuity.					
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Service delivery	+Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Non-strikers	+Ten, Direct	High obligation
(6) Ms Motshegwa denied <end> rumours doing the rounds that Princess Marina Referral Hospital on Wednesday had majority of its nurses and doctors joining the strike , saying <ack.> the turnout at the hospital was not adversely affected.					
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Unnamed target	-Ver, Indir.	Non-modalised
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Service delivery	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(7) She further made appeal <end.> to Batswana to be mindful of the winter weather and avoid all situations, which might lead them to seek services from health services bearing in mind the current situation.					
Gov.	Endorsed	Median	Service delivery	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(8) Botswana Federation of Public Sector Unions' (BOFEPUSU) Mr Goretsetse Kekgonegile said <ack.> nurses and doctors are continuing to join the strike countrywide.					
Union leader	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(9) According to him <ack.>, the professionals view the decision to dismiss them as unwarranted and without any legal authority.					
Union leader	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(10) That amounts to unfair dismissal and unfair dismissal can be challenged in court, he said <ack.> and added <ack.> that they have not yet had precise figures of striking health professionals.					
Union leader	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
Union leader	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised

Three evaluative segments can be observed in this news text and in the following discussion I begin with an overview of these segments in order to show how each segment positions each voice in relation to other voices.

In clauses (1) and (2), the author evaluates service delivery in health facilities with an inscribed negative Valuation.

(1) Strike cripples health services

(2) Service provision in the public health facilities is taking a beating from the ongoing industrial action by government employees as more professionals are continuing to join.

In these clauses, the author uses figurative expressions *cripples* and *taking a beating* to emphasise the acute state of service provision in health facilities. The latter segment of clause (2) also shows how the evaluative tone of the news text develops. The figurative expressions that the author uses to describe the negative state of service provision in health facilities, and the statement in which the author indicates that more employees are joining the strike are the first points that the government voice is presented as responding to in clauses (3) and (4).

(3) Ministry of Health's chief public relations officer, Ms Doreen Motshegwa said this had caused a setback in their service delivery.

(4) The situation has overstretched those who have remained behind, she said.

Clauses (3) and (4) seem to establish a common ground between the author and the government voice. The government news source, who is first specified by her official position and quoted via the reporting stance *acknowledged*, uses descriptions that confirm those that the author has used in clauses (1) and (2). There is an interdependence of words/phrases that indicate this common ground between the author and the government news source. The interdependence is established between the verb *cripples* in clause (1) and the noun *setback* in

clause (3), and the idiomatic expression *take(-ing) a beating* and the verb *overstretched*.

Clause (5) starts with the adversative link *however*, which draws a contrastive description of the state of affairs into the news text. This contrastive link is highly meaningful as it is used by the author to validate the perspective of the government.

(5) However, she pointed out that the sector was continuing to offer services, as those remaining behind have to double their efforts to ensure service continuity.

The contrastive marker *however* overlaps with the evaluation that is attributed to the government voice. Through this contrastive marker the author does express stance but because it overlaps with words that are attributed to the government news source, the author's stance is obscured. The government voice uses a binary evaluation in which the positive state of service delivery is established and health sector workers who are not on strike are evaluated positively.

In clause (6), we see the introduction of unnamed target(s). These are evaluated through a non-modalised indirect expression of negative Veracity.

(6) Ms Motshegwa denied rumours doing the rounds that Princess Marina Referral Hospital on Wednesday had majority of its nurses and doctors joining the strike, saying the turnout at the hospital was not adversely affected.

Attribution in clause (6) displays a recursive pattern. In the first segment of the clause, the phrase *rumours doing the rounds* does not seem to be the direct words spoken by the government news source, but they appear to be an 'interpretation' (Fairclough 1988). In that way the author condemns the unnamed target. Looking at the structure of mitigation in this clause, the news source descriptor stands out in her official capacity. The evaluation of the unnamed target is 'quoted' via the reporting stance *endorse*. This type of reporting stance leans more towards non-mitigation than mitigation of evaluation. However the

evaluation is expressed indirectly. The types of reporting stance that are used in clause (6) are an important feature. In the first part of the clause we see an indirect expression of negative Veracity. This evaluation is mitigated via the choice of an unnamed target and an invocation. Again the news source descriptor acts as a mitigating factor of the choice of the reporting stance *endorsed*. We see another indirect expression in the second part of the clause which is combined with the reporting stance *acknowledged*. Still in clause (6), the government news source is quoted to have said that *the turnout at the hospital was not adversely affected*. The indirect expression of positive Valuation of service delivery is achieved through an indirect description. The adverb *adversely* underlines this indirect expression of positive Valuation. I pointed out earlier that the use of the contrastive link *however* in clause (5) introduces a strategic counter move that downplays negative evaluations that are used by the author to target service delivery. Such evaluations, as noted before, are direct and intense. The second strategic counter move in clause (6) is highlighted by the adverb *not*, a word that is used to negate the adverse situation of service delivery. Notice also that this verb is in the passive, a way of expressing indirectness. Evaluations that are attributed to the government voice end in clause (7) with an indirect expression negative Valuation of service delivery. This evaluation concludes the second segment of Text 7DN.

(7) She further made appeal to Batswana to be mindful of the winter weather and avoid all situations, which might lead them to seek services from health services bearing in mind the current situation.

In the evaluation above we see another indirect reference to the negative state of service delivery. The news source descriptor serves to mitigate the choice of the reporting stance *endorsed* and the evaluation is further mitigated by the vague descriptive noun *situation*.

From clause (8) we see the introduction of the final segment of the news text, which also brings out the third strategic counter move in the text. For the

evaluations in the final segment of the news texts I will discuss clauses (8) – (10) together.

(8) Botswana Federation of Public Sector Unions' (BOFEPUSU) Mr Goretetse Kekgonegile said nurses and doctors are continuing to join the strike countrywide

(9) According to him, the professionals view the decision to dismiss them as unwarranted and without any legal authority

(10) That amounts to unfair dismissal and unfair dismissal can be challenged in court, he said, and added that they have not yet had precise figures of striking health professionals

In clause (8) the union leader evaluates the strikers via positive Tenacity, an evaluation that is non-modalised and expressed indirectly. Before going further about this evaluation let us first examine the strategic counter move that begins in this clause. Among evaluations that are attributed to the government news source, for example, those in clauses (5) and (6), service delivery is evaluated positively. In particular, two statements in these clauses stand out. As was discussed above, in clauses (5) and (6), the two statements *the sector was continuing to offer services* and *the turnout at the hospital was not adversely affected* emphasise the positive evaluation of service delivery in health facilities. However, with the introduction of the union leader in clause (8), these earlier statements are somewhat countered. Despite the government voice stating that, for example, *the turnout at the hospital was not adversely affected*, the union leader states that *nurses and doctors are continuing to join the strike countrywide...* In terms of mitigation in clause (8) the reporting stance *acknowledged* and the indirect expression of Tenacity are the two forms that are used. This is even more meaningful as the statements can be viewed as contentious.

Text 7DN takes an interesting turn in clause (9). The government is evaluated via an indirect expression of negative Propriety. The attribution of this evaluation is introduced with the adjunct *according to him*. As shown in clause (9), this phrase is marked as an instance of the reporting stance *acknowledged*. It should be noted, however, that it is different from other expressions that are classified as instances of *acknowledged* reporting stance, for example, *said*. The author uses it as a distancing strategy, thus one of the forms of mitigation in the news text. Furthermore, reference to *the decision to dismiss them...* adds more weight to the strategic vagueness that is seen throughout the news text. While *the decision* is expressed in a definitive manner because of the definite article *the*, there is no previous reference to a decision. Finally, in clause (10) indirect expression of negative Propriety is repeated to evaluate the government. The evaluation is quoted via the reporting stance *acknowledged*, the type of reporting stance through which mitigation is achieved in the clause. An indirect expression positive Tenacity of strikers in the same clause is meaningful in the way strategic counter moves are presented in the news text and the key expression in the clause is *precise figures of striking health professionals*. The implication here is that while the union leader makes no reference to the extent to which health professionals have joined the strike, it is implied that the numbers are large. In order to understand this form of indirect expression in the clause, we need to revisit clause (8) in which it is stated that ‘nurses and doctors [health professionals] are continuing to join the strike countrywide’. Through this statement there is an implication for large numbers.

In summary, the discussion of evaluation and mitigation in Text 7DN has shown that the news text uses a variety of patterns of evaluation to bring out points of contention or disagreements. However, as shown in the identification of mitigation in the text, patterns of mitigation are strategically complex and multifaceted. Taking an example of expressing evaluations through indirectness, we have seen that this type of mitigation is not used in isolation. It is combined with other strategies that can only be recovered by paying attention to the co-

text. That way the most obvious types of mitigation strategies are used as a starting point and enhanced by other subtle strategies in the news text.

In analysing the features that make up Text 7DN I began by looking at the general patterns of evaluative clauses and how these display a succession of voices in the news text. It was suggested that evaluations expressed by the government and union leader demonstrate how each external voice picks on a particular perspective of what the author has expressed. In the section that follows I consider the second of the news texts reporting on the state of service provision in the health sector, Text 7MM.

6.4.2 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 7MM

Text 7MM is the second news text in Text pair 7. The overall features of evaluation and mitigation in the news text are presented in Figure 6.6.

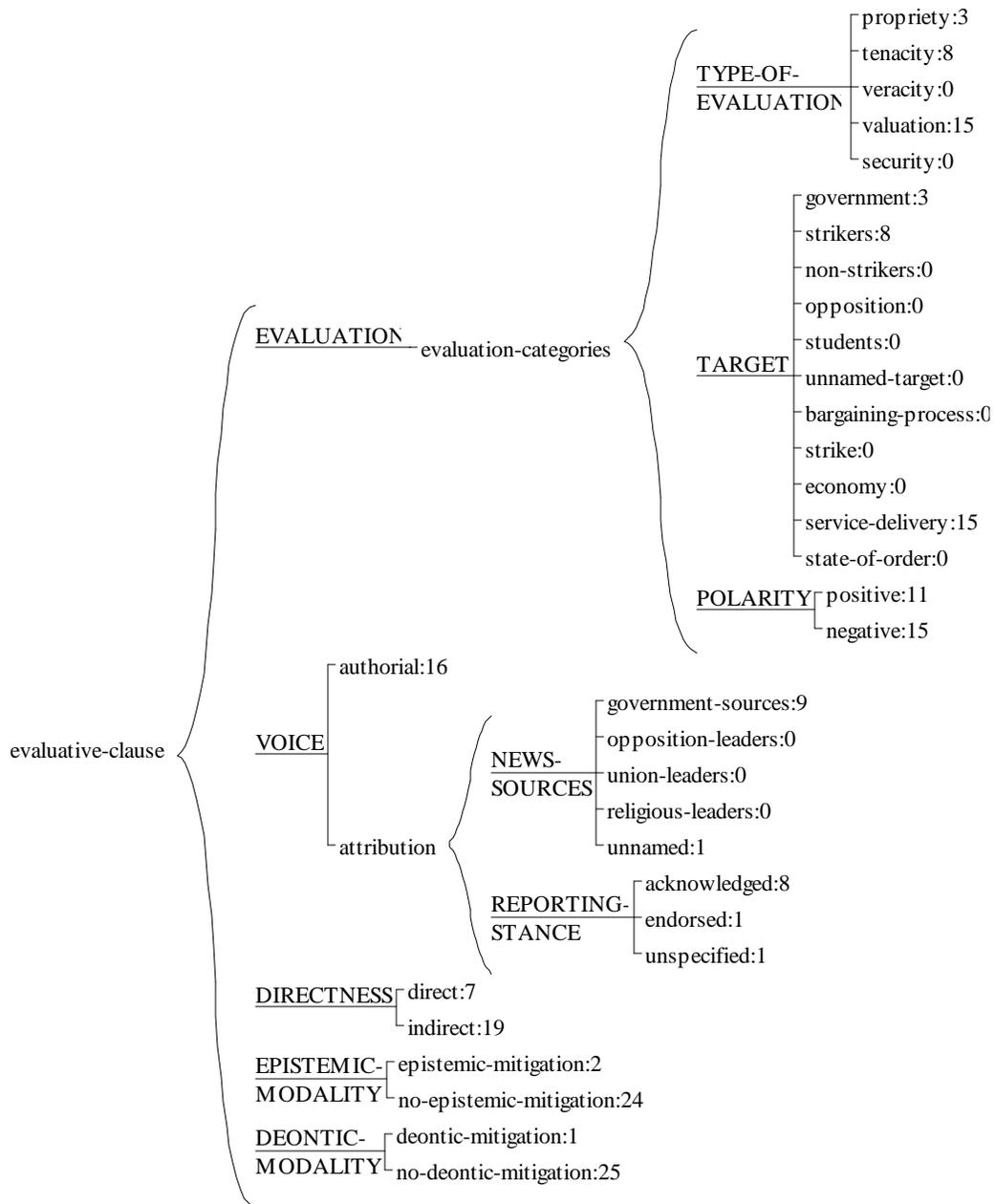


Figure 6.6 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 7MM

Types of evaluation in Text 7MM consist of Propriety, Tenacity, and Valuation. These types of evaluation are used in the news text 3 times, 8 times, and 15 times respectively. When we turn to the targets that are evaluated in Text 7MM,

we find that service delivery is evaluated 15 times, the strikers are evaluated 8 times and the government is evaluated 3 times. With respect to the category of voice, we can notice that the news text is overwhelmingly characterised by the voice of the author. Of the 26 evaluations in the news text, 16 are expressed by the author, 9 are attributed to government sources and 1 is attributed to an unnamed news source. The fact that 64% of evaluations are expressed by the author is one unanticipated finding in the news text. The majority of attributed evaluations, 8 in total, are quoted via the reporting stance *acknowledged* while only 1 is quoted via the reporting stance *endorsed*, and in 1 evaluation the reporting stance is *unspecified*. In terms of the category of directness, Text 7MM shows a clear-cut preference for indirect over direct evaluations, with 19 evaluations expressed in indirect terms while 7 are expressed directly. This pattern will be explored further for its role in the mitigation of evaluation in the text. With regard to polarity, 11 evaluations are in positive polarity while 15 are in the negative, thus negative evaluations take precedence over positive ones. These overall patterns of features are examined in the discussion that follows. One of the features I will examine in this section is the unexpected prevalence of the author's voice in the news text. We have also seen that the frequencies with which types of evaluation appear in the text have matching figures with the frequencies with which targets are evaluated. This is another interesting finding that I examine in order to see these features in context. Having established the overall features in the news text, I now move on to consider the mark-up of features in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6 Analysis of Text 7MM

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(1) <u>Hospitals close</u> as medics hit back					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(2) Non-striking essential services workers have hit back at government's decision to dismiss their colleagues by re-joining the strike.					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
<i>(3) Yesterday, much as unionists promised, dozens of health care professionals, who have not been part of the ongoing public officers' strike, joined the walkout in solidarity with their colleagues, and hospitals are now closing.</i>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
<i>(4) From Mahalapye reports that two specialist doctors and 26 nurses from Mahalapye Primary Hospital with placards reading, "an injury to one is an injury to all" yesterday downed tools to show solidarity with their 'sacked' striking colleagues, resulting in the closure of the hospital.</i>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(5) There is also an unspecified number of support staff that has also joined the strike.					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(6) While he denied reports that the hospital had closed, Mahalapye Hospital Superintendent Kunal Bose confirmed <end> that more doctors and nurses had joined their colleagues.					
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(7) "The hospital is not closed".					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Service delivery	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(8) "We have taken the necessary measures to arrest the situation," he said <ack.>.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(9) "Indeed two specialist doctors from dental clinic and some of the nurses have also joined the strike," he said <ack.>.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(10) Adding <ack.> that while the hospital has been hard hit by the departure of the staff, everything would be done to keep it open.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	High obligation
(11) Bose said <ack.> that the hospital management had assumed roles played by nurses, such as patient care and management.					
Government	Acknowledge	Non-modalised	Service delivery	+Val. (Inv.)	Non-modalised
(12) He said <ack.> that the hardest hit areas were the theatre department, surgical wards, maternity wards, dental clinic, paediatric ward, orthopaedic wards and the accidents and emergency department.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(13) Bose said <ack.> <u>that the hospital would in the meantime make use of 30 student nurses as the need arises.</u>					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Median	Service delivery	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(14) Meanwhile by late yesterday afternoon Princess Marina Hospital was almost devoid of nurses in all the wards.					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(15) <i>A few auxiliary staff remained with nothing to do as nurses and doctors joined their colleagues at the nearby Gaborone Senior Secondary School (GSSS) grounds.</i>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(16) Speaking yesterday, a representative of the health workers said <ack> <u>that they had mobilised nurses and doctors around and expect most of those who still remained working to join them today.</u>					
Unnamed	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(17) Princess Marina, the country's main referral hospital, could close if more nurses join the strike.					
Authorial	-	Median	Service delivery	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(18) <u>In Lobatse over 30 nurses and some doctors from the Sbrana Mental Hospital, previously not on strike, yesterday downed tools</u> <i>to show solidarity with their colleagues.</i>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(19) The situation is set to worsen as more doctors and nurses and other essential services workers from around the country are set to join the strike <i>in solidarity with their 'dismissed' colleagues.</i>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised

The news text begins with 5 consecutive clauses that are made up of evaluations that are expressed by the author. In clauses (1) – (4) we see binary evaluations that comprise direct expressions of negative Valuation that target service delivery, indirect expressions of negative Tenacity that target the strikers, indirect expressions of positive Tenacity that also target the strikers, and an indirect expression of negative Propriety that targets the government. In clause (5) we see another indirect expression of negative Valuation that targets service delivery.

(1) Hospitals close as medics hit back

(2) Non-striking essential services workers have hit back at government's decision to dismiss their colleagues by re-joining the strike.

(3) Yesterday, much as unionists promised, dozens of health care professionals, who have not been part of the ongoing public officers' strike, joined the walkout in solidarity with their colleagues, and hospitals are now closing.

(4) From Mahalapye reports that two specialist doctors and 26 nurses from Mahalapye Primary Hospital with placards reading, "an injury to one is an injury to all" yesterday downed tools to show solidarity with their 'sacked' striking colleagues, resulting in the closure of the hospital.

(5) There is also an unspecified number of support staff that has also joined the strike.

In clause (1), the author foregrounds the negative state of service provision in hospitals in direct terms, and seems to apportion blame on the strikers for this negative state of service. By using the phrasal verb *hit back*, the author presents the strikers as intentionally retaliating, hence the indirect criticism conveyed through negative Tenacity. The indirect criticism of the strikers is continued in clause (2), now paired with an indirect moral disapproval that is directed at the government. The author uses two contrasting categories of Judgement, Tenacity and Propriety. This is a meaningful type of contrast since within the same clause the strikers are evaluated for their intransigence while the government is evaluated with moral disapproval.

The author's evaluation of the strikers changes in clauses (3) and (4). While service delivery is still evaluated negatively (also in clause 5), the tone of evaluating the strikers changes from criticism and blame, to admiration for showing solidarity with those who have been dismissed from work for continuing with the strike. In the binary evaluations in clauses (1) – (4), the author makes use of pairs in which direct expressions are used alongside indirect evaluations. This seems to be a form of mitigation in which indirect evaluations are placed to take precedence over direct evaluations. Indirectness is used again as a way of mitigating the evaluations expressed.

The voice of the government is introduced into the news text from clause (6) and carries on until clause (13). Let us examine clause (6) briefly, specifically in terms the negative Valuation of service delivery and the meaningfulness of the reporting stance *endorsed*, which appears in the text only once.

(6) While he denied reports that the hospital had closed, Mahalapye Hospital Superintendent Kunal Bose confirmed that more doctors and nurses had joined their colleagues.

In clause (6), the government voice uses an indirect expression of negative Valuation to evaluate service delivery. Interestingly the author validates/endorse the evaluation expressed by the government voice. This is highly meaningful because the evaluations that have already been expressed by the author are strategically presented as valid. The use of indirectness within attribution mitigates the evaluation. The evaluations expressed by the government voice in clauses (6) – (13) are used to evaluate service delivery and the government. The government voice seems to avoid a leaning towards either of the types of polarity when evaluating service delivery. In addition, where service delivery is evaluated negatively, the government voice also uses indirect expressions of positive Propriety to foreground the efforts of the government to deal with the negative state of service delivery. The evaluations in these clauses are repeatedly quoted via reporting stance *acknowledged* to enhance the mitigation of such evaluations. We also see an example of self-imposition of obligation on the government in clause (10), which also reinforces the positive evaluation and the mitigation of evaluations.

From clauses (14) to (19) the evaluations are again dominated by the voice of the author with an alternation with an unnamed news source in clause (16). The evaluations are dominated by negative Valuation of service delivery and positive Tenacity of the strikers. The strikers are again evaluated positively for supporting their dismissed colleagues. The author mitigates these evaluations with the use of indirect expressions.

To summarise the discussion of Text 7MM, we have seen the prevalent use of indirectness as a strategy of mitigation. Indirect expressions have been used by both the author and external news sources. The majority of negative evaluations in Text 7MM have been directed to the state of service delivery in hospitals. The prevalence of evaluations expressed by the author has been noted as an unexpected finding in the news text. As a result of this predominance of the

author's voice, Text 7MM appears to deviate from the established pattern in other news texts in which external news sources take precedence.

6.4.3 Comparative discussion of Texts 7DN and 7MM

In Text 7MM, the voice of the author is clearly set out in the opening of the news text with a binary evaluation in clause (1). The negative state of service delivery in hospitals is explicitly stated and parallel to this negative Valuation is the indirect expression of negative Tenacity that is used to target the strikers. The evaluations in clauses (1) and (2) are used by the author to condemn both the government and the essential services workers for the unresolved industrial dispute. While Text 7DN foregrounds the negative state of service delivery in hospitals, Text MM foregrounds the conflict between the government and civil servants (essential service workers). In the earlier segments of Text 7DN the voice of the author alternates with the voice of the government. This is different to Text 7MM in which the voice of the author dominates the evaluations at the beginning of the news text.

6.5 Text 8DN and Text 8MM

Texts 8DN and 8MM are the final pair of news texts that are analysed in this chapter. The news texts recount the details of a public meeting during which the representative of the workers' unions and the Minister for Presidential Affairs and Public Administration, representing the government, are reported to have agreed that the strike would end. One of the significant points across Texts 8DN and 8MM is the moderate attitude with which the government and union leader are presented to have towards each other. The news coverage has shifted from the heightened evaluations to a sharing of opinions between the government and workers' unions. The government voice and the union leader are presented as sharing the same opinion in terms of a retrospective view of the strike, as well as imminent solution to the problems that led to the nationwide workers' strike.

6.5.1 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 8DN

In this section I examine features of evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 8DN. The overall features of evaluation and mitigation in the news text are presented in Figure 6.7.

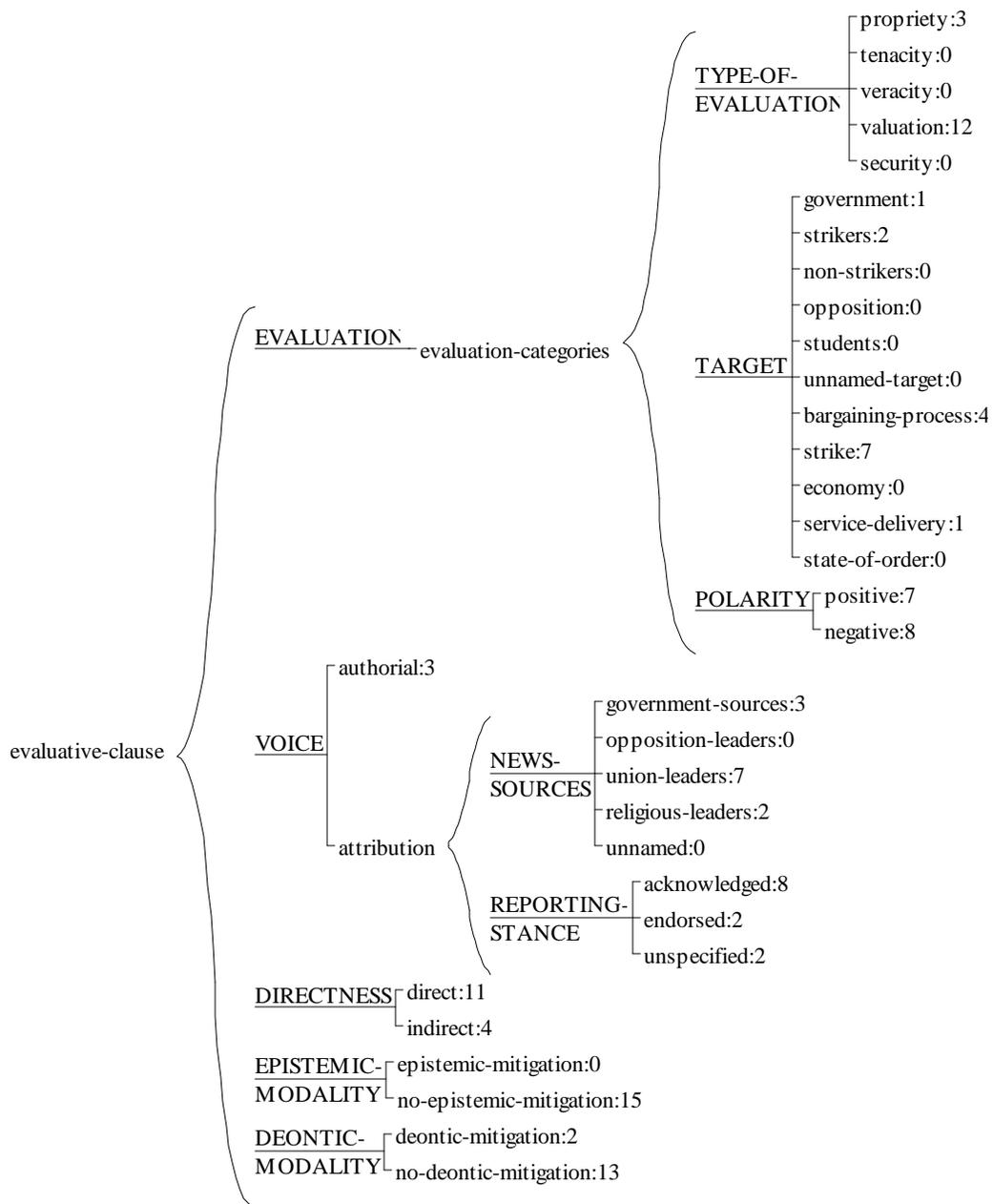


Figure 6.7 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 8DN

The most striking feature in Text 8DN is the foregrounding of Valuation over Judgement. As Figure 6.7 shows, Valuation appears in the news text 12 times while Propriety appears 3 times. The strike is the most evaluated target, in 7

evaluations. The bargaining process is evaluated 4 times, service delivery and the government are each evaluated once, and the strikers are evaluated twice. In terms of the polarity and the directness with which evaluations are expressed in Text 8DN, the news text does not show a marked difference between positive (7 evaluations) and negative polarity (8 evaluations), while direct evaluations are dominant (11) over indirect evaluations (4). In light of the types of targets evaluated in the news text, an interesting pattern to examine in context how positive or negative evaluations, and direct or indirect evaluations, are matched against particular targets and what the implications for such patterns are. The category of voice in Text 8DN comprises the voice of the author, government, religious leader, and union leader. Within the news text the author expresses 3 evaluations. Among attributed evaluations the union leader is the most quoted, in 7 evaluations. The government is quoted in 3 evaluations and the religious leader is quoted in 2 evaluations. Attributed evaluations are largely quoted via the reporting stance *acknowledged* (8 evaluations). The reporting stance *endorsed* is used in 2 evaluations and for 2 evaluations the reporting stance is *unspecified*. Text 8DN shows an interesting pattern in which the union leader takes the leading role in the expression of evaluations and this pattern will be followed up in the following discussion.

Table 6.7 Analysis of Text 8DN

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(1) <i>Govt., unions agree to overcome differences</i>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Bargaining process	+Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(2) GABORONE: <i>The government and Botswana Federation of Public Sector Unions (BOFEPUSU) have agreed to strive towards resolving the ongoing industrial action as soon as possible.</i>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Bargaining process	+Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(3) The parties represented by presidential affairs and public administration minister, Mr Mokgweetsi Masisi and the leader of BOFEPUSU, Ms Masego Mogwera, <i>made the deal at a joint national prayer for peace and reconciliation held in Gaborone yesterday.</i>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Bargaining process	+Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(4) The purpose of the service, organised by the Botswana Council of Churches (BCC), Evangelical Fellowship of Botswana (EFB) and Organisation of African Instituted Churches (OAIC), was to reconcile the government and labour unions in the interest of peace and stability in the country. Non-evaluative					
(5) The Ministers fraternal throughout the nation were also encouraged to hold prayer services on the same date or any other suitable date in their localities. Non-evaluative					
(6) Both Minister and Ms Mogwera agreed <end.> <u>that the industrial action has gone on for too long and its consequences have affected a lot of people and should come to an end.</u>					
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Strike	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Union leader	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Strike	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(7) Minister Masisi said <ack.> <u>government had decided that it would be in the best interest of the country that both parties sit down to a conclusive and negotiated settlement, and to end the industrial action without any further delay.</u>					

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Gov.	+Prop, Indir.	High obligation
(8) <u>"We are here to seek your prayers and support to end this dispute, we are confident that we are moving in the right direction, both of us, to restore the situation to normal"</u> , he added <ack.>.					
Gov.	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Bargaining process	+Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(9) For her part, Ms Mogwera apologised to Batswana, saying <ack.> <u>that the strike action had disturbed the peace in the country and hurt the nation and the economy.</u>					
Union leader	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strike	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(10) <u>"This strike affected the nation at large"</u> .					
Union leader	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Strike	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(11) <u>"Our intension was not to hurt you as Batswana, but to make our grievances heard by our employer, as this was a legal strike"</u> .					
Union leader	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(12) <u>We've all cried, our children have not been taught and our parents did not get the services they needed, including health care services, for that", Ms Mogwera said <ack.>, "we have agreed with government that this strike has gone on for far too long and we must jointly to end it"</u> .					
Union leader	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Service delivery	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Union leader	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strike	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
Union leader	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Prop, Indir.	High obligation
(13) Speaking at the service, Botswana Council of Churches president, Reverend Mpho Moruakgomo, said <ack.> <u>as the church, they were deeply concerned about the social, economic, health and educational consequences brought about by the industrial action.</u>					

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
Religious leader	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strike	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
<p>(14) He said <ack.> <u>the church was particularly concerned that the industrial action had affected not just the welfare of the nation, but had also hurt the international profile of Botswana as a successful and stable democracy, hence they saw the need for a national healing process.</u></p>					
Religious leader	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	Strike	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
<p>(15) The joint prayer service, was attended among others, by former president, Sir Ketumile Masire and Lady Olebile, members of Ntlo ya Dikgosi, Parliament, as well as the Christian community.</p> <p>Non-evaluative</p>					
<p>(16) Leadership of BOFEPUSU affiliates: BOPEU, BTU, BOSETU, BLLAWU and NACLGPWU were also represented.</p> <p>Non-evaluative</p>					

To begin the discussion in this section we turn to clauses (1) – (3) in Table 6.7.

(1) Govt., unions agree to overcome differences

(2) The government and Botswana Federation of Public Sector Unions (BOFEPUSU) have agreed to strive towards resolving the ongoing industrial action as soon as possible.

(3) The parties represented by presidential affairs and public administration minister, Mr Mokgweetsi Masisi and the leader of BOFEPUSU, Ms Masego Mogwera, made the deal at a joint national prayer for peace and reconciliation held in Gaborone yesterday.

In clauses (1) – (3) the bargaining process is evaluated in prospective terms. During the workers' strike, and as service delivery was negatively impacted in more government departments, the government and the union's representatives

had called for continued negotiations with the aim of finding a solution to the industrial conflict. In Text 8DN the author uses direct expressions of positive Valuation to emphasise an achievement of common ground between the government and the workers' unions. Positive Valuation in these clauses is achieved through two strategies, repetition and synonymy. We see an explicit repetition of forms of the verb *agree* in clauses (1) and (2), which is then reinforced by the phrase *made the deal* in clause (3). Overall, these evaluations present a less heightened evaluative atmosphere in which the government and workers' unions are presented as being on the same side. In addition the repetition and synonymous pattern between the clauses seems to set the global evaluative tone of the news text and also underscores the determination of the government and workers' unions to find a solution to the industrial conflict by using the action verbs *overcome* and *strive*. The news text shows a collective representation of subjects by variously making reference to *government and unions* in clauses (1) and 2, and the *parties* in clause (3). Such a collective representation of subjects is repeated in clause (6) in which we find a binary evaluation that comprises a non-modalised direct expression of negative Valuation that is used to evaluate the strike. Through such an evaluation the government and union leader are again presented as having a similar retrospective perspective about the strike. The evaluative tone of agreement between the government and union leader is carried on in clause (8).

(8) "We are here to seek your prayers and support to end this dispute, we are confident that we are moving in the right direction, both of us, to restore the situation to normal", he added.

In clause (8), the government voice echoes the author's evaluative sentiment first with a repetition of an inclusive *we*. In addition to the repetition of an inclusive *we*, the government voice adds some emphasis to this repetition with the phrase *both of us*. As can be seen in clause (8) the subject *we* is followed by an emphasis on *ending the dispute* and *restoring the situation to normal*, two expressions that reinforce the prospective positive Valuation of the bargaining process. It is

important to note however, that the evaluation of the bargaining process in clause (8) is preceded by an indirect expression of positive Propriety that is used to evaluate the government in clause (7). While the notion of agreement is emphasised and the presentation of the government and union leader is made positive, the government voice highlights the leading role of the government in the process. This is emphasised with a self-imposition of obligation on the government by the government voice.

The voice of the union leader is made prominent in clauses (9) – (12). In clauses (9) and (10), the union leader takes a retrospective negative view of the strike. Using direct expressions of negative Valuation, the negative effects of the strike are emphasised by outlining that *it disturbed the peace in the country* and that it *affected the nation at large*. In clause (11), we see an indirect expression of positive Propriety that the union leader uses to evaluate the strikers.

(11) “Our intension was not to hurt you as Batswana, but to make our grievances heard by our employer, as this was a legal strike”.

In this clause the union leader presents two contrasting actions to afford a positive evaluation of civil servants. The positive evaluation is articulated in the latter segment of the clause in which the legality of the strike is underlined. Clause (12) is made up of a tripartite form of evaluation in which service delivery and the strike are evaluated in retrospective negative terms. The union leader is presented as expressing an admission of the negative impacts of the strike. The negative view of the strike is reiterated by the religious leader in clauses (13) and (14).

The majority of evaluations in Text 8DN, 12 in all, are attributed to external news sources. This makes attribution the main strategy of mitigation in the news text. Within attribution, the reporting stance *acknowledged* is prevalent and enhances the mitigation of evaluations. We have also seen the reporting stance *unspecified*

in clauses (10) and (11), another feature within attribution that enhances the mitigation of evaluations.

6.5.2 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 8MM

In this final section of single texts, I examine features of evaluation and mitigation in Text 8MM. The overall features of evaluation and mitigation in the news text are presented in Figure 6.8.

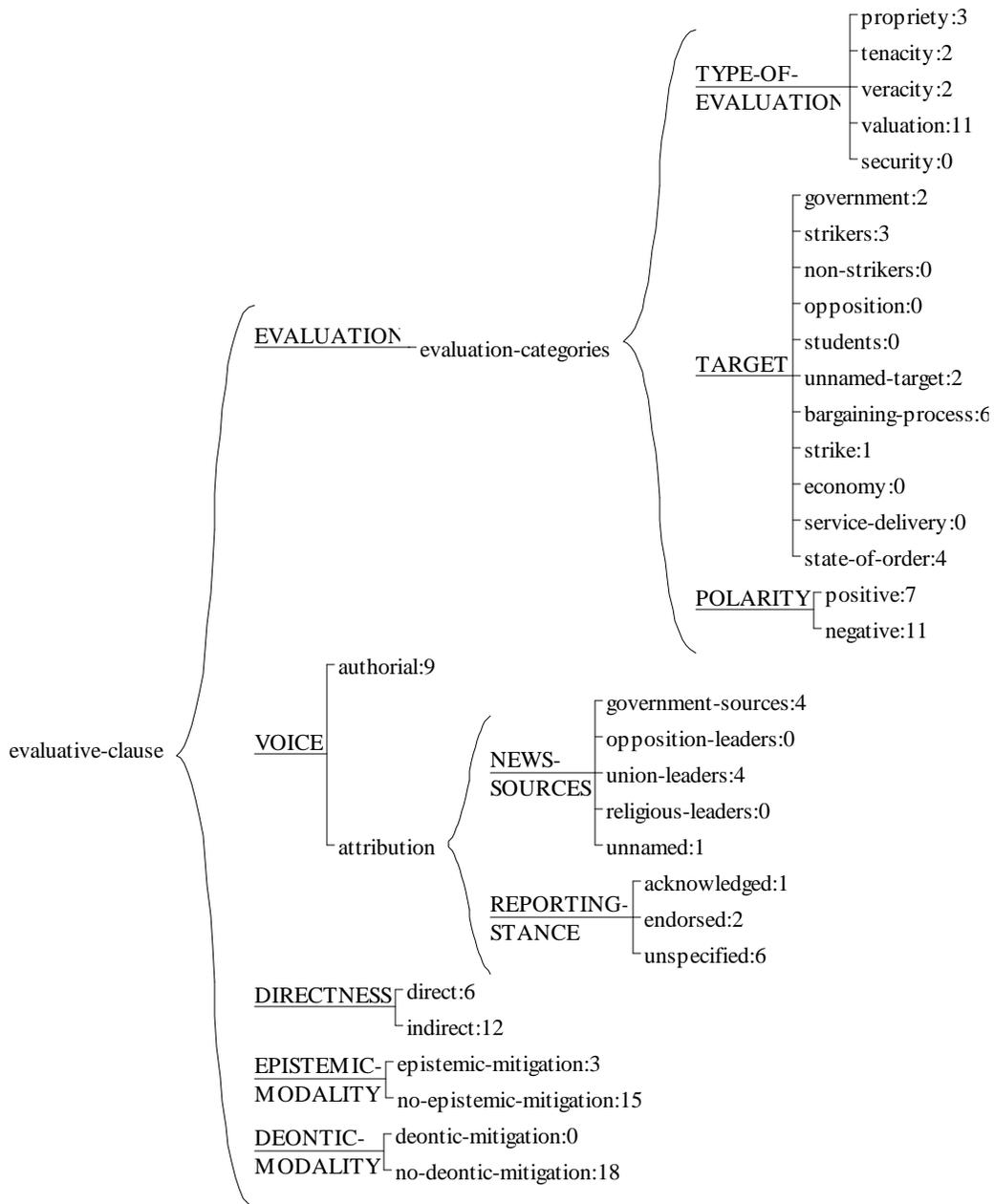


Figure 6.8 Evaluation and mitigation strategies in Text 8MM

Text 8MM is the final news text in this section as well as the final text in the data set. The spread of types of evaluation shows that Valuation is used more than the resources of Judgement. In the text Valuation appears 11 times, and such

evaluations are spread between the bargaining process, a target that is evaluated 6 times, the strike, evaluated twice, and the state of order in the city, evaluated 3 times. In terms of evaluations of Judgement, Propriety is used 3 times, and Tenacity and Veracity are each used twice in the text. These resources of Judgement, as will be discussed in more detail below, are spread between the strikers, the government, and an unnamed target. In this news text, 7 evaluations are expressed in positive polarity while 11 are in the negative, and as far as directness is concerned, 6 of the evaluations are direct while 12 are indirect. Looking at Figure 6.8, we can observe that the category of voice displays an interesting pattern between the voice of the author and those of external news sources. Within the news text, the frequency with which the author passes evaluative statements is equal to the frequency of external voices combined. Among evaluations that are attributed to external voices the government and the union leader are each quoted 4 times while an unnamed source is quoted once. For the majority of evaluations that are attributed, the reporting stance is *unspecified*, the reporting stance *acknowledged* is used once, while the reporting stance *endorsed* is used twice. The overall orientation of Text 8MM seems to indicate an evaluative perspective that is almost balanced between the government and union leader. The reporting stance for such a perspective is largely *unspecified*.

Table 6.8 Analysis of Text 8MM

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(1) Reconciliation Non-evaluative					
(2) This is cabinet minister, Mokgweetsi Masisi and BOFEPUSU president and chief negotiator, Masego Mogwera hugging yesterday at a peaceful gathering attended by community leaders, government officials and workers in Gaborone. Non-evaluative					
(3) <i>It seems that at last there is a thaw in the strained relations between the government and the workers unions after the BOFEPUSU president declared at a fully-packed meeting at the Civic Centre that peace is near.</i>					
Authorial	-	Low	Bargaining process	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(4) She told <ack.> the gathering <u>that they will soon be going back to work</u> . Non-evaluative					
(5) <u>"Re bone go le maleba gore a ene modiga. (We found it fit to make peace and call for an end to all this)"</u> .					
Union leader	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Strikers	+Prop, Indir.	Non-modalised
(6) <u>Re kopa maitshwarelo (We are sorry), what happened is very painful, please forgive us"</u> .					
Union leader	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Strike	-Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(7) <u>"It was not our intention to cause all this chaos,"</u> Mogwera apologised <ack.>.					
Union leader	Acknowledged	Non-modalised	State of order	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
(8) In response, Masisi assured <end.> the gathering <u>that the impasse is about to end amicably</u> .					

Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Bargaining process	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(9) <u>"We are getting there, we are getting there, ntwá kgolo keya molomo...(It is better to jaw-jaw than to war war)".</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Bargaining process	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(10) Yesterday, BOFEPUSU was expected to call a press conference to shed light on the latest developments. Non-evaluative					
(11) However the press conference was postponed at the eleventh hour and could be held today. Non-evaluative					
(12) <i>All indications point to the fact that a solution to the strike has been found.</i>					
Unnamed	Unspecified	Non-modalised	Bargaining process	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(13) Both parties were confident yesterday <u>that come today, a deal would have been finalised with workers returning to work as soon as possible.</u>					
Gov.	Unspecified	High probability	Bargaining process	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
Union leader	Unspecified	High probability	Bargaining process	+Val, Indir.	Non-modalised
(14) The deal is being mediated by Botswana Christian Council (BCC), the Evangelical Fellowship of Botswana (EFB) and a body representing traditional churches. Non-evaluative					
(15) The hugging and declaration of peace by Masisi and Mogwera comes <u>after a week of turmoil that saw ministers intimidated by angry workers during meetings.</u>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	State of order	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised

Voice	Reporting stance	Epistemic mitigation	Target	Type of evaluation	Deontic mitigation
(16) <u>The tension was evident especially in Gaborone and Tlokweng over the last week with Masisi being one of the ministers sent scampering by the striking workers.</u>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	State of order	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Gov.	-Ten, Indir.	Non-modalised
(17) <u>On Wednesday Gaborone was characterised by chaos as workers disrupted Masisi's scheduled address at the Civic Centre.</u>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	State of order	-Val, Direct	Non-modalised
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
(18) <u>They proceeded to block roads and burn tyres at the Princess Marina Hospital round-about.</u>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Strikers	-Prop, Direct	Non-modalised
(19) <u>One man was pictured with a broken leg claiming he was shot by the police.</u>					
Authorial	-	Non-modalised	Unnamed	-Ver, Indir.	Non-modalised
(20) <u>However, Police Commissioner, Thebeyame Tsimako on Friday denied <end.> any use of live bullets to control the crowd.</u>					
Gov.	Endorsed	Non-modalised	Unnamed	-Ver, Indir.	Non-modalised

Evaluations in this news text start in clause (3), with the author evaluating the bargaining process in prospective terms. The author uses an indirect expression of positive Valuation in this clause. Following the author's evaluation in clause (3), the voice of the union leader is introduced into the text in clause (5) and carries on to clause (7).

(6) Re kopa maitshwarelo¹⁶ (We are sorry), what happened is very painful, please forgive us".

(7) "It was not our intention to cause all this chaos," Mogwera apologised.

In clause (6) the union leader uses a non-modalised indirect expression of negative Valuation to evaluate the strike by referring to the strike as a painful event. Notice also that for this evaluation the reporting stance is *unspecified*, possibly to downplay the negativity of the strike. The events surrounding the strike are mentioned in the text as having a bearing on the state of order in the city. This is a pattern that is started off by the union leader immediately following her indirect expression of negative Valuation of the strike and the state of order is evaluated in clause (7).

Let us turn to clauses (15), (16), and (17).

(15) The hugging and declaration of peace by Masisi and Mogwera comes after a week of turmoil that saw ministers intimidated by angry workers during meetings.

(16) The tension was evident especially in Gaborone and Tlokweng over the last week with Masisi being one of the ministers sent scampering by the striking workers.

¹⁶ The author quotes the union leader directly in Setswana, the national language, and translates the quotation in brackets. This is evident again in the preceding clause in the booklet

(17) On Wednesday Gaborone was characterised by chaos as workers disrupted Masisi's scheduled address at the Civic Centre.

Before making reference to the negative state of order in the city with the explicit term *chaos* in clause (7), the union leader seems to downplay the direct evaluation by presenting a counter argument through the words *it was not our intension*. A negative tone is then brought into the text by the author in clauses (15), (16) and (17). These clauses comprise binary evaluations which seem to display a recurring tone of *dispute* that is being underlined by the author through repetition leading to multi-part evaluations in which the government is evaluated through negative Tenacity. While the author evaluates government officials via negative Tenacity, these evaluations are only indirect. The strikers are also evaluated by the author. A direct expression of negative Propriety is used to evaluate them for their unethical behaviour of instigating disorder in the city. The inclusion of two instances of negative Veracity in Text 8MM appears to underscore the spread of disorder in the city.

6.5.3 Comparative discussion of Texts 8DN and 8MM

As was highlighted above, Texts 8DN and 8MM present the government and workers unions as parties who have reached a common ground. They share the same retrospective view of the strike. They are also presented as sharing the same view about the prospects for positive negotiations. It is interesting to note, however, that in presenting both parties as reaching common ground, the news texts differ in subtle ways. Text 8DN very much presents the perspective of common ground in categorical terms. This is expressed by the author at the beginning of the news text. Text 8MM presents the same perspective but with implied uncertainty. At the beginning of the news text the author expresses uncertainty about the common ground that the government and workers' unions have reached.

6.6 General discussion

In the preceding sections I have examined Text pairs 5 - 8 and first identified features of evaluation and strategies of mitigation in single news texts. This was followed by general comparative discussions of the pairs of news texts. In this section, I highlight some general observations about the 16 news texts that have been analysed in this study. Overall, the analysis of news texts from the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* indicates that each newspaper makes use of Judgement resources more than Valuation. Throughout the coverage of the workers' strike, as reported in the 16 news articles, it was found that human targets were the most evaluated, that is, the government, strikers, students, the opposition, and unnamed targets. In the *Daily News* there is a general evidence of positive evaluation of the government and service delivery, whereas negative evaluations are directed at the strike, and the civil servants. Both newspapers present much of the news content in attributed material. The evaluative attitudes of the external news sources are predominantly foregrounded while the author takes a backgrounded role. The reporters defer to external news sources and many of the expressions of attitude are framed in the voice of third parties. Also, with many of the evaluative expressions framed in attributed material, an important linguistic feature in giving voice to external sources is that of reporting stance. In the *Daily News*, reporting verbs are variously used either to *acknowledge* or *endorse* what the news sources have said. There seems to be a leaning towards a combination of verbs of acknowledgement and endorsement in the *Daily News*. Among Text pairs 5 – 8, there was one exception to the backgrounded role of the author. In Text 7MM, evaluations were dominated by the author's voice.

CHAPTER 7

Final Discussion and Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

The investigation in this study was carried out to gain a broader understanding of how journalists succeed in including evaluative language in news reports, and adhering to the principle of objectivity at the same time. In Chapter 2, we saw that in many journalistic contexts, objectivity has traditionally been associated with hard news articles. However, it became clear that the traditional emphasis on objectivity as a characteristic of hard news reports does not negate the inclusion of evaluative language in such reports (Sabao and Visser 2015; Sabao 2016). This presented an interesting and complex attribute of hard news reporting, one which was examined in this thesis to establish the types of patterns of evaluative language, and the strategies that are used to mitigate evaluative language in hard news articles obtained from the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. The news item covered in the news articles was the 2011 nationwide public sector workers' strike in Botswana. In this final chapter, I draw the main findings together in relation to the Research Questions I outlined at the beginning of this study. I discuss how different linguistic features have been used alone and in strategic combinations to present an evaluative stance with an aura of objectivity. Following this, I return to a broad discussion of objectivity in light of the findings, and then reflect on the contribution of my study to our understanding of how, despite the inclusion of evaluative language, journalists are able to make a claim for, and assert the objectivity of their reports. In the final part of the chapter I put forward the limitations of the present study and present suggestions for further work into evaluation and its interaction with objectivity in hard news reporting.

7.2 Research Questions

The study aimed to address four Research Questions:

1. How frequent and varied is the use of evaluative language in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*?
2. Given the legal requirement for press objectivity in Botswana, what strategies are used by the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* to mitigate such evaluative language?
3. Are there significant differences in the strategies employed by the two newspapers to use and mitigate evaluative language?
4. Can any differences in the strategies of evaluation and mitigation be related to the newspapers' political positioning or the nature of the event covered?

7.2.1 Research Question 1

Through an investigation of the characteristics of 'ideal' hard news reports, and establishing the inevitable use of evaluative language in such news reports, the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* were examined to determine the extent to which evaluative content appeared in their reports. Since it was established from previous studies that evaluative language can take different forms depending on what or who is evaluated, the ways in which evaluative language showed variation was also considered an important aspect to examine in the two newspapers' reporting of the workers' strike. Another important aspect of the news articles was that the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* represented state-owned and private media respectively. As was discussed in Chapter 3, the characterisation of these two types of media pointed to differences in the ways in which the two newspapers reported the workers' strike. In order to take account of previous studies' conclusions on state-owned and private media in Botswana, and control for intuition at the same time, the news articles that were examined from the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* were paired chronologically and matched to keep the subject matter constant across both newspapers. The findings indicate that on the whole, there is an extensive use of evaluative language in *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. Interestingly, the overall use of evaluative language in the news articles did not seem to show any distinct patterns of evaluative content that could be

associated with either the *Daily News* or *Mmegi*. In addition, each of the types of evaluation identified across the data set, the targets to which the evaluations were directed, and the polarity with which the evaluations were expressed, were all referenced in both newspapers. The second major finding was that the majority of evaluations across the news articles were directed at human targets, hence the prevalence of resources of Judgement in both newspapers. Bearing in mind that the strike portrayed a conflict, mainly between the government and workers' unions, the prevalence of Judgement resources across the news articles was not an unexpected finding. One of the implications of these findings was that the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* followed similar patterns when they included evaluative content in their news reports. As a result of this implication, it seemed that exploration of variation in the use of evaluative language could only be considered if we examined it within the same newspaper. However, a close analysis of the news articles showed that while all categories of evaluation were referenced in both the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*, there were indications that the two newspapers did not reference such categories equally. It was then tested whether the observable differences were significant to conclude that the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* used evaluative language differently. This yielded some interesting indicative findings which I will return to in section 7.2.3.

7.2.2 Research Question 2

It was noted that objectivity is an elusive concept (Stenvall 2008a; 2008b; 2014), and that its achievement constitutes a set of strategies that journalists use to avoid expressing explicit evaluative language in hard news reports (Thomson et al. 2008). In this study, I argued for recognition of the concept of mitigation as a “superordinate organising concept” (Caffi 1999) under which sets of strategies that can be used to account for the interaction between evaluation and objectivity can be grouped. The investigation of mitigation strategies has shown that attributing evaluative content to external news sources is the foremost strategy through which the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* reconcile evaluation and objectivity in

their news articles. Consistent with previous studies, this finding indicates that news reporters strategically achieve the transference of responsibility for the expression of evaluative content to external voices that are quoted in the news articles. In the context of the workers' strike, attributed evaluations revolved around the voices of government officials, opposition party leaders and union leaders. We however noted that some voices were dominant in the news articles. In such instances, the quotation of one voice within a news article was seen to contradict the notion of *balance* (White 2000), which is a principle of objectivity that requires the presentation of more than one point of view within a news article. In addition to attribution, the use of indirect evaluative language was found to be prevalent in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. The use of indirectness was two-fold. It was used in conjunction with attribution, and in some cases used by the authorial voice as a strategic avoidance of explicit evaluations.

Another finding that emerged from this study concerns the ways through which news sources were quoted in the news articles, that is, the choice of the types of reporting expressions. Three patterns of choice were observed across the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. Firstly, there was a prevalence of reporting expressions that did not indicate explicit evaluative positions of the news reporters with respect to the evaluations or the news sources quoted. Secondly, reporting expressions that validated the news sources or the statements being quoted were used to a relatively less extent. The final pattern of quoting news sources was the most interesting among the three. Evaluations were attributed to news sources but without the use of reporting expressions. This was observed in instances where the news sources were quoted directly. It was concluded that resorting to direct quotations and in turn attributing statements with unspecified evaluative standpoint, represented a more subtle way that the newspapers use to take an evaluative standpoint.

7.2.3 Research Question 3

Having established a general picture of the use of evaluative language and mitigation strategies across the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*, I then turned to the more complex question of whether the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* employed patterns of evaluative language and mitigation strategies differently. As I pointed out in section 7.2.1, testing for the significance of observable differences between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* yielded some interesting findings that indicated that some patterns in the use of evaluation and mitigation strategies could indeed be associated with a particular newspaper. In terms of categories of evaluations, results from a chi-square test showed that in *Mmegi*, strikers were evaluated far more positively than in the *Daily News*. Another significant difference was found between the two newspapers with regard to the use of attribution. It was found that the *Daily News* used attribution significantly more than *Mmegi* and that among the news sources, the *Daily News* relied on news content that was attributed to government sources significantly more than *Mmegi*. In terms of differences in the choice of the type of reporting stance, the *Daily News* endorsed the government perspective significantly more than *Mmegi*, thus validating evaluations attributed to the government news sources. In contrast, attributing evaluative content without reporting expressions appeared significantly more in *Mmegi* than in the *Daily News*. The prevalence of the unspecified reporting stance was observed especially among evaluations attributed to government news sources where the government sources evaluated the actions of the government in conjunction with those of workers' unions or opposition parties. In such cases, the actions of the government were praised while those of workers' unions or opposition parties were criticised. Taken together, differences between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* seemed to suggest that the appearance of evaluative language in the newspapers' reporting of the strike, and their strategic adherence to the requirement for objectivity were defined by their political positioning and the nature of the unfolding events of the strike. This point is discussed in the following section.

7.2.4 Research Question 4

I highlighted some anticipated differences between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* at the beginning of this study. In particular, Rooney's (2012) argument that state-owned media presented a 'distorted' view of the strike was a central idea in my exploration of political positioning that could be reflected in the two newspapers' reporting of the strike. One of the issues raised during the workers' strike was the political contention that seemed to surround the strike. While the workers' strike was a dispute that was primarily between the government and civil servants, issues that were raised in the parliamentary debate (Texts 1DN and 1MM) for example, were discussed along political party lines. The political position of the *Daily News* seemed to be indicated in the newspaper's validation of the government perspective through the choice of reporting expressions that foregrounded the position of the government. As was stated in Chapter 5, such foregrounding could be an indication of what the newspaper deemed important for the public to know. *Mmegi* on the other hand resorted to an unspecified reporting stance to present the perspectives of the government and those of opposition party leaders. Another form of foregrounding concerned the overall presentation of the strike. While the *Daily News* generally presented a positive view of the government by highlighting the idea of *consultation*, *Mmegi* presented confrontational relations between the government and workers' unions. This was especially observable in the newspapers' use of agentive verbs to present the actions of the two parties. An in-depth qualitative analysis of the news articles indicated that the foregrounding of *consultation* presented the government in positive terms while workers' unions were presented in negative terms. With regard to confrontational relations between the government and workers' unions, *Mmegi*, seemed to present a subtle message in which the escalating conflict between the government and workers' unions was blamed on the government.

Overall, the differences between the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* raised some important issues that have a bearing on our understanding of simultaneous

appearance of evaluation and strategic adherence to objectivity. As we have seen in the discussion of attribution, the choices that were made by the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* with regard to news sources and types of reporting stance showed differences that can be linked to their political positioning. This leaves us with the question of whether the use of strategies such as attribution makes the news articles objective. If such strategies qualify the news articles as objective, a related question would be whether there can be an external judge to can make a claim for the objectivity of the news articles. For a broad discussion of these issues, let us turn to the following section on objectivity.

7.3 Objectivity in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*

Our journey in the discussion of objectivity began in Chapter 1 with the citation of an editorial response that had appeared in *Mmegi* newspaper. In the editorial response, *Mmegi* newspaper had stated their position of an objective disinterested party in the dissemination of news. I pointed out that the newspaper seemed to argue that evaluative stance and objectivity are mutually exclusive. I also highlighted the policy statements from the two newspapers and mentioned their self-descriptions of being objective news reporters. We then moved on to consider how objectivity was defined and analysed in some key linguistic studies. As we saw in Chapter 2, objectivity is used as an umbrella term that covers related principles of neutrality, balance and reliability (White 2000). The common characteristic about these principles is the use of quotations as a strategy of mitigation, with neutrality dealing with the overall principle of quoting third parties, balance dealing with the presentation of more than one point of view, and reliability dealing with the requirement for quoted voices to be of authority and credible social standing. Drawing on this overall characteristic of objectivity, I approached attribution as an umbrella strategy of mitigating evaluation in the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*. We also saw that indirectness, epistemic and deontic modality were used in conjunction with attributed evaluations to enhance the mitigation of such evaluations. On the basis of these general characteristics, it

may be possible to say that the news articles from the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* are 'objective'. However, we saw some variations between the newspapers' use of these mitigation strategies, especially attribution. As we saw in the case of quotation of news sources, the *Daily News* relied on government sources more than *Mmegi*. This suggests that the newspapers use the strategies of mitigation in distinct ways. To summarise this discussion of objectivity, let us take a brief look at the following excerpt of an opinion article that appeared in *Mmegi* newspaper edition of 5th April 2013. The article is not related to the public sector workers' strike but since I have highlighted the question of an external judge, my interest is on the writer's reference to *objectivity, truth, impartiality* and factuality.

What happened to objective reporting?

... Unfortunately, when these exaggerated reports on some of the Chinese contractors are published, I seldom see journalists quoting the affected Chinese contractors. They mainly make mention of the contractors affected and quote the contractors' opponents, competitors or criticisers. No facts are reported... I cannot see the basic journalistic ethics of objectivity, truth and impartiality. If a newspaper cannot stand impartial as the third party or observer, it will encourage one of the two parties involved in the matter to override the other party. They will worsen the matter instead of leading the two parties to peace. (Mmegi, 5 April 2013)¹⁷

In the excerpt above, the writer draws a link between impartiality and the quotation of 'both parties' who are involved in a matter. It is interesting that the writer of the opinion article calls the newspaper's 'objective reporting' into question. This view differs from the newspapers' own view and self-characterisation. Assuming that we could treat the writer of the article as an external judge, it can be concluded that objectivity is a variously defined and contested term. As such, it is possible that the government, the newspapers, and the public define objectivity in contradictory ways. Thus, use of quotations, for example, can be highly evaluative and this can betray the claim to an objective

¹⁷ The issue raised by the writer of the opinion article was newspapers' seeming hatred for Chinese nationals doing business in Botswana.

position. Furthermore, the nature of the events reported, as in the case of the workers' strike, is a possible influential factor in how the news is presented, and the positions that the newspapers take. Finally, we need to consider the nature of hard news reports as event stories that are supposedly characterised by 'factual precision' (Caffarel and Rechniewski 2008). I will argue that if hard news reports are characterised by factual precision, events that are of public interest dictate that the public would want to know the position of the parties involved in the event. Although this study has focused on evaluation and mitigation strategies within the context of strike news, the findings may well have a bearing on our understanding of how different media outlets can make use of evaluative content and mitigation strategies to achieve different effects.

7.4 Limitations of the study and suggestions for further research

The first limitation is that the data selected for analysis was relatively small and statistical tests were confined to a limited set of features for the purpose of obtaining some indicative quantitative results. Related to this first limitation is the restriction of analysis to clauses that comprised evaluative language to the exclusion of clauses that were categorised as non-evaluative. Future work would need to consider the global role of non-evaluative segments within the news articles as it is possible that such segments play the role of mitigating the overall evaluative orientation of the news articles.

The second limitation concerns the selection of the *Daily News* and *Mmegi* for the investigation of evaluative language and the mitigation strategies they use to achieve objectivity. Despite arguments raised about state-owned and private media in Botswana, press reporting in the government is limited to one newspaper. As such it was not possible to extend the selection of data to more newspapers would have created an imbalance of content between state-owned and private newspapers. One possible design that can be used for future work

would be diachronic investigation of evaluation and objectivity in the reporting of previous strikes in Botswana. This would include the reporting of the 1968 and 1991 Manual Workers' Union strikes. Similar to the 2011 strike, the two previous strikes involved government employees.

On the basis of the findings presented in this thesis, it is important that our approach to evaluation and objectivity move beyond questions of whether hard news reports can be objective. Instead, we should cast our gaze into how the two concepts interact in hard news reporting. Understanding the dynamic interaction of features of evaluative stance and objectivity as they appear in hard news reports is important if we are to account for the expression of evaluation and simultaneous adherence to objectivity in the news.

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Appendix 1

News articles from the *Daily News* and *Mmegi*

Govt. protects workers' rights

GABORONE: Government will ensure protection of workers' rights during industrial action, presidential affairs and public administration minister assured Parliament on Friday. Briefing MPs on the impending public sector strike, Mr Mokgweetsi Masisi said government was obliged in the rules of the strike to make sure that workers' rights were protected. On the issue of maintaining essential services and ensuring service delivery, Mr Masisi said that was part and parcel of what was negotiated in the rules of the strike. He also assured MPs that government would ensure that there was minimal disruption in service delivery and appealed to them to remain calm and reassure their constituents of such. Mr Masisi added that the rules of the strike would be shared with all members to ensure that as leaders they were informed so as to inform their constituents. The minister noted that part of the negotiation process and bargaining on affordability or otherwise of awarding an increase had been predicated upon the discussion of issues of efficiency in the public service and its size. He indicated that issues of inefficiency such as collection of rubbish as Gaborone Central MP, Mr Dumelang Saleshando alluded to had been in existence for a while and had nothing to do with the strike. Taking members through the negotiation process, Mr Masisi indicated that a dispute was declared between the employing party and employees on the bargaining of salaries increase. He said initially the employer offered a zero per cent increase but union representatives, comprising five unions under the umbrella of BOFEPUSU, rejected the offer and refused to proceed with the negotiations. Consequently, he added, the negotiating party representing the employer on the second round of talks offered a two per cent increase on condition that it would be determined at the end of the first quarter review of the performance of the economy. However, Mr Masisi reminded members that the first quarter would end in June while figures were, as usual, expected in July. Therefore, the analysis of such will be in August while determination will be made soon thereafter. Regrettably, he said the union representatives rejected the offer on the interpretation that the conditional was offensive and as such wanted that removed. He said the gesture could be interpreted as negotiating in bad faith since it ignored reality of the economic situation. On the third round, government offered five per cent still with the same conditions attached but the union leaders rejected the offer again. The minister

added that the processes of bargaining had been conducted in a mutually cordial and respectful manner while government generally kept mum and left it to negotiators to do the talking with the unions. "I cannot, however, say the same about the union representatives who breached the principle of respecting the negotiation process", he said. Mr Masisi also regretted that there were other parties outside the negotiating team who sought to take advantage of the situation which could be interpreted to be prejudicial to the process. Thus, a deadlock was declared between the negotiating parties following due process. He said as the law prescribed, there was a luminal period of 30 days leading to the onset or mandatory stage reached on April 12. A dispute was, therefore, registered with the negotiator which mandated that rules of the strike be negotiated and agreed to by both parties. Mr Masisi further indicated that there were two options at the end of the 30-day luminal period which entailed going by a way of the arbitrator or choosing industrial action. But the union party chose to go into industrial action while government on the other hand and negotiators for government pleaded for going the route of arbitration which in law mandates that the decision of the arbitrator be respected. He highlighted that unions chose to take the strike route which obliged both parties to discuss rules. The parties, he said, met on Friday to finalise such rules that according to a process were to be tabled before the mediator who ought to be satisfied that both parties agreed and signed on such. He added that in the event that there was some disagreement, the mediator was empowered by the law to help to generate and finalise those rules which would be binding to both parties. On the issue of conditionality on the salary increase as Gaborone Central MP asked, the minister said government went back on such as it was convinced that was a non-issue in terms of a determination to refuse to negotiate because government was trying to make the unions to look at the objective reality. "How do you go and award money that is not there"? he asked. South East South MP, Mr Odirile Motlhale, asked the minister how he viewed statements the President made and if they did not amount to accusing unions of not having acted in good faith when he spoke about negotiations before they were concluded. To that, Mr Masisi said indeed unions were negotiating in bad faith. "When you go out and you have a process established and there are rules governing it, you got to respect that. Now it is fundamentally different from what the President said in response to questions made in a kgotla meeting", he said. He added that the President said nothing about the negotiations but that government could not afford to increase allowances in the face of the current economic situation.

(35) The South East South MP had asked the minister to brief Parliament on the impending strike as well as give specific interventions government had drawn up

to minimise service disruption should the strike go ahead. *Daily News, 18 April 2011*

Khama appeals to workers

TUTUME: President Lt Gen. Seretse Khama Ian Khama, Thursday, pleaded with public servants not to proceed with their strike planned for today. Addressing a kgotla meeting at Natale in Tonota North constituency, President Khama said the economy is showing signs of recovery but said if civil servants go ahead with the strike, government will lose a lot of money and this might reverse the economic recovery mode. He said even though government workers had not experienced increments over the recent past, they are better off than some citizens who are unemployed. He said government has been trying to better civil servants lives through measures such as the introduction of low interest loans, salary advances, a system of pensions in which government pays 15 per cent while employees pay five per cent as well as the medical aid cover for which the government contributes. The economic downturn, President Khama said, forced some developed countries to retrench employees, but Botswana opted to borrow money instead of retrenching workers. President Khama wondered whether going on a strike is the right way of thanking the government for its efforts to safeguard the welfare of the civil servants. He said instead of embarking on a strike and risk crippling the economy, civil servants should be working hard to help the country in its recovery process. He further said civil servants are in a better position to appreciate the poor performance of the economy because they know of projects that have been shelved due to economic difficulties. The President informed his audience that government has suspended many projects such as construction of roads and bridges to focus on priority projects such as construction of dams as well as Morupule B project. Lt Gen. Khama said government is continuing with programmes such as ISPAAD, Ipelegeng and the Youth Development Fund because they are crucial in alleviating citizens from the pangs of poverty. When the economy sufficiently improves, the President said, salary increment could be considered alongside other allowances such as old age pension and the ones for village development committee members. *Daily News, 18 April 2011*

Opposition supports workers

GABORONE: Government must show commitment when engaging civil servants over salary negotiations, Botswana Congress Party (BCP) president, Mr Dumelang Saleshando said at a press conference last Friday. Grievances by public workers unions, he said must be taken serious and they must be respected by the government. He affirmed that opposition parties support civil servants legal strike whose first phase will last for 10 days. He said public workers' salaries must be increased because they were being paid peanuts when compared to other countries of the same economic status as Botswana. He noted that the cost of living in the country was high, while government had worsened the situation by increasing value added tax (VAT). The BCP leader criticised government for allegedly not showing any commitment to avert the salary increment crisis. He therefore urged government to show sympathy towards the workforce. Also at the press conference was the leader of the Botswana Movement for Democracy (BMD), Mr Gomolemo Motswaledi and the leader of Botswana National Front (BNF), Mr Duma Boko, who shared the same sentiments. *Daily News, 18 April 2011*

Border posts report normal operations

GABORONE: Tlokweng Border Gate, one of the busiest in the country linking Botswana with South Africa, is 100 per cent operational despite the ongoing public servants strike. Tlokweng border is one of the four border posts which were expected to be badly affected by the strike. Chief immigration officer in charge of the border post, Mr Donald Abueng said the strike had never affected operations since its commencement on Monday. "There is no change in our work, we work in two shifts and all the employees reported for duty on time in the past two days". Mr Abueng said the movement of people in and out of Botswana had been steadily increasing with further increases expected over the coming Easter weekend. Still at the border gate, a Botswana Unified Revenue Service official, Mr Onkemetse Plaatje, said they had been experiencing an unusual movement of people especially those leaving the country. "It appears like it is a holiday, they kept on asking us if we will be on duty during the period of the strike". The Ramatlabama Border Gate Principal Immigration Officer, Mrs Idah Chalegwa also reported a business as usual working environment despite a few of her employees having opted for the strike action. Mrs Chalengwa said even though the rate of movement at the border gate was starting to increase, she had

a good number of officers who could be equal to the task even during busy periods such as the Easter holidays. She stated that the five employees who joined the strike did not change anything in their daily operations. Martins Drift Border Gate Principal Immigration Officer, Ms Ontitile Maromoloa said the strike had not affected their daily operations and that everything was normal. She said they were receiving numerous phone calls from foreign tourists who wanted to know about the effect of the strike and whether the employees of the immigration department were also on strike. "The response is that everything is normal", she said. ***Daily News, 21 April 2011***

Strike continues?

GABORONE: Botswana Federation of Public Service Unions (BOFEPUSU) structures have resolved to continue with the strike after the first 10 days agreed on with the employer elapsed on Friday. Confirming the resolution, National Amalgamated Government, Parastatals Manual Workers Unions, Mr Johnson Motshwarakgole said the structures made up of five public sector unions had suggested an extension by another five days. The BOFEPUSU leadership was at the time of going to press, still to meet and map the way forward. Mr Motshwarakgole stated in an interview that were the leadership to adopt the position of the structures, it meant that after the five days the striking workers might return to work but engage on a go-slow. "People should know that this is an indefinite strike and we have agreed that it (strike) will only come to an end after government had announced salary increment", he stated. Meanwhile, the Director of the Directorate of Public Service Management (DPSM), Ms Festinah Bakwena said in an interview yesterday that she was not aware of the decision to continue the strike. "What I know is that we agreed that the length of the strike will be 10 days after which they may engage on a go-slow after returning to work". Ms Bakwena noted that the April 26 interim court order on essential services employees was never adhered to hence DPSM ended up going back to court, which ruled in favour of government. ***Daily News, 3 May 2011***

LobSec students threaten to boycott classes

LOBATSE: Lobatse Senior Secondary School students have requested the school management to call an emergency meeting to brief parents about the situation at the school. The school head, Mr Moses Mongale disclosed this when briefing the area MP, Mr Nehemiah Modubule and councillors who visited the school to get information about the Wednesday incident which compelled the

Minister of Education, Skills and Development, Ms Pelonomi Venson-Moitoi to come and address the students. Mr Mongale said the students threatened to boycott the school on Thursday to protest the damage done to their education by the ongoing strike by teachers. The students were particularly concerned about the future of the form fives as they will be sitting for their final examinations at the end of year. He said the students called for temporary closure of the school as they were not taught and spent the time idling. The school head managed to calm the students and called a meeting where they resolved to call an emergency meeting involving their parents so that they could raise their concerns and agree on a way forward. However, Mr Mongale explained that since the beginning of the strike there were no threats as there was proper consultation with students and they appreciated the problem with a hope that things would be back to normal after the initial 10 days of the strike. He said after hearing that the strike had been extended by another five days, management found flyers all over the school expressing students concerns. Students also demanded that the remaining teachers should stop teaching as some classes were left without teachers. Mr Mongale said the school had been operating with 36 per cent of teaching staff, adding that on the day of the disturbance it was operating with 42 per cent of staff as some teachers had returned to work. The school head said they contacted the office of the district commissioner as they felt that students might cause chaos in the school and the office of the commissioner informed the minister. In her address, Ms Venson-Moitoi asked the students to write down their concerns and propose solutions. Mr Mongale also briefed the area MP and his delegation that the students have written down their concerns and handed the letter to the DC who forwarded it to the ministry. The school head is optimistic that the meeting with parents will help map a way forward. The delegation advised the school head to work hand in hand with the town leadership on issues of concern in the school. ***Daily News, 16 May 2011***

Strike cripples health services

GABORONE - Service provision in the public health facilities is taking a beating from the ongoing industrial action by government employees as more professionals are continuing to join. Ministry of Health's chief public relations officer, Ms Doreen Motshegwa said this had caused a setback in their service delivery. The situation has overstretched those who have remained behind, she said. However, she pointed out that the sector was continuing to offer services as those remaining behind have to double their efforts to ensure service continuity.

(6) Ms Motshegwa denied rumours doing the rounds that Princes Marina Referral Hospital on Wednesday had majority of its nurses and doctors joining the strike, saying the turnout at the hospital was not adversely affected. She further made appeal to Batswana to be mindful of the winter weather and avoid all situations, which might lead them to seek services from health services bearing in mind the current situation. Botswana Federation of Public Sector Unions (BOFEPUSU) Mr Goretetse Kekgonegile said nurses and doctors are continuing to join the strike countrywide. According to him, the professionals view the decision to dismiss them as unwarranted and without any legal authority. That amount to unfair dismissal and unfair dismissal can be challenged in court, he said and added that they have not yet had precise figures of striking health professionals. ***Daily News, 20 May 2011***

Govt, unions agree to overcome differences

GABORONE: The government and Botswana Federation of Public Sector Unions (BOFEPUSU) have agreed to strive towards resolving the ongoing industrial action as soon as possible. The parties represented by presidential affairs and public administration minister, Mr Mokgweetsi Masisi and the leader of BOFEPUSU, Ms Masego Mogwera, made the deal at a joint national prayer for peace and reconciliation held in Gaborone yesterday. The purpose of the service, organised by the Botswana Council of Churches (BCC), Evangelical Fellowship of Botswana (EFB) and Organisation of African Instituted Churches (OAIC), was to reconcile the government and labour unions in the interest of peace and stability in the country. The Ministers fraternal throughout the nation were also encouraged to hold prayer services on the same date or any other suitable date in their localities. Both Minister and Ms Mogwera agreed that the industrial action has gone on for too long and its consequences have affected a lot of people and should come to an end. Minister Masisi said government had decided that it would be in the best interest of the country that both parties sit down to a conclusive and negotiated settlement, and to end the industrial action without any further delay. "We are here to seek your prayers and support to end this dispute, we are confident that we are moving in the right direction, both of us, to restore the situation to normal", he added. For her part, Ms Mogwera apologised to Batswana, saying that the strike action had disturbed the peace in the country and hurt the nation and the economy. "This strike affected the nation at large". Our intension was not to hurt you as Batswana, but to make our grievances heard by our employer, as this was a legal strike. We've all cried, our

children have not been taught and our parents did not get the services they needed, including health care services, for that”, Ms Mogwera said, “we have agreed with government that this strike has gone on for far too long and we must jointly to end it”. Speaking at the service, Botswana Council of Churches president, Reverend Mpho Moruakgomo, said as the church, they were deeply concerned about the social, economic, health and educational consequences brought about by the industrial action. He said the church was particularly concerned that the industrial action had affected not just the welfare of the nation, but had also hurt the international profile of Botswana as a successful and stable democracy hence they saw the need for a national healing process. The joint prayer service, was attended among others, by former president, Sir Ketumile Masire and Lady Olebile, members of Ntlo ya Dikgosi, Parliament, as well as the Christian community. Leadership of BOFEPUSU affiliates: BOPEU, BTU, BOSETU, BLLAWU and NACLGPWU were also represented. ***Daily News, 6 June 2011***

Masisi 'raps' opposition MPs over strike

Only an irresponsible government like the one the opposition wishes to form would promise on public service salary increments when they do not have the money, the Minister for Presidential Affairs and Public Administration, Mokgweetsi Masisi said in Parliament on Friday. He was responding to a question by South East Central MP, Odirile Motlhale who had asked what interventions government has drawn up to minimise service disruption should the planned strike by public sector workers go ahead. Masisi said the strike is legal and government is in discussions with the unions to finalise the strike rules, which will determine how services are rendered during the walkout. He stated that government would make sure that in the event that there is disagreements over strike rules the mediator, who is empowered by the law, would help generate and finalise those rules which shall be binding on both parties. "We are going to ensure that as always we protect the rights of those who wish to strike. We here in government are the protected and that is why some of you are as healthy as you are and as free as you are," Masisi said. "We are also protectors for those who wish not to engage in the strike. Essential services, in terms of ensuring that those are maintained, ensuring that government continues and services are delivered are part and parcel of what is negotiated in the rules. The outcome will be informed by the principal to ensure that everything continues with as minimal disruption as possible". I wish to assure this House that government

has been working around the clock to ensure that is so. With respect to the rules of the strike, MPs must assure constituents that essential services will be available. The rules of the strike will be shared with all so that leaders can pass the message on to their constituents," he said, after which MPs asked supplementary questions leading to a question and answer session below:

Gaborone Central MP Dumelang Saleshando: "I want the minister to explain now that without a strike, it is difficult to deliver services as collection of rubbish in the city and does he think our constituents will believe us if we tell them everything will run smoothly during the strike? If they offered the two percent with conditions and come with the five percent still with conditions, did they honestly think the workers would agree to that"?

Masisi: Part of the negotiation process and bargaining of the affordability and otherwise of awarding an increase has been predicated upon the discussions the issue of efficiency and the size of the public service. Issues of inefficiency such as collection of rubbish have been with us for a while but have nothing to do with strike. I did not say services will be normal but there will be minimal disruptions. The issue of conditionality, we went back because we are convinced that was a non-issue in terms of determination to refuse to negotiate. We are trying to make the unions look at objective realities. "How do you go about awarding money that is not there? Only an irresponsible government like the one you wish to form would do that".

Chobe Legislator Nshingwe: Is the strike legal or illegal? If the past offers were with conditions does government want to say that the negotiations were in good faith or not?

Masisi: The strike is perfectly legal and will be governed by the law and rules as established. It was negotiated in good faith. We revealed all and there is no better faith. It is bad faith to allege what you do not have.

Gaborone South MP Botsalo Ntuane: What percentage of the unionised workforce constitutes essential services?

Masisi: I do not have the figures before me but I can promise to get them for you honourable members.

Motlhale: The minister is accusing the unions of not having acted in good faith because they went out and spoke about the negotiations before they were

finalised. What does he make of the statements made by the President during the same period if it does not amount to the same thing?

Masisi: Yes the unions are negotiating in bad faith, very bad faith. When you go out and you have a process established and there are rules governing it, you have to respect that. It is fundamentally different from what the President said in response to a question asked in a Kgotla meeting. He was saying nothing about the negotiations. The VDC members at that meeting asked that their allowance be increased and the President said we cannot do it, we cannot increase allowances, that is his presidential response, honourable and responsible.

Mmegi, 18 April 2011

Khama rules out salary increase

NATALE: President Ian Khama has said there will be no salary increment even if the public sector workers engage in a national strike scheduled to start today. Khama's statement is contrary to the government position in the stalled talks with unions where Department of Public Service Management (DPSM) has tabled two offers of pay hikes. The President said during his tour of Tonota North constituency villages on Thursday that the public sector is seeking increments at a financially difficult time for the government. He wondered why the Botswana Federation of Public Sector Unions (BOFEPUSU) is attacking the government. "This surprises me because the government has made it clear that there is no money," he said. He faulted civil servants for seeking higher pay yet they work in government and know the financial position of the state. He said, "Botswana is currently experiencing a budget deficit of over P7 billion and the government is struggling to get the P12 billion needed annually to pay civil servants". He said the strike is going to cripple the economy of Botswana and will not be easy to recover from the effects. He stated that the economy is still recovering from recession and the strike will make matters worse. "Major development projects were halted due to lack of funds. Unemployed people depend on the government poverty eradication schemes like the Ipelegeng, youth grants and the old age pension. If we give workers 16 percent increment, should we stop supporting the poor and the old?" Khama asked. He said the government should be commended for making sure that civil servants were not retrenched during the economic meltdown. He said the public servants are ungrateful and now want to engage in strikes as a 'thank you' to the government. "The government made pension schemes for public servants. It contributes 15 percent whilst public servants pay 5 percent. The government pays 50 percent of their medical aid. There are also salary advances to keep them from loan sharks, plus we give

them loans. These are the benefits they are ungrateful for," Khama lamented. He said that unlike Botswana, Britain is currently in plans to retrench at least 300,000 to 450,000 workers because it cannot pay them. "Retrenchment has not been our option". "Public servants should rethink, if the living expenses are costly for the employed, then how would they be for the unemployed?" he wondered. The President pleaded with the public servants to call off the strike because the industrial action will not avail the money for the increment. He explained that the government wishes to increase salaries but there is no money. He said that the strike will cripple the economy for years and government will be compelled to retrench the public servants, thus increasing the statistics of unemployment in Botswana. *Mmegi, 18 April 2011*

Opposition backs civil servants' strike

Botswana's main opposition parties are fully behind the national strike called by public service workers starting from today. The leaders of the three parties told a press conference last Friday that they decided to back the strike after realising that government is not taking workers seriously. The press conference was addressed by Duma Boko of the Botswana National Front (BNF), Dumelang Saleshando of the Botswana Congress Party (BCP) and interim Botswana Movement for Democracy (BMD) leader, Gomolemo Motswaledi. First to speak was Saleshando, who said that active unionism has become a vital element of Botswana's democracy and the growth of unions in the country has enhanced the system. He stated that unionists cannot afford to keep silent on important national issues, one of which is the salary disparity among the working class. "We have very poor employed people", he said. Saleshando said that it is the role of government to ensure that its people have a dignified existence through better pay. BMD interim leader Motswaledi said it is sad that Botswana have been made to believe a lie, that their country is the epitome of democracy when that is not the case. This he said was clear from government's refusal to accept workers' demands for a pay hike, under the pretext that the economy has not yet recovered from the recession. He dismissed the excuse saying the same government continues to fund questionable projects and departments such as the Directorate of Intelligence and Security (DIS), yet it claims there is no money for workers. He said the strike is a loud statement calling for improved conditions for workers. "The workers strike should pave way for good working environment and for future employees," he said. 'Dangerous' is how Boko described government's attitude towards workers. He said that the workers have lost

patience and now want change. He warned government that it would not be easy to control the direction of events once the strike gains momentum. Not in as many words, Boko said that by turning a deaf ear to workers' cry, government could inevitably bring about its own collapse, even before the 2014 general election, considering the current protest mood and calls for reform in the continent. He said that if matters reach boiling point, it will be difficult to wait for 2014 for the electoral process and no one wants this. ***Mmegi, 18 April 2011***

Borders open as workers ignore strike

It was business as usual at Tlokweng border post yesterday as the Mmegi team found immigration officers busy stamping passports and ushering in people from South Africa. "We are working, there are no problems here". "My officers are working two shifts, in the morning and another in the afternoon, so as you can see they are all here". "I don't know what will happen in the next shift," said Donald Abueng, officer-in-charge at the border post. When asked why his officers are not on strike he said he did not know, because: "I can't interview them and ask them why they are not striking as that will be tantamount to harassment and intimidation on my part". "I have realised that people who work tough jobs like immigration officers are passionate about their work and would not want to stay away." He said he was however, keeping watch to see if there are any changes. One of the immigration officers, speaking on condition of anonymity, told Mmegi that he would not go on strike. "I know that my job is about helping people, I know I need to help them and that is it," he told this reporter. In the afternoon when Mmegi called his office, Abueng reiterated that the second shift had started without fanfare. "Everybody reported to work", he said. Contacted for comment, BOFEPUSU spokesman said a quick review of the strike nationwide has revealed that most government workers have responded well to "our call". "They stayed away". "However at the Tlokweng border and labour and home affairs headquarters, it would seem they heeded the employer's call not to strike". ***Mmegi, 19 April 2011***

Strike extended to Friday

The public service sector strike has been extended to Friday, 06 May, as workers remain resolute that government increase their salaries. Speaking to Mmegi, Secretary General of Botswana Federation of Public Sector Unions (BOFEPUSU), Andrew Motsamai said that the employer and the Commissioner of Labour were aware from the onset that the strike would be indefinite. "It was

intended that part one of the strike would go up to April 29, [t]hereafter, workers would embark on a Go-Slow, which formed part two of the road map," Motsamai said. He explained that it has since emerged from the consultations that took place during the May Day celebrations on Sunday that workers all over the country are resolute that the total withdrawal of labour continue up to Friday. "Leadership has therefore heeded the call for members to continue assembling at the usual points and postponed the Go-Slow part two of the Road map until further review on Friday." He added that the leadership is also aware that some may have already gone back to work, as they believed that the strike ended last Friday. "To that end, workers are legally covered to continue with the strike until it has been officially called off by the Federation," Motsamai said. He indicated that the union leaders will in the coming days approach the DPSM to agree on a number of issues incidental to the strike including an understanding of 'No Work No Pay' in relation to duties not performed during the past two weeks. "That is whether the employer is aware that our members will not be expected to teach, or collect refuse and any other work pending from the days that they would not be paid for". "Members are to note that hard negotiations will take place before any deductions are made on our salaries," Motsamai said. The unionist further advised employees discharging non-essential services within the institutions classified as essential, as agreed in terms of Rule 7.3 to join the strike. "That withstanding and abiding by the Interim Relief Court Order on the essential services, all workers rendering essential services are to go back to work", he said. "Only 20 percent of workers in non-essential services are expected to remain behind, that is, inclusive of non-essential workers in essential service institutions". "It is our expectation that the employer in terms of the rules will provide the trade union party with the categories and/or names of employees required to participate in the strike," he said. Adding that they are optimistic that the Industrial Court judgment on the essential services workers' right to strike which is expected to be delivered on Friday would be in their favour." If we lose the case, the law provides that a note of appeal will suspend the judgement until the appeal is heard, of which the essential service workers will join the strike on 30 percent minimum service strike rules provision by May 7." Public service employees embarked on a national strike following a deadlock over salary increment negotiations. The unions wanted government to give them 13.8 percent inflationary adjustment and a 2.2 percent increment totalling 16 percent. However, government represented by the DPSM, has offered a five percent increment on condition that it is effected by September after the reviewing of the first quarter of the financial year and if the economy had improved by then. The

unions rejected the conditional offer. This will be the third week that the public employees have been on strike. ***Mmegi, 4 May 2011***

Venson-Moitoi leaves LobSec students out in the cold

LOBATSE: Lobatse Senior Secondary School students went home with dampened spirits yesterday as Education and Skills Development Minister, Pelonomi Venson-Moitoi failed to respond to their letter by 2:30 pm as promised. In the wake of Tuesday's demonstrations sparked by notices posted around the school calling upon the student community to be revolutionary to counteract or tacitly support the ongoing civil service strike, which has led to a halt in their education, the students wanted to know the relevance of coming to school. In an interview the student, who did not want to be named, said as a result of the letter the minister addressed the school on Wednesday, insisting they communicate their concerns in writing. "She said we should write to her, which we did and she promised to get back to us at 2:30 pm today (Thursday)," the student said. Addressing the students, the school headmaster said their request to leave the school premises would not be possible since the minister had not responded. He appealed to them to remain on campus pending the Parent-Teachers Association (PTA) meeting scheduled for next Monday. "You can't leave now, remember we have been working together since the beginning of this, and we worked together cooperatively," he said. Despite some students demanding the letter to be read out, the headmaster insisted that the content should not be shared with all students. The headmaster changed his mind after an officer from the Regional Education Office secretly cautioned him against the idea, as he felt it was inappropriate and could be misinterpreted and possibly incite the students. After the assembly students could be heard whispering that it was time the ministry explained to them what was going on, saying that since the strike started the ministry has not consulted them. They added that with the final examination just four months away, it was disheartening that they were behind schedule in coursework – worrying that they may never catch up. "We can see that most of us won't make it to tertiary education, and that will be the end of all the dreams we had for the future," one student lamented. They said that the minister advised them to stay away from the strike, as it is politically fuelled. Meanwhile, contrary to reports, students at Kagiso Senior Secondary School in Ramotswa have not engaged in demonstrations. ***Mmegi, 13 May 2011***

Hospitals close as medics hit back

Non-striking essential services workers have hit back at government's decision to dismiss their colleagues by re-joining the strike. Yesterday, much as unionists promised, dozens of health care professionals, who have not been part of the ongoing public officers' strike, joined the walkout in solidarity with their colleagues, and hospitals are now closing. From Mahalapye reports that two specialist doctors and 26 nurses from Mahalapye Primary Hospital with placards reading, "an injury to one is an injury to all" yesterday downed tools to show solidarity with their 'sacked' striking colleagues, resulting in the closure of the hospital. There is also an unspecified number of support staff that have also joined the strike. While he denied reports that the hospital had closed, Mahalapye Hospital Superintendent Kunal Bose confirmed that more doctors and nurses had joined their colleagues. "The hospital is not closed". "We have taken the necessary measures to arrest the situation," he said. "Indeed two specialist doctors from dental clinic and some of the nurses have also joined the strike," he said. Adding that while the hospital has been hard hit by the departure of the staff, everything would be done to keep it open. Bose said that the hospital management had assumed roles played by nurses, such as patient care and management. He said that the hardest hit areas were the theatre department, surgical wards, maternity wards, dental clinic, paediatric ward, orthopaedic wards and the accidents and emergency department. Bose said that the hospital would in the meantime make use of 30 student nurses as the need arises. Meanwhile by late yesterday afternoon Princess Marina Hospital was almost devoid of nurses in all the wards. A few auxiliary staff remained with nothing to do as nurses and doctors joined their colleagues at the nearby Gaborone Secondary Senior School (GSSS) grounds. Speaking yesterday, a representative of the health workers said that they had mobilised nurses and doctors around and expect most of those who still remained working to join them today. Princess Marina, the country's main referral hospital, could close if more nurses join the strike. In Lobatse over 30 nurses and some doctors from the Sbrana Mental Hospital, previously not on strike, yesterday downed tools to show solidarity with their colleagues. The situation is set to worsen as more doctors and nurses and other essential services hospital from around the country are set to join the strike in solidarity with their 'dismissed' colleagues. ***Mmegi, 19 May 2011***

Reconciliation

This is cabinet minister, Mokgweetsi Masisi and BOFEPUSU president and chief negotiator, Masego Mogwera hugging yesterday at a peaceful gathering

attended by community leaders, government officials and workers in Gaborone. It seems that at last there is a thaw in the strained relations between the government and the workers unions after the BOFEPUSU president declared at a fully-packed meeting at the Civic Centre that peace is near. She told the gathering that they will soon be going back to work. "Re bone go le maleba gore a ene modiga. (We found it fit to make peace and call for an end to all this)". "Re kopa maitshwarelo (We are sorry), what happened is very painful, please forgive us". "It was not our intention to cause all this chaos," Mogwera apologised. In response, Masisi assured the gathering that the impasse is about to end amicably. "We are getting there, we are getting there, ntwá kgolo ke ya molomo (It is better to jaw-jaw than to war war)". Yesterday, BOFEPUSU was expected to call a press conference to shed light on the latest developments. However the press conference was postponed at the eleventh hour and could be held today. All indications point to the fact that a solution to the strike has been found. Both parties were confident yesterday that come today, a deal would have been finalised with workers returning to work as soon as possible. The deal is being mediated by Botswana Christian Council (BCC), the Evangelical Fellowship of Botswana (EFB) and a body representing traditional churches. The hugging and declaration of peace by Masisi and Mogwera comes after a week of turmoil that saw ministers intimidated by angry workers during meetings. The tension was evident especially in Gaborone and Tlokweng over the last week with Masisi being one of the ministers sent scampering by the striking workers. On Wednesday Gaborone was characterised by chaos as workers disrupted Masisi's scheduled address at the Civic Centre. They proceeded to block roads and burn tyres at the Princess Marina Hospital round-about. One man was pictured with a broken leg claiming he was shot by the police. However, Police Commissioner, Thebeyame Tsimako on Friday denied any use of live bullets to control the crowd. ***Mmegi, 6 June 2011***

Appendix 2

Strike Rules Agreement

STRIKE RULES AGREEMENT BETWEEN DIRECTORATE OF PUBLIC SERVICE MANAGEMENT REPRESENTING GOVERNMENT AS THE EMPLOYER AND FIVE OF THE RECOGNISED UNIONS AFFILIATED TO BOFEPUSU (BOPEU, BLLAHWU, BTU, BOSETU AND NALCGPWU)

RULES REGULATING THE CONDUCT OF THE STRIKE

1. PREAMBLE

1.1. Section 40 (1) and 51 of the Trade Disputes Act , CAP 48:02 and the Codes of Good Practice, Model Procedures and Agreements (Department of Labour and Social Security, MLHA) make provisions for parties to the dispute to formulate rules to regulate conduct of a strike.

1.2. In terms of the Trade Disputes Act, if no agreement is reached between two parties regarding rules to regulate conduct of a strike, the Mediator shall determine the rules in accordance with the guidelines published in terms of Section 51 of the Trade Disputes Act.

1.3. The parties hereby agree to comply with provisions set down in the Trade Disputes Act, CAP 48:02, Trade Unions and Employers Organizations Act, CAP 48:01 as well as the Public Service Act No 30, of 2008 relating to the conduct of the strike, save as specifically provided in this agreement.

2. SCOPE OF THE AGREEMENT

2.1. This agreement is between:

2.1.1. The Directorate of Public Service Management representing the Government of Botswana (hereinafter referred to as the “Employer”); and

2.1.2. The following recognised Public Service Trade Unions:

- a. Botswana Land Boards and Local Authorities & Health Workers Union (BLLAHWU)
- b. Botswana Public Employees Union (BOPEU)
- c. Botswana Secondary School Teachers Union (BOSETU)
- d. Botswana Teachers Union (BTU)
- e. National Amalgamated Local and Central Government and Parastatals Workers Union (NALCGPWU).

3. APPLICATION OF THE RULES

3.1. These rules shall apply to:

3.1.1. The Employees of the Employer who are members of the Trade Union Parties to this agreement.

3.1.2. Employees of the Employer who are not members of any Trade Union Party to this agreement, but fall within the registered scope of the Trade Union Parties to this agreement and participate in the strike.

3.2. Parties agree that the strike shall exclude the following categories of employees:

3.2.1. Employees of the Employer who are in salary grades of E2 and above

3.2.2. School Heads and their Deputies at Primary, Secondary and Tertiary institutions

3.2.3. Employees who are covered by definition of management as per the Trade Unions and Employers organizations Act and are heads of stations and depots etc

4. MEDIATION

4.1. Parties agree to allow the mediator to continue mediating even during the strike until a settlement to the dispute is reached.

5. NOTICES

5.1. Parties agree that

5.1.1. The Union party shall serve the Employer party with a 48 hours notice of the commencement of the strike in accordance with section 39 (1) (b) of the Trade Disputes Act, CAP 48:02.

5.1.2. The notice shall be deemed to have been dully served if, the Employer Party and the Commissioner receives such a notice in a prescribed form or in any other form that will contain the required details.

5.1.3. The notice shall state the date and time of the commencement of the contemplated strike and if necessary the anticipated duration of the strike.

5.1.4. In the event that the strike does not commence within the specified period as per the requirement of 5.1.3, a fresh notice shall be given.

Similarly should the strike be stopped or suspended for whatever reason, 5.1.3 shall apply.

6. MINIMUM SERVICE AGREEMENT FOR NON ESSENTIAL SERVICES

6.1. Parties agree that:

6.1.1. There should be provision of minimum service for non essential services;

6.1.2. For every ten (10) employees, two (2) employees should remain to provide the minimum service;

6.1.3. The remaining employees would be required to work the normal eight working hours.

7. PROVISION OF MINIMUM SERVICE FOR ESSENTIAL SERVICES

7.1. Parties agree that the following are essential services for provision of minimum service:

- a. Health Services
- b. Electricity Services
- c. Fire Services
- d. Sewerage Services
- e. Water Services

f. Veterinary Services

g. Transport and Communications necessary to the operation of the any of the foregoing services

7.2. Parties agree that:

7.2.1. For every ten (10) employees, three (3) employees should remain to provide the minimum services;

7.2.2. The remaining employees would be required to work the normal eight working hours.

7.2.3. The employer will provide the trade union party with the categories and/or names of employees required to work in essential services for the effective provision of essential services to the public during the strike.

7.3. Parties agreed that employees, who provide non essential services within the category of services listed at 7.1 above, shall be excluded.

8. REPLACEMENT LABOUR

8.1. Parties agree that should an agreement on Minimum Service not be reached within 14 days of the strike, the employer would be allowed to engage replacement labour.

9. APPOINTMENT OF MARSHALS

9.1. In order to ensure compliance with the Rules regulating the Strike, the Trade Union party shall ensure that names of “strike Marshals” is

availed to the Employer or his/her representative at the start of the strike and as and when it is reasonably required.

9.2. The employer shall provide the full identity and contact details of persons with whom the marshals shall deal, for and on behalf of the employer.

9.3. It shall be the duty of the Marshals to enforce security and proper conduct during the strike. The Employer in consultation with the Marshals or vice versa may call the Police only if there is reasonable apprehension of the breach of peace or law and in particular if there is violence anticipated.

10. APPLICATION OF THE "NO WORK NO PAY RULE"

10.1. The Employer is not obliged to remunerate an employee for services that the employee does not render during the strike.

10.2. The employer shall keep an attendance register of all employees on duty at the workplace for the duration of the strike.

11. ASSEMBLY POINTS

11.1. The Trade Union party shall notify the Employer of any point of assembly and the time of such gatherings.

11.2. No intoxicating, illegal, unauthorised, habit-forming and/or stupefying drugs, including alcohol may be brought to assembly points at government premises.

11.3. Vandalism of public property during the strike shall constitute serious misconduct.

11.4. All assembly points occupied by employees on strike shall be kept neat and tidy.

12. DISPUTE PROCEDURES ARISING FROM THE CONDUCT OF PARTIES DURING THE STRIKE

12.1. All matters arising from the conduct or incidental to the strike shall be referred to the Mediator.

13. COMPLIANCE WITH THE TRADE DISPUTES ACT

13.1. Parties agree that:

13.1.1. An employee who takes part in a strike shall not be dismissed for doing so, but this shall not preclude the Employer from dismissing an employee during a strike for any other reason that is valid and fair;

13.1.2. No employee may take part in a strike that is in breach of a condition of the Act or any agreed procedure.

13.2. The Trade Union party shall not picket the premises of the Employer during a protected strike.

13.3. Employees on strike shall not intimidate other employees who are not participating in the strike.

13.4. Employer shall not intimidate employees who participate in the strike.

13.5. Normal safety and security measures in respect of entry and exit from the Employer's premises will apply to employees on strike.

13.6. The Employer party agrees to designate facilities such as use of ablution blocks, drinking water and any other welfare service that may be agreed upon for employees participating in the strike.

13.7. Parties agree that some areas in some Ministries/Departments shall be designated as "no go" areas for employees participating in the strike.

13.7.1. Where "no go" areas have been designated, the Employer should communicate same to the leaders of the employees on strike a day in advance.

13.7.2. Such "no go" areas should be marked with clear signs that should be displayed in conspicuous places readily accessible to employees a day immediately before the commencement of the strike

14. FURTHER ENGAGEMENT DURING THE STRIKE

14.1. Parties agree that they may attempt to resolve the dispute on their own, and may meet at short notice, at places and times convenient to them.