

**Clem Sunter's Transformational Leadership Discourse:
A Linguistic Analysis.**

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By

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Abstract

Since the 1970s, two distinct leadership styles have been recognised in the fields of business and organisational research – transactional and transformational leadership. Transactional leadership is seen to resemble managerial-type leadership where followers fulfil their duties in return for rewards that satisfy their self-interest, such as pay or promotion. Transformational leadership, as the label suggests, is leadership that is seen to transform followers from their everyday selves to their better selves (Yukl 1998). Transformational leaders motivate followers by appealing to their higher-order needs, offering incentives for compliance such as feelings of personal empowerment, a sense of moral self-actualisation and an emphasis on the individual's contribution to the community at large (Harvey 2004). These leaders have been observed to emerge and thrive within contexts fraught with socio-political and economic turbulence, where they maximise the uncertainty of the environment to instigate change. Transformational leaders are seen to be especially adept at using discourse to foster strong, persuasive interpersonal relations with their followers.

This research reports on, particularly, the interpersonal dimension of Clem Sunter's transformational discourse; he being a prominent South African scenario planner and business leader. It is essentially a qualitative study that describes Sunter's discourse in three of his texts written in 1996. The end to Apartheid in 1994 and transition from White to Black governance meant that the socio-political climate of 1996 South Africa was conducive to the rise of a transformational leader like Sunter. Although the country was, ostensibly, a democracy in 1996, much social transformation was still needed at the time Sunter produced his texts.

The analyses are grounded mainly in Systemic Functional Linguistics, specifically APPRAISAL theory and, to some extent, Critical Discourse Analysis theory. However, the analyses do not follow a classic CDA analysis approach, but draw rather from more recent CDA work (cf. Fairclough 2003), such as the analysis of value assumption types within the texts. This analysis clearly demonstrates that Sunter's discourse is congruent

with the principal insights of transformational leadership. More than this, it is argued that these findings suggest a close link between transformational leadership and the goals of the latest social order of new capitalism, a link not made in the relevant research to date. The analysis of modes of operation of ideology in the texts (cf. Thompson 1990), also deriving from CDA, reinforces this, indicating that Sunter's transformational discourse promotes and maintains the kinds of power inequalities that underpin new capitalism.

The APPRAISAL analysis of Affect choices in the text reveals a high frequency of disquiet, i.e. Sunter's discourse is seen to generate feelings of insecurity and fear. This feature, interestingly, is completely inconsistent with current transformational leadership theory, but would have been an effective motivational technique given the instability of the South African socio-political context in 1996. In addition, the APPRAISAL analysis of Judgement reveals that Sunter evokes high levels of tenacity and appeals to readers' morality, ethics and feelings of group-efficacy – all higher-order needs. The argument here too is that the socio-political context enabled Sunter to stimulate disquiet and tenacity in an effective configuration to mobilise change in his reader and promote the goals of new capitalism. The thesis concludes with a reflection on the limitations of the study and makes various recommendations for future research.

Dedication

For William Gillies, Audrey Eley and Devon Eley.

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1 Introduction

Leadership is like beauty; it's hard to define but you know it when you see it.

(Bennis 1989).

1.1 Motivation for this Research

I first encountered the notion of transformational leadership in an article by Harvey (2004) entitled "Charismatic Business Leader Rhetoric: From Transaction to Transformation". This work had a profound effect on me. I have always been intrigued by how certain people are just, somehow, better at leading than others and have often wondered what charismatic or inspirational leaders do with language that makes their followers ready to listen to and believe in them. There is no doubt that it is easy to recognise a good leader but I found Bennis's (1989) perspective dissatisfying after reading Harvey's work. She shed exciting light on this new type of charismatic leadership, labelling and describing it as an identifiable discourse that she examined from a linguistic perspective. At last I could abandon my subjective intuitions about how good leaders use language to inspire people in favour of an objective framework. Her use of Systemic Functional Linguistics on transformational leadership discourse reveals systematic patterns and characteristics behind the elusive and persuasive nuances that I had, until then, merely intuited as a receiver of this kind of rhetoric. She offers an approach that unpacks what is going on at the micro linguistic level, i.e. intra-sententially, to understand the effects at the macrolevel, i.e. within the socio-economic context. Her work inspired me to examine transformational discourse in the post-Apartheid South African context.

"Transformation" has been a buzz word in this country since the advent of democracy in 1994; indeed change is integral to any nation that has endured a history such as South Africa's. The horrors of the Apartheid years have meant that radical restructuring of all social systems has been a priority for the Government since the 1994 democratic elections. The inequalities based particularly on racial discrimination and the damages that remain are being redressed at all levels; from policies such as Black Economic

Empowerment that targets all South African businesses, to Transformation Programmes employed by university sports committees, for example, to promote sporting opportunities to previously disadvantaged students. It is still considered a miracle by many South Africans that the transition from White to Black governance and the end to Apartheid did not result in full-blown civil war. Interestingly, according to the literature (Taffinder 1995, Conger & Kanungo 1998, Puth 2002), transformational leaders tend to come to the fore in exactly this kind of context; one characterised by uncertainty, insecurity and massive socio-political and economic transformation. This research seeks to evaluate the veracity of this claim, namely whether the history of South Africa created a climate conducive to the rise of transformational leaders such as Harvey (2004) describes. More specifically, it focuses on the leadership discourse of one business icon who stands head and shoulders above the rest – Clem Sunter.

Sunter is undoubtedly a South African business leader who embodies the qualities and attributes of transformational leaders. His illustrious career and impressive list of leadership roles, within the company Anglo American PLC (cf. section 1.3), bear testimony to his effectiveness in leading others. He began his career at Anglo American, where he eventually served as its Chairman and CEO from 1990 to 1996, at a time when Anglo was reported to be the largest gold producer in the world (url 1). From 1992 to 1994, Sunter was Chairman of Anglo American's Property Services and the Head of Scenario Planning. He served as Chairman of Corporate Affairs from 1996 to 1998 and in 1999 he became Chairman of the Anglo American Chairman's Fund. This fund, still under Sunter's leadership, was recently rated the premier corporate social responsibility fund in South Africa (url 1). He has written 14 books since 1987 and was voted by leading CEOs "as the speaker who made the most significant contribution to, and impact on, business in South Africa in 2004" (url 1). Recently, he was awarded an Honorary Doctorate by the University of Cape Town for his work in the field of scenario planning. Sunter continues to travel the country delivering presentations but his reputation as an exceptional scenario planner extends outside of South Africa; last year he was the first non-Asian invited to advise the Chinese Communist Party (Sunter 2007 presentation). His preoccupation with predicting transformational responses to future scenarios and

leadership in general made him an ideal subject for my research. Furthermore his career has spanned a tumultuous socio-economic and political period in South African history and so his perspectives are reflective of these national transformations. Towards the end of my research, I was fortunate enough to meet with Sunter for a brief interview and I include much of it in this thesis (cf. Appendix D, page 223, for a transcription of this interview). I return to discussing Sunter in section 1.4 where I give a richer account of his biographical details and his career as a transformational leader.

An important correlation became apparent during my research into the field of transformational leadership. According to the literature, these leaders emerge in times of economic turbulence and radical upheaval in social-political order. These macrolevel conditions that favour transformational leadership resemble the contextual features of the latest social order of new capitalism (outlined in section 2.3). New capitalism is described as the latest configuration of (old) capitalism whereby the fundamental tenets of old capitalism remain; namely, that those with less power are forced to sell their labour to those with more power in the perpetuation of these unequal power relations (Fairclough 2001). New capitalism seems to have emerged at about the same time as the preoccupation with new, transformational leadership styles; specifically during the late 1970s and early 80s. This social order is characterised by the “restructuring” and “rescaling” of social networks in response to changes in the global socio-economic backdrop (Fairclough 2003). What this “restructuring” means, for example, is that rigid corporate hierarchies have been replaced by flatter hierarchies and/or leadership that seeks to empower followers; i.e. bottom-up leadership has replaced top-down leadership (Harrison & Young 2005). Corporations have extended outside national borders and so social relationships are maintained over local to international distances, hence “rescaling” of interpersonal relationships. These social changes have been seen to result from globalisation (a defining characteristic of new capitalism), where businesses have been forced to downsize, undergo mergers and reinvent themselves to keep up with the hyper-competitive, technologically-based and consumer-driven markets in capitalist societies.

In the case of South Africa, re-entering the global business arena after years of isolation during Apartheid, the challenge of remaining competitive with international companies has been especially difficult (cf. Taffinder 1995 in 2.3.2). The challenge therefore is for transformational leaders, such as Sunter, to motivate followers to perform beyond all previous levels of expectation to ensure profitable business in this new socio-economic climate. I want to find out, in other words, if Sunter's transformational leadership can be seen to promote an ideology of new capitalism; is it possible that he is an agent of change, transforming followers, either consciously or unconsciously, towards this new social order? Acknowledging the context of new capitalism has shed fresh light on my research into transformational leadership; Sunter's role can be seen to emerge as a result of both the immediate South African context and in response to the larger social phenomenon of new capitalism. What this has meant, however, is that I have needed to explore fields beyond linguistics to understand the bearing of the macrolevel context on Sunter's texts. In addition to using existing linguistic frameworks for analysis (specifically, Critical Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistic theory), I therefore draw on resources from schools of sociology, leadership theory, organisational psychology, South African history and global economic trends to answer my research questions (see below).

1.2 My Aims and Research Questions

This research aims to answer three main questions. The first question asks broadly;

1. How does Sunter use language to embody the qualities and attributes of a successful transformational leader, i.e. how is Sunter's discourse transformational?

To answer this question, I devised a set of sub-questions to probe specific transformational characteristics in his discourse. The sub-questions are;

- a. What does Sunter assume to be good, and so desirable, or bad, and so undesirable, about leadership and business in general? In other words, what does he evaluate positively and negatively?

- b. What kinds of emotions does Sunter exploit in his discourse to construct a relationship of solidarity with his reader?
- c. What kinds of appeals to morality and judgment (higher-order needs of self-actualisation etc.) does Sunter make to encourage change in his reader?

The second research question concerns the dialectical relationship between Sunter and the context, insofar as the context both influences Sunter's discourse and is exploited by Sunter to realise his transformational goals:

- 2. What are the socio-political factors, unique to the 1996 South African context, that promote the generation and reproduction of transformational discourse such as Sunter's?

The third question seeks to understand the link between the socio-economic context of new capitalism and Sunter's discourse; more specifically:

- 3. What discursial strategies does Sunter use to promote the ideology of new capitalism, i.e. how does Sunter's discourse reproduce the ideology of new capitalism?

Having explained both the motivation and research questions that have given impetus to this research, I now provide background information on Sunter and Anglo American PLC (hereafter Anglo) as the corporation was largely responsible for promoting Sunter's career as a transformational leader. I argue that the effects of Apartheid and new capitalism demands on Anglo during the 1980s had a significant influence on Sunter's emergence as a transformational leader.

1.3 A Brief History of Anglo American Corporation PLC

1.3.1 Introduction

I offer a brief historical background to Anglo in this section as orientation to the multinational empire that gave Sunter the opportunity to build his distinguished career. I show how this powerful South African company faced threats to its sustainability and profitability from Apartheid policies and argue that Anglo was forced to undergo changes

with the advent of new capitalism in the 1980s (cf. 1.3.2). This contextual information is significant because it shows how the socio-economic context, fraught with instability, was conducive to the rise of a transformational leader like Sunter in 1986 South Africa. I conclude the discussion on Anglo with a description of the company to date to illustrate how it typifies a new capitalism corporation (cf. 1.3.3).

The discovery of gold in South Africa on the East Rand in 1886 attracted much attention from those who recognised the potential to exploit the deposits; one such man was Sir Ernest Oppenheimer who arrived in South Africa in 1902 (Sparks 1990). He managed to raise authorised capital of £1 million through the backing of American financier Herbert Hoover and the finance house J. Pierpoint Morgan & Co. to establish the Anglo American Corporation in 1917, named accordingly after its UK and USA investors (url 2).

During the 1920s and 30s, Anglo expanded its interests outside of the East Rand by gaining control of De Beers and developing the Zambian Copperbelt. Growth of this magnitude meant that Anglo American could involve itself in industrial operations such as AECL (African Explosives and Chemical Industries) and Boart Products, which looked to develop the use of industrial diamonds for gold mining (url 2). This increase in wealth allowed Anglo to branch out from gold and diamonds and acquire new subsidiary assets as well, such as its coal estates. The 1940s and 50s saw Anglo American's primary focus being the development of the Free State Gold Mines and the Vaal Reef Gold Mines. In addition, Anglo developed the Western Deep Levels in 1957 where gold was mined at twice the depth that it had been to date (url 2). This period of intensive and large-scale development catapulted Anglo to the forefront of the international mining industry and set the company up to make its initial investments in the global mining arena; Anglo acquired the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company in Canada in 1961, and expanded to Latin America in the early 70s to establish the Minerals and Resources Corporation (later Minorco) (url 2). By 1975, Anglo's local and international assets had reached impressive proportions; for example, the company owned a portfolio of eight coal mines in the country and had been a major player in the development of the Richards

Bay Coal Terminal in South Africa allowing Anglo export opportunities (url 2). But the 1980s brought difficulties; tension between Black mine workers and the shareholders increased as a result of Apartheid policies and due to the extraneous demands on the workers to maintain Anglo's performance within the global mining arena.

1.3.2 The 1980s and the Effect of Apartheid on Anglo American

The influence of Apartheid on the South African mining sector had both positive and negative effects. On the one hand, Apartheid created an abundance of Black labourers who could be employed to meet the labour demands on the mines. The systematic denial of access to proper education resulted in millions of illiterate and low-skilled workers. This coupled with high employment levels meant that mines were in a position to draw on an enormous pool of people who were willing to work for minimal pay (Beck 2000). Furthermore, the sanctions imposed upon the country by the nations opposed to Apartheid (e.g. USA and UK) meant that all profits generated internally had to be reinvested in South Africa (Handley 2004), and the economy grew significantly. Anglo enjoyed this period of relative prosperity; its asset acquisition nationally and internationally was evidence for this (cf. 1.3.1). By the mid-80s Anglo was the leading South African mining-finance house and one of the world's foremost mining-investment organisations (Anglo Report 1987).

But, on the other hand, Apartheid soon started to have adverse effects on the South African economy. High inflation resulted from a lowered Rand exchange rate as foreign perception of the political situation deteriorated; in 1985, Chase Manhattan Bank of New York cut its ties with South Africa, which created a major financial crisis. The Johannesburg Stock Exchange closed for four days and the value of the Rand dropped 35% (Nuttal *et al* 1998). The economic sanctions restricted Anglo's opportunities for international trade and the mine labourers began to strike. The company suffered great financial loss in August 1988 after a three week long strike led by the Nation Union of Mineworkers (Ogilvie Thompson 1988). It was clear that urgent political reform was required to better the country's economic state, and a rapid end to Apartheid was in

Anglo's best interests as well. Ogilvie Thompson (1987:13), a past Chairman of Anglo, explained that

any material improvement in the economy will require, first, an end to the violence and unrest, secondly, the abolition of all vestiges of apartheid and, thirdly, a clear commitment by all parties to introduce a new socio-economic dispensation that gives fair and equal opportunity to all and to negotiate with genuine representatives of all South Africans on an unconditional basis a new constitution entrenching human and political rights for all.

In fact, since the National Party took power in 1948, the Oppenheimer family had openly opposed the government's Apartheid policies and in 1981 was the first mining house to recognise Black trade unions (url 2). Harry Oppenheimer (1981:4) had expressed Anglo's progressive outlook and emphasised the need for change some years earlier;

The fact remains that economic growth and racial discrimination are in fundamental opposition to each other and that economic growth is an essential element in building a peaceful and just society... Perhaps South Africa as a whole has never before been ripe for such change as the new circumstances are now pressing upon us.

Apartheid and political instability was translating into a lack of profits for Anglo and other South African businesses. A peaceful transition to Black governance was essential to keep the economy afloat. Unlike most countries, South Africa was heavily dependent on the volatile commodity of gold and the economic repercussions of the political policies, currency collapse and sanctions, denied Anglo access to the international banking system (Relly 1988).

Anglo recognised ahead of many companies that "South African socio-political dynamics [were] already working powerfully on the side of the Black people" (Relly 1988:1). In fact, in 1981 it became the first mining house to encourage the recognition of Black trade unions (url 2) and the company dedicated itself to promoting common purpose and a shared interest on the mines so that their activities reflected "the desire we have that our own community should move more and more toward genuine non-racialism" (Relly 1988:8). In 1985, against the government's wishes, the Anglo Chairman, Gavin Relly, led a delegation of businessmen to Lusaka to meet the ANC leadership who were in exile

at the time (url 2). This marked the first show of Anglo's concern for transition to a non-racial democracy.

The advent of new capitalism in the 1980s, i.e. a shift of focus from local to global market competitiveness (Taffinder 1995), exerted further pressure on Anglo. The company required commitment to production by employees to keep up with international standards, but support of this nature was severely lacking due to the strikes by labourers, instigated by political unrest. The challenge for Anglo was to find a way of overcoming numerous paradoxes; for example, Oppenheimer (1981:1) asks:

How are we to maintain and expand a modern industrial system which must be internationally competitive, involving as that does over most of the field a capital-intensive, high-wage structure, when most of our recourses of capital and particularly of skilled people are in short supply and there is massive unemployment amongst the unskilled?

The problem with imposed sanctions was that Anglo's costs needed to be kept at a minimum. But this was exceptionally challenging because the size of the labour force needed to be increased to maintain a level of productivity that was internationally competitive (Ogilvie Thompson 1988). Political tension in the 1980s South African context further frustrated this precarious situation.

Sunter (1993:55) sums up the effect of Apartheid on capitalism:

Capitalism too suffered under apartheid because the latter placed major restrictions on entrepreneurship, on free enterprise and the movement of people, capital and goods to where the markets demanded they should go. And ideology was placed above the natural laws of economics and proved very costly in human and material terms.

The political unrest, i.e. the strikes and uncertainty regarding the political future of the country, coupled with the sanctions imposed upon South Africa, and increased pressure from international competition was damaging to Anglo. The company needed to react. In 1985 and in direct response to the demands of the socio-economic context, Anglo commissioned Sunter and a team of experts to explore the possible future scenarios facing the country in order that the company could assess its own fate and plot the necessary course of action. Sunter (2007 interview) explains that "the early work we did

was purely for Anglo. It was to try and improve the radar system of Anglo in terms of the world economy and in terms of what was going on in South Africa". This opportunity marked the beginning of Sunter's public career and was the foundation on which he built his reputation for being one of the most prominent South African leaders and visionary business experts (cf. 1.4).

1.3.3 The Advent of the "New South Africa"

The transition from White to Black rule in 1994 brought major changes to the philosophy of South African mining houses; "companies jockeyed for restructuring at home and for a position in world markets" (Handley 2004:71). Anglo was not exempt from these new capitalism-type changes (cf. 1.1); their focus shifted from developing local assets to moving into world gold fields, e.g. Sadiola Hill gold mine in Mali (url 2) with an aim to build resources by investing abroad. The time period was thus characterised by large changes in the company with extensive mergers, consolidations and take-overs, e.g. the acquisition of Shell's Coal interests in Australia and Venezuela (url 2). In 1998, after a major strategic review, the company moved its headquarters to the London Stock Exchange to provide a better base for international expansion and from which to access capital markets (url 2). According to Sunter (2007 interview), this decision was

basically to be close to where [Anglo] can raise lots of money and open new mines. It wasn't South Africa versus England or anything like that; it was just to be near the financial capital of the world... But of course it has meant that since then the company has changed completely. The head office is in London and that's where the power is...and we're a branch office in Johannesburg so there has been a change in the culture of Anglo.

The result of this move was that Anglo American Corporation of South Africa combined with the Luxembourg headquartered Minorco to form Anglo American PLC in May 1999. It is now majority owned by UK institutions (url 2). Mergers such as this exemplify the general tendency in the context of new capitalism towards monopoly, whereby "an ever-decreasing number of ever-larger units" (Fairclough 2001:29), i.e. multinationals, dominate production in the capitalist world.

Anglo American PLC continues to be a prominent multinational corporation and is currently one of the three major mining companies in the world with a portfolio directed towards raw materials (Handley 2004). Since its listing on the London Stock Exchange, Anglo has carried out its aim to dispose of 'non-core' assets (industrial and financial services) to raise the capital to acquire about US\$15 billion worth of new 'core' assets (url 2). Restructuring of this nature towards consolidation typifies new capitalism. The company remains a powerful entity in terms of its claim to resources such as gold, the platinum group of metals, diamonds, coal, base metals, industrial metals, aggregate, forest products and ferrous metals. Some of its notable subsidiary companies include Tarmac PLC (UK), Anglo Platinum Ltd (South Africa), Minera Sur Andes (Chile) and Be Deers diamond industry. Anglo's success can be attributed to its preoccupation with international growth into a diverse range of resources; Handley (2004:91) notes that "only a worldwide downturn would result in curtailments of [Anglo's] profits, but such an event would probably present buying opportunities enabling Anglo American PLC to become even larger". In its dynamism, Anglo represents a truly new capitalist corporation that continues to reshape itself in response to changes within global socio-economic context (Fairclough 2003) so that it maintains its power and influence.

1.4 Clem Sunter

1.4.1 Introduction

Having sketched the background concerning the reasons Anglo needed someone to make sense of the company's uncertain future (cf.1.3.2), I now turn my attention to the man they chose for the task – Clem Sunter. The following account is based largely on the 2007 semi-structured interview I conducted with him (Appendix D, page 223 for transcription). I explain a little about his personal life and his corporate career with Anglo as background. I dwell principally on what I believe marked the start of Sunter being identified as a transformational leader – his presentation on the "High Road and Low Road". I highlight some of the important points that Sunter mentioned in the interview that contributed to his success as orientation to his character.

1.4.2 Sunter's Early Career

Born in Suffolk in 1944, Sunter was educated at Winchester College and later Oxford where he read Politics, Philosophy and Economics (url 1). He began his career with Anglo in London in 1966 when the company was called Charter. After finishing his induction process he went to work for Anglo American Corporation Central Africa in 1971 in Lusaka. In 1973 he was transferred to Anglo Head Office in Johannesburg where he worked primarily in the Gold Division with managerial, finance and administrative responsibilities. In 1982 Sunter was given the "very critical task of the scenario planning function" (2007 interview) and spent most of the 1980s researching and reporting to the Chairman of Anglo on scenario planning. Sunter explains that scenario planning, traditionally seen as a "deep intellectual pursuit" (2007 interview), is an adapted framework he uses to predict multiple, possible futures in a pragmatic way. He describes his three-part scenario planning technique as follows:

Now the first job of a scenario planner is to reduce the number of possibilities as far as he (*sic*) reasonably can... We do that by looking at the 'rules of the game' and profiling the main actors. We ask ourselves: what makes the world tick? What makes South Africa tick?... We then look at the 'key uncertainties'... These are factors that are incredibly important for the future but whose movement no one can possibly predict... Finally, we flex and interplay the 'key uncertainties' and write the scenarios. The scenarios are no more than simple and consistent stories about the future illustrating the options available.

(Sunter 1987:14)

Given the uncertainty caused by political and economic unrest during the 1980s (cf. 1.3.2), it is not surprising that Anglo commissioned Sunter, and "some of the best futurists that [one] could assemble anywhere in the world (namely, Bobby Godsell and Michael O'Dowd) [to work] either as consultants or as part of the network that the consultants had" (2007 interview) to construct global scenarios and future options for South Africa in light of the global backdrop. The portfolio of scenario planner had not existed prior to Sunter. The position was a new one that Anglo included during the 1980s, evidence of the company's commitment to "using an innovative way of looking at the future" (2007 interview). There is no doubt that scenario planning thus had a vital role for Anglo in the context of new capitalism. The turbulence ushered in by this new

social order demanded that the company be able to predict future conditions and adapt accordingly; the company's focus needed rescaling, i.e. Anglo needed to consider the company in light of the South African context, and the South African context in light of the global context (shaped by new capitalism). Furthermore, the fact that the company introduced the scenario planner function exemplifies the restructuring of social networks that accompanies new capitalism (cf. 1.1), (Fairclough 2003). Sunter's preoccupation with the future, under the label of scenario planner, is seen to reflect the concern for the future that characterises transformational leaders (cf. 2.2.2).

The most significant outcome of this pioneering work within the field of scenario planning was the "High Road Low Road" scenarios of 1986. These were a series of presentations compiled by Sunter and the team of experts for Anglo initially but soon grew into a popular sensation in South Africa. I discuss the High Road and Low Road in more detail now.

1.4.3 The High Road and the Low Road

According to the scenario planning team, South Africa had two likely political and economic futures. The "High Road" was the desirable future; it was characterised by "negotiation leading to political settlement" (url 1) and socio-economic growth and stability coming out of the Apartheid years. It included a vision to "put all South Africans first, plain and simple" (Sunter 1987:106). The High Road appealed, among other things, to a sense of value and nationalism, claiming that "South Africa has an intensity of vibrancy amongst its people which is unmatched in the rest of Africa, and to which several European nations cannot hold a candle" (Sunter 1987:109). The country was urged to take this High Road by setting it up as the much preferred future to the "Low Road", a starkly contrasted scenario of confrontation and civil war leading to a "waste land" (Sunter 1987:106).

Although the initial "High Road Low Road" presentation was created purely for Anglo, the excellent response from within the company led Sunter to approach the Chairman at the time, Gavin Relly, and request that the team deliver the presentation to the public.

Relly agreed and Sunter's speeches to the general public were an unmitigated success; "I mean it was quite like being part of the Beatles...I was getting two or three hundred phone calls a day asking me to do presentations on High Roads and Low Roads. I brought in Jim Buys and Michael Spicer and the three of us literally went around the country talking to audiences and I think we covered about 25 000 people in the space of 4 or 5 months... It even amazed me" (Sunter 2007 interview). Sunter delivered the "High Road Low Road" presentation to FW de Klerk and the Cabinet in November 1986 in which he urged the government to consider negotiation with the Black leadership and to give up power to the majority. A defining characteristic of transformational leaders (cf. 2.2.2) is that they see themselves as change agents (Puth 2002). Sunter (2007 interview) had this to say regarding his interaction with de Klerk; "in that sense, if transformational leadership is about people changing their minds, and having catalysts that change peoples' minds, there's no doubt that I kind of had a contribution to make with the old regime". The time was right for Sunter to emerge and thrive within the context fraught with socio-political and economic turbulence. He could maximise the uncertainty of the environment to instigate change – change that reflected the principles of new capitalism.

The presentation inspired Sunter to write his first book in 1987, based on the "High Road and Low Road", called *The World and South Africa in the 1990s*. The video recording of the presentation was so popular that it was second to Michael Jackson's "Thriller" in the 1987 video best-seller charts in the country (personal correspondence with Sunter). It was clear that "through a process of offering futures in a fairly non-provocative, non-threatening way" and using a "language of possibilities" (painting optimistic pictures of the High Road) that Sunter's visions were highly effective and "evocative, very evocative" (2007 interview). He offered the people of South Africa hope in a time of uncertainty and fear. Timing was essential; "I had things going for me which were that it was a very uncertain time, people were lost, were looking and so it was absolutely timed right" (2007 interview). Just before his release, Mandela requested that Sunter visit him at Victor Verster prison to discuss Sunter's book. Undoubtedly therefore, Sunter's message reached those powerful people who were instrumental in the transition to Black governance, namely de Klerk and Mandela (who won the Nobel Peace Prize together in

1993). But his message of change and positive vision had a profound effect on all who heard it in the country. The “High Road Low Road” scenarios

did change the conversation in South Africa in the mid-80s from a fairly negative tone of ‘we’re going to have another Rhodesia sort of happening here’, and either tame Blacks are going to be co-opted into the government and that’s going to lead to huge tensions, or this is going to lead to flat out civil war.

(Sunter 2007 interview)

A peaceful transition to Black governance was in Anglo’s best interest; specifically to enable Anglo to maintain its new capitalist outlooks and continue to make profits both locally and globally. It follows then, that since the initial scenario planning aimed to profit Anglo alone, Sunter’s perceptions were indirectly influenced by this social order. Change, insofar as it was congruent with a new capitalism ideology, was necessarily favoured by Sunter (cf. 2.2.5 and 4.5) and so promoted through his transformational discourse. The context allowed Sunter opportunity to “deal with complex, ambiguous and uncertain problems and situations” (Puth 2002:73), and to share his enticing response to the uncertainty that characterised the 1980s with many South Africans. His leadership was so effective that he managed to change the peoples’ perspectives during an extremely complex and ambiguous time in the country’s history. The “High Road and Low Road” presentation marked the beginning of Sunter’s illustrious career as a transformational leader in South Africa.

1.4.4 Sunter on Sunday

Following the success of his first book based on the High Road Low Road presentations, *The World and South Africa in the 1990s* in 1987, Sunter wrote another seven books before the millennium. I list them in Table 1 below. In the eight years between his second publication, *The New Century: Quest for the High Road* and *Never mind the Millennium. What about the Next 24 hours?* in 1999, Sunter wrote a book almost every year - convincing evidence of his popularity amongst the South African readership and his growing success as a transformational leader. Furthermore, this prolific publishing is concentrated over the vital White to Black government transition period, namely the

nineties. This supports the claim in leadership literature that transformers are more likely to be well-received in times of radical change (Conger & Kanungo 1998).

Order	Date of Publication	Title of Publication
1.	1987	<i>The World and South Africa in the 1990s</i>
2.	1992	<i>The New Century: Quest for the High Road</i>
3.	1993	<i>Pretoria will Provide and Other Myths</i>
4.	1994	<i>The Casino Model</i>
5.	1996	<i>The High Road: Where are We Now?</i>
6.	1997	<i>What it Really Takes to be World Class</i>
7.	1998	<i>Home Truths: What We've Got to Do!</i>
8.	1999	<i>Never mind the Millennium. What about the Next 24 Hours?</i>

Table 1: Sunter's Publications 1987-1999

With so many texts from which to draw the data for this research, I needed to choose a selection that best represents the essence of Sunter's preoccupation with change and the future. To this end, I decide on three essays taken from his sixth book, written in 1997, titled *What it Really Takes to be World Class* (cf. 3.5). The book comprises a selection of newspaper columns written by "Sunter on Sunday" for the *Sunday Tribune* and *Sunday Argus* during 1994 to 1998, and as the name of the book suggests, all the featured articles involve praise of individuals, communities, commercial and economic ventures and success stories that Sunter deems world class. There are five personalities that feature in the three texts I chose for analysis. These are Tom Peters (in the Tom Peters text, Appendix A, page 171), Cecil Rhodes and Cyril Ramaphosa (in the CR text, Appendix B, page 189), and Franklin D. Roosevelt and Maggie Thatcher (in the FDR and Maggie Thatcher text, Appendix C, page 206). When I asked Sunter why he had chosen these particular characters to write about in the newspaper columns he responded, "For me what makes them is their personality and the fact that they really did impact on people

with their presence... I chose them because I thought they were nice human beings" (Sunter 2007 interview). He explained further that each of these personalities "changed a lot of people's lives" and so casting them as "change agents" was an accurate description for them.

Despite a first impression that these five people comprise a very diverse group, they share one common, important characteristic; each is or has been an initiator of and believer in change. All five have impressive histories and have achieved the extraordinary in truly changing the world on either a local or global scale. And this is why Sunter includes them in his 1997 book *What is Really Takes to be World Class*, and it is why I chose the texts that feature them for analysis. On the back cover of this book, Sunter explains his motivation for choosing to classify these people as worthy of both praise and emulation: "They are or have been world class in their own way. They managed this with a combination of focus, being one of a kind in their field, an innovative spirit and a plain sense of decency among other characteristics". Each of the five is or has been extremely powerful and influential – they are examples of transformational leadership at work and appear to support capitalist ideologies. I revisit their commonalities in detail in section 3.5.3.

From a pragmatic perspective the texts are well-suited for a SFL/CDA analysis because they take the shape of newspaper columns. They are limited to 800 words and express Sunter's message succinctly. In this regard, Sunter (2007 interview) said "you have to be incredibly economical in language to express the views and so in a way I found it much tougher writing those short columns". It also means that the texts are dense with information and offer an abundance of data when they are examined through each of my methodological frameworks (cf. Chapter 3). From my point of view, they are well-structured and discretely-organised texts which made for easier analysis than spoken texts. I revisit the issue of the scope of data I chose in section 5.3.1. Having offered an orientation to my subject and his texts, I now give a brief overview of the structure of chapters that follow.

1.5 An Overview of the Chapters to Follow

Four chapters follow this Introduction (i.e. Chapter 1). Chapter 2 comprises my review of relevant literature. It consists of three main sections; in section 2.2 I explore transformational leadership and the features that distinguish this leadership style from transactional, or managerial, leadership. I focus on the discourse of transformational leaders and expand on the context that is purported to be conducive to the emergence of such leaders. I also explore the latest social order of new capitalism (cf. 2.3) and show how new capitalism favours leaders who embody transformational leadership characteristics; i.e. I argue in favour of a close link between transformational leadership and the goals of new capitalism. Section 2.4 follows on from concerns with the ideology of new capitalism by discussing discursal strategies that may be used to foreground certain ideologies over others (based on Thompson's 1990 modes of operation of ideology). This theory informs the analysis of techniques that Sunter uses to promote the ideology of new capitalism (cf. 4.5); in other words, it is Thompson's (1990) work that I rely on to answer my third research question (cf. 1.2).

In Chapter 3 I introduce the methodological frameworks I used to analyse the data. I begin with an explanation of APPRAISAL theory within the field of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), paying particular attention to the subsystem of Attitude (cf. 3.2). I also explain Fairclough's (2003) theory on assumption types as this is the theory that informs the value assumptions analysis I report on in section 3.4. I refresh Thompson's (1990) theory too and draw attention to the Appendices (A-E) on which the respective analyses are based, explaining conventions and economies I adopted to make the data amenable to analysis within the various frameworks. The chapter ends with an overview of the three texts, where I provide biographical details of the characters that feature in them and I discuss the socio-political context of 1996 South Africa. This contextualisation and characterisation emphasises the importance of the macro-level, from a CDA/SFL perspective, to ensure a richer and more accurate analysis of Sunter's discourse as it manifests at the micro-level.

In Chapter 4, I report on the findings of my analyses. Section 4.2 is based on the analysis of value assumptions in Sunter's texts. These findings serve as a departure point for the rest of the chapter since those phenomena Sunter assumes to be valuable, and therefore desirable, reveal that he epitomises transformational leadership described in the literature. Thereafter I discuss the findings of the APPRAISAL theory analysis I conducted; section 4.3. reports on the analysis of Sunter's Affect choices, while section 4.4 reports on the analysis of Sunter's Judgement choices in his texts. These three sections work towards describing Sunter's discourse as transformational (cf. my first research question). They also reveal the importance of the socio-political context in enabling Sunter to foster effective interpersonal relationships with his followers (cf. my second research question). In section 4.5 I explain the discursal techniques Sunter uses to promote the ideology of new capitalism (cf. my third research question) since sections 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 indicate that both his discourse and leadership support this ideology.

Chapter 5 concludes this research. There are two broad aims: firstly, I revisit the research questions and answer them in light of the findings that emerge in Chapter 4 (cf. 5.2). And secondly, I discuss the limitations of this research, and suggest future research opportunities based on some of the frustrations I experienced in seeking to answer my questions (cf. 5.3). In doing this, I point out weaknesses that emerged regarding issues of data selection and application of the chosen methodological frameworks.

The Appendices form a vital part of this thesis. I offer a breakdown of their structure on page ix to show how I dedicate a section to each of the three texts; i.e. All 'A' appendices concern the Tom Peters text (pages 171-188), all 'B' appendices concern the CR text (pages 189-205) and all 'C' appendices concern the FDR and Maggie Thatcher text (pages 206-222). These appendices are divided into A, B, C, D and E sections by coloured pages to make them more manageable. There is also a systematic progression of these appendices within each section as well as across the sections; for example, all Aiii, Biii and Ciii reflect the overall APPRAISAL tables for each text and then Aiv, Biv and Civ are the respective APPRAISAL summaries for each text. I refer to particular appendices (and page numbers) throughout this thesis.

2. Review of Relevant Literature

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature that informs this study and so, partially, contextualises the research. As indicated earlier, I draw on a diverse range of material from a variety of social science disciplines; specifically from the fields of organisational psychology, leadership and management theory, sociology, leadership rhetoric and critical discourse analysis.

The chapter is divided into four main sections: 2.2 is concerned with describing transformational leadership. Here I highlight characteristics of this ‘new’ leadership style that distinguish it from more traditional managerial/transactional leadership styles. I summarise the leadership-managership distinction in 2.2.3 using Table 2, drawn from Conger & Kanungo (1998). I then concentrate on the role of language for transformational leaders based on Harvey (2004) and Shamir *et al*’s (1993) work in this area. The section ends with an explanation of the macrolevel contextual conditions that typically give rise to opportunity for transformational leadership to be effective.

Section 2.3 follows on from 2.2 in that it discusses aspects of the social order envisaged by new capitalism, including an explanation of the new capitalism ideology, or “spirit of capitalism”, and its effects on social agents; namely, those with power (e.g. leaders) and those with less power (e.g. followers, employees). Section 2.4 explores Thompson’s (1990) modes of operation of ideology to explain the strategies that allow promotion of certain ideologies over others, as this is the theory that guided the ideological analysis I conducted of Sunter’s texts (cf. 4.5). I have chosen to discuss Thompson’s theory in this chapter, as opposed to in Chapter 3, because it follows logically from the discussion of power and ideology. However, I mention the application of this theory to the data more specifically in the methodology chapter (cf. 3.4.2). I illustrate each of Thompson’s strategies with brief examples selected from Sunter’s texts, based on Appendix E, page 228. I use the following abbreviations to refer to the texts: the Tom Peters text (TP), the CR text (CR) and the FDR and Maggie Thatcher text (FDR). The line numbers of the

respective texts are included after the abbreviation and are based on Appendices Ai (page 173), Bi (page 191) and Ci (page 208).

The conclusion (2.5) consolidates the main insights from sections 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4. Here I argue that transformational leaders are instrumental in ushering in change that reflects new capitalism, i.e. that transformational leadership styles promote the new capitalism ideology, and conversely, that the new capitalism context gives rise to transformational leadership opportunities.

2.2 Transformational Leadership

2.2.1 Introduction

Since the 1970's there has been development within mainstream business research where a new type of leadership style is distinguished from a more traditional or "transactional" leadership style (Burns 1978, Bass 1985, Harvey 2004). Transactional leadership is described as mundane and uninspired managerial-type leadership (Conger & Kanungo 1998). Employees follow their leader and fulfil their duties because in return for good work and compliance they are rewarded with a monetary means to living; hence the label "transactional".

The more recent and contrasting approach is termed "transformational" and was first described by Burns (1978:20) as a process in which "leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of morality and motivation". In other words, the leader-follower relationship acknowledges a shared value system that promotes *inter alia* righteousness as a source of motivation. A leader of this sort is one who "address[es] the higher-order needs of their followers" (Conger & Kanungo 1998:10). The focus thus moves from a transactional, tangible return for work such as increased benefits, pay, or promotion which affect the employee alone, to group-oriented goals (Martineau 2004) and, according to Shamir *et al* (1993), an appeal to a moral sense of self-actualisation for the employee; i.e. leaders aim to develop a follower's self-esteem and self-worth. This type of extraordinary influence sees leaders who quite literally transform their followers into people inspired to "perform beyond expectation" (Harvey 2004:247). The immediate

incentives for followers are feelings of personal empowerment, self-worth and moral value, with the inevitable result of bettering the overall performance of a company or community (Puth 2002). This radical shift in leadership ideology presents a challenging task if a transformational leader is to succeed: that of empowering employees to empower themselves. The power-empowerment paradox (Harvey 2004) is central to the sociology of new capitalism as well (I elaborate on this paradox in sections 2.3.5 and 4.5).

The task of empowering followers is especially difficult when considering the occasions where transformational leadership is most viable. According to Conger and Kanungo (1998:5) it is necessary to look to the "larger backdrop of global competition" to explain the emergence of transformational leaders. These leaders are purported to surface in times of drastic and large-scale socio-economic change where traditional (more transactional) leadership styles have failed to meet new, dynamic demands. These demands are indicative of the global trends of new capitalism (cf. 2.3.3). Such turbulent and transient conditions characterise South Africa's previous and current social, political and economic climate (Engelbrecht *et al* 2005). Extraordinary skills are needed for a prominent leader to survive an era wrought with post-apartheid transformation. South Africa finds itself having to negotiate its role internationally within all arenas as well as having to face transformational challenges nationally, with the redistribution of power and the endorsement of policies that aim to redress the inequalities and damages of Apartheid; for example Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) initiatives introduced by the South African government. These initiatives seek to afford Black people opportunity and ensure their representation in organisations. Incidentally, BEE remains a source of controversy for both Blacks and Whites in the country today, where debate surrounds job security based on skin colour and not personal merit. Linking this back to employee performance therefore, the challenge is "a question of how to orchestrate transformational change whilst simultaneously building employee morale and commitment – a seemingly contradictory endeavour" (Congo and Kanungo 1998:6). This is not surprising, considering the inevitable resistance major change brings with it. Transformational leaders are key in solving this dilemma where their inspiration aims to encourage exceptional performance from their followers in a time when it is most difficult (Harvey

2001). Leaders, like Sunter, need to reconcile such paradoxes to maintain and promote the asymmetrical power relations inherent in new capitalism (cf. 2.3.3).

In the following sections I elaborate on the distinguishing characteristics of transformational leadership. I show in detail how these leaders are different from transactional leaders and examine the role of language in enabling the effectiveness of transformational leaders. I conclude with a discussion of the macrolevel socio-economic and political conditions that are conducive to the rise of transformational leaders; this leads into section 2.3. where I explore the link between transformational leadership and new capitalism, a link that is central to my thesis but not made explicitly in the literature.

2.2.2 Describing Transformational Leadership

Transformational leaders are described as “exceptional leaders who have extraordinary effects on their followers and eventually on social systems” (Shamir *et al* 1993:577). Bass (1985) proposes a theory of transformational leadership that builds on Burns’s (1978) earlier conception. He identifies three fundamental tenets of this style of leadership, explaining that the leader transforms and motivates followers by;

- (1) making them more aware of the importance of task outcomes
- (2) inducing them to transcend their own self-interests for the sake of the organisation or team, and
- (3) activating their higher-order needs.

(Yukl 1998:325)

Puth (2002:72-73) clarifies these characteristics more concretely. According to him transformational leaders can be recognised in several ways:

They regard themselves to be change agents, they are courageous risk takers, they believe in people and try to empower others, they act according to a well-articulated set of core values, they are continuous learners who learn from their mistakes, they can deal with complex, ambiguous and uncertain problems and situations, they dream and share these dreams with others.

The tenets outlined above serve as departure points to frame and guide the following exploration of the central features of transformational leadership. I draw on literature

from the fields of organisational psychology, leadership and management theory to inform the discussion.

2.2.2.1 Recognising the Need for Change

Transformational leaders recognise the need for change (Conger & Kanungo 1998, Kezur *et al* 2006). They are unafraid to question and challenge the current order of being and established ways of doing; they “get people to disengage from and disidentify with the past, and view change as a way to deal with their disenchantments with the past or status quo” (Puth 2002:71). The primary challenge facing these leaders is to convince followers of the need to transform and share the view that change is not only a positive option but an urgent necessity. This is a difficult task, given followers’ instinctual resistance to change, so it is not unusual for transformational leaders to go so far as to create a “burning platform” scenario (cf. 4.3.4), whereby they “make it more dangerous to stay put than to move, which means he or she must be prepared to play a highly visible role in signalling the danger, communicating the need for change and personalising the urgency” (Channer & Hope 2001:20). Transformational leaders are thus described as having the self-confidence and conviction to promote what they believe is good or right despite the potential for these ideals to threaten the popular conventions of the time (Puth 2002, Goethals 2005).

Transformational leaders realise that challenging the status quo will inevitably incur risks, but instead of fearing failure and unpredictability they exploit risk-taking as a catalyst for action, recasting uncertainty as opportunity for “challenges to which individuals aspire” (Taffinder 1995:40). Transformers embrace the knowledge gained from both success and failure (Puth 2002).

2.2.2.2 Vision as Strategy

In a bid to mobilise support for the need for change and commitment to it, transformational leaders build a vision “of a better future that is sufficiently attractive to justify the costs of changing familiar ways of doing things” (Yukl 1998:336). They present reality in such a way that only the positive features of the future vision and the

negative features of the status quo are emphasised; this creates a stark distinction between the enticing and attainable vision and the unsatisfactory and intolerable alternative (Conger & Kanungo 1998, Feinberg *et al* 2005, Mannarelli 2006). The vision tends to be described in abstract or ideological terms and is oriented towards long-term and sustainable change as opposed to short-term solutions (Yukl 1998, Conger & Kanungo 1998, Channer & Hope 2001, Puth 2002); e.g. "The only sustainable advantage comes from out-innovating the competition" (TP:15-16).

The vision invariably realises the importance of the prevailing context however; it expounds the connection between the past, present and future to appeal to followers' senses of "self-consistency" (Shamir *et al* 1993:580) and allows room to negotiate future options in light of what has been the case before. Leaders create context for their visions that sketch boundaries for followers so that they can entertain the possibilities and understand the future goals and visions. Taffinder (1995:39) expresses the role of the context in presenting visions as follows:

When leaders create context, they articulate for individuals their place and role in an enterprise both in striving for a future goal and in knowing what it means. To know what it means is to understand, at an intellectual and an emotional level, where your enterprise itself stands in relation to the world, in the past, now and in the future.

As is shown in the analysis of Sunter's discourse (cf. Chapter 4), the history of Apartheid has significant repercussions for the visions that Sunter projects for his reader. The nature and shape of the possibilities the future holds for the country is directly related to what the nation has experienced in their past (Taffinder 1995). By acknowledging a shared history with his reader (cf. Unification strategies 2.4.2), Sunter evokes a deeper understanding for the need to change, e.g. "We have had the transition: now we need transformation" (FDR:50-51).

But Nanus (1992:134) cautions that "a vision is little more than an empty dream until it is widely shared and accepted. Only then does it acquire the force necessary to change an organisation and move it in the intended direction". For agents of change, tangible or monetary rewards, as offered by transactional leadership (cf. 2.2.3) are insufficient

incentives for support. To be truly motivating, a transformational vision must appeal to a follower's self-concept (Shamir *et al* 1993) and sense of common purpose (Nanus 1992). The willingness to attain goals must be generated from the followers themselves and not because the leader orders it (Puth 2002), e.g. "If you can't say why you've made your company a better place, you're out" (TP:24).

2.2.2.3 Appealing to Higher-Order Needs and Emphasising Collectiveness

As has been seen in Bass's (1985) third feature of transformational leadership (cf. 2.2.2), such leaders motivate followers by appealing to their higher-level needs within the Maslow hierarchy, namely self-actualisation, self-esteem and self-worth (Shamir *et al* 1993, Harvey 2001), (cf. 4.4.2). Generally, transformers avoid recourse to baser emotions such as jealousy, fear, greed or hatred as sources of motivation; instead these leaders "seek to raise the consciousness of followers by appealing to ideals and moral values such as liberty, justice, equality, peace and humanitarianism" (Yukl 1998:324). Rewards for compliance and task completion are the intangible feelings of realising one's potential and endorsing one's place and role in the community.

Shamir *et al* (1993:580) explain that "self-esteem is based on a sense of competence, power, achievement or ability to cope with and control one's environment", while "self-worth is based on a sense of virtue and moral worth and is grounded in norms and cultures concerning conduct". Transformational leaders move followers to perform over and above their original expectations by expressing a faith in the follower's ability to reach the idealised and seemingly unattainable visions and goals they present. Such belief in another's efficacy has been noted to be powerfully motivational since it confirms notions of self-esteem and promotes feelings of empowerment and capability (Bandura 1986 in Harvey 2004).

Transformational leaders view the leader-follower relationship as a mutual process imbued with ethical consideration and genuine care for those they lead (Feinberg *et al* 2005, Goethals 2005, Kezur *et al* 2006). In more traditional managerial approaches to leadership "people are seen as liabilities that must be controlled. In the transformational

leadership approach, people are viewed as assets that require investment" (Puth 2002:73-73). This perspective is an underlying assertion of new capitalism as well; for example, corporations spend large amounts on training their employees in the belief that this investment will increase employee effectiveness and so pay off in the end with increased profits (cf. 2.3.4). Transformational leaders, within the context of new capitalism, emphasise the importance of the task at hand in terms of it being morally correct and a way to validate the follower's role in working towards socially desirable ends. For example, in the 1996 South African context, Sunter expresses the need to address the problem of social exclusion through business strategy. Those involved in the business arena at the time of text production (mainly White males) are thus encouraged to look beyond their jobs as merely a means to earning money and extend their role to include playing an active part in bettering the community (cf. fostering a community of practice in line with a new capitalist agenda in section 2.3.6). In this way, Sunter aims to alter the "need level" of this reader and expand their "portfolio of needs and wants" (Puth 2002:72). Followers are led to take pride in their work, a way to elevate their "everyday selves" to their "better selves" (Yukl 1998:324). More value is attached to the outcome of the tasks at hand than to merely completing them (Bass 1985, Harvey 2004, Engelbrecht *et al* 2005). Moreover, transformational leadership is especially suited to socially diverse communities, such as those found in South Africa, because it "transcends cultural boundaries" and appeals to higher-order needs that are universally recognised (Kezur *et al* 2006:38).

Appealing to higher-order needs in this way will inevitably entail Bass's (1985) second feature of transformational leadership, motivating followers to transcend their own self-interest for the sake of the team, organisation or larger society (cf. 2.2.2). People are encouraged to strive towards peak performance to enhance both the organisation and their personal well-being (Puth 2002, Howell & Shamir 2005). Transformational leaders stimulate followers to examine themselves in relation to their community, because, as Shamir *et al* (1993:580) explain, self-reflections of this sort "reflect social values, thus providing an important link between the individual and the collectivity". One's work becomes a means to validate one's sense of self-worth, which in turn develops one's self-

esteem and shapes the notion of who one is in the bigger scheme of social workings. Followers aim to fulfil their duties because it is the right thing to do according to the moral values of the time. Engelbrecht *et al* (2005) go so far as to claim that such altruism and integrity are core ethical values in the transformational leader-follower relationship. Empirical research conducted over the past few decades reveals that these intangible and higher-order rewards empower followers to achieve greater performance levels than the rewards offered through transactional leadership styles (Shamir *et al* 1993, Conger & Kanungo 1998). I am not so convinced, however, that altruism, or “behaviour intended to benefit others without the expectation of an external reward” (Engelbrecht *et al* 2005:20), can be attributed so purely to both leaders and followers within the new capitalist context. I believe it is unlikely that, in a society driven by the capitalist incentives of wealth and power, leaders and followers ignore the financial advantages of fulfilling their duties. It is (seemingly) in the best interests of individuals to comply with new capitalism changes. I expand on this point in section 4.5 in a discussion about false consciousness brought about by new capitalism.

2.2.3 Leading as Opposed to Managing

It is useful to dwell briefly on the historical distinctions between leadership and managership to illustrate the differences further between transformational and transactional leadership. Although this section would have worked well at the start of the transactional leadership discussion, I have chosen to position it here as Table 2 serves to summarise the differences in leadership styles discussed so far.

Burns (1978) was first to separate leaders into two types: “transformational” and “transactional”. Conger & Kanungo (1998) explain that from this early classification, these leadership styles were then translated by researchers within the field of organisational behaviour to describe the roles of leadership (transformational leadership) and management (transactional leadership) respectively. Transactional leadership became synonymous with managing and the characteristics of transformational leadership separated leadership into something quite different; managing and leading were no longer the same thing. It should be noted though that Bass (1985 in Yukl

1998:325) views transformational and transactional leadership as “distinct but not mutually exclusive processes” and it has been recognised that leaders may use both kinds of leadership in different situations (Taffinder 1995). This observation should be noted when considering the new capitalism context in which Sunter leads others. There is no doubt that capitalism promotes the monetary rewards of larger salaries and increased social status (power) for a successful transformational leader like Sunter.

The differentiation between managing and leading has resulted largely from changes within the socio-economic climate over the last thirty years. Managing was simply not enough to guide employees in the highly competitive and unpredictable business world. Puth (2002:70) has this to say regarding the radical changes that affect those engaged in the commercial sphere;

Faster technology, tougher international competition, the deregulation of markets, overcapacity in capital-intensive industries and the changing face of the workforce are among the many factors that have contributed to this shift. The result is that what was done yesterday, or doing it 5% better, is no longer a formula for success.

Management was concerned with controlling risk whereas leadership was concerned with coping with change, and so was most effective and necessary given the dynamic and unpredictable economic milieu. “Management is complex, fragmented, its activities brief, opportunistic, predominantly verbal; leadership more so. Management reacts. Leadership transforms. It makes a difference” (Taffinder 1995:37).

Conger & Kanungo (1998:9) succinctly capture the differences between managership and leadership in Table 2 (below). The table shows how the characteristics listed under “Leadership” are congruent with the transformational leadership characteristics I have discussed thus far; and so the table provides a good visual summary of how transformers differ from transactional leaders (described under “Managership”). By choosing to illustrate transactional/ managerial leadership features I can emphasise what transformational leadership is not.

To recap, transactional leadership appeals to a follower's self-interest. Monetary rewards, such as a salary, or promotional incentives are offered in a process of exchange for compliance and fulfilment of duties (Yukl 1998). Transformational leaders, on the other hand, encourage motivation through appeals to a follower's self-concept that serve to empower the follower and raise his or her levels of social consciousness and morality (Kezur *et al* 2006).

Managership	Leadership
1. Engages in day-to-day activities: Maintains and allocates resources.	Formulates long-term objectives for reforming the system: Plans strategy and tactics.
2. Exhibits supervisory behaviour: Acts to make others maintain standard job behaviour.	Exhibits leading behaviour: Acts to bring about change in others congruent with long-term objectives.
3. Administers subsystems within organisation.	Innovates for the entire organization.
4. Asks how and when to engage in standard practice.	Asks when and why to change standard practice.
5. Acts within established culture of the organisation.	Creates vision and meaning for the organisation and strives to transform culture.
6. Uses transactional influence: Induces compliance in manifest behaviour using rewards, sanctions, and formal authority.	Uses transformational influence: Induces change in values, attitudes, and behaviour using personal examples and expertise.
7. Relies on control strategies to get things done by subordinates.	Uses empowering strategies to make followers internalise values.
8. Supports the status quo and stabilizes the organisation.	Challenges the status quo and creates change.

Table 2: Distinguishing Leadership from Managership (Conger and Kanungo 1998:9)

2.2.4 The Role of Language for the Transformational Leader

Where the relevant literature describes transformational leaders, the issue of the leader's language skills is central. It is generally agreed that transformational leaders are "especially adept at employing language as a tool to help followers construct mental models of their world that give strong intrinsic meaning to their work and justifications for action" (Congo & Kanungo 1998:173) and that they are capable of "articulating a compelling, higher-order, utopian vision and emphasizing the contribution that the individual makes to the whole" (Channer & Hope 2001:19). For Puth (2002:69) the very definition of leadership recognises the integral role the language plays in enabling leader-follower relationships; "in essence, leading has to do with influencing others through communication". He goes on to explain that "the style and substance of communication distinguish dynamic leadership from traditional management. Leaders communicate not only information but also attitudes and assumptions" (ibid) (cf. analysis of value assumptions in Sunter's texts in section 4.2). Transformational leaders are required to be especially good at communication so that they can "encapsulate and articulate the reason for change, that is, they can prepare the organisation to step off the edge of the precipice by defining the future, and shaping the emerging vision" (Channer & Hope 2001:23). Language is exploited by leaders to create and manipulate interpersonal relationships; put more simply, without language there would be no leaders and therefore no followers.

In light of these observations, it is logical to turn to the language used by transformational leaders in order to understand just how they generate the desired response from their followers. I refer to transformational 'discourse' instead of 'language' from this point onwards. This terminology is more accurate for the purposes of this research as, according to Fairclough (2001), discourse describes language in the service of power and ideology negotiation. Leader-follower relationships will necessarily entail the delicate interplay between unequal social powers and will rely heavily on using language as a means to promote certain ideologies, namely new capitalism, over others (cf. 2.5 for strategies that foreground a particular ideology).

The discourse of transformation warrants special attention from a linguistic perspective, since there seems to be consensus as to how to describe “what” needs to be said, but very little on “how” to say it. Outside of transformational leadership discourse being seen as persuasive, believable, or charismatic, for instance, the literature that explains what is happening at the lexico-grammatical and textual levels of this discourse is quite limited. In a noteworthy study of transformational leadership discourse, Harvey (2004) observes that rhetorical strategies typically used by transformational leaders include the use of collective personal pronouns, e.g. “we”, “our”, negation and metaphor (cf. metaphor as Trope in section 2.4.4). Furthermore, she explains that the transformational leader in her study, namely Steve Jobs of Apple Computers, evokes the self-concept of his followers as a motivational technique (cf. 2.2.2.3 and 4.4). Jobs does this by making Judgements of tenacity that Harvey exposes in her APPRAISAL analysis of Jobs’s discourse. Shamir *et al* (1993:586) propose that specific features in the discourse of leaders serve to implicate followers’ self-concepts. They contend that the transformational leader’s discourse will contain more of the following qualities (a-f) than other leadership discourse (I have included examples from Sunter’s texts to illustrate each feature):

- (a) references to values and moral justifications, e.g. “Ramaphosa is his own man, with ambitions that set him apart from his colleagues” (CR:39).
- (b) references to the collective and collective identity, e.g. “Now we have to live with unemployment caused by global competition... (FDR:34).
- (c) references to history, e.g. “When society was in a state of wheel-lessness, who wanted the wheel?” (TP:20).
- (d) positive references to followers’ worth and efficacy as individuals and as a collective, e.g. “We have had the transition: now we need transformation” (FDR:50-51).
- (e) expressions of high expectations from followers, e.g. “Let no one complain that they can’t make something out of even the humblest job” (TP:35-36).
- (f) references to distal goals and less reference to proximal goals, e.g. “And by the beginning of the new century, we need a black equivalent of Rhodes to give everybody a dream” (CR:53-54).

These descriptions of the features of transformational leadership discourse offered by Shamir *et al* (1993) and Harvey (2004) prompted the much fuller analysis of Sunter's discourse in this research, i.e. their work helped to answer my first research question, how is Sunter's discourse transformational? The findings in Chapter 4 show that Harvey (2004) and Shamir *et al*'s (1993) observations hold true for Sunter's discourse (cf. 5.2.1).

2.2.5 A Climate Conducive to Transformational Leadership

I hinted above (2.2.1) at the role of the macrolevel context in influencing the early research into the managership-leadership distinction. The literature emphasises the need to look at the milieu of global competition to understand why it is, in the last few decades, that 'new' (transformational) leaders have emerged (Taffinder 1995, Conger & Kanungo 1998, Mannarelli 2006). It is no coincidence that the emergence of transformational leaders, who are skilled at coping with change and uncertainty, coincides with a time of drastic and large-scale change in both the commercial and industrial worlds, change described by Fairclough (2003) as the shift towards new capitalism. Two main scenarios are accredited with creating a climate conducive to transformational leadership.

Firstly, the 1980s saw a redistribution of global economic power. The market domination of North American companies came under considerable threat from the rise of Asian and European (e.g. Germany) powers (Conger & Kanungo 1998:5). This had important repercussions, "it forced many large corporations to reinvent themselves radically after enjoying several decades of what in hindsight appears to have been relative stability" (*ibid*). Traditional management strategies proved insufficient in the climate that now required creative, adaptive and invigorated approaches to business.

Secondly, this reinvention of corporations invariably entailed transforming company structure. Business resorted to "extensive downsizing as well as to new organisational arrangements such as flatter hierarchies and strategic business units" (*ibid*). But this upheaval of traditional corporate structures and social dynamics brought unavoidable consequences, such as gross employee dissatisfaction and/or retrenchment; "the old

social contract of long-term employment in return for employee loyalty was broken” (ibid). Ironically, workers were extremely disillusioned and dissatisfied at the time when their support and exceptional performance was most valuable. Transformational leaders emerged to overcome the paradox; their ‘new’ leadership styles succeeded in building the support of unwilling followers to achieve goals that surpassed their previous performances and personal expectations and disillusionment.

A preoccupation with the changing socio-economic context remains a central concern for organisational researchers. The very fact that transformational leadership is recognised as a viable and highly effective leadership style today suggests that the macrolevel social context is still conducive to such leadership, i.e. the socio-economic and political climates are still changing radically (Engelbrecht 2005). Taffinder (1995:126) describes the nature and type of changes that continue to affect organisations. He says that businesses are

attempting to adjust to shifting market demands, grapple with aggressive new and desperate old competitors, exploiting changing technology, and responding to a plethora of emerging customer standards – what was hitherto considered excellence now regarded as the norm, and the goal the satisfaction of unanticipated customer requirements. The prospect of regaining competitive advantage or maintaining it or even exceeding it, is what has persuaded countless organisations to restructure, to rationalise, to cut costs, to collapse management levels and downsize, to re-engineer the business, to revitalise.

(Taffinder 1995:126)

I argue in the following sections (cf. 2.3) that these radical changes that affect both leadership and business styles are indicative of the advent of new capitalism. South Africa, along with other nations in the world, is having to adapt to hyper-competitive, technologically-driven and rapid advances in the transition from old to new capitalism. Transformers, such as Sunter, are effective leaders because they are, by definition, change agents who offer guidance in this uncertain social order in ways that promote new capitalism.

2.2.6 Summary

Transformational leadership behaviour is seen to transform followers from an “individual-oriented, hedonistic, rational-economic mode of operation to a collective, moral and value-oriented mode of operation” (Shamir *et al* 1993:579). It inspires followers to perform beyond expectation by appealing to their higher-order needs, specifically generating feelings of empowerment and self-actualisation through recourse to morality and self-esteem. Successful transformational leaders “make their purpose clear to those around them, not by force, coercion, or formal authority, but by their sincere devotion to people and purpose and by their patient perseverance in the face of all obstacles” (Puth 2002:70). As I have already stated however, it is unlikely that Sunter’s leadership is as altruistic as the literature implies. The new capitalism context necessarily rewards Sunter, and, to a lesser degree, his followers, with more transactional leadership incentives, such as wealth and status. Whether this is the primary source of motivation in Sunter’s case is uncertain but the fact that his social status and wealth has increased with his development into a famous South African leader cannot be denied. In essence, the social order of new capitalism handsomely rewards those who market it; Sunter both thrives within and promotes the new capitalism ideology.

Transformational leadership can be viewed as “both a microlevel influence process between individuals and as a macrolevel process of mobilising power to change social systems and reform institutions” (Yukl 1998:325) – reforms, I argue, that will promote and maintain a new capitalist ideology. Transformational leaders challenge the status quo and offer change as a means to realise the potential of individuals and to better the condition of social communities. These leaders tend to emerge in times of crisis, uncertainty and radical change where traditional management, or transactional leadership, falls short of generating followers’ support and coping with transition. I have argued that the advent of new capitalism has been the cause of large-scale socio-economic transformation over the last few decades and turn my attention to capturing the essence of this new social order in section 2.3.

2.3 New Capitalism

2.3.1 Introduction

In a capitalist society, production is primarily the production for private profit of commodities, goods which are sold on the market... And the class relationship on which this form of production depends is between a (capitalist) class which owns the means of production, and a (working) class who are obliged to sell their work to the capitalists, in exchange for a wage, in order to live.

(Fairclough 2001:26)

Capitalism has been widely noted to have the inherent ability to survive radical changes in the social world while maintaining its core ideology and characteristics; specifically, the exploitation of those with less power by those with more power in order to maintain these asymmetrical power relations. “‘New Capitalism’ refers to the new form of capitalism emerging from contemporary transformations” (Fairclough 2002: 163). An example of such contemporary change is the merging of large corporations to form multinationals (e.g. amalgamation of Anglo American Corporation of South Africa and Minorco to form Anglo American PLC in 1999 cf. 1.3.3). There is a general tendency towards monopoly, whereby “an ever-decreasing number of ever-larger units” (Fairclough 2001:29), i.e. multinationals, dominate production in the capitalist world. Transformations like these have mobilised both a “re-structuring” and “re-scaling” of old capitalism towards new capitalism in a bid to meet the growing demands of globalisation and consumerism of competitive international markets (Fairclough 2002, Harrison & Young 2005). In the discussion that follows I distinguish between old and new capitalism and demystify the notions of re-structuring and re-scaling with recourse to leadership styles. I explain the inherent power-empowerment paradoxes in new capitalism and show how promotion of the “spirit of capitalism” enables the new capitalism ideology, by obscuring its intrinsic power inequalities from those on whose exploitation the system depends.

2.3.2 Old versus New Capitalism

As the quote on the previous page reveals, the fundamental tenet of old capitalism remains in new capitalism; namely the exploitation of the labour of those with less power

by those with more power. In the case of new capitalism, however, the differences in social power have reached gaping proportions. Fairclough (2003:5) explains that new capitalism “has led to an increasing division between the rich and the poor, increasing economic insecurity and stress even for the ‘new middle’ classes, and an intensification of the exploitation of labour”. Freeing the markets from state control (cf. 3.5.3.3), a characteristic of capitalism, has led to a hyper-competitive economic climate driven by globalisation and consumerism (cf. Taffinder 1995:126 in section 2.2.5. for a detailed description of this climate). The irony is that in order for new capitalism to survive it relies, more than ever before, on the support and labour of those being exploited. This challenge mirrors the task facing transformational leaders, like Sunter, who have to gain the commitment of employees to change that will ensure a social order that keeps them selling their labour to the powerful. In a new capitalism context, the powerful continue to exploit the less powerful but via different kinds of social networks that work better to disguise the power inequalities, e.g. flatter hierarchies (discussed in 2.3.3).

Old capitalism, or “industrial production successfully nurtured by a growing consumerism within national boundaries” (Harrison & Young 2005:46), was primarily concerned with the local scale, promoting internal development as a matter of sustainability. Business or agriculture, for example, functioned in a confined environment to ensure a country could provide for and feed its own people. Growth was limited to reaching maximum productivity for the population of only that country. In other words, social networks expanded only as far as the country’s borders extended. In the case of South Africa, however, political isolation due to sanctions imposed during the Apartheid years was purported to be a reason for its restricted growth and limited opportunities until it entered the world stage in 1994; “businesses have come up hard against a highly competitive international business arena, something from which they were largely insulated during preceding decades” (Taffinder 1995:59). One South African business leader said the following in an interview on this topic:

Many South African businesses don’t have a global perspective. And we know we cannot exist with a parochial market view. We’re trying to accomplish a huge mind-set change from protectionism with no, or very little, competition when customers were simply not getting what they

wanted, to competing against the biggest and best players in the world...
We need to get beyond just a Southern African perspective to an
international perspective.

(Bowyer in Taffinder 1995:59)

Sunter (1993:55) supports the view that Apartheid “placed major restrictions on entrepreneurship, on free enterprise and the movement of people, capital and goods to where the markets demanded they should go. An ideology was placed above the natural laws of economics and proved very costly in human and material terms”.

South Africa needed to make the transition from old capitalism to new capitalism if it was to survive in the new capitalist global context. Social networks needed to be re-scaled to extend beyond national borders and re-structured to become aligned with the type of social relations that characterise new capitalism.

2.3.3 Restructuring and Rescaling

According to the literature, new capitalism “re-scaling” sees the renegotiation of space to include, account for and adjust to “shifts in relations between different scales of social life – between social life on the local scale (e.g. in small towns), a national scale, a regional scale (e.g. the European Union) and a global scale (Fairclough 2002:163). Globalisation, another defining feature of new capitalism, epitomises that concept of re-scaling;

Globalisation entails ‘action at a distance’ – it means that social processes and social relations are stretched out across huge distances both in terms of mileage and in terms of social and cultural differences.

(Fairclough 2001:204)

The new capitalism characteristic of “re-structuring” goes hand-in-hand with this contemporary development, since interaction and relations existing between social domains, e.g. South African businesses, and their participants, e.g. transformational leaders and employees, will undergo adjustments in response to and to motivate this re-scaling. For example, the downsizing of “large-scale manufacturing to smaller-scale service industries” (FDR:35-36) has changed the scale and structure of new leadership styles. Flatter hierarchies (Conger & Kanungo 1998) require transformational leaders to

see their employees as investments, and strive to create relationships based on mutual trust and empowerment (cf. 2.2.2.3); transformational leaders, like Sunter, may connect with followers in contexts that obscure power hierarchies, e.g. employees' team-building weekends. Managerial approaches are more effective for the old capitalism corporations. Here, rigid and stable corporate hierarchies emphasise social distance between leaders and followers so that transactional leaders view employees as liabilities to be controlled (Puth 2002). Old capitalism was "interested in the most efficient organisation of individuals as *individuals*" (Gee 1999:63). Interestingly, this perception would have been completely congruent with social relations under Apartheid (e.g. Black miners cf. 1.3.2) and could possibly have worked to perpetuate the old capitalism order. The old social contract of long-term job security for employee loyalty exemplifies how transactional leadership focuses on rewards for individual employees in the old capitalism. New capitalism, on the other hand, gives prominence to transformational leadership-type rewards such as feelings of empowerment and self-actualisation for followers (cf. 2.2.2.3) as well as financial gain as incentives for employee commitment. In this way, new capitalism relies extensively on transformational leadership to create good interpersonal relationships through which the power distributions can be realised. Feinberg *et al* (2005:471) explain that the interest in transformational leadership and its ramifications has increased because "survival of the organisation in the 21st century requires more change, and more change requires more leadership".

2.3.4 The Paradoxes of New Capitalism

As I suggested earlier (cf. 2.3.2), however, new capitalism brings with it severe weaknesses; its 'necessary evils' resemble those shortcomings of old capitalism but on a greater and more serious scale. The exploitation of the less powerful on the lower social strata by the more powerful classes is reflected on a global scale now as well; more powerful, developed countries exploit less powerful, developing ones which accelerates the growing divide between the richest and the poorest. China's recent interest and investment in Africa's raw materials and mineral resources is an example of this. Fairclough (2003:5) warns that "the unrestrained emphasis on growth also poses major

threats to the environment". It remains to be seen what environmental effects result from China's extraction of minerals in African countries (Sunter 2007 presentation).

Capitalism has long been criticised. Chiapello & Fairclough (2002:186) call it an "absurd system" where "wage-earners have lost ownership of the fruits of their labour as well as any hope of ever working other than as someone else's subordinate". This continues to be the case with new capitalism, except that more and more people need to be used by those with power in order to keep up with global market requirements that exert pressure on a technologically sophisticated, rapidly transforming and consumerism-driven society (Harrison & Young 2005). Multinational corporations comprising numerous subsidiary companies (e.g. Anglo American) employ thousands of workers to mobilise business opportunities and growth all over the world. Gee (1999:66) explains, "Large numbers of less fortunate souls must be exploited in order to make a company, region or country 'hypercompetitive' in our global economy".

Today the pressure for commitment by workers to economic productivity surpasses the requirements of old capitalism (Gee 1999). Old capitalism was satisfied by employees fulfilling their duties on a relatively stable and localised scale. New capitalism brings global competition that requires products to be world-class; workers need to offer goods of superior quality and excellence to ensure sales and therefore survival. Products and their marketability are no longer differentiated by cost ('equivalent' brands are by and large comparable in a consumer's budget) but by the "knowledge work" gone into their production. In other words, consumers view products of a successful, competitive business as superior to an opposition one by virtue of the expertise behind its making (Gee 1999:64). For example, where two different makes of motor car fall within a similar price range, a customer's purchase is swayed towards the make that boast the most skill in its manufacture. Precision engineering or safety technology is the selling-point that differentiates good brands from better ones. This has significant repercussion for the role of employees in new capitalism because in order to keep up with global competition, workers in organisations need to acquire new and demanding skills to

produce such 'knowledge intense' products. Gee (1999:64) defines these skills under the broad theme of "sociotechnical designing":

...that is, designing products and services so that they create or "speak to" specific consumer identities and values (niches); designing better ways to organize the product and the delivery of products and services; designing ways to shape consumer identities and values through advertising and marketing; and designing ways to transform products and markets based on those consumer identities and values.

Job security is now dependent on the extent to which employees can master these kinds of skills. Multinational corporations "aim to attract and retain the services of the most appropriately skilled individuals" (Anglo American Report to Society 2003:16). Old capitalism saw workers mastering a specific skill, or trade, that was sufficient to guarantee job security for life; for example apprenticeship to become a carpenter or electrician. The new capitalism worker must be skilled in a multiplicity of 'knowledges' and must be able to adapt to fulfil countless roles in a dynamic work environment. Anglo American (2003:40) express the importance of "developing marketable skills", and list a few of these new capitalism 'knowledges'; "computer literacy, product development, money generation and business theory". The irony is that these "knowledge workers", educated, adaptive and insightful as they are purported to be, do not see the inherent shortcomings of new capitalism; namely that vast discrepancies are maintained in the division of power. Working employees, classified under the Human Resources label, sustain the power for the powerful, so too do transformational leaders. Anglo American (2003:16) explains that "we rely on the skills, enthusiasm and commitment of our people to meet the needs of our business and to address appropriately the issues raised by our stakeholders." With transformation and continual change characterising new capitalist economies and businesses, it is not surprising that with it has come "increasing economic insecurity and stress even for the 'new middle' classes ("knowledge workers"?), and an intensification of the exploitation of labour" (Fairclough 2003:5). It is not unusual for employees to work longer hours and have to travel outside a country to engage in business, for example. Re-scaling and re-shaping businesses in line with new capitalism sees workers easily replaceable; the unpredictable economic climate means that companies are forced continually to reinvent themselves, leading to restructuring, such as

downsizing, and often retrenchment. Old capitalism offered the social contract of long-term job security for employee loyalty. And yet knowledge workers remain committed to new capitalism despite its apparent weaknesses. I suggest reasons this in the following section (cf. 2.3.5).

To recap, the paradoxes of new capitalism are these: it requires even more belief in the system by those workers who need to be exploited for it to succeed; the new worker is more skilled and knowledgeable than ever before and yet may not be guaranteed job security because of the dynamic nature of the new capitalism environment – ironically, this new capitalism environment has provided knowledge workers with “sociotechnical designing” skills that are purported to increase job opportunities; and skilled workers do not abandon nor criticise their place in new capitalism even though they are allegedly empowered through this new knowledge (Gee *et al* 1996:19 in Harrison & Young 2005). So why and how does new capitalism succeed? I answer this question with recourse to the notion of the “spirit of capitalism” (cf. 2.3.5) and by explaining Thompson’s (1990) theory on the operation of modes of ideology (cf. 2.4.2).

2.3.5 “The Spirit of Capitalism”

Chiapello & Fairclough (2002:186) explain the “spirit of capitalism” as “the ideology that justifies people’s commitment to capitalism, and which renders this commitment attractive”. The spirit of capitalism is necessary to overcoming the inherent paradoxes of new capitalism (cf. 2.3.4), most obviously the problem of generating belief and support for the system in those who need to be exploited for it to succeed (i.e. the less powerful workers).

Such a promotion of ideology that legitimises new capitalism is expressed by Gee (1999:65) through the notion of “community of practice”. This notion closely resembles Shamir *et al*’s (1993) explanation of how individuals gain a sense of self-worth by feeling a sense of belonging to the collective. Experiencing a link to the community through engaging in common practices is seen to be a powerful source of motivation – one encouraged by transformational leaders (cf. 2.2.2.3). So the problem of disillusioned or

disloyal workers to new capitalism is overcome through generating a sense of shared involvement and participation by those immersed in and constituting the culture of any given business, corporation or "community".

Within a community of practice, all members pick up a variety of tacit and taken-for-granted values, norms, cultural models and narratives as part of their socialisation into the practice and their ongoing immersion in the practice. Tacitly accepting these values, norms, cultural models and narratives (in mind, action and embodied practice), and sharing them with others, is just what it means to be a *member* of the community of practice. This, by and large, solves the problem of critique.

(Gee 1999:65)

Employees are made to feel a part of the whole. This obscures power inequalities and gives the illusion that individuals within the community of practice are valued more equally, i.e. 'everyone has an important contribution to make'. New capitalism is thus seen to promote a certain false consciousness through this community of practice (Graham 2006). Part of the Anglo American PLC (2003:16) mission statement is a good example: "we will seek to maintain a regular two-way flow of information with employees to maximise their identification with and ability to contribute to our business". It is highly unlikely that an employee within Anglo American will contribute to the company in any way that has not already been determined by the corporate culture of the business. Hence, discursal resources that promote this kind of false consciousness are likely to typify the discourse of transformational leadership, since it is the job of these leaders to foster the "spirit of capitalism". It is vitally important that workers 'buy into' the assumptions that inform new capitalism, namely that the individual is no longer outside of a particular community of practice but is made to believe they are inextricably linked to its being and productivity. Transformational leaders project these assumptions. "In the old capitalism, work was meant to have as little social, cultural, historical and political context as possible" (Gee 1999:64), which is a stark contrast to the new capitalism position on the matter, i.e. transformational leaders will foster the illusion of interpersonal relationships to situate employees at the heart of their social environs. As will be seen (cf. 4.3) Sunter represents business within the South African context as a means to disengage with the damages left by past Apartheid policies. The role of the worker is constructed so they perceive themselves validated in their social positioning

through being part of the bigger picture; the individual's needs are transcended for the betterment or good of the community at large (Feinberg *et al* 2005, Mannarelli 2006). This is a strategy that is seen to characterise transformational leadership styles (cf. 2.2.2.3).

Harrison and Young (2005:43) refer, in this same vein, to organisations being composed of "shared meanings". Re-scaling and re-structuring of businesses require the renegotiation and establishment of new boundaries of social routines (Fairclough 2001) that serve to justify and regulate social interaction for participants in a given context. The transformations that accompany new capitalism regularly see "seismic upheaval in shared meaning, particularly those that concern employees' understandings of the 'whys' and 'hows' of their work" (Harrison & Young 2005:44). Employees under transformational leadership are encouraged to view their work as having benefits that extend outside of monetary rewards. As such, those who seek to manage and direct change – the leaders in new capitalism, such as Clem Sunter, or those who stand to benefit from a new capitalism status quo – are tasked with overcoming challenges such as uncertainty and unpredictability that ultimately threaten workers who are necessary in sustaining a transformed company. It is for this reason that the importance of instilling unchallenged new capitalist norms, values and ideologies becomes salient if workers are to accept the new social order. Chiapello & Fairclough (2002:187) capture this value of ideology by explaining it as follows:

An ideology is a system of ideas, values and beliefs oriented to explaining a given political order, legitimising existing hierarchies and power relations and preserving group identities. Ideology explains both the horizontal structure (the division of labour) of a society and its vertical structure (the separation of rulers and ruled), producing ideas which legitimate the latter, explaining in particular why one group is dominant and another dominated, why one person gives orders in a particular enterprise while another takes orders.

Transformational leaders need exceptional verbal dexterity if they are to naturalise the ideology of new capitalism as well as their control over followers. I discuss the importance of naturalisation now.

2.3.6 Naturalisation and Commonsense in Legitimising Ideology

So far I have avoided discussing the issue of power explicitly. Undoubtedly power is central to any conceptualisation of capitalism, old or new, as it is the pervasive force driving this kind of social order where the preoccupation is with the domination of the powerless by the powerful. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theory offers valuable insight into understanding the unequal distribution of power in social relations, and as such I will now explore certain key CDA issues to shed light on how new capitalism ideology is successfully promoted.

Fairclough (2001:27) says that “ideological power, the power to project one’s practices as universal and ‘common sense’ is a significant complement to economic and political power”. Where I refer to ideology I mean a set of values, norms and implicit assumptions that form particular perspectives of the world, its participants and the functioning thereof. In theory, it may be argued that one ideology is as arbitrary as another and yet certain ideologies, in this case new capitalism, come to be the most dominant. In other words, where, in fact, new capitalism is only *one set of possible* ideologies that may be imposed upon a given community of practice it has come to be accepted as *the only possible* option in many instances. Before the ANC came to power in 1994, for instance, their ideological basis was largely communist. If the shortcomings of communism had not become apparent with the termination of the Cold War (Beck 2000) it is a possibility that South Africa may have adopted a more communist/socialist perspective. But as has been seen (cf. 2.3.2) new capitalism has now become the dominant ideology in the country and therefore has influenced the shape of South African economic and political power. This is because new capitalism has become “naturalised”; it is seen to be the most appropriate, natural or “legitimate” ideology in the micro and macro contexts. I show in Chapter 4 that Sunter uses his discourse to foster the amenable side to the “spirit of capitalism”; he co-opts his reader into accepting transformation that favours new capitalism.

The greater the extent to which an ideology is naturalised, the more likely it is to be accepted by social participants as the “commonsense” ways of doing and being;

“Naturalisation is the royal road to common sense” (Fairclough 2001:76). For example, where Sunter continually appeals to his follower’s self-concept, this feature of his discourse becomes natural. Followers will see it as commonsense to view their work as a source of pride and self-esteem. Social values and norms are taken as a given and implicit assumptions made about the nature of leader-follower relations, for instance, serve to maintain the power inequalities between those who lead and those who follow. The dominant ideology of new capitalism remains largely unchallenged because it is obscured through naturalisation (cf. 2.4.2). Those with power can maintain a status quo that accords them benefit and control; “ideology is most effective when its workings are least visible. If one becomes aware that a particular aspect of common sense is sustaining power inequalities at one’s own expense, it ceases to have the capacity to sustain power inequalities, i.e. to function ideologically” (Fairclough 2001:71).

For example, if a “knowledge worker” (Harrison & Young 2005:46) accepts the common sense assumption that mastering computer skills is necessary to increase her/his marketability, then s/he is unwittingly “consenting” (Fairclough 2001) to the ideology of new capitalism, and in doing so legitimising unequal power relations that underlie such assumptions. At the same time the knowledge worker is accepting her/his role in new capitalism, thereby validating and perpetuating the social order through belief that this is *the* way the commercial world works. Over and above receiving transactional-type rewards, such as a salary or promotion, employees perceive other intangible benefits for conforming to new capitalism principles. Transformational leaders ‘market’ new capitalism by rewarding employees with feelings of empowerment and self-worth through evoking the “spirit of capitalism”. In this way they shape the nature of conventions that underlie new capitalism so transformational leadership rhetoric (a discursal convention), for example, becomes naturalised.

Ideologies are closely linked to power, because the nature of the ideological assumptions embedded in particular conventions, and so the nature of those conventions themselves, depends on the power relations which underlie the conventions; and because they are a means of legitimising existing social relations and differences of power, simply

through the recurrence of ordinary, familiar ways of behaving which take these relations and power differences for granted.

(Fairclough 2001:2)

As mentioned above, if the new capitalism ideology were to be exposed as comprising less than commonsensical assumptions, i.e. if people were to see through it, then it would fail to be a legitimate social order. But such an “absurd” (Chiapello & Fairclough 2002) system of blatant and gross exploitation of the powerless by the powerful is legitimised and largely unchallenged in contemporary society.

This paradox can be explained by the idea of apparent “emptying of ideological content” proposed by Fairclough (2001:76-77). Where the status quo is so naturalised to be accepted unconsciously as the norm, it appears to be void of any ideological motivation. Ideology is perceived to be something else, or external to new capitalism. In this way, the boundaries between “superficial common sense *appearances*” (ibid) of social conventions and its “underlying *essence*” (ibid) are blurred. It could be argued that transformational leaders motivate employees to maximum productivity just so that company profits increase, and in fact, stimulating “community of practice” is a strategy to hide this basic aim from employees. If they were to see through the “spirit of capitalism”, it is likely that employees would challenge the status quo. The most powerful functioning of ideology is where it is obfuscated by the very reality it has created. New capitalism survives because it is obscured and is represented as having attractive benefits for those willing to support it. Sunter, an agent of change, uses his discourse to promote the attractiveness of new capitalism. He shapes his discourse so it encodes particular strategies to foreground this dominant social order. I discuss these strategies in detail shortly.

2.3.7 Discourse in New Capitalism

Any discussion of new capitalism and ideology requires a detailed look at language in the present socio-economic context since understanding the role and functioning of discourse is becoming more significant to this latest type of capitalism than earlier forms (Fairclough 2004, Graham 2006). For example, transformational leadership that

characterises new capitalism relies entirely on discourse to create meaningful leader-follower relationships as opposed to old capitalism leadership that resorted to more defined corporate structures, such as strict hierarchies, to control interpersonal relationships. The commonly accepted idea of “new capitalism as a “knowledge-based” or “knowledge-driven” social order implies that it is also “discourse-driven” suggesting that language may have a more significant role in contemporary socio-economic change than it has in the past” (Fairclough 2004:104). Imparting new knowledge to skilled workers through employee training programs is an example.

The centrality of discourse to any study of social science has in fact become widely acknowledged since the “social turn movement” where isolating phenomena from the social context was seen as to be deficient (Gee 1999, Harrison & Young 2005, Beaugrande 2006). Where old capitalism tended to place individuals outside the social, historical and political contexts (Gee 1999), current schools of thought (especially CDA, SFL and organisational studies for my purposes) see social actors as shaped by and responsible for shaping both micro and macrolevel social structures; the emphasis is on “how language-in-interaction constructs the local, social, institutional, and cultural contexts that simultaneously give it meaning (i.e. meaning and context are mutually constitutive.)” (Gee 1999:62). Transformational leaders, such as Sunter, use discourse to influence the microlevel process of transformation, e.g. between individuals within a business, as well as to mobilise macrolevel change that affects a complete social order, e.g. the shift from old to new capitalism (Shamir *et al* 1993, Yukl 1998). Meaning making through language used in this way, sees language “as a form of social practice”, i.e. it is indistinguishable from the social context and so defined as “discourse” (Fairclough 2001:18).

In light of the above, it follows that the radical changes in the current social world caused by the re-scaling and re-structuring of new capitalism (cf. 2.3.3) will inevitably cause transformations in discourse and discourse patterns. Because discourse is inextricably connected to society, it too has been seen to undergo restructuring and rescaling in the transition from old to new capitalism. Where old capitalism favoured a bureaucratic style

of discourse promoting “command and control” interaction with subordinates, new capitalism recasts a leader as a “coach, mentor, facilitator, and motivator” (Harrison & Young 2005:47). Transformational leadership discourse is seen to have drawn on traditionally discrete discourse types, resulting in a “hybrid” discourse (Fairclough 2001). Because ideological struggle is reflected in discourse (Fairclough 2001), transformational leaders are tasked with overcoming this ideological conflict when they merge previously separate discourse types; for example, motivational discourse still needs to produce the desired, but obscured, effect of getting employees to work harder than ever. Sunter needs to overcome the new capitalism power-empowerment paradox (Harvey 2004); he needs to maintain power (the leader) while giving more power to followers (the empowered knowledge workers). APPRAISAL theory is especially effective in revealing the interpersonal metafunction that Sunter’s discourse will encode in creating this relationship (cf. 3.2.4). Transformational leadership discourse needs to be especially effective in balancing this precarious power play.

By looking at Sunter’s discourse one can closely examine ideological and power struggles in the new capitalism social order, since it is here that such transformations are negotiated and reflected. For this reason Fairclough (2001) explains discourse as the “site of” ideological conflict. But discourse may be viewed as both a “product and a process” (Harrison & Young 2005:43) so discourse is also the “stake in” power struggles (Fairclough 2001:29). In other words, discourse is a site of ideological conflict because it is both reflective and constitutive of social power inequalities. But discourse is also a stake in power struggles because where one discourse type becomes the dominant kind, e.g. transformational leadership discourse, then it enables the users of this discourse to promote and perpetuate the ideological principles that underpin the discourse. For example, new capitalism ideology is enabled through transformational leadership discourse being viewed as the most effective or natural kind of discourse for leading in the current socio-economic context. The power inequalities of new capitalism are maintained and consolidated through transformational leadership discourse (some characteristics of which have been illustrated in 2.2.4).

Indeed the argument has been put forward that discourse itself has become a commodity (Fairclough 2002), thus capable of being 'owned' and manipulated to further the common sense assumptions of the powerful amongst the powerless. The many books and video presentations produced by Sunter and sold to the public over the last twenty years are good examples of commodification of this sort; he has managed to sell his discourse in multimodal 'packaging' to impart highly sought-after 'knowledge'. Where the discourse of new capitalism promotes a vocabulary which conceives of concepts such as "globalisation" and "governance" etc., Fairclough proposes that it is only through discourse that such realities or phenomena come into being, i.e. the social is shaped only in so far as it can be reflected in the dominant discourse (cf. Nominalisation strategies in 2.4.2). Or as Bourdieu and Waquant (2001:3) in Fairclough (2004) explain, the discourse of new capitalism is "endowed with the performative power to bring into being the very realities it claims to describe". Transformational leadership discourse offers intangible rewards for employees' compliance; feelings of empowerment and raised self-esteem can be viewed as further examples of commodification. This discourse emphasises the importance of the individual's contribution to the whole, and so by articulating this as a potential reality, followers believe it to exist, aspire to fulfil this scenario and thereby bring the notion of collectiveness to life. Transformers lead followers to realise a reality that they suggest in transformational discourse. This reality is seen to be conducive to maintaining the power inequalities of new capitalism (cf. 5.2).

As I have explained (cf. 2.3.6), transformational leadership discourse enables the ideology of new capitalism. Thompson (1990) explains semiotic strategies that may be used to promote and perpetuate a dominant ideology. I now turn my attention to this theory because it is the framework I employed to examine Sunter's discourse and the new capitalism ideology it supports (cf. 4.5).

2.4 Strategies for Promoting and Perpetuating Ideology

2.4.1 Introduction

A valuable framework within which to track the subtle workings of ideology in a text is offered by Thompson (1990). He focuses on the meanings and constructs made through

symbolic forms, such as discourse. Where such constructs (e.g. Sunter's transformational leadership enabled through his discourse) are made socially meaningful, they work to establish and maintain a naturalised order of society and its accompanying beliefs and values systems. In this way, any social actor, such as a leader or follower, makes commonsense assumptions about the world where ways of being and acting are taken as a given and so are uncontested. As has been seen (cf. 2.3.7), these assumptions reflect ideologies, and for my purposes specifically, the ideology of new capitalism reflected in Sunter's discourse (cf. 4.5).

It has been shown that any critical analysis of ideology entails a close examination of issues of power and inequality. Thompson emphasises (1990:56) that "to study ideology is to study the ways in which meaning serves to establish and sustain relations of dominance". He goes on to explain that:

We can speak of 'domination' where established relations of power are 'systematically asymmetrical', that is, when particular agents or groups are endowed with power in a durable way which excludes, and to some significant degree remains inaccessible to, other agents, irrespective of the basis upon which such exclusion is carried out.

(Thompson 1990:59)

The issue for purposes of this thesis is the domination inherent in new capitalism. This is accessible via the discourse in which new capitalism is realised.

2.4.2 Thompson's Five Modes of Operation of Ideology

The promotion of a dominant ideology depends on successful application of strategies and techniques to make it more effective than other ideologies. Thompson (1990) identifies five modes in which ideology may operate. I discuss each of these modes and their respective strategies to explain the theory that guided the ideological analysis of Sunter's texts (reported on in 4.5). The examples used to illustrate each of Thompson's terms are based on Appendix E (page 228) and the line numbers come from Appendices Ai (page 173), Bi (page 191) and Ci (page 208). Table 3 gives a typographical account of Thompson's modes and the corresponding strategies which may typically encode the mode.



Legitimation is the first mode of operation of ideology where relations of dominance are accepted and maintained by virtue of being “just and worthy of support” (1990:61). In order to legitimise an ideology, strategies of rationalisation, universalisation and narrativisation may be used. *Rationalisation* relies on formulating a chain of logical argument “which seeks to defend or justify a set of social relations or institutions, and thereby to persuade an audience that it is worthy of support” (1990:61). *Universalisation* sees an ideology represented as serving the interests of all even though such an ideology privileges only those who are more powerful. Sunter’s recourse to the history of Roosevelt in the FDR and Maggie Thatcher text (lines 1-10), Appendix Ci, is an example of employing the strategy of *narrativisation*. Socially significant constructions of reality are represented in discursive strategies such as these to give the effect that narratives embody truths that reflect the “apparent order of things” (Thompson 1990:62). This enables narratives to be used as “a single reference point for diverse communities” (Janks 1998:199) thereby reducing the scope for alternative histories and experiences to be expressed which are not congruent with the dominant ideology.

General Modes	Some Typical Strategies of Symbolic Construction
Legitimation	Rationalisation Universalisation Narrativisation
Dissimulation	Displacement Euphemisation Trope (e.g. metaphor)
Unification	Standardisation Symbolisation of unity
Fragmentation	Differentiation Expurgation of the other
Reification	Naturalisation Externalisation Nominalisation/ passivisation

Table 3: Thompson’s Modes of Operation of Ideology (1990:60)

Thompson's (1990:62) second mode of operation is *dissimulation*:

Relations of domination may be established and sustained by being concealed, denied or obscured, or by being represented in a way which deflects attentions from or glosses over existing relations or processes.

Ideology may be disguised via strategies of displacement, euphemisation and trope to realise the mode of dissimulation. *Displacement* involves manipulation of the inherent semantics of a term used to refer to one thing so that the same term may be used to refer to another. This means that any positive and/or negative connotations of the original term may be transferred to the other object or individual. For example, subtle blurring of the previously discrete fields of business and politics in the CR text, Appendix Bi, (line 4) allows notions of political business and business politics to emerge. *Euphemisation* aids the dissimulation of social relations as "actions, institutions or social relations are described or redescribed in terms which elicit a positive evaluation" (Thompson 1990:62). For example, Sunter's euphemism of "social exclusion" (FDR:38) for racial discrimination obscures the unpleasant Apartheid history of South Africa (this is also an example of *nominalisation*, see below). *Trope*, or figurative language use, is the third means of obscuring ideology. Metaphor is a technique which allows the attribution or reattribution of connotations of one term by recourse to another term. This sharing of similarities allows for the recasting of one concept in light of another to affect a preferred interpretation, e.g. "the yes-but syndrome" (FDR:48) affords Sunter a sickness metaphor to project fear of change as a disease.

Unification and *Fragmentation* are related modes of operation of ideology. Where unification seeks to unite individuals in a shared identity despite differences, fragmentation aims to highlight these differences and promote division based on them in order to disunite or "divide and rule" (Janks 1998:199). For example, "Forget the boss" (TP:33) encourages separation from traditional authority as motivation for employees, who are different from the employers. *Standardisation* and *symbolisation of unity* may enable unification whereby a collective sense of "us" is established, for example, by strategic use of pronouns: "We have had the transition" (FDR:50). Standardisation offers an opportunity to create "us" only by virtue of differentiating a "them" or "other". The

Others are construed as inherently different, mostly deficient or undesirable but only in light of and compared to “our” value, worth or desirability that is established as the norm or standard (Achugar 2004). Symbolisation of collective unity, e.g. governments that help people to help themselves (FDR:10), may serve to unite on a large scale (e.g. globally or nationally) but also on a smaller scale (e.g. within corporations). Such restructuring and rescaling of social relations is significant as a distinguishing characteristic of the new capitalism (cf. 2.3.4). Howell & Shamir (2005:100) describe this idea of in-group and out-group identity from a psychological perspective, saying that individuals use their “group prototype as a base for intergroup comparison and self-definition and evaluate their self-worth by comparing their group to an outgroup”. A sense of belonging is seen to be ideologically significant.

Differentiation and *Expurgation of the Other* work to divide “those individuals and groups that may be capable of mounting an effective challenge to dominant groups, or by orientating forces of potential opposition towards a target which is projected as evil, harmful or threatening” (Thompson 1990:65). Differentiation emphasises difference to disunite and so disempower any potential contestation to the dominant or standard ideology. Expurgation of the Other is a more extreme strategy whereby the Other is construed as the enemy and a very real threat that needs to be forcefully resisted or removed (Achugar 2004). For example, by writing that “Incrementalism is innovation’s worst enemy” (TP:16), Appendix Ai, Sunter presents the ideology of progressive change, and those who support it, as the Other danger to the ideology of innovation.

Reification is the last of Thompson’s modes of ideology and sees relations of dominance promoted by “representing a transitory, historical state of affairs as if it were permanent, natural, outside of time” (Thompson 1990:65). By obfuscating the socio-historical and/or cultural origins of a social process or custom, say, it appears to just “be”. A reified ‘thing’ is more difficult to challenge and is more readily accepted since it appears to be separate from the society in which, ironically, it was born. “Sustainable advantage” (TP:15) is such an example. Reification can be achieved through *naturalisation* where “socially constructed realities are presented as natural and inevitable” (Janks 1998:200).

Naturalised phenomena are outside of human control, like “global competition” (FDR:34). *Externalisation* is concerned with representing social customs, traditions or institutions as unchanging, cemented phenomena outside of their socio-historic development, so that their consistency is unquestioned and reinforced through accepted repetition into the future, e.g. “It is not new ideas that get companies into trouble, it is old ideas...” (TP:30-31). Finally, *nominalisation* is a stylistic transformation which changes a process into a noun, thereby obscuring agency and responsibility to represent a reality that just is. *Passivisation* is a similar technique that allows for deletion of the agent; the object of an active sentence becomes the subject of the corresponding passive so that indication of direct participation and responsibility may be avoided. For both of these last two grammatical strategies, the effect is one of reification; that of things just existing in a certain way.

Thompson (1990) warns that these five modes are not the only ways in which ideology may operate, especially since his modes may overlap or reinforce each other and so are not always as separate as his classification may suggest at a first glance. He emphasises that the strategies used to realise each of the modes are not uniquely specific to that mode; rather they are those strategies “typically” associated with that mode but are highly dependent on context. Janks (1998) observes that all five modes need not operate simultaneously or independently within the same text. From these qualifications, it is essential to explore and understand the context in which ideological contestation is found. It is for this reason that I offer brief contextual orientations in section 3.6 for each of the three texts whose ideological analysis I report on in section 4.5.

2.5 Conclusion

The emergence of new leadership theories has been seen to coincide with the advent of new capitalism sociology (Gee 1999); it reflects the “changing context of leadership in the world where cultural and social differences are more prominent and where multiple, complex forces such as changing demographics, technology, faster decisions and greater competition make straightforward and insular approaches to leadership problematic at best” (Kezur *et al* 2006:31).

Transformational leaders have emerged in response to the re-structuring and re-scaling that new capitalism has required in the last few decades. Managerial style leadership was seen to be effective in old capitalism since social networks and power hierarchies were relatively stable because economic production was necessary only for a country's parochial sustainability. New capitalism has required countries to increase their viability within an international arena by keeping up with changes on a global scale. A hyper-competitive, technologically-charged and unpredictable socio-economic climate has meant that new levels of support and performance are required by employees. A "knowledge-driven" economy has come to produce "knowledge workers" who are seen to be resources for investment if companies are to keep making profits. Ironically, however, the central tenets of capitalism remain in this latest new capitalism revolution; namely that the labour of the less powerful is exploited by those with more power to maintain this unequal power distribution. In order to obfuscate this inherent "evil", and obviously to keep employees working, those with power promote the "spirit of new capitalism". This strategy provides employees with feelings of empowerment and belonging by emphasising the role of the individual in the culture of shared meaning.

Transformational leadership is seen as a vital means of enabling this spirit of capitalism. These new leaders stress the intangible rewards, such as self-actualisation and feelings of self-esteem and self-worth, to motivate employees to perform over and above their previous expectations. However, transformational leaders need to be particularly skilled at using discourse to create interpersonal relationships with their followers that maintain that status quo, i.e. that promote the power inequalities in new capitalism so that leaders remain more powerful than their followers. Transformational leadership discourse warrants special attention as it is both the site of and stake in ideological struggles for power. Transformational leaders are change agents that use discourse to influence both the microlevel and macrolevel social systems. Their concern with building social networks outside of organisations and institutionalising change by "replacing obsolete technical, political, social and cultural networks with new ones" (Puth 2002:72) mirrors the restructuring and reshaping that accompanies new capitalism.

Taffinder (1995:138) says that

transformational leadership is both desirable and necessary in business today, and will increasingly become more important. Organisations *must* be capable of fast, radical change and those that aspire to be the best must lead change rather than just follow it.

I have argued that new capitalism leaders are necessarily transformational leaders and it is with this in mind that I approached the analysis of Clem Sunter's discourse.

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter can be divided broadly into two parts. The aim of the first part is to explain the three frameworks I employed to guide the analysis of my data. I begin with an overview of (i) Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), (in section 3.2.) and explain how I applied it practically to the data, emphasising the interpersonal metafunction realised through APPRAISAL resources (cf. 3.2.4). I then move to highlight the strengths of SFL to justify my choosing it as a congenial methodology for the other two frameworks (in section 3.4); namely those rooted in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) that examine (ii) value assumption types (Fairclough 2003), (cf. 3.4.1) and (iii) modes of operation of ideology (Thompson 1990), (cf. 3.4.2). Throughout the chapter I explain how I organised the data to make it suitable for analysis within each of the diverse but supporting methodologies. I provide a detailed description of the resources of APPRAISAL theory, but spend significantly less time discussing the value assumption theory and Thompson's (1990) ideological modes. There are a couple of reasons for this; firstly, I dwell on the latter two CDA-based perspectives more thoroughly in the literature review (cf. 2.4), and secondly, there is relatively less literature surrounding the practical application of these approaches. I had to devise my own means of organising the data to do the value assumption and modes of operation of ideology analyses. The limitations of all three chosen methodologies are discussed in section 5.3.

SFL and CDA emphasise the importance of examining the larger social milieu in which a text is produced and interpreted (cf. 3.5). It is for this reason that in the second part of the chapter I look in detail at my chosen texts for analysis, namely the Tom Peters text

(Appendix A, page 171), the CR text (Appendix B, page 189) and the FDR and Maggie Thatcher text (Appendix C, page 206). I start by sketching the socio-political and economic context of 1996 South Africa since it is against this that the texts need to be read for full understanding (cf. 3.6.1). I then provide historical and biographical details of the personalities that appear in each of the three texts by way of an overview of the texts (cf. 3.6.2). I end the section by drawing attention to similarities between the three texts and the characters that feature in them in order to illustrate why they are suitable texts for analysis (cf. 3.6.3). In conclusion I recap on the major points of significance from the chapter (cf. 3.7).

3.2 An Overview of Systemic Functional Linguistics

3.2.1 Introduction

The aim of this section is to orientate the reader to the first of the methodological frameworks I employed when doing my research; namely Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). I give a brief overview of this approach to linguistics, exploring its ontological underpinnings, with special attention on the resources of APPRAISAL since this is the framework I used in my data analysis. I spend a little time explaining the ways in which the subsystems of APPRAISAL may be realised with examples from Sunter's CR text as illustrations. Exemplifying the subsystems in this way serves two purposes; it helps to concretise the theory, and it introduces parts of the data that I revisit later (cf. 4.3 and 4.4). I end with a discussion on the distinction between inscribed and evoked APPRAISAL and explain the ideological significance of the latter kind.

3.2.2 Describing SFL

Underlying Systemic Functional Linguistics are four major premises; the model assumes:

1. that language use is functional
2. that its function is to make meanings
3. that the meanings are influenced by the social and cultural context in which they are exchanged
4. that the process of using language is a *semiotic* process, a process of making meanings by choosing.

(Eggins 2004:3)

It is for these reasons that SFL is described as a “functional-semantic approach to language” (Eggins 2004:20), one that seeks to understand how people use language in different social contexts to make sense of the world and each other. To classify the kinds of meaning that social actors generate, SFL conceives of language as expressing three metafunctions concurrently; the ideational, interpersonal and textual (Halliday 2004/1994, 2005, Martin 2000a & b). As Martin & White (2005:7) explain, “at heart SFL is a multi-perspective model, designed to provide analysts with complementary lenses for interpreting language in use”. I outline each of these metafunctions now.

3.2.3 Metafunctions

SFL recognises three generalised categories of kinds of meaning, or ‘metafunctions’. The ideational metafunction is concerned with mapping, or constructing, reality and experiences within this reality. It seeks to explore “what’s going on, including who’s doing what to whom, where, when, why and how and the logical relation of one going-on to another” (Martin & White 2005:7). It looks at meaning created in language through recourse to kinds of activities (e.g. verb processes) and their participants (e.g. nouns/agents), whether material or symbolic (Martin & Rose 2003).

The interpersonal metafunction, as its label implies, is concerned with negotiating social relations. It examines how people interact and may or may not share feelings (Martin & White 2005). APPRAISAL theory is a development out of this metafunction that focuses on how readers and writers use language to construct meaning in social interaction and how they evaluate this social engagement. APPRAISAL resources are 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... how writers/speakers approve and disapprove, enthuse and abhor, applaud and criticise, and with how they position their readers/listeners to do likewise. It is concerned with the construction by texts of communities of shared feelings and values, and with the linguistic mechanisms for the sharing of emotions, tastes, and normative assessment. It is concerned with how writers/speakers construe for themselves particular authorial identities and personae, with how they align or disalign themselves with actual or potential respondents, and with how they construct for their texts an intended or ideal audience.

(Martin & White 2005:1)

In keeping with Halliday's (2004/1994) model of SFL, the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions are thus seen to organise resources for "scaffolding action" (ideational) and "affiliation" (interpersonal) respectively and are "enabled", or activated, by the third, textual metafunction. This metafunction "package[s] ideational and interpersonal meaning as waves of information, in one rhyme or another depending on the context" (Martin 2004:323). It is concerned with the distribution or permeation of the other metafunctions within a text and how they relate to one another. As mentioned before, the three metafunctions are expressed simultaneously in any given text but for the purposes of my examining the relationships constructed by Sunter with his reader (cf. 2.2.4), the interpersonal metafunction is most suited and is therefore the metafunction that I focused on for this research. It is for this reason that I now move onto a more detailed discussion of the methodological framework that informs APPRAISAL theory.

3.2.4 The APPRAISAL System

Figure 1 shows a brief typological overview of the subsystems of APPRAISAL in line with Martin's (2000a) model. "APPRAISAL is regionalized as three interacting domains – ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION" (Martin 2004:324).

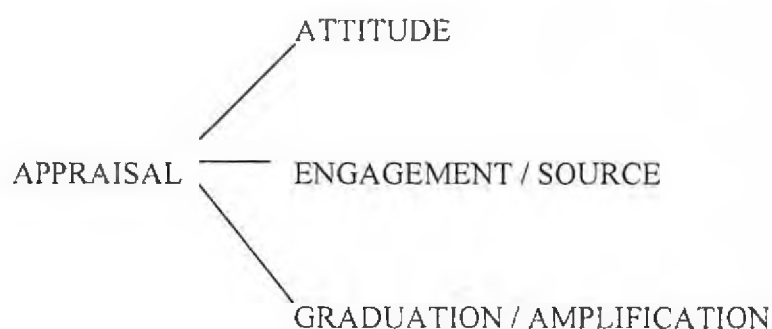


Figure 1: Typological Overview of the Basic APPRAISAL System

Central, and most important for my purposes, is the domain of ATTITUDE. This core subsystem classifies our emotional reactions in terms of feelings, judgement of behaviour and evaluation of things via an intricate subsystem of its own (discussed below). The

domain of ENGAGEMENT looks at the extent to which the sender expresses her/his commitment to what s/he is saying by allowing or disallowing different “voices” into the text. This degree of “dialogicality” (Fairclough 2003) can be employed strategically to give weight to certain preferred perspectives over others. It “sources attitudes” and examines the “play of voices” around the ATTITUDES present in a text (Martin & White 2005:35). “Monoglossia” is the label given to the presence of only the sender’s voice in a text which results in “clide dialogism”, i.e. giving only one perspective. “Heteroglossia” (multiple voice inclusion) on the other hand, promotes “reference dialogism” (Martin 2004:324), i.e. it expands the possibility to ‘hear’ alternative perspectives.

GRADUATION is the domain which grades evaluations and phenomena, “adjusting the ‘volume’ of gradable meanings, amplifying [them] or toning [them] down... or fine-tuning the valeur of experiential meanings – either to strengthen or weaken categorizations” (Martin 2004:325-6). It deals with the force and focus of attitudes (Martin & Rose 2003). In other words, the domains of ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION may be manipulated to enhance the ATTITUDE domain of APPRAISAL theory.

Figure 2 details the domain of ATTITUDE, dividing it into three subcategories – Affect, Judgement and Appreciation, each with further subsystems.

To understand the framework I follow a strategy used by Martin (2004) whereby I exemplify each subsystem with extracts from one of Sunter’s (1996) three texts entitled “CR- CR is a world-class business leader – old and new!” (Appendix B). In this article Sunter praises Cyril Ramaphosa and Cecil John Rhodes. Both of these men are fully introduced in section 3.5.3.2. below. The line numbers in brackets that follow the quotes are based on the line numbering of the CR text in Appendix Bi, page 191.

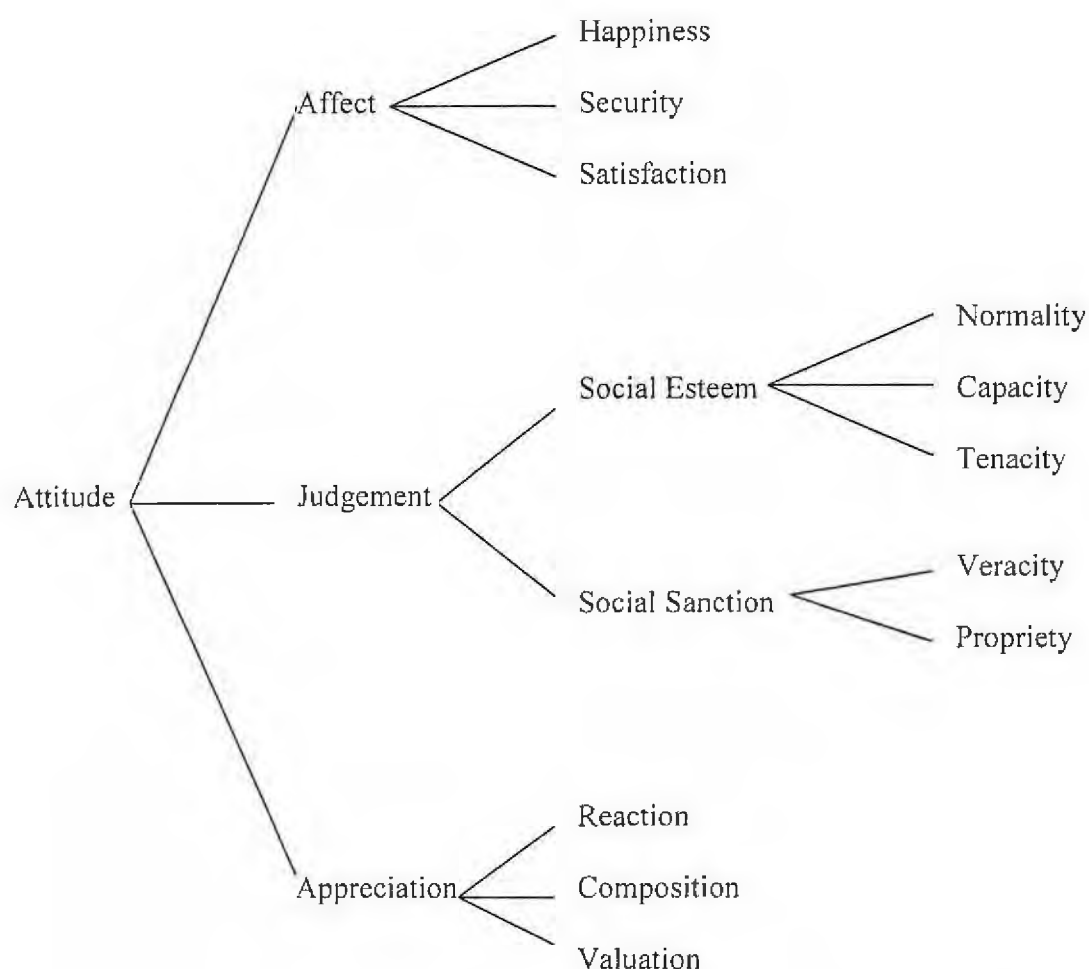


Figure 2: Attitude and its Subsystems

Primarily, Affect deals with resources for construing emotional reactions in terms of Happiness, Security and Satisfaction together with their corresponding negatives, i.e. Unhappiness, Insecurity and Dissatisfaction. “The un/happiness set of meanings... involves the moods of feeling happy or sad, and the possibility of directing these feelings at a [source] by liking or disliking it” (Martin & White 2005:49), e.g.

(1) ...he gave one of those full-bellied laughs... (line 34).

- + happiness

“In/security covers our feelings of peace or anxiety in relation to our environs, including of course the people sharing them with us” (Martin & White 2005:49), e.g.

(2) If we don't develop clear strategies, we could all lose (lines 49-50).

- - security

"Dis/satisfaction deals with our feelings of achievement and frustration in relation to the activities in which we are engaged, including our roles as both participants and spectators" (Martin & White 2005:50), e.g.

(3) ...which charm the pants off the people he is negotiating with (line 35).

- + satisfaction

Judgement deals with resources for expressing judgement of human behaviour (Droga & Humphrey 2002). It can be divided into evaluations in terms of Social Esteem and Social Sanction. Social Esteem is the subsystem within Judgement that is oriented towards behaviour that may be policed by those within social networks; it is assessed, in broad terms, by asking "how special?" (normality), "how capable?" (capacity) and "how dependable?" (tenacity) someone may be (Martin & White 2005:52). If behaviour under the Social Esteem category is found wanting, there is not necessarily any kind of enforceable repercussion, as in the case of Social Sanction. Social Esteem is judgement of a more "personal" nature of either "admiration or criticism" (Martin & Rose 2003:28), e.g.

(4) ...so it is exceptional that a person climbs to the top of the ladder in politics as well as business (lines 8-9).

- + normality

(5) Rhodes was the consummate deal maker of his era... (line 24).

- + capacity

(6) He wheeled and dealt until he had everyone under a single umbrella (line 26).

- + tenacity

Social Sanction, on the other hand, is the subsystem of Judgement concerned with assessing behaviour in so far as it conforms with more rigid normative principles within codified policing systems in society, such as "edicts, decrees, rules, regulations and laws...civic duties or religious observances" (Martin & White 2005:52). The penalties for negative categorisation in this regard may be more severe, e.g. imprisonment, trial in

a court of law etc. In this way Social Sanction is judgement of behaviour against “morals” to be “praised or condemned” (Martin & Rose 2003:28). The category of veracity, oriented towards truth, asks “how honest?” Propriety, concerned with ethics, asks “how far beyond reproach?” (Martin & White 2005:52), e.g.

(7) He keeps his word too (line 38).

- + veracity

(8) He will have supervised the even more important task of drafting a final constitution before he is 44 (lines 19-21).

- + propriety

The subsystem of Appreciation is concerned with aesthetics. As explained by Martin & White (2005:56), it seeks to categorise the value of things, including natural phenomena, by assessing our reactions to them “(do they catch our attention?; do they please us?), their composition (balance and complexity), and their value (how innovative, authentic, timely, etc.?)”.

(9) I was struck by similarities to another great man... (line 2).

- + reaction (impact)

(10) ...having to sort out the thorniest issues... (line 30).

- - composition (balance)

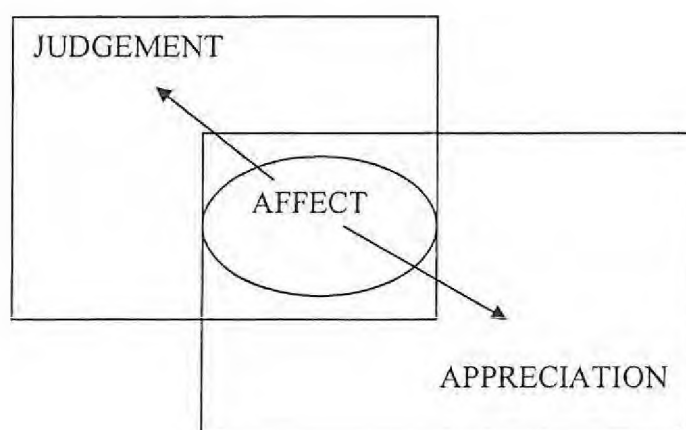
(11) ...the best of luck in his new role... (line 47).

- + valuation

It is useful to conceptualise Judgement and Appreciation as “institutionalised feelings” that rely on assessment against a background ideology that is common sense to those within a similar social community (Martin & White 2005:45). It would be safe to assume, for example, that people from the same socio-cultural background would judge behaviour that violates an unwritten cultural norm as negative and so deserving of criticism. Affect on the other hand could be argued to be those emotional responses that are not so institutionalised and may have greater variation between individuals within a similar social community. Where “judgement reworks feelings in the realm of proposals

about behaviour – how we should behave or not... [and] appreciation...reworks feelings as propositions about the value of things – what they are worth or not” (Martin & White 2005:45), we need to resort to the shared values of the community in which we find ourselves to make an accurate judgement or appreciation assessment. Affect is more raw, if you like, since it concerns our deep, emotional and so maybe less ideologically constrained responses in evaluating the interpersonal. Martin & White’s (2005) diagram below illustrates the interconnectedness of Affect to Judgement and Appreciation.

ethics/morality (rules and regulations)
feelings institutionalised as proposals



feelings institutionalised as propositions
aesthetics/value (criteria and assessment)

Figure 3: Judgement and Appreciation as Institutionalised Affect.

3.2.5 Inscribed and Evoked APPRAISAL

Mapping APPRAISAL requires locating the resources in terms of the subsystems of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation in whatsoever form the interpersonal evaluation occurs in a given text. This is not as transparent as it may seem. APPRAISAL can generally be realised in two ways; either directly or “explicitly” or indirectly/implicitly and so “implied” (Droga & Humphrey 2002:84). The more obvious realisation of APPRAISAL is directly inscribed through the sender’s use of evaluative lexis, in other words through drawing on the vast lexico-grammatical resources specific to individuals that allow for clear semantic expression. APPRAISAL can be mapped easily for inscribed resources. The examples below (Sunter 1997) show inscribed APPRAISAL.

- (1) ...he gave one of those full-bellied laughs...
- + happiness
- (4) ...so it is exceptional that a person climbs to the top of the ladder in politics as well as business.
- + normality
- (5) Rhodes was the consummate deal maker of his era...
- + capacity
- (9) I was struck by similarities to another great man...
- + reaction (impact)
- (10) ...having to sort out the thorniest issues...
- - composition (balance)
- (11) ...the best of luck in his new role...
- + valuation

There is a clear correlation between the lexical choices used (in italics) and their inherent evaluation, despite the potential for these choices to be realised in a multiplicity of ways. Example 1, for instance, sees positive Affect evaluated by means of a behavioural process, i.e. laughing, and examples 4 and 5 rely on adjectives (epithets) to realise APPRAISAL.

But as is clear in other examples above, sometimes the encoding of APPRAISAL is more opaque, and cannot be pinpointed to specific lexico-grammatical features. In these cases we need to look at the “evoked” (Martin 2000a:155) evaluations. Evoked APPRAISAL is evident in examples 2,3,6,7 and 8 below.

- (2) If we don't develop clear strategies, we could all lose.
- - security
- (3) ...which charm the pants off the people he is negotiating with.
- + satisfaction
- (6) He wheeled and dealt until he had everyone under a single umbrella.
- + tenacity

(7) He keeps his word too.

- + veracity

(8) He will have supervised the even more important task of drafting a final constitution before he is 44.

- + propriety

Example 6 sees a “token” representation of positive judgement (tenacity), where APPRAISAL is triggered through a set of words, specifically a metaphor, that evoke a certain response from the reader (Coffin 2003:229). Example 8 is similar; it evokes a “token” positive judgement (propriety) where a reader needs to bring her/his world knowledge of the role of the final constitution of South Africa (see section 3.6.1.) to the text to evaluate this task as Sunter does, i.e. as ethically admirable. In both cases Sunter, the writer, resorts to stimulating the preferred judgements through token APPRAISAL; he exploits the role of judgement as institutionalised affect, whereby the reader is required to bring her/his social knowledge of the shared systems of community belief and ideology to make sense of this “evoked” APPRAISAL.

This is why Martin (2000a:155) says that inscribed APPRAISAL is “more prescriptive about the reading position naturalised – it is harder to resist or ignore” as the reader *must* accept the inherent semantic properties of the direct lexico-grammatical choices. Evoked APPRAISAL is “more open – accommodating a wider range of reading positions” as the reader is *led* to bring semantics to any length of textual phrase. Or as Coffin (2003:231) explains, “a writer’s use of tokens assumes shared social norms” and so is a valuable site to examine the ideological assumptions at work within a text. Therefore an analysis within the APPRAISAL framework needs to be especially sensitive to both the inscribed and evoked realisations of evaluation. Where values surrounding direct APPRAISAL are explicit and overtly guide an analysis, tokens cannot be ignored as they are a rich source of important ideological content that can only enrich an APPRAISAL analysis.

It is important to bear this in mind when reading the analysis section of this thesis, i.e. Chapter 4, later. As the data will show, Sunter exploits evoked APPRAISAL approximately three times more than inscribed APPRAISAL across the three texts. This

is ideologically significant as it points to his subtle extension of semantic domains to encourage interpretative latitude from his readers as they are persuaded to transform their ideology to bring them into line with those ideologies in favour of change and new capitalism.

3.3 Application of APPRAISAL Theory to the Data

I followed techniques used by Adendorff & de Klerk (2005) and Harvey (2004) to guide my organising of the data so that it was amenable to an APPRAISAL analysis. I began by underlining and numbering the instances of both inscribed and evoked appraisal in each of the texts (Appendices Aii, Bii, Cii) in the style of Adendorff & de Klerk (2005) and Droga & Humphrey (2002). I organised these sections of the text numerically in respective tables (Appendices Aiii, Biii, Ciii), à la Harvey (2004), with the corresponding text instantiation quoted in the second column. I then identified the type of APPRAISAL (i.e. Attitude) reflected in each section of text and noted the specific subsystems in the relevant Affect, Appreciation or Judgement columns. I added a column to note whether the text instantiation was evoked or inscribed and used italics for the words that encoded inscribed APPRAISAL in the quote from the text (column 2). The last column shows the target of the respective evaluation, in other words, to what or whom Sunter refers in that specific section of text. Table 4 illustrates this form of tabulation.

No. of Phrase/ Instance	Instantiation (Text)	APPRAISAL (ATTITUDE)			INSCRIB/ EVOKED	TARGET
		AFFECT	APPRECIATION	JUDGEMENT		
35	"full-bellied <i>laughs</i> "	Happiness cheer +			Inscribed	Ramaphosa
40	"He keeps his word too"			Sanction: veracity +	Evoked	Ramaphosa

Table 4: Example of APPRAISAL Tabulation (taken from Appendix Biii, page 196)

From these three general APPRAISAL tables (Appendices Aiii, Biii and Ciii) I could then summarise the data for each text in terms of the Attitude sub-systems of Affect, Appreciation and Judgement (Appendices Aiv, Biv, Civ). This allowed me to quantify each instance of these kinds of APPRAISAL and record these statistics for ease of

comparison across all three texts; the statistics appear in bold and are bracketed at the end of each section of the tables. Table 5 exemplifies the Affect summary for the Tom Peters text. I moved from a broad Attitude analysis to neater and narrower tabulation of its particular sub-systems for each text. It meant that I could navigate my way through the data in an economical fashion as I made comparisons and analysed trends for the SFL exploration.

Emotions		No.	E/I	Target
Satisfaction (5)	pleasure +	1 68	1 E	Sunter Sunter
	pleasure -	54	E	dissatisfied customers
	interest +	4	I	South Africans
	interest -	5	I	South Africans
Security (5)	disquiet -	20	E	incrementalism
		26	E	society
		32	E	business person / reader
		39	I	companies
		61	E	competition to petrol station owner
Happiness (1)	cheer +	7	I	business
Totals	positives = 4 negatives = 7	11	I = 5 E = 6	

Table 5: Tom Peters: Affect Summary (taken from Appendix Aiv, page 185)

3.4 The Strengths of SFL and its Compatibility with CDA

The semantic-functional nature of SFL (cf. 3.2.2) makes it especially useful to researchers concerned with issues pertaining to discourse, rhetoric and communicative effect (e.g. Harvey 2004, Martin 2004, Eggins 2004), as it situates language within the social context. The CDA perspective on language as social practice, or “discourse” (Fairclough 1992), echoes this premise. It is not surprising then that there has been a recent surge of interest in the SFL/CDA interface. Martin (2000b:175) explains “one of the real strengths of SFL in the context of CDA work is its ability to ground concerns with power and ideology in the detailed analysis of texts as they unfold, clause by clause, in real contexts of language use”. SFL offers a set of technically sound and rigorous classification schemes (as has been shown above in relation to the APPRAISAL system,

cf. figures 1 and 2) for analysing aspects of discourse as they manifest at the lexico-grammatical level and CDA is strong in the interpretation and explanation of these features in light of the larger social context (Fairclough 2001). The commonalities in these two paradigms allow for a certain degree of translatability and can only enhance an analysis that draws solely on either SFL or CDA.

Furthermore, SFL offers a metalanguage for ease of reference and precision in textual analysis. The multi-layered labelling and classification schemes (e.g. Social Sanction and Social Esteem as subcategories within Judgement, which subcategorises within Attitude, which is a subcategory within APPRAISAL) give opportunity to combine quantitative data resources with qualitative data, a strength that has not been drawn upon often enough in traditional social science studies.

SFL provides critical discourse analysts with a technical language for talking about language – to make it possible to look very closely at meaning, to be explicit and precise in terms that can be shared by others, and to engage in quantitative analysis where this is appropriate.

(Martin 2000b:275-6)

The SFL framework allowed me, for example, to tabulate the positive and negative Satisfaction, Security and Happiness values in the Tom Peters text (cf. Table 5) within the category of Affect. I could then count the isolated features and approach the discourse from a “quantificational perspective” (Martin 2000b:278) where I needed. This kind of detailed and extensive tabulation helped give my findings a sense of objective rigour.

In summary, since my research looked to explore the complex and dynamic relationships established between Sunter and readers of his texts, APPRAISAL theory was the dominating framework I used to investigate the data from an interpersonal perspective. More specifically, however, I examined Sunter’s Affect (cf. 4.3) and Judgement (cf. 4.4) choices. APPRAISAL “concerns itself with how speakers and writers adopt intersubjective and ideological positions in their texts through positive and negative evaluations of attitudes towards people, objects and events” (Harvey 2004:254). Successful establishment of an interpersonal bond is vital if Sunter hopes to encourage

solidarity from his readers, those whose support will legitimise him as a leader who embodies change; essentially, a leader can only be validated as such by virtue of his followers. Indeed, “negotiating solidarity is a complex process that may involve feelings of different kinds and thus communities with different membership” (Martin 2004:327) and in light of this, the APPRAISAL framework is able to assist one in tracking this tricky interpersonal negotiation as it unfolds in Sunter’s texts.

The APPRAISAL framework however is supplemented in my research by recourse to certain theoretical insights from the field of CDA. My belief is that an interface of this nature brings with it the strengths I discuss above to validate my findings. The specific CDA-based issues I examine include the value assumptions used by Sunter as proposed by Fairclough’s (2003) classification of assumption types (cf. 4.2), and a look at strategies that Sunter used to promote the ideologies of new capitalism and transformation in terms of Thompson’s (1990) model of the 5 modes in which ideology can operate (cf. 2.4, 4.5). I now explain briefly how I applied these two CDA-linked frameworks to the data.

3.4.1 Value Assumptions

Fairclough (2003) proposes a classification scheme that separates assumptions into three major types; existential assumptions (assumptions about what exists), propositional assumptions (about what is or can be the case) and value assumptions (about what is good or desirable). As I explained in section 2.3.7, assumptions are essential in a leader’s capacity to “shape the nature and content of ‘common ground’, which makes assumptions an important issue with respect to ideology” (Fairclough 2003:55). I chose to focus on the value assumptions inherent in each of the texts as a strategy to determine whether Sunter is indeed a transformational leader (cf. 4.2). My hypothesis was that Sunter would positively evaluate phenomena that support transformational and new capitalist ideologies. Where Sunter assumed phenomena to be worthless or undesirable, these would be phenomena that were incongruent with the ideologies of transformation and new capitalism.

In applying the theory to the data, I followed Fairclough's (2003:177) categorisation of value assumptions, whereby I separated Sunter's assumptions into columns under the headings of "Desirables" or "Undesirables". I grouped and tabulated the summarised value assumptions in each of Sunter's texts in Tables 9, 10 and 11 (cf. 4.2.2) to guide the analysis. Table 6 below illustrates a section of this categorisation taken from Table 11. Obviously I chose to concentrate on the assumptions that Sunter makes in relation to business and leadership to determine the preferred, i.e. transformational and new capitalist, perspectives on these social practices envisaged by Sunter (cf. 4.2.2.1 to 4.2.2.8).

Desirables	Undesirables
caring leadership	
empowering people, i.e. helping people to help themselves	
belief in experimentation	killing ideas
admit failure	
learn from mistakes	
challenging conventional wisdom	
innovative and adventurous	conforming to conventional interests

Table 6: Section of Table 11: Summary of Sunter's Value Assumptions in the FDR and Maggie Thatcher text

3.4.2 Ideological Strategies

Thompson's (1990) framework that identifies five modes of operation of ideology is the second CDA-based methodology I use to inform the analysis reported on in section 4.5. These modes and the strategies that may be used to encode them have been discussed at length in section 2.4.2 but I have tabulated them below for ease of reference.

General Modes	Some Typical Strategies of Symbolic Construction
Legitimation	Rationalisation Universalisation Narrativisation
Dissimulation	Displacement Euphemisation Trope (e.g. metaphor)
Unification	Standardisation Symbolisation of unity
Fragmentation	Differentiation Expurgation of the other

Reification

 Naturalisation
 Externalisation
 Nominalisation/ passivisation
Table 7: Thompson's Modes of Operation of Ideology (1990:60)

I examined each of the chosen texts in terms of the strategies Sunter uses to promote the ideologies of transformation and new capitalism, tabulating the findings that corresponded to each of Thompson's modes by following Janks's (1998) rubric (cf. Appendix E, page 231). I have inserted a section of this broad overview (Table 8 below) illustrating the mode of Unification operating in Sunter's texts. Within each mode, e.g. here *Unification*, I entered examples from the three texts under the strategies that typically corresponded to the mode, e.g. *symbolisation of unity* and *standardisation*. The examples from the **Tom Peters** text are represented in red, those from the CR text are in blue and those from the FDR and Maggie Thatcher text are printed in green. Grouping all of Sunter's examples in this way allowed easy comparison across the three texts. The definitions of each mode and strategy, printed in black, are based on Janks (1998:208). The complete table in Appendix E informed the report of the analysis in section 4.5.

UNIFICATION: Representations of unity that embraces collective identities despite divisions.	
Symbolisation of Unity: collective identity which overrides differences and divisions. Peters and Sunter share a united view on what business should be – "this dovetails with a point I make..." The South African constitution symbolises social healing and solidarity building post-Apartheid; shared reference point. Rhodes and Ramaphosa (British imperialist and South African trade unionist) embody the same capitalist ideology. Leaders help others to help themselves: gives the impression of caring leadership. Government supporting economic growth. All South African's suffer under the hardships of unemployment and social exclusion – brings a sense of unity.	
Standardisation: symbolic forms adapted to standard framework. "We" attempting to be inclusive, refers to all South Africans who could lose if change (towards new capitalism) does not happen. "We are both soggy and poor" – inclusive "we" implies all South Africans must desire to be tenacious and wealthy	

Table 8: Section of the Table (Unification) Summarising Sunter's Modes and Strategies of Operation of the Ideology of New Capitalism (Appendix E)

3.5 An Overview of the Texts for Analysis: Contextualisation and Characterisation

3.5.1 The Importance of the Social Context for Understanding Ideology

As I have mentioned in section 3.4, Fairclough (2001:18) defines discourse as “language as a form of social practice”. Language is seen to be part of society and not something to be distilled from it and studied as an external product or phenomenon. He criticises traditional approaches to linguistics for focussing on language as just this – a tendency to examine linguistic variation on a superficial level and ignore the social significance in determining its development, shape, dynamics and variation. In other words, socio-linguistics for example, a field of linguistic study that does in fact attempt to take cognisance of the social for language study, is

strong on ‘what?’ questions (what are the facts of variation?), but weak on ‘why?’ and ‘how?’ questions (why are the facts as they are?; how – in terms of the development of social relationships of power – was the existing social order brought into being?).

(Fairclough 2001:6)

This illustrates the richness for detailed language study offered by employing a CDA framework. CDA aims to understand the macro-level power dynamics that both shape and are shaped by language situated within the social. Discourse is the site of struggles for power and ideological dominance because language both constructs and reflects the social (Fairclough 2001). It follows that in order to examine Sunter’s discourse, which in turn points to the power relations within new capitalism, the socio-political context in which his texts are produced needs to be explored. A close look at language situated in the social context will reveal much about the dominant ideology and so expose relations of power at work ‘behind the scenes’.

Thompson (1990) reiterates the importance of looking to the social context when studying ideology and the strategies that support unequal relations of power. Whilst Fairclough stresses language as a constituent of the social and *vica versa*, Thompson (1990:58) says that

symbolic forms are not merely representations which serve to articulate or obscure social relations or interests which are constituted fundamentally and essentially at a pre-symbolic level: rather, symbolic forms are

continuously and creatively implicated in the constitution of social relations.

Just as traditional language study is deficient from a CDA perspective, insofar as it downplays the social element of discourse, so too does Thompson (1990:58) discuss a fundamental weakness of traditional approaches to ideology within the field of sociology. The problem is an inclination to remove social actors and all forms of their semiotics from macro-level ideological dynamics. He explains how a Marxist account tends to conceive of classes as “existing in themselves” which underestimates the “extent to which symbolic forms, and the meaning mobilized therein, are *constitutive of social reality* and are actively involved in creating as well as sustaining the relations between the individual and groups”. The point is that from both a sociological and linguistic preoccupation with ideology, language contextualised within the social is of paramount importance. Indeed, it is argued that any kind of meaning-making can only be seen to be ideological, or sustaining unequal power relations, as long as it is situated within the socio-historical context (Thompson 1990). With this in mind, I now contextualise each of Sunter’s texts. I look at the socio-historical milieu at the time of text production and the personalities that feature in each.

As I explained in section 1.4.4 there are five personalities that feature in Sunter’s three texts chosen for analysis. These are Tom Peters (in the Tom Peters text), Cecil Rhodes and Cyril Ramaphosa (in the CR text), and Franklin D. Roosevelt and Maggie Thatcher (in the FDR and Maggie Thatcher text). In section 3.5.3 I give brief biographical details and highlight the more notable achievements in their respective histories and then discuss their commonalities in section 3.5.4. I begin, however, with the socio-political climate of 1996 South Africa (3.5.2). Here I sketch the background against which each of the texts should be read to explain both Sunter’s construal of these individuals as exceptional and praise-worthy, and their placement in the macro-scheme of the country’s history. I look further afield as well to the global dynamics at play for accurate contextualisation of South Africa within the world’s socio-political and economic arena.

3.5.2 South Africa in 1996

The fact that all three articles were written in 1996 is significant as this was two years after South Africa's first democratic elections in April 1994. These elections saw a 62% victory for the African National Congress (ANC) and the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as the first Black President of South Africa. In his first address to the nation at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, Mandela called for a "time of healing" and described the new South Africa as "a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world" (url 3). In the two years between Mandela's inaugural speech and Sunter's writing these texts much headway had been made to unite the country as it aimed to redress the damages left by Apartheid.

In the sporting arena the South African Rugby team (the Springboks) defeated New Zealand in Johannesburg to win the Rugby World Cup in 1995. This has been called "a pivotal moment in the reconciliation process" (Beck 2000:196) between Whites and Blacks. Mandela attended the game wearing a Springbok jersey and presented the trophy to the South African captain amidst thousands of White, predominantly Afrikaans fans, chanting his name.

1995 was also the year that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) began its work. The purpose of the TRC was to allow the perpetrators and victims of gross human rights violations during the Apartheid era a chance to give their personal testimonies and make amnesty applications. Headed by Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu, the TRC aimed to promote forgiveness and encourage healing by allowing over 7000 South Africans to recount the horrors of the years pre-1994. The TRC "gathered more information about political crimes and victims than any similar body in history has done" (Beck 2000:198); convincing evidence of the commitment by the government to reconcile South Africa.

As far as redressing the law was concerned, 1994 to 1996 was the time dedicated by the Constitutional Assembly to writing the New Constitution. The Interim Constitution had been ratified by Parliament in 1993 and served as the law of the country until such time as the New Constitution was written. For both the Interim and the New Constitutions, the

Bill of Rights featured as integral in the protection of human rights for all South Africans post-Apartheid; it bore testimony to the commitment of the country to ensure against the violation of human rights in the future.

The years after the ANC victory saw momentous achievements for South Africa within the global arena as well. After years of sanctions and isolation, South Africa was allowed to rejoin the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Commonwealth in May 1994. The United Nations lifted the remaining sanctions on the country and South Africa was allowed to take its seat at the General Assembly of the UN (Mulaudzi *et al* 2003). Beck (2000:191-2) captures the success of the transition, both locally and internationally, nicely:

There was no communist revolution, no Black retaliation for centuries of oppression. In some ways South Africa assumed an air of normality and stability like nothing any South African, White or Black, had ever experienced. South Africa was a normal country, not the skunk of nations.

The end to Apartheid in 1994 and transition from White to Black governance meant that the socio-political climate of 1996 South Africa was conducive to the rise of a transformational leader like Sunter (cf. 2.2.5). Although the country was, ostensibly, a democracy in 1996, much social transformation was still needed at the time Sunter produced his texts. When his articles first appeared in the newspaper in 1996, they were received by a reader who had shared in the turbulence of recent history of the country, and understood that South Africa was still undergoing change. It was a time characterised by opportunity and optimism as well as very real feelings of instability for South Africans (Beck 2000); all indicators of a climate in which transformational leaders thrive. This is important contextual information against which the texts should be read. I expand on the socio-political context of 1996 South Africa in sections 4.3.3. and 4.4.3.

3.5.3 The People of Sunter's Texts:

The following section offers biographical and historical details on all five of the significant characters in Sunter's (1996) texts that I chose to analyse.

3.5.3.1 “Tom Peters: Tom is a world class business guru who lives his life out loud!”

Sunter wrote the article on Tom Peters in January 1996 (Appendix A, page 171) in response to a visit by Peters to South Africa where he gave a presentation at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg. Phirippides (1999, url 4) reports that

[Peters] has been described as business’ best friend and worst nightmare. An enemy of business mediocrity, and the business guru’s business guru, he describes himself as a ‘capitalist pig’... a professional loudmouth... a corporate cheerleader and a prince of disorder.

In 1982 Peters (with his co-author Bob Waterman) wrote the best-selling book *In Search of Excellence* which challenged and revolutionised conventional business practice; “they introduced the world of business to the idea and value of Excellence *per se* as an inspiring and profitable aspiration – at a time when America’s competitiveness was under full-blown assault” (url 5). The book was ranked as the “greatest business book of all time” in a 2002 poll by Bloomsbury Publishing in England (url 5). It has been heralded as the “bible of management thinkers and MBA students and guiding light to thousands of executives worldwide” (Taffinder 1995:20). In it Peters conceives of excellence as a benchmark that is translatable to all aspects of personal and professional life. Appealing to higher-order needs such as achieving excellence (as I have shown in section 2.2.2.3) is typical of transformational leaders (Bass and Avolio 1994). In fact, his perspectives and values epitomise him as the kind of transformational leader described in leadership literature; he is renowned for his charismatic presentations and is described by Sunter (2007 interview) as a “huge entertainer”. Peters promotes passionate management, he says (url 6) that

Passion moves mountains. Creating a passionate enterprise is a modern leadership imperative... I am an enthusiast. Enthusiasm is contagious. We have fun. We aim to go on quests and change the world. That is my commitment. That is my legacy. That is my (loud) life.

Furthermore, he entered the public stage at a time ripe for the rise of transformational leaders, where the US economy in the early 1980s was threatened and feelings of uncertainty and unrest prevailed. Conger and Kanungo (1998:5) describe these global changes as follows:

The rise of Asian economic powers, such as Japan and the Little Dragons, as well as European players like Germany, shattered the market dominance of the North American companies. This had a dramatic impact not only on industry but also, in turn, on business schools. In terms of commerce, it forced many large corporations to reinvent themselves radically after enjoying several decades of what in hindsight appears to have been relative stability.

His transformational business and leadership ideas since 1982 have been met with great enthusiasm all over the world. He has received a multiplicity of accolades which recognise his role in the rapidly changing socio-economic contexts of new capitalism, where issues of globalisation and technological advances (cf. 2.3.3) are key in negotiating and achieving 'excellence' according to Peters. He was ranked second in a 2002 survey of the top 50 'Business Intellectuals' by Accenture's Institute for Strategic Change (url 5). Since he first began his work in 1978, Peters is purported to "have given about 2 500 speeches, flown 5 000 000+ miles, spoken before 2 000 000 to 3 000 000 people, and presented in 47 states and 63 countries" (url 5) and he has followed "*In Search of Excellence*" with more than a dozen international bestsellers.

3.5.3.2 "CR: CR is a world-class business leader – old and new!"

Written in May 1996, this article sees Sunter praising two men of near-identical initials, Cecil John Rhodes and Cyril Matamela Ramaphosa (Appendix B, page 189). He draws parallels between the men in terms of their greatness by highlighting their respective historical achievements.

Cyril Ramaphosa

Cyril Ramaphosa is the more recent of the two "CRs" that Sunter praises in his article. Born in Johannesburg in 1952, Ramaphosa entered the political scene most notably when he became secretary-general of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in 1982. He had in fact led a 250 000 strong strike by miners that lasted three weeks in 1988 (cf. 1.3.2) – a time of intense resistance to the Apartheid government by Black trade unions (Beck 2000). Further testimony to his trade unionist roots was his role as a founder member of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). He delivered a

keynote address at COSATU's launch rally in Durban in 1985 but was forced into hiding soon after when a State of Emergency was declared in 1986 (url 7). This was a time during which political activists and leaders of trade unions and other resistance organisations were at greatest risk for any kind of arrest or unfair detention and could (many did) suffer any kind of punishment from solitary confinement to torture.

After the unbanning of opposition parties and the release of political prisoners was ordered in 1990 by President de Klerk, Ramaphosa served as chairman of the National Reception Committee that co-ordinated arrangements for the release of Mandela that same year. He appeared alongside Mandela at the ANC National Congress held in Durban in July 1991 where Mandela was voted president of the ANC and Ramaphosa the secretary-general. In his capacity as secretary-general Ramaphosa became the chief negotiator for the ANC from 1991 until the 1994 elections.

This period of precarious negotiation was fraught with violence and tragedies that threatened a peaceful transition to democratic elections and eventual Black governance. It began in December 1991 when the government and eighteen other parties met for the Convention of Democratic South Africa (CODESA), where all representatives committed themselves to building "an undivided South Africa with one nation sharing a common citizenship... freedom from apartheid or any other form of discrimination or domination" (Beck 2000:186) in the Declaration of Intent. Despite this initial show of goodwill and intention for peace by all parties, the negotiation process which followed was frustrated by devastating violence such as the Boipatong Massacre in June 1992 and the ANC march to Bisho where Ciskei troops opened fire on the crowd. Ramaphosa was present at this march where 24 people were killed and 2000 wounded (url 7). Tough standpoints from both the government and the ANC meant that these parties stayed away from formal talks on different occasions and it was only when Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer, the minister of constitutional affairs, met for nineteen days in September 1992 that they managed to reach a consensus agreeable to the parties involved; something that CODESA had failed to do until that point (Beck 2000). Mandela and de Klerk signed a Record of Understanding, which Beck (2000:187) states marked "the most significant turning point

during the transition period after 1990". This paved the way for further and more peaceful negotiations leading up to the 1994 elections.

In May 1994 Ramaphosa was elected chairperson of the Constitutional Assembly and resigned in 1996 after he had supervised the writing of the New Constitution. That same year he resigned from his position as secretary-general of the ANC and turned down a position in the Cabinet after he was not made deputy president (Beck 2000). Ramaphosa then turned his attention to private business.

Ramaphosa's business achievements to date include prominent and powerful roles within the corporate sector of the South African economy. He has headed some of the premier companies in the country; he is the Executive Chairman of Millennium Consolidated Investment (MCI), now known as Shanduka, and he is the non-Executive Chairman of Johnnic Holdings, MTN Group Limited and SASRIA, to name a few. He is the past Chairman of the Black Economic Empowerment Commission while his directorships include South African Breweries, First Rand Limited, Macsteel Holdings, Alexander Forbes and Medscheme Limited (url 7). Undoubtedly Ramaphosa is one of the foremost Black business leaders in the country.

Cecil Rhodes

I contend that we are the finest race in the world, and the more of the world we inhabit, the better it is for the human race. Just fancy, those parts that are at present inhabited by the most despicable specimens of human beings, what an alteration there would be if they were brought under Anglo-Saxon influence.

(Cecil John Rhodes in Sparks 1990:45)

Cecil John Rhodes (1820-1879) was sent to South Africa from England due to ill health as a young man when the diamond and gold rush sparked British interest in South Africa. Towards the end of the nineteenth century however, Britain was forced to reformulate its colonial policy for the country due to increased pressure from international challenges in the scramble for colonies and their abundance of rich resources (Beck 2000). Britain looked to Rhodes to represent their interests and further their policy of British

imperialism and colonisation. This he did so well that eventually Rhodes became the epitome of mining magnates, controlling both the diamond and gold interests in Southern Africa; he set up De Beers Consolidated Mines and the Gold Fields of South Africa Company. He founded the British South Africa Company and “was the quintessential British imperialist, who envisaged a British imperial Africa stretching from the Cape to Cairo” (Beck 2000:88). He was the ultimate leader and colonialist of the time, hailed by Sparks (1990:121) as “the British Empire’s most ambitious visionary”. His career included the colonisation of Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe) and culminated in him being appointed Prime Minister of the Cape Colony in 1890.

3.5.3.3 “FDR and Maggie Thatcher: I like crunchy leaders like FDR and Maggie Thatcher”

The third of Sunter’s articles I have chosen was written in October 1996. It features Franklin D. Roosevelt and Margaret Thatcher (Appendix C, page 206).

FDR

Franklin Delano Roosevelt became the thirty-second President of the United States in 1933. He came to office at a time when the Great Depression had caused the national income to fall by half, the banks were collapsing due to the Stock Market crash and fifteen million Americans were unemployed (Edwards 1968). His genuine care for humanity and the “forgotten man at the bottom of the economic pyramid” (Roosevelt in Edwards 1968:69) drove his quest for and implementation of the “New Deal” programme.

This programme introduced measures for internal development to restructure and stabilise the American economy, and has purportedly “preserved the country against major depressions for more than a half-century” (Schlesinger 1998:50). It included projects for infrastructure such as housing, roads, bridges, hydroelectric schemes, and harbours; and at the economic front, the New Deal granted loans to businesses more readily than in the past and saw farmers’ taxes drastically reduced.

Roosevelt said in 1932 that "The presidency is not merely an administrative office. That's the least of it... It is pre-eminently a place of moral leadership" (Schlesinger 1998:50). He realised the need to empower the poverty stricken if capitalism was to survive and he is accredited with "saving capitalism from itself" (Schlesinger 1998:50). His emphasis on closing the gap between the wealth of the richest and the poorest set a precedent for acknowledging the importance of interdependence of socio-economic class in sustainable development. Roosevelt's programme was strongly opposed by business leaders at the time since his changes altered their power, but he remained true to his vision and welcomed these challenges as they presented themselves.

Roosevelt was a great believer in democracy as well. He realised the necessity of a democratic state as a basis for economic growth and is said to have been the "leader most responsible for mobilizing democratic energies and faith first against economic collapse and then against military terror" (Schlesinger 1998:49). He offered a social order different from the fascist and communist orders that were prevalent in the world before he came to office. Roosevelt led the USA into World War II but died in April 1945, just three weeks before the German surrender.

Roosevelt's bravery and persistency classified him as a transformational leader whose belief in morality and change has had long-term effects both for America and the world at large.

Maggie Thatcher

"Champion of free minds and markets, she helped topple the welfare state and make the world safer for capitalism" (Johnson 1998:94). No doubt Margaret Thatcher's conservative ideals and term of office as the first female Prime Minister for England (1979-1990) bear testimony to her being a remarkable transformational leader.

She is famous for her fiercely anti-socialist and anti-centralist government policies that brought significant change to the structure of the British social welfare system, increased and encouraged the privatisation of formerly state-owned industries and diffused the

power of labour unions (Martin 1995). The privatisation of British Airways, for example, resulted in it being transformed from “an embarrassingly slovenly national carrier that very seldom showed a profit” (Johnson 1998:94) to one of the leading and most profitable airlines in the world under Thatcher’s government. Her firm policies both at home and abroad resulted in her being nicknamed the “Iron Lady”, to which she is reported having responded, “Any leader has to have a certain amount of steel in them” (Garfinkel 1988:68). For Thatcher, politics was personal; she saw it her duty to rescue Britain from what she perceived as a 25-year bias towards socialism and bring the country back into line with its lost “Victorian values of hard work, thrift, self-reliance and a strong sense of duty” (Garfinkel 1988:63).

Interestingly, Thatcher’s political influence abroad affected apartheid South Africa to a large degree. Her appointment as Prime Minister in England in 1979 coincided with P.W. Botha’s coming to power as Prime Minister of South Africa that same year. This was fortuitous for Botha as the British government supported to some degree his domestic “total strategy” policies to combat the perceived communist threat of “total onslaught” (Beck 2000). Within this framework, the White ruling party continued to exercise its apartheid control of Blacks since England (as well as the USA and West Germany) was “disposed to share in some measure Botha’s contention that the Black nationalists in his country were violent radicals being manipulated by Moscow and to look favourably on a reform programme that would neutralise them and bring in the ‘moderates’” (Sparks 1990:348). Thatcher, in fact, was highly opposed to imposing sanctions on South Africa at this time despite pressure from many members of her Parliament. She and the Reagan administration in the USA offered “quiet encouragement” (Sparks 1990:349) in this way to give Botha a chance to employ policies that they saw as the only option against the threat of communism (Beck 2000).

Throughout her term as Prime Minister, Thatcher remained true to her anti-communist and anti-centralist government policies. She is attributed with an enormous role in the bringing down of Soviet communism (Johnson 1998) and radical transformation for

Britain. Her extraordinary leadership and vision made way for the growth and expansion of modern-day capitalism.

3.5.4 Summary of the Characters

All five of the personalities that Sunter (1997) features in the three texts either exhibit transformational leadership characteristics currently or have done so in the past. They can be recognized in terms of Puth's (2002:72-73) characterisation of such leaders:

They regard themselves to be change agents, they are courageous risk takers, they believe in people and try to empower others, they act according to a well-articulated set of core values, they are continuous learners who learn from their mistakes, they can deal with complex, ambiguous and uncertain problems and situations, they dream and share these dreams with others.

Each has surfaced as a prominent and inspirational leader at times of historical uncertainty and has had to face, in some cases, resistance from those opposed to their desire for change. But each succeeded as a leader who transformed and "changed a lot of people's lives" (Sunter 2007 interview). No doubt all the personalities can be said to maintain capitalist ideologies; they concern themselves with increasing the power and wealth of the economies, and those who stand to benefit from this, specific to their own epochs. For Rhodes, the colonisation of Southern Africa served to further the influence of Britain; Roosevelt was accredited with saving the economy of America; Thatcher played a prominent role in promoting capitalism and privatisation; Ramaphosa changed from his trade unionist roots to become one of the wealthiest and most powerful men in South Africa at the moment, and Peters is a self-confessed capitalist and campaigner of transformational leadership within the social order of new capitalism.

By looking at the commonalities shared by the transformational leaders chosen by Sunter in these three texts, one can draw certain conclusions. Primarily one can assume that Sunter shares the ideological preoccupation with change with the five characters, or else he would not have set them up as praiseworthy. Secondly, one can assume that where Sunter exemplifies these people as world class, he hopes the reader will share his sentiments and perhaps even aspire to be more like these extraordinary leaders. Where the characters are set up, by Sunter, to promote positive ideologies of power, change,

capitalism and leadership, the reader must adopt a subject position that aligns them with such ideologies if they are to make the preferred meaning of his texts (Martin 2004). In this way, Sunter's texts are a powerful vehicle for promoting certain ideologies over others. I revisit this issue later in Chapter 4.

3.6 Conclusion

The focus of this methodology chapter is to explain the theoretical basis and practical application of the three frameworks I chose through which to analyse my data. I have given a detailed description of the resources of APPRAISAL theory, but have been briefer about the value assumptions theory and Thompson's (1990) ideological modes. A further aim of this chapter is to contextualise and characterise the texts and the personalities that Sunter writes about within them. Any analysis of data informed by SFL and/or CDA theory cannot ignore the importance of situating the micro-level manifestation of the social (in this case the texts) within the macro-level socio-economic and political background. In an explanation of the discourse of transformational leadership, this is doubly important. The limitations I experienced when applying the chosen methodologies practically are discussed in section 5.3.

4 Analyses and Findings

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide answers to the three research questions that prompted this project (cf. 1.2); it comprises four reports on four separate analyses I conducted of the data. I begin with the analysis of value assumptions in Sunter's three texts (cf. 4.2) to reveal how far his discourse reflects the features of transformational leadership described in the literature. I then report on my APPRAISAL analyses, firstly, of Sunter's Affect choices (cf. 4.3), and secondly, his Judgement choices (cf. 4.4). I focus on the emotion of insecurity (disquiet) that emerges from the analysis of Sunter's Affect choices since it is incongruent with predictions in the literature, and dwell on the Judgement category of tenacity (cf. 4.4) because of its prominence. I also draw attention in the analysis of the Social Sanction choices in Sunter's texts to how these kinds of

judgements stimulate the higher-order needs of his readers – a characteristic of transformational leaders.

Section 4.5. reports on the findings of the analysis of modes of operation of the ideology of new capitalism (based on Thompson's 1990 theory) in Sunter's texts. As an economy measure I provide a comprehensive analysis of the CR text and then look briefly at the other two texts for comparative purposes. The accounts are based on tables in Appendix E, page 228. I conclude Chapter 4 by recapping on the main insights that emerge (cf. 4.6).

4.2 The Use of Value Assumptions to Identify Transformational Leadership Characteristics in the Texts

4.2.1 Introduction

It is inevitable that texts make assumptions (Fairclough 2003) (cf. 2.3.7). Section 2.4.2 mentions various strategies that may be employed to encode assumptions, e.g. universalisation, standardisation, differentiation (cf. 4.5 for detailed analysis of these strategies). A writer will propose assumptions as uncontested common ground that works to align a reader with her/his viewpoint.

All forms of fellowship, community and solidarity depend upon meanings which are shared and can be taken as a given, and no form of social communication or interaction is conceivable without some such 'common ground'. On the other hand, the capacity to exercise social power, domination and hegemony includes the capacity to shape to some significant degree the nature and content of this 'common ground', which makes implicitness and assumptions an important issue with respect to ideology.

(Fairclough 2003:55)

A leader can only truly lead when s/he has people who are willing to follow and share a relationship of solidarity with her/him. To this end, "Leaders communicate not only information but also attitudes and assumptions" (Puth 2002:69). Strategic use of assumptions allows a leader to project certain ideologies as preferable over others in a bid to align followers with this preferred ideology. For Sunter this preferred ideology is one that is consistent with the principles that underlie transformational leadership. A close

look at what Sunter takes for granted indicates the characteristics of this kind of leadership ideology. It is for this reason that Fairclough's (2003:55) theory on value assumptions is a useful resource for this part of the data analysis. He proposes that value assumptions are those made by a writer that assume phenomena to be good, desirable and valuable as opposed to those that are bad, undesirable and worthless. This categorisation echoes the APPRAISAL subsystems of Judgement (veracity – 'good'), Affect (satisfaction – 'desirable') and Appreciation (valuation – 'valuable') (cf. 3.4 for the compatibility of SFL with CDA theoretical approaches). Classification of value assumptions into those phenomena that Sunter deems good, desirable and so worthy of emulation can be separated from those that he assumes to be bad, undesirable and so to be discouraged. In this way Sunter uses value assumptions to foreground the qualities and attributes of a successful transformational leader and negatively evaluates those features that are incongruent with his preferred ideology. In other words, analysing the value assumptions implicit in the texts is one way of showing how Sunter's discourse is transformational. It also reveals how certain tenets that underpin transformational leadership correlate with those that form basic premises of the ideology of new capitalism (I expound this observation more thoroughly in section 4.5). More particularly, the relevant themes to emerge in the analysis included Sunter's assumptions about the centrality of change, about a valuable business ethos, about the role and shape of desirable leadership, and about the kind of employee characteristics that are conducive to a culture of transformation within organisations (cf. 4.2.2.1 to 4.2.2.8). I was also able to ascertain that what Sunter evaluates as undesirable business styles closely resembles transactional leadership styles.

It is important to remember that "transforming leadership can be viewed both as a microlevel influence process between individuals and as a macrolevel process of mobilising power to change social systems and reform institutions" (Yukl 1998:325). By exposing Sunter's assumptions on the microlevel, i.e. within the texts he produces, one gains a rich picture of the ideology Sunter potentially extends to the macrolevel. This emphasises the importance of examining what it is exactly that Sunter assumes to be "common ground".

4.2.2 Value Assumption Analysis and Interpretation

The value assumption analysis is based on Tables 9, 10 and 11 which summarise the value assumptions for each text (cf. 3.4.1). The positive value assumptions are listed under the “Desirables” heading, with the negative ones underneath the “Undesirables” heading (following Fairclough 2003:177). The desirable/undesirable distinction may be viewed as promoting the preferred assumptions of transformational leadership through the strategy of differentiation (cf. 4.5). I draw attention to common themes in the tables that follow by means of italicised quotes from the Tom Peters, CR and FDR and Maggie Thatcher texts. The text and line references for each quote, e.g. TP:63 (Tom Peters), CR:43 (CR) and FDR:50-51 (FDR and Maggie Thatcher) are based on the line numbering of the texts in Appendix Ai (page 173), Bi (page 191) and Ci (page 208) respectively.

Desirables	Undesirables
being passionate about business	not being passionate about business
business as cooperative and fun	
business as the best adventure to experience in one's lifetime	
business as the ultimate determinant of a country's long-term fortune	
innovative approaches to business	an incremental approach to business
sustainable advantage gained through being more creative than one's competition	
craziness	sanity
leading markets	following markets
being curious	
not being deterred by initial failures	
having gaps in one's CV	having a traditionally sound CV
bettering one's company as well as bettering oneself	being unable to identify one's contribution to a company
employees doing reflexive annual resumes to identify the value they added both personally and professionally	management by objectives and performance appraisal
using customer feedback to validate resumes written by employees	
taking action	failing to take action/ hesitation/ uncertainty
changing from old to new ideas	retaining old ideas
taking pride in one's work as motivation to	using the boss as motivation to work i.e.

better work performance and oneself, i.e. employee empowerment/self-belief	top-down approach
realising the value of employees who deal with customers	putting the customer first
employees trusting their leader	
leaders showing respect for their followers	
realising the importance of good customer service	bad customer service
drawing business away from competition	failing to change business strategy
realising that small/simple things count	not realising the importance of small things

Table 9: Summary of Sunter's Value Assumptions in the Tom Peters Text

Desirables	Undesirables
to climb the corporate ladder rapidly	gradual consolidation of corporate career, moving up the ladder in predictable phases
being able to make deals	
being able to merge diverging interest	
having the ability to negotiate well	
being single-minded	
being able to guess one's opponent's agenda	
being honest and trustworthy	
being ambitious and driven	
being unlike/superior to one's colleagues	
adding value to the broader community	
making intelligent choices	
not seeing money-making as an end in itself, i.e. believing in more than just money	seeing money-making as an end in itself, i.e. being driven by money
challenging conventional wisdom	
having dreams/ superior vision	
turning dreams into reality	
empowering the disadvantaged	failure to recognise the need to empower the disadvantaged
having clear strategies	not having clear strategies
being passionate about business	
business accessible to all people	business accessible to only the privileged

Table 10: Summary of Sunter's Value Assumptions in the CR Text

Desirables	Undesirables
caring leadership	
empowering people, i.e. helping people to help themselves	
belief in experimentation	killing ideas
admit failure	
learn from mistakes	
challenging conventional wisdom	
innovative and adventurous	conforming to conventional interests
wheeling and dealing	
turning ideas into action	"yes but" syndrome
boldness	seeing new theories as perils
entrepreneurial culture	seeing innovation as toils
being tenacious	seeing social improvement as setting-stones to revolution
transformation	fear of change

Table 11: Summary of Sunter's Value Assumptions in the FDR and Maggie Thatcher Text

4.2.2.1 Change

The notion of change is central to transformational leadership styles. Puth (2002:71) goes so far as to say that "the transformational leader gets people to disengage from and disidentify with the past, and to view change as a way to deal with their disenchantments with the past or the status quo". This is significant for any reader of Sunter's texts in 1997 who would have been fully aware of the importance of change in attempting to redress the social inequalities and damages left by Apartheid policies pre-1994. Transformation is assumed by Sunter to be valuable in all three texts, e.g. "*We have had the transition: now we need transformation*" (FDR:50-51).

Sunter assumes that challenging the status quo is worthwhile. Assumptions of this kind are congruent with the literature that distinguishes leadership as different from managership (cf. 2.2.3); these leaders ask "when and why to challenge standard practice" (Conger & Kanungo 1998:9) and then initiate action to effect the desired changes. Sunter calls FDR a "*challenger of conventional wisdom*" (FDR:20), says that "*Rhodes must have exasperated some of his fellow directors...*" (CR:43), writes that "*Ramaphosa is his own man, with ambitions that set him apart from his colleagues*" (CR:39) and describes

Peters as someone capable of "*rearrang[ing]*" the "*molecules*" (TP:63) of those who listen to him. Sunter sets the characters up as those who are or have been unafraid of challenging social order and expectation. He assumes that the ideals of going against convention and embracing change are valuable. Sunter and his chosen personalities manifest, through their behaviour and leadership, the transformational trend to stand for what they believe is "right or good, not for what is popular or acceptable according to the established wisdom of the time" (Puth 2002:72). They all realise the importance of replacing old, obsolete social, technical, political and cultural networks and practices with new ones (Puth 2002). The reshaping of social networks in this way echoes the changes brought by new capitalism (cf. 2.3.4).

There are many examples in the three texts that allow Sunter to make value assumptions surrounding the issue of change; "*Companies should have a bias for action. Instead of Ready, Aim, Aim, Aim... it should be Ready, Fire, Aim. It is not new ideas that get companies into trouble, it is old ideas they won't forget*" (TP:29-31). Sunter values Rhodes's realisation of "*his dream of 'painting the map red'*" (CR:44), which highlights that turning ideas and dreams into action is desirable. Sunter says that the South African government "*must go for it, irrespective of ill-feelings from those left behind, and turn their ideas into action*" (FDR:41-42). By assuming change to be desirable, Sunter reveals himself as supportive of risk-taking, a defining feature of transformational leaders (Puth 2002). He is clear that resistance to change is assumed to be undesirable, calling this kind of inertia a "*scourge that afflicts many faint-hearted bureaucracies today*" (FDR:28-29) and quotes de Tocqueville saying "*I cannot but fear that men may arrive at such a state as to regard every new theory as a peril, every innovation as an irksome toil, every social improvement as a stepping-stone to revolution*" (FDR:24-26). Fear of change is blatantly assumed to be worthless by Sunter.

4.2.2.2 Vision and Strategy

The relevant literature shows that transformational leaders realise the value of both vision and strategy to mobilise change (cf. 2.2.2.2). They look to the future with creative insight to "channel the collective energies of organisational members in pursuit of a common

vision" (Yukl 1998:338). The importance of having a vision as a precursor to change is explained by Nanus (1992:134); "a vision is little more than an empty dream until it is widely shared and accepted. Only then does it acquire the force necessary to change an organisation and move it in the intended direction". It is clear that Sunter acknowledges the importance of vision by attaching value assumptions to dreams. He praises Rhodes for having a "*much grander vision than a normal business would have*" (CR:45-46) and assumes that it is desirable "*to give everybody a dream*" (CR:54). Instituting the vision requires "*clear strategies*", the lack of which is assumed to be undesirable; "*if we don't develop clear strategies we could all lose*" (CR:49-50). Good leadership is purported to include strategy, plans and tactics to implement long-term objectives to transform the system (Conger & Kanungo 1998). The transformational leader creates new dreams and visions and shares these with others (Puth 2002). Sunter exhibits these transformational characteristics by assuming that having a vision and strategy is worthwhile and valuable in overcoming resistance to change. Channer & Hope (2001:23) say, in this same vein, that effective leaders "can encapsulate and articulate the reasons for change, that is, they can prepare the organisation to step off the edge of the precipice by defining the future, and shaping the emerging vision". For Sunter, vision is integral in inspiring his reader to look beyond the instability of the 1997 South African context to a better future.

4.2.2.3 "A Passion for Business"

A further way that transformational leaders encourage organisational members to support a vision towards change is to "reframe the way they think about business" (Puth 2002:72). Sunter's use of implicit, dichotomous values reveals that he makes interesting assumptions about what the nature of business should be, to construct it as attractive and exciting. Nanus (1992:135) explains that "the key to gaining widespread commitment to a new vision...is to present the vision in such a way that people will want to participate and will freely choose to do so".

Sunter writes "*In contrast, Tom portrays business as a cooperative activity that can be incredible fun and the best adventure for anyone to experience in his or her lifetime*" (TP:5-7). The assumption is that this construal of business goes against the common

perception of what business should involve (cf. 4.2.2.7). Business for transformational leaders is a "passionate" affair. Sunter assumes that "[South Africans] are not passionate about business" (TP:5) and this is an enormous weakness. "Being world class in business" (TP:10) is assumed to surpass even politics and sport as the "ultimate determinant of a country's long-term fortunes" (TP:9-10). Business is not about carrying out a mundane and uninspired job; it is much more than that. Transformational business strategy looks beyond the individual to the collective good of all involved in the organisation or community (cf. 4.2.2.6). To this end, it is desirable for business to be accessible to all people, "Business must be easily accessible, not a privileged pastime" (CR:52). Sunter assumes that encouraging a culture that fosters entrepreneurship amongst all people is desirable if business is to attract widespread commitment; he values, for example, an "entrepreneurial chain reaction in this country" (FDR:39-40). The nature of good business is renegotiated by Sunter as he presents it in a new and invigorating way; it is characteristic of transformational leaders to make proposals such as this, where mundane job requirements are recast as being "achievable, desirable, and, in fact, necessary" (Harvey 2004:249). In addition, privileging commerce in society like this is highly indicative of a new capitalism ideology.

4.2.2.4 Turning Failure on its Head

In supporting the transition from old to new, Sunter recasts the idea of failure. He acknowledges that "transformation is never perfect. It is bound to go in fits and starts" (FDR:51-52). Transformational leaders are "continuous learners who learn from their mistakes" (Puth 2002:73). Failure that will inevitably accompany eras of trial, improvement and ultimately change is seen by transformational leaders as opportunities for growth rather than inabilities to succeed. Sunter's assumptions about failure as valuable echo this stance; "failure does not mean 'wrong'. It means 'try again'" (FDR:16-17). He quotes Roosevelt's construal of failure as valuable, "It is common sense to take a method and try it. If it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all, try something..." "All great breakthroughs are achieved by going up blind alleys. Innovation is preceded by frustration and pain" (FDR:15-19). In other words, failure is necessary for success and the accompanying anxieties of failure should be embraced as

constructive experience and motivation for future experimentation. Puth (2002:73) confirms that transformational leaders, like Sunter, "focus on gaining knowledge from both failures and successes... and experiment to facilitate motivation".

4.2.2.5 Valuable Personality Traits and Skills

Sunter assumes certain personality traits and skills to be valuable in his promotion of transformation. In light of the paragraphs above, it is no surprise that Sunter values tenacity and boldness and encourages innovation and creativity from those hoping to succeed in the business world. He explains that the "*principle of boldness is correct*" (FDR:37) and describes tenacity as "*crunchiness*" (FDR:43) when he writes that "*to hang onto wealth you must keep things crunchy*" (FDR:45-46) (cf. 4.4 for a detailed analysis of tenacity). This is juxtaposed with a lack of bravery and conviction that is assumed to be undesirable, "*the discouraging 'yes-but' syndrome which kills ideas when they are still in bud must give way to a positive climate for experimentation and innovation*" (FDR:48-50). The recount of Rhodes and Ramaphosa's respective careers shows that Sunter assumes their ambition, drive, "*single-mindedness*" (CR:33-34) to be desirable. He assumes too that "*most of the world's great innovators are crazy*" (TP:17), thereby radically challenging the conventional assumption that sanity is desirable. He regards creativity to be so important that he writes "*sanity is the playground of the unimaginative*" (TP:16-17), assuming that being sane is inadequate and childish, with recourse to the playground metaphor (cf. Trope as a strategy to promote certain ideologies over others, section 2.4.2). Innovation is desirable since it results in businesses setting the standards instead of conforming to them, "*innovators lead markets, they don't follow them*" (TP:19-20). Being unable to think 'outside the box' is undesirable.

Sunter assumes too that certain skills are valuable for those involved in business to be good at what they do. He stresses the importance of being able to make deals, negotiate well and merge diverging interests; "*he wheeled and dealed until he had everyone under a single umbrella*" (CR:36-37), "*he is sensationally good at instinctively guessing at his opponent's bottom line...*" (CR:35-36). The ability to deal with complex, ambiguous and

uncertain problems and situations is a further defining characteristic of transformational leadership; such versatility is also a feature of the 'knowledge workers' in a new capitalist context (cf. 2.3.5). Rhodes and Ramaphosa are portrayed as capable in all these regards and these skills are assumed to be valuable by Sunter.

People who refuse to conform to conventional business practice are positively evaluated in Sunter's assumptions as well; *"Curious corporations employ curious people – one's with gaps in their CVs"* (TP:22-23). Curiosity equates with tenacity and a lack of fear to challenge conventional practices in Sunter's text. Traditionally, a successful job applicant is assumed to have a sound CV, one that shows evidence of a gradual and predictable history of educational and career developments. To have gaps implies an applicant has failed to meet normative criteria for what constitutes a good CV, and has perhaps chosen to pursue her/his own curiosity and interests instead of following a career path as defined by society. *"If [innovators] were to pitch up at most companies' personnel departments looking for a job, they would be flatly turned down"* (TP:18-19). Sunter assumes these tenacious people to be valuable and calls them *"great innovators"* (TP:17). Employees with these characteristics are assumed to be desirable in Sunter's conception of business because they bring with them the capacity to be adventurous, take risks and initiate innovation – all of which are worthwhile features for a successful business, especially one within the social order of new capitalism (Taffinder 1995).

4.2.2.6 Desirable Leadership

Sunter assumes that certain characteristics are valuable for good leadership. He proposes that *"caring"* leadership is important because it is concerned with *"helping people and communities to help themselves"* (FDR:9-10). He acknowledges the importance of trust and respect in a reciprocal relationship between leader and followers, *"What creates trust, in the end, is the leader's manifest respect for followers"* (TP:42). Kezur *et al* (2006:38) indicate that leadership viewed as a "mutual process focused on care for followers and pursuit of socially desirable ends" is a key feature of transformational leadership. This is in stark contrast to top-down managerial styles (cf. 4.2.2.7) because transformational leaders realise the value of empowering employees to encourage their

commitment to new changes. Sunter values a leadership process in which leader and followers are raised to higher levels of loyalty, morality and motivation (Yukl 1998); for example Sunter assumes that honesty and self-belief are valuable for good leaders when he says "*[Ramaphosa] keeps his word too. [He] is his own man*" (CR:38-39). This type of "extraordinary" (Harvey 2004:247) leadership sees leaders who quite literally transform their followers into people inspired to "perform beyond expectation". The immediate incentives for followers are feelings of personal empowerment, self-worth and moral value with the inevitable result of bettering the overall performance of a company or community (Puth 2002).

New capitalism favours a leader defined "not as a commander, but as a coach, mentor, facilitator, and motivator" (Harrison & Young 2005:47). These labels denote transformational leaders too. Where traditional models of leadership view followers as liabilities to be controlled, Sunter values followers as assets that require investment (Puth 2002). He stresses the need for companies to "*put the person who serves the customer first*" (TP:40-41) and to realise that "*simple things count*" (TP:58) in the bigger scheme of effective business; things like good customer service and employees who take pride in their work, "*Let no one complain that they can't make something out of even the humblest job*" (TP:35-36). Employees are presented as being good at their jobs when they can add value to both their own person as well as to their corporation at large. Sunter says that employees should have "*to do annual resumes in which they show not only how they have added value to the company but how they have improved themselves*" (TP:26-27). This assumption clearly reflects transformational leadership ideology that addresses the higher-order needs of followers (cf. 2.2.2.3). It is valuable for followers to realise their potential both professionally and personally. When rewards for those involved in business extend beyond money, Sunter assumes this to be desirable; "*He never saw moneymaking as an end in itself*" (CR:43-44). This is a typical characteristic of transformational leadership as well as new capitalism. Leaders who emphasise the role of the follower in the grander social scheme are seen to exploit the notion of community of practice to foster commitment to the "spirit of new capitalism" (cf. 2.3.6).

Sunter assumes that "*sustainable advantage for a company*" (TP:15) is desirable. This points to a preoccupation with long-term reform, a further defining feature of transformational leadership (Conger & Kanungo 1998). "*Incrementalism*" is assumed to be worthless as it frustrates the process of renewing business strategies; "*incrementalism is innovation's worst enemy*" (TP:16). Leadership that promotes this kind of step-by-step approach to change is undesirable because it is concerned with short-term remedies that invariably react to instead of initiating change (Puth 2002). Slow adaptation to change or mundane progression in an organisation is assumed to be undesirable by Sunter. He favours those who approach business with tenacity and drive, saying of Rhodes and Ramaphosa "*they were handling immense power when most other people are still consolidating the first phase of their careers and aspiring to rise from junior to middle management*" (CR:12-14). The implication is that valuable leadership inspires and elevates followers from their "everyday selves", i.e. those roles and expectations shaped by social norms, to their "better selves" (Burns 1978:20 in Yukl 1998:324), i.e. to new levels of improved self-perception.

4.2.2.7 Transactional Leadership Characteristics as "Undesirables"

Sunter assumes that certain approaches to business leadership are undesirable (i.e. from a CDA perspective, he employs the strategy of differentiation, cf. 2.4.2). He assumes that old management techniques should be discarded in favour of new, more transformational approaches, e.g. "*Management by objectives and performance appraisal should be replaced by all employees having to do annual resumes...*" (TP:25-26). Management of this sort is highly characteristic of transactional leadership characteristics (Conger & Kanungo 1998). Sunter encourages employees to "*Forget the boss*" (TP:33) implying that relying on one's superiors as motivation to work is undesirable. Transactional leadership relies on control strategies and supervisory behaviour to ensure followers' compliance with standard job behaviour (Conger & Kanungo 1998). According to Sunter, it is insufficient to lead in this way because employees' empowerment is more worthwhile as a source of motivation to carry out business responsibility (cf. 4.2.2.6). This is also reflected in the literature regarding new capitalism; "Leaders can scarcely achieve this motivation by trying to assert top-down control. Newly *empowered* workers

won't tolerate being ordered around..." (Gee *et al* 1996:19 in Harrison & Young 2005:46).

Transactional leadership tends also to motivate employees by appealing to their self-interest (Yukl 1998). Sunter warns against ignoring the community outside of the individual. He stresses the need to consider empowering the disadvantaged and highlights the interconnectedness of the individual and her/his community saying "*If we don't develop clear strategies, we could all lose*" (CR:49-50). It is undesirable for business to remain the domain of the privileged elite; social change is required to make business accessible to all. Transactional leadership styles seek to maintain the established culture and status quo within separate organisations (Conger & Kanungo 1998). Rewards for individuals benefit the individuals themselves, such as money in the form of a salary for compliance. Sunter assumes that to view "*moneymaking as an end in itself*" (CR:44) is undesirable; it fails to address the higher-order needs of employees and evoke feelings of self-actualisation and morality (Shamir *et al* 1993).

Transactional leadership favours an incremental approach to business and is less likely to pre-empt change: "*They were blind to the fact that simple things count*" (TP:57-58). Businesses under leadership of this sort tend to hesitate instead of taking action, and assume the worthless approach of "*Ready, Aim, Aim, Aim...*" (TP:29). In light of the fact that change is integral to good leadership, such business policies are highly undesirable for Sunter the transformational leader.

4.2.2.8 Summary of the "Desirables" in Sunter's Texts

At this point it is useful to recap on the major value assumptions that Sunter makes in his texts. All those characteristics of an approach to business that Sunter assumes are good, worthwhile and desirable are congruent with the literature that outlines transformational leadership styles. I list them below.

Sunter believes that is good to move away from old business and organisational practices to new, innovative and creative strategies that ensure long-term sustainability and

economic success. He values vision and strategy to mobilise commitment by leaders and employees towards change. He challenges the status quo by redefining the notions of failure and insanity so both concepts are seen as a desirable source of generating new ideas. He appeals to the higher-order needs of readers by placing value on personal growth, intellectual decision-making, honesty and self-actualisation, thus emphasising the value of empowering individuals. He highlights the importance of employees transcending their personal interests to achieve goals that are beneficial to the larger community thereby raising their social consciousness. Good leadership is seen to foster trust and respect in a dialectical relationship with employees. He values a socio-economic climate that is conducive to generating excitement and passion about business and affords all people accessibility to a culture of entrepreneurship.

4.2.2.9 High Frequency of Desirable Assumptions

It is interesting to note that, according to Tables 9-11, there is roughly double the number of desirable value assumptions (56) when compared to the number of undesirable value assumptions (26). Sunter appears to have concerned himself with making more positive value assumptions throughout his texts. This is significant on two levels; (i) it is further evidence of congruency with the literature that describes transformational leaders, and (ii) it points to strategic use of assumptions by Sunter to align his reader with his transformational perspectives. I expand on both of these points below.

Since the notion of change is an integral facet of transformational leadership, it is not surprising that these leaders shift focus from the past or present to the future when they articulate their vision. They tend to

construct reality such that only the positive features of the future vision and only the negative features of the status quo are emphasised. The status quo is usually presented as intolerable, and the vision is presented in a clear, specific terms as the most attractive and attainable alternative.

(Conger & Kanungo 1998:55)

The emphasis, for Sunter, is on what constitutes desirable, worthwhile features of good business so that readers may be encouraged to change their current outlooks in favour of this desirable picture that Sunter portrays. Old business strategies are starkly contrasted

as undesirable when compared to new, innovative approaches because Sunter is attempting to mobilise support towards 'greener pastures' and enthuse readers to disengage with the past (Puth 2002). He will obviously spend time marketing the positives about the image of business that he promotes to his reader. It works well to generate a sense of pervasive energy throughout the texts; the tone is exciting and attractive for a reader who is "*not passionate about business*" (TP:5). Where there are explicit value assumptions made that categorise the "undesirables", due to their lower frequency, these "undesirables" seem to be doubly worthless or bad. They are noticeable when they appear by virtue of being absent elsewhere, and stand in obvious opposition to the abundant "desirables". Take for example the paragraph Sunter devotes to assuming that innovation is valuable in the Tom Peters text; most of this third paragraph involves recasting innovation in multiple ways, each of which is assessed as worthwhile by Sunter. The very first line of the next paragraph is highly contrastive, it emphasises the worthlessness of ineffective employees from a transformational perspective, "*If you can't say why you've made your company a better place, you're out*" (TP:24).

Sunter tends to place explicit negative value assumptions directly next to positive value assumptions, e.g. "*They were handling immense power (desirable) when most other people are still consolidating the first phase of their career (undesirable)*" (CR:12-13) and "*I cannot but fear that men may arrive at such a state to regard every new theory (desirable) as a peril (undesirable), every innovation (desirable) as an irksome toil (undesirable)*" (FDR:24-25). This is effective in highlighting the dichotomous categorisation, and thus the distinction, between what is assumed valuable and what is not. There is a useful repercussion of this technique; where the positive value assumption is made, a reader is more likely unconsciously to 'fill in the gap' and infer what the undesirable opposite is. For example, Sunter only needs to write "*the principle of boldness is correct*" (FDR:37) for the reader to draw an unconscious conclusion that the opposite, i.e. not being bold, is incorrect and so undesirable. In other words, by cueing the reader to dichotomous classification explicitly elsewhere in the texts, he establishes expectations for the reader. Despite a higher frequency of 'desirables', the reader necessarily and mutually excludes those assumptions that are juxtaposed as undesirable,

even if they do not appear overtly in the text. Fairclough (2003:40) captures this idea nicely, “What is ‘said’ in a text is ‘said’ against a background of what is ‘unsaid’, but taken as a given”. Much of the assumption work is done for Sunter by the reader who, once s/he has established those things that are desirable, can infer what is undesirable despite no explicit mention of these.

Exploiting assumptions that work in this way, i.e. that rely to some extent on the reader bringing implicit assumptions to the text, is a powerful technique for imposing value assumptions on the reader to align them with Sunter’s ideas. Sunter is essentially using the dichotomous classification system as a textual cue that the reader has to entertain if s/he is to make sense of the text (Fairclough 2001). The reader is forced to supply the missing links and recognise commonalities or discrepancies regarding what is desirable and what is not if s/he is to gain the preferred meaning from the text. Fairclough calls the process where a reader supplies the linking assumptions “automatic gap-filling” (2001:67).

In summary, Sunter is using assumptions as a powerful vehicle to enable an ideology that values transformational leadership and which is aligned with a number of new capitalism features. Fairclough (2001:69) says that “the operation of ideology can be seen in terms of ways of constructing texts which constantly and cumulatively ‘impose assumptions’ upon text interpreter *and* text producers, typically without either being aware of it”. The reader has to align her/himself with the same value assumptions about what is good and bad as Sunter for her/him to be able to bring meaning to the text. To this end, a reader must accept the evaluations of what is worthwhile for business that Sunter imposes upon them as common ground. The effect is that Sunter’s value assumptions are less likely to be challenged because they are presented as givens and so are uncontested. Sunter can direct and construct the shape of a reader’s construal of what worthwhile business entails. He is enabling change towards transformational leadership principles through manipulating assumptions. As such he is a “change agent” (Puth 2002:72).

4.2.3 Conclusion

What the above analysis of value assumptions has revealed it that Sunter's discourse exhibits features that are congruent with transformational leadership discourse as described by the literature. He values and foregrounds transformational business strategies that good leaders should emulate and shows that characteristics that are at odds with this leadership style, namely transactional leadership features, are undesirable and so should be avoided in organisations. The analysis has also shown that strategic use of assumptions works to promote the ideology of transformation, and is an effective way to align the reader with this ideology through the process of automatic gap-filling as proposed by Fairclough (2003). In section 5.3.2.1, I discuss some of the limitations I experienced in implementing this CDA-based theory of value assumptions.

4.3 APPRAISAL Analysis of Affect

4.3.1 Introduction

In reporting on this part of the analysis I focus on the subsystem of Affect within APPRAISAL theory and explain how it features within the data. As was noted earlier (cf. 3.2.4), Affect deals with resources for construing emotional reactions in terms of Happiness, Security and Satisfaction together with their corresponding negatives, i.e. Unhappiness, Insecurity and Dissatisfaction. In crude terms, Affect looks to these positive and negative emotions to assess how one is feeling; e.g. does the writer/speaker feel happy or sad, confident or anxious, interested or bored? (Martin & White 2005:42). Affect resources shed light on these kinds of emotions as expressed by Sunter either explicitly or implicitly, i.e. inscribed or evoked emotion. His feelings toward the material he communicates invite his reader to share in these emotions, to feel what he feels. It is therefore an effective way to foster interpersonal relations that seek to align Sunter and his reader. It is also a means by which Sunter exercises power over his reader, by manipulating the reader's emotions so that s/he makes the preferred meaning of his message.

In order to isolate the Affect resources in each text, I extracted all instances of un/happiness, in/security and dis/satisfaction from the overall APPRAISAL analyses (Appendices Aiii, Biii, and Ciii). I then summarised the Affect resources for each text in Tables 12-18 below (these summaries also appear in Appendices Aiv, Biv and Civ). 'No.' (third column) refers to the number of the instance of APPRAISAL in the text, i.e. instead of quoting the text, I give the number that corresponds to the section of text that encodes Affect. These numbers correlate with the overall APPRAISAL tables in Appendices Aiii, Biii and Ciii and Aii, Bii and Cii, where the phrases are identified and numbered. 'E/I' denote whether the Affect is evoked or inscribed for each phrase. The 'Target' is the phenomenon that is being appraised, i.e. to which the emotions are directed. The bolded and bracketed numbers under each subcategory of emotion give the total instances of that emotion in the whole text, e.g. **(5)** instances of positive and negative Satisfaction are identified in the Tom Peters texts.

The summarised Tables 12-15 reveal that the predominant emotion to emerge is that relating to feelings of Insecurity; specifically the negative emotion of disquiet. As has been seen (cf. 3.2.4), the In/security category of emotions "covers our feelings of peace and anxiety in relation to our environs, including of course the people sharing them with us" Martin & White (2005:49). In the light of my reading, it was surprising to see that there was such a significant amount of unease and fear in Sunter's texts. It has been noted (cf. 2.2.2.3) that transformational leaders "seek to raise the consciousness of followers by appealing to ideals and moral values such as liberty, justice, equality, peace, and humanitarianism, not to baser emotions such as fear, greed, jealousy, or hatred" (Yukl 1998:324). I discuss Sunter's use of Judgement to appeal to his readers' higher-order needs later (cf. 4.4.), but for now focus on this obvious incongruence: why does Sunter bring more disquiet than any other emotion to his texts? Clearly Sunter exploits this emotion as a resource to promote change.

Emotions		No.	E/I	Target
(5)	pleasure +	1 68	I E	Sunter Sunter
	pleasure -	54	E	dissatisfied customers
	interest +	4	I	South Africans
	interest -	5	I	South Africans
(5)	disquiet -	20	E	incrementalism
		26	E	society
		32	E	business person / reader
		39	I	companies
		61	E	competition to petrol station owner
Happiness (1)	cheer +	7	I	business
Totals	positives = 4 negatives = 7	11	I = 5 E = 6	

Table 12: The Tom Peters Text Affect Summary (Appendix Aiv, page 185)

Emotions		No.	E/I	Target
Satisfaction (1)	pleasure +	36	E	those negotiating with Ramaphosa
(4)	disquiet -	27	I	SA public political opinion during negotiations
		31	I	SA's political negotiations
		53	E	all South Africans
	confidence +	22	I	Ramaphosa's name
Happiness (2)	cheer +	35	I	Ramaphosa
	affection +	48	E	Sunter's wish for Ramaphosa
Totals	positives = 4 negatives = 3	7	I = 4 E = 3	

Table 13: The CR Text Affect Summary (Appendix Biv, page 202)

Emotions		No.	E/I	Target
Satisfaction (2)	displeasure -	27	I	experimenter's/ reader's potential pain and frustration
		62	I	those against an entrepreneurial culture
Security	disquiet -	29	I	those opposed to FDR's ideas
		32	I	de Tocqueville
		34	I	new theories
		38	E	social improvement
		39	I	society
		40	I	de Tocqueville
		45	E	unemployment
		46	E	changes in unemployment
		47	E	changes in international trade
		48	E	unemployment
		49	E	global competition
		50	E	changes in size of industry
		54	E	SA society
	confidence +	67	E	wealth of a country
(15)	confidence -	68	E	poverty
Totals	positives = 1 negatives = 16	17	I = 7 E = 10	

Table 14: The FDR and Maggie Thatcher Text Affect Summary (Appendix Civ, page 219)

The summary tables also reveal that the emotion of disquiet is evoked by Sunter more frequently than it is inscribed (cf. Table 15). This is highly significant; I will show that evoked Affect requires Sunter's reader to apply her/his own interpretative latitude to Sunter's implied emotions to make sense of his texts and share his stance. Evoked emotion forces the reader to bring information to the texts through recourse to their world knowledge and own social experience. Fairclough (2003:40) calls this process "intertextuality". Sunter's ideal reader makes largely unconscious connections between the emotions triggered in evoked instances and the South African socio-historic context. Sunter is seen to capitalise on the context of 1996 South Africa, a context that was still uncertain following the 1994 elections that brought Black governance. His texts appear only two years after this momentous and unprecedented change, and Beck (2000) explains that feelings of uncertainty and fear had not yet entirely dissipated amongst the

people of South Africa. I argue that Sunter exploits the potential wariness of his reader to emphasise the need for change, and it is for this reason that disquiet features so significantly in his texts.

Text	Disquiet	Evoked	Inscribed
Tom Peters	5	4	1
CR	3	1	2
FDR and Maggie Thatcher	13	8	5
Totals	21	13	8

Table 15: Frequency of Evoked and Inscribed Affect (Disquiet) in the Texts

What follows is an analysis of each of the three texts to show how Sunter expresses disquiet and extends these emotions to his readers through evoked and inscribed techniques (inscribed emotion is underlined in the examples I give). The number that appears after each quote is the number of the *appraised section of text* and NOT the line number of the text, i.e. all the numbers in this section (4.3) are based on the overall APPRAISAL tables (Appendices Aiii, Biii and Ciii). I refer to the extracted instances of disquiet to show commonalities in the targets of the disquiet in order to point out the themes that stimulate Insecurity. I then compare the findings from all three texts, in an explanation section (4.3.3), to discuss the importance of the socio-historic context in making sense of the fear. I conclude with a summary of the main issues and discuss how the socio-political context of 1996 South Africa affords Sunter emotional strategies that are uncommon to transformational leaders described by the literature (4.3.4).

4.3.2 Analysis of Disquiet in Sunter's Texts

4.3.2.1 The Tom Peters Text

There are five instances of disquiet in this text (Appendix Aii). Table 16 summarises these instances. Only in 39 is this disquiet inscribed, the rest of the cases evoke this insecurity. The disquiet expressed in 20 and 61 is evoked through metaphor triggers. Competition to one's business and incrementalism are seen to present a very real threat to commercial growth because Sunter calls them a "worst enemy" and "rival" respectively. A business rival is threatening because potentially it can draw away business

opportunities and so upset one's financial security. He personifies innovation and incrementalism in a war-like comparison that evokes a sense of unease in the reader, "Incrementalism is innovation's worst enemy". If incrementalism were to "win" the challenge then innovation would "lose". Innovation, in the context of this article, is assumed to be valuable for successful business (cf. 4.2.2.5). In fact innovation is the solution Sunter offers to avoid companies getting into "trouble" (39). The inherent semantics of the word "trouble" inscribe feelings of worry and insecurity. But innovation avoids trouble for companies by replacing old ideas with new, innovative ones. Ironically, incrementalism, or gradual and predictable development in measured steps, is the target of disquiet for Sunter. This contrasts with the normative idea of incremental progression being good; if incrementalism is at odds with innovation then it is a real threat.

Innovation is also the indirect answer to the rhetorical question Sunter asks "When society was in a state of wheel-lessness, who wanted the wheel?" (26). Being without the wheel draws on a shared point of reference for any reader who understands the importance of the invention of the wheel; it also triggers metaphors that represent insecurity and unwelcome change such as "having the wheels fall off", or "things going wheels up". Without the wheel, society could never have developed into what it is today and so innovation is offered as the path to social improvement and the security that social improvement brings. The reader answers the rhetorical question unconsciously through a process of automatic gap-filling (cf. 4.2.3). This is a very effective strategy; Sunter forces the reader to make the connection between innovation and security if s/he is to read the text cohesively.

Disquiet is evoked in (32) through a further metaphor, "If you can't say why you've made your company a better place, you're out". Winning the business 'game' means being able to make a difference, and if you can't, then you 'lose' or are out of the game and can't 'play'. Being rejected, or left out of any kind of game, is accompanied by feelings of uneasiness and inadequacy, especially when one is challenging other "rivals" or "enemies" involved in this same business game.

No.	Text Instantiation	AFFECT	Evoked/Inscribed	Target
20	"innovation's worst enemy"	Security: disquiet -	Evoked	Incrementalism
26	"a state of wheel-lessness"	Security: disquiet -	Evoked	Society
32	"you're out"	Security: disquiet -	Evoked	Reader / Businessman or woman
39	"gets companies into trouble"	Security: disquiet -	Inscribed	Companies' old ideas
61	"rival"	Security: disquiet -	Evoked	Competition to petrol station owner's business

Table 16: Evidence of Disquiet in the Tom Peters Text

Having no wheels, being challenged by unknown competition from rivals, facing threats from incrementalism, getting into trouble, and losing out at the game all bring disquiet to the texts in a similar way; all these scenarios evoke the feeling of being out of control. It is likely that the reader can empathise with such feelings of uneasiness and anxiety because s/he has had worldly experiences similar to those depicted through the metaphors; e.g. losing a game, facing competition etc. These emotions can then be transferred to the targets that Sunter sets up as being, metaphorically, the same (cf. the ideological strategy of Trope in 2.4.2). For example, if one realises the insecurities or worry felt getting into trouble then one can imagine just what it would be like to do something wrong in business, like not embracing new ideas. In this way a reader aligns her/himself with Sunter and is receptive to those targets he sets up as bringing anxiety or fear. Recourse to one's world experiences makes sense of Sunter's implied emotions.

4.3.2.2 The CR Text

The CR text (Appendix Bii) has the fewest instances of disquiet (cf. Table 17) but these three cases are significant nonetheless. It is interesting to note that Sunter inscribes the emotion of disquiet in both 27 and 31 when he refers to the historical background of South Africa; "Ramaphosa has had to cope with a bewildering array of individuals with

competing political interest and weld them together into a team with deadlines to meet. He has succeeded extremely well despite the tenseness of having to sort out the thorniest issues in the last lap of the negotiation process". The uneasiness that Sunter shares with his reader is explicit in his attitudinally laden lexical choices (Harvey 2004), i.e. "bewildering" and "tenseness". The inherent semantics of these words lead a reader to feel the stress and uneasiness simply by virtue of what the words mean; the emotions are uncontested in this way. Sunter assumes that his reader is fully aware of the just how tricky it was for Ramaphosa to navigate consensus amongst the political parties in the short space of time leading up to the 1994 elections (cf. 3.5.3.2). Indeed it was an extremely tense time, fraught with violence and tragedy, such as the Boipatong Massacre in 1992 and the ANC march to Bisho, which threatened free and fair elections (cf. 3.5.2). But by 1996, when Sunter writes this text, those periods of anxiety and unrest have passed and there has been a successful take over of power by the ANC. He reminds his reader about these times without having to evoke their emotions; all South Africans will share in his explicit construal of this period in their history because they lived through it, as Sunter did. He assumes common ground and a shared history, inviting solidarity from his reader who feels the disquiet with him (Harvey 2004, Martin 2004). Insecurity is a feeling that South Africans have had experience with and Sunter is not softening the harsh reality of these shared fears, he inscribes it.

No.	Text Instantiation	AFFECT	Evoked/Inscribed	Target
27	"a <i>bewildering</i> array"	Security: disquiet -	Inscribed	SA public, political opinion during the time of negotiations
31	" <i>tenseness</i> "	Security: disquiet -	Inscribed	SA's political negotiations
53	"we could all lose"	Security: disquiet -	Evoked	All South Africans

Table 17: Evidence of Disquiet in the CR Text

The third instance of disquiet though, is evoked; "If we don't develop clear strategies, we could all lose" (53). Sunter moves away from the disquiet of the past (27 & 31) and is concerned now with the future and how South Africans choose to shape its outcome. Disquiet is evoked through the game metaphor we have encountered already in the Tom Peters text. But this time the threat of loss is extended to "all", i.e. everyone in the country. There will be no 'winners' at all if South Africans do not devise ways and means to "empower the disadvantaged". It works well after an inscribed reminder about past anxiety (27 & 31) to show that such a proposal may not be so far fetched; indeed this time there will be no one who profits unless change takes place. Inability to change the nature of business so it is "easily accessible to all" is a very real threat and works to evoke substantial fear for Sunter's South African reader. Change is not an option; it is a necessity for "the ultimate survival of big companies, and of the corporate sector".

4.3.2.3 The FDR and Maggie Thatcher Text

This text (Appendix Cii) has the highest number of instances of disquiet (cf. Table 18). This is mainly due to Sunter's inclusion of a quote from the French philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville who wrote, "I cannot but fear that men may arrive at such a state as to regard every new theory as a peril, every innovation as an irksome toil, every social improvement as a stepping-stone to revolution, and so refuse the move altogether for a fear of being moved too far" (32, 34, 38, 39). Sunter aligns himself with de Tocqueville's ideas on change simply by including de Tocqueville's voice. The quote works to support Sunter's own perceptions on people fearing and so resisting change; this is seen in Sunter's paraphrase "de Tocqueville feared paralysis by analysis" (40). "Fear" itself is used twice in de Tocqueville's quote and again in Sunter's paraphrase. All three uses of the word exemplify inscribed affect which influences the reader to engage with the information that follows from a fearful stance. There is no negotiation of what de Tocqueville's emotions are, since the semantics of the lexical item "fear" are non-negotiable. The implication is that if de Tocqueville has these feelings of insecurity, then so does Sunter and so should the reader. If people succumb to their insecurities regarding change then this is a truly fear-inducing attitude. Ironically, for Sunter, the disquiet comes from peoples' attitudes to prefer stability and not from the notion of change.

Sunter, through de Tocqueville, worries that people perceive “every new theory as a peril” (34) – another example of inscribed emotion, no doubt threatening. He also fears people regarding “social improvement as a stepping-stone to revolution” (38). Here the disquiet is prompted by reference to a revolution. A reader knows that revolutions generally involve massive and often chaotic change that radically transforms society, and so is a very real source of anxiety and threat to stability. But by showing that an attitude that fears change is more worrying than these perceived “perils” and “revolutions” that are assumed to accompany change, Sunter trivialises fear of change. The effect is a double layering of Sunter fearing people’s unfounded fear. People’s fear is unfounded because change does not necessarily bring revolution. South Africans in 1996 are highly aware of this fact; their own memories of a peaceful change of government and “social improvement” by ending Apartheid bear testimony this. For Sunter, people’s disquiet towards the notion of change is in itself a more real and threatening insecurity. The reader is aligned to share a fear of no change instead.

The other instance of inscribed disquiet relates to the theme of people resisting change as well; “As a challenger of conventional wisdom, FDR knew he would induce a hostile reaction from entrenched interests” (29). I believe this is another example of inscribed disquiet used by Sunter when he recounts an historical state of affairs (cf. 21 & 31 in CR text above). He assumes it to be common knowledge that Roosevelt encountered hostility and resistance from those who were against his policies of change, namely his New Deal (cf. 3.6.2.3), so Sunter takes the liberty of conveying this disquiet overtly. Roosevelt as an example of an advocate of change who, like those willing to challenge the status quo, is a cause of disquiet in people who refuse change. The insecurity resides with those resisting change and not with those who are fearless to embrace change (cf. the discussion of tenacity in the Judgement analysis in section 4.4).

No.	Text Instantiation	AFFECT	Evoked/Inscribed	Target
29	"hostile reaction"	Security: disquiet -	Inscribed	Those in opposition to FDR's ideas
32	"I cannot but <i>fear</i> "	Security: disquiet -	Inscribed	de Tocqueville on perceptions of change
34	"a <i>peril</i> "	Security: disquiet -	Inscribed	New Theory
38	"a stepping-stone to revolution"	Security: disquiet -	Evoked	Social improvement
39	"a <i>fear</i> "	Security: disquiet -	Inscribed	Society's attitude to change
40	" <i>feared</i> "	Security: disquiet -	Inscribed	de Tocqueville on perceptions of change
45	"unemployment"	Security: disquiet -	Evoked	Unemployment
46	"exodus of people out of agriculture into manufacturing"	Security: disquiet -	Evoked	Changes in employment
47	"downward spiral in international trade"	Security: disquiet -	Evoked	Negative changes in international trade
48	"unemployment"	Security: disquiet -	Evoked	Unemployment
49	"global competition"	Security: disquiet -	Evoked	Global competition
50	"the transition for large-scale... service industries"	Security: disquiet -	Evoked	Changes in size of industry
54	"the overriding problem"	Security: disquiet -	Evoked	Social exclusion in SA society

Table 18: Evidence of Disquiet in the FDR and Maggie Thatcher Text

The disquiet in the rest of the text is evoked in the two sentences that follow (45-54). Sunter draws parallels between the past and the present when he writes "[Roosevelt] had to deal with unemployment created by the exodus of people out of agriculture into manufacturing and by the downward spiral in international trade. Now we have to live with unemployment caused by global competition and the transition from large-scale manufacturing to smaller-scale service industries". Unemployment is the common target

that evokes insecurity; it threatens job and so financial security and is a social problem that people have had to contend with throughout history. Change itself is construed as the potential cause of unemployment and is therefore the source of anxiety once more. In the past the change that brought disquiet destabilised the status quo by restructuring social patterns, i.e. shifts to manufacturing (46) and by bringing negative effects to international trade (47). For this reason, both kinds of changes evoke disquiet for the reader who perhaps knows the history of the Great Depression. This uncertainty is carried forward to influence “now”, in terms of how unemployment is caused by different kinds of change for South Africa in 1996. The changes that evoke disquiet according to Sunter are those that resemble new capitalism; namely, “global competition” (49) and rescaling of “large-scale manufacturing to smaller-scale service industries” (50). A reader feels the evoked insecurity of past unemployment issues and transfers that to the present threats to their own job security, caused by new capitalism. Surprisingly, Sunter implies that new capitalism and its characteristic changes are a target of disquiet and he evokes a paradox in this way. Sunter supports change, fearing rather (as we have seen above) not changing, but then foregrounds the disquiet that such change brings. Perhaps he chooses to acknowledge the difficulties of moving forward towards new capitalism because these are indeed real sources of disquiet, but are also therefore sources of motivation. Sunter is frank with his reader; job security *is* threatened “now” so people should aspire to use the uncertainty to generate action towards ensuring their own job security. Disquiet is exploited by Sunter to initiate change once more (cf 4.3.3).

The final instance of disquiet is seen in the phrase that reads “the overriding problem of social exclusion” (54). “Social exclusion” is euphemistic in this context (cf. 2.4.2); it evokes feelings of uneasiness and memories of Apartheid segregation for any South African reader. By 1996 the negative effects of past inequalities remain and Sunter exploits a reader’s experiences so that s/he infers that change needs to happen so that the country can redress these problems in a bid to disengage with the past (Puth 2002). The problem is “overriding”, which brings more disquiet; it is a main concern and is not going to go away without concerted effort towards change by all South Africans.

4.3.3 Explanation

In the interview I conducted with Sunter (2007) he alluded to the fear felt by South Africans in the mid-80s when political change was immanent. He said that peoples' conversation had a "negative tone of 'We're going to have another Rhodesia' sort of thing happening here; and either tame Blacks are going to be co-opted into the government and that's going to lead to huge tensions, or this is going to lead to flat out civil war". From the very onset radical change towards an unknown and uncertain future was a source of fear for the people of South Africa. Sunter (2007 interview) says that "people were lost".

Miraculously, though, the transition to Black governance in 1994 did not lead to either of these worrying scenarios (cf. 3.6.1) but it did have two significant repercussions. Firstly, there was still much to change; the social inequalities brought about by Apartheid needed redressing, and the South African economy needed reinvigorating after years of retardation due to sanctions and social isolation (Taffinder 1995). And secondly, feelings of disquiet lingered for South Africans in 1996 (Beck 2000). Sunter, the transformational leader, used this unique combination of factors so that by exploiting the residual insecurity within the population, he could provoke the desperate but daunting need for change. The socio-historic and political context works for Sunter so he can express a frank consciousness of fear in his texts and assume common ground with his reader; they had all experienced the anxious transition in 1994. The peaceful advent of "the Rainbow Nation" was unbelievable for many who wondered how long the honeymoon would last. Change, promoted by Sunter, was offered as a means to disengage with these uncertain feelings from the past and ensure a stable future.

I believe that Sunter's openness with his reader about the fear, especially fear of the past when it tends to be inscribed lexically, is a tactical move towards alignment. By acknowledging the disquiet, Sunter brings a certain truthfulness to his texts that works to make the reader trust what he has to say. Sunter does not ignore the implications of the history that he and his reader share, and he foregrounds the likelihood of change being viewed sceptically. Sunter is honest about the uncertainty that he evokes and makes his

reader confront it in his texts. Stimulating the disquiet as such aligns the reader to share Sunter's emotions and opinions on change as the answer to establishing security once more.

4.3.4 Conclusion

The APPRAISAL analysis of the use of Affect in Sunter's text reveals a general preponderance of disquiet, either inscribed or evoked. Although theory on transformational leadership states that such leaders avoid recourse to baser emotions, like fear, to motivate change in their followers (Shamir *et al* 1993, Yukl 1998), Sunter appears to do just this. The uniqueness of the South African context of 1996 allows Sunter to exploit the resource of fear more than would be expected of a stereotypical transformational leader. The country was in its early years of ANC governance and much change was still needed to redress the damage left by Apartheid. Sunter, either consciously or unconsciously, is aware of the undercurrent of angst of the people and stimulates these feelings of disquiet to promote change towards an attractive future. Transformational leadership literature confirms that eras of uncertainty and radical change are conducive to the birth of transformational leaders (Conger & Kanungo 1998). This appears to have been the case with Sunter. Where "people were lost" (Sunter 2007 interview), Sunter offered hope and means to dispel the insecurity.

Sunter's foregrounding of fear further supports the proposition that transformational leaders tend to emphasise the negative features of the status quo (Conger & Kanungo 1998). He confronts the disquiet of the past and acknowledges the tendency for people to fear change. However he is also honest in showing the disquiet that change towards new capitalism may bring in the future (the FDR and Maggie Thatcher text). To overcome this paradox, Sunter shows that fear of no change is more severe than fearing change; "what de Tocqueville feared was paralysis by analysis". In other words, despite an aversion to change, Sunter implies that South Africans need to move beyond this fear bravely if they hope to attain a better future (cf. 4.3. tenacity in Judgement Analysis). Channer & Hope (2001:20) make an interesting observation in this regard;

So great is our inbred aversion to change that the first challenge a leader generally faces is how to get the organisation out of this state of denial and mobilise it in a new direction. To do this the leader has to create a 'burning platform', to make it more dangerous to stay put than to move, which means he or she must be prepared to play a highly visible role in signalling the danger, communicating the need for change and personalising the urgency.

No doubt, Sunter creates a "burning platform" scenario by exploiting the emotion of disquiet; if South Africa doesn't transform then "we could all lose". Change is not an option, it is a vital necessity.

4.4 APPRAISAL Analysis of Judgement

4.4.1 Introduction

I begin the analysis of Judgement choices in Sunter's texts by recapping on significant insights from transformational leadership theory, and show the relationship between these observations and principles of Judgement theory. I refer often to Shamir *et al's* (1993) notion of self-concept as it informed Harvey's (2004) study of transformational leadership rhetoric and I relied on this concept to guide my own analysis of the categories of Social Esteem and Social Sanction in this section. I demonstrate how appeals to a follower's self-concept stimulate higher-order needs that concern morality and value judgements based on behaviour that is good and desirable (cf. 4.4.2). I then move on to a broad overview of the types of Judgement found in Sunter's texts and, at some length, discuss the high frequency of tenacity choices in the texts (cf. 4.4.3). I argue that the 1996 South African context is significant because it allows Sunter to exploit both fear (a baser emotion), as we have seen, and tenacity (a higher-order emotion) in a complementary configuration to motivate change in his reader (cf. 4.3).

I then discuss the use and placement of Social Sanction Judgements in Sunter's texts (cf. 4.4.4). I show that Sunter tends to shift his Judgement evaluations to evoke the higher levels of ethics and morality in his reader when he proposes strategies for change. Generally, veracity and propriety appear towards the ends of Sunter's texts and so provide powerful and inspiring undertones at the climax of his transformational messages. This technique, it seems to me, takes the reader out of her/himself to consider

her/his role in the grander scheme of changing the country for the better; it emphasises an individual's contribution within the community (a transformational leadership characteristic and premise of new capitalism's community of practice, cf. 2.3.6) and evokes feelings of empowerment and self-actualisation in the reader (Shamir *et al* 1993, Puth 2002). I conclude (cf. 4.4.5) with a recap of the main issues and dwell briefly on Sunter's role as a change agent.

4.4.2 Evoking Self-concept

It is useful at this point to revisit the salient effects that transformational leaders have on their followers as proposed in the leadership literature. I focus especially on Shamir *et al*'s (1993) conception that transformational leaders appeal to their followers' sense of self-concept to encourage commitment to change. Purportedly, self-concept is shaped by notions of self-esteem and self-worth. I discuss the relationship of these two psychological categories with the Judgement theory categories of Social Esteem and Social Sanction below (Figure 4 summarises the correlation).

The fundamental tenet that separates transformational leadership from more traditional leadership styles is succinctly captured by Shamir *et al* (1993:579); they say that these leaders "transform followers from an individual-oriented, hedonistic, rational-economic mode of operation to a collective, moral and value-oriented mode of operation". The focus for transformational leaders shifts to address followers' feelings of self-esteem and self-worth since positive enhancement of these facets has been seen as a powerful source of inspiration (Bandura 1986 in Harvey 2004, Shamir *et al* 1993);

Self-esteem is based on a sense of competence, power, achievement or ability to cope with and control one's environment. Self-worth is based on a sense of virtue and moral worth and is grounded in norms and values concerning conduct.

(Shamir *et al* 1993:580).

By stimulating followers' self-esteem, transformational leaders move followers to perform in such a way as to realise their full potential for the betterment of themselves (Yukl 1998, Howell & Shamir 2005), and by stimulating self-worth, transformers emphasise the followers' good and moral contribution to the community. Evaluations of

one's self-concept, with recourse to judging one's self-esteem and self-worth, tend to reflect social values and so emphasise an individual's connection with society (Shamir *et al* 1993).

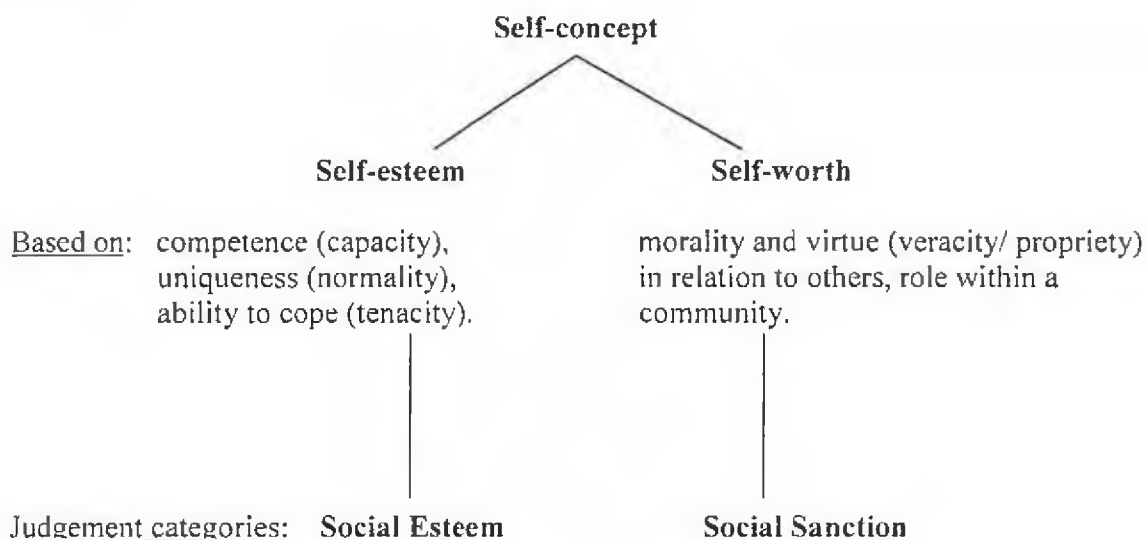


Figure 4: The Relationship between the Tenets of Self-concept and Judgement Categories

This idea of reflexive personal judgements against social norms holds too from a SFL-perspective as Judgement choices may be construed as institutionalised Affect (cf. Figure 3, section 3.2.4). With this in mind, it follows that a close look at judgements concerning personal values will illuminate assumptions about what is good and moral at a social level. It also follows that what is desirable on a personal level will be largely shaped by macrolevel social expectations and principles.

Within the APPRAISAL theory framework, Judgement is the subsystem that is concerned with assessing behaviour according to normative social standards (Martin & White 2005). As has been seen (cf 3.2.4), Judgement is divided into two subsystems that assess behaviour, firstly, on a personal level in terms of the Social Esteem category; and secondly, according to more rigid social constructions oriented within the Social Sanction category. Social Esteem judges someone in terms of their normality (how usual), their tenacity (how dependable) and their capacity (how capable), while Social Sanction seeks

to evaluate behaviour in terms of veracity (how honest) and propriety (how ethical). This dual categorisation within Judgement mirrors Shamir *et al*'s (1993) separation of self-concept into the psychological categories of self-esteem and self-concept discussed above (cf. Figure 4). Self Esteem categories of normality, tenacity and capacity enable one to judge behaviour insofar as a person can realise their personal sense of uniqueness, dependability and competence to accomplish a certain level of performance – all facets of self-esteem. Social Sanction judges an individual's behaviour in light of social expectations, the very definition of self-worth. It follows therefore that where a transformational leader appeals to a follower's self-concept the resources of Social Esteem as well as Social Sanction judgements will be exploited.

Against this theoretical background, it is not surprising that a broad overview of the Attitude types present in Sunter's texts (Table 19) shows Judgement to be the most prevalent APPRAISAL resource. Furthermore this Judgement is largely evoked (Table 20). Both these observations are reflected in Harvey's (2004) paper on transformational leadership rhetoric. She notices that the leader she analyses, namely Steve Jobs, evokes the self-concept of his followers through recourse to Judgement resources. The evidence in Tables 19 and 20 shows Sunter to be doing the same.

Text	Type of Attitude		
	Affect	Appreciation	Judgement
FDR and Maggie Thatcher	17	20	46
Tom Peters	11	26	34
CR – Old and New!	7	16	39
Totals:	35	62	119*

Table 19: Frequency of Attitude Types in the Texts

Text	Judgement	
	I	E
FDR and Maggie Thatcher	15	31
Tom Peters	10	24
CR – Old and New!	10	29
Totals:	35	84*

Table 20: Distribution of Evoked and Inscribed Judgement in the Texts

High levels of Judgement choices are congruent with the literature that describes transformational leadership as appealing to the higher-order needs of their followers (Bass 1985, Conger & Kanungo 1998, Shamir *et al* 1993). Whereas the Affect analysis (cf. 4.3.) shows that Sunter's style is unusual because he exploits baser emotions (i.e. fear), a Judgement analysis shows that he also appeals to the higher-order needs of his readers and evokes self-concept in this same way.

I argue therefore that Sunter's use of the resources of Judgement enables him to overcome the fear highlighted in the Affect analysis and to encourage change. In other words, despite the appearance of a conflict of interest foregrounded in Sunter's texts, i.e. fear and bravery, he combines the Affect and Judgement resources in a strategic and effective way to enable transformation.

4.4.3 Contextualising Tenacity

Table 21 below shows the breakdown of Judgement expressions in Sunter's texts into the subsystems of Social Esteem and Social Sanction. It reveals that Social Esteem choices (i.e. normality, capacity, and tenacity) are more prevalent than Social Sanction kinds (i.e. veracity and propriety). Tenacity is the Social Esteem category that appears most (41 times) and it is evoked in 37 of these instances (Table 22). I used Martin & White's (2005:53) sample of lexical items that illustrate positive tenacity (introduced in section 3.2.4) to guide my identification of this kind of judgement in the texts; in order to categorise the choices, I asked myself how far the behaviour in question was judged either implicitly or explicitly by Sunter as being "brave, heroic, tireless, persevering, dependable, adaptable, resolute, etc".

I believe that the high frequency of evoked tenacity in Sunter's texts makes sense against the socio-political and historic context in which the overall text is situated. Sunter makes tenacity judgements that appeal to his reader's personal sense of bravery and courage as a source of motivation for change, e.g. "Innovators lead markets, they don't follow them" (TP, lines 19-20). This is significant when one considers the high levels of disquiet that

are revealed in his texts (cf. 4.3.). These point to feelings of uncertainty in the South African population of 1996.

Text	Social Esteem						Social Sanction			
	Normality		Capacity		Tenacity		Veracity		Propriety	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
FDR and Maggie Thatcher	4	1	3	3	20	4	6	1	3	1
Tom Peters	6	1	4	6	10		4		3	
CR – Old and New!	12		9	1	7		5		3	2
Totals:	22	2	16	10	37	4	15	1	9	3
	24		26		41*		16		12	
	Esteem = 91*						Sanction = 28			

Table 21: Distribution of Judgement Choices in the Social Esteem and Social Sanction Categories

Text	Social Esteem												Social Sanction							
	Normality				Capacity				Tenacity				Veracity				Propriety			
	+		-		+		-		+		-		+		-		+		-	
	E	I	E	I	E	I	E	I	E	I	E	I	E	I	E	I	E	I	E	I
FDR and Maggie Thatcher	2	2		1	2	1	2	1	15	5	2	2	3	3	1		3		1	
Tom Peters	1	5	1		3	1	5	1	10				2	2			2	1		
CR – Old and New!	7	5			5	4	1		6	1			5				3		2	
Totals:	10	12	1	1	10	6	8	2	31	6	2	2	10	5	1		8	1	3	
	22		2		16		10		37*		4		15		1		9		3	

Table 22: Distribution of Evoked (E) and Inscribed (I) Judgement Types into Social Esteem and Social Sanction Categories

A number of challenges faced the country at the time of Sunter's text production. South Africa had to negotiate its entrance and placement back onto the world stage by addressing the problems of economic retardation caused by political isolation during the Apartheid years (cf. 2.3.2). This brought new and difficult demands (Beck 2000). Not only did the country have to invigorate its economy, but it had to do so in line with new capitalism principles, if it was to survive the hyper-competitive and technologically-driven conditions for trade and growth (Gee 1999). This advent of new capitalism made the task of reform and transformation doubly difficult for South Africa. Not only was the country engaged in global business once more, but the very nature of business had changed. South Africa needed to make the transition from old capitalism to new capitalism if it was to survive the new capitalist global context; and had to do so quickly to make up for lost time. Taffinder (1995:126) offers an accurate description of the changed economic climate that South Africa had to charter after 1994. Restructuring and rescaling (Fairclough 2003) emerge as key issues.

It is possible that the trauma of change is now a necessity for most organisations... firms [are] attempting to adjust to shifting market demands, grapple with aggressive new and desperate old competitors, exploit changing technology, and respond to a plethora of emerging customer standards – what was hitherto considered excellence now regarded as the norm, and the goal satisfaction the unanticipated customer requirements. The prospect of regaining competitive advantage or maintaining it, even exceeding it, is what has pursued countless organisations to restructure, to rationalise, to cut costs, to collapse management levels and downsize, to re-engineer the business, to revitalise.

Sunter shows evidence of being highly aware of the relevance of the global conditions for South Africa. His continual comparison of South Africa with the rest of the world is obvious in his articles along the theme of *What it Really Takes to be World Class*; he emphasises the need for South Africans to emulate great people, Roosevelt, Thatcher, Rhodes and Peters, in a bid to be world class themselves. An article he writes in *Pretoria will Provide and Other Myths* sums up Sunter's desire for the people of South Africa to stand up and be counted (Shamir *et al* 1993). He expounds the "myth" that South Africa is "second-rate compared to other nations starring in the world", saying that "all the negative propaganda over the years about South Africa from local as well as foreign

sources appears to have made South Africans stop believing in themselves" (1993:124). Sunter, the transformational leader, realises that considerable commitment to change is required from the nation if they are to get over personal fear and insecurity (cf. 4.3) and muster national pride to prove that South Africa *is* world class. This is why positive tenacity is the resource that Sunter exploits most frequently in his texts.

Sunter appeals to his reader's bravery (e.g. "Failure does not mean 'wrong'. It means 'try again' FDR:lines 16-17), perseverance (e.g. "Companies should have a bias for action" TP:line 29) and resolve (e.g. "single-mindedness" CR:line 33), all higher order emotions that shape an individual's self-esteem. He realises the fear and the enormous challenges that South Africans face, but nonetheless expresses his vision that South Africa is first-rate. He demands high expectations of his reader and expresses confidence that they have the ability (tenacity) to meet these expectations (Shamir *et al* 1993, Howell & Shamir 2005); for example, "We have had the transition: now we need transformation" (FDR:lines 50-51). The belief that his reader has the courage to make the country a better place is a powerful source of motivation (Harvey 2004).

It has been noted (cf. 2.2.5, 4.3.4) that transformational leaders, by definition, surface at times of radical transformation where such enormous change brings with it uncertainty and fear that frustrate a leader's ability to gain the support of followers. But Sunter resolves this challenge in a unique way; the evoked tenacity is all the more effective because he stimulates his reader's underlying fear in his texts (cf. 4.3). The South African context provides Sunter with a platform to manipulate the emotions of fear and bravery to motivate transformation in his reader, e.g. "If we don't develop clear strategies, we could all lose" (CR:lines 49-50). I believe that the high frequency of tenacity works to imbue his texts with feelings of empowerment; the reader is led to believe that s/he can overcome her/his fear and make a difference outside of her/himself.

Yukl (1998:325) points out that

At the macrolevel of analysis, transforming leadership involves shaping, expressing, and mediating conflict among groups of people in addition to motivating individuals. Conflicts among factions make the leader's life

more difficult, but at the same time they can be useful for mobilising and channelling energy to achieve shared ideological objectives.

This is translatable into Sunter's seemingly-paradoxical leadership style (cf. 4.5.4). By motivating individual readers, Sunter aims to affect the macrolevel, i.e. betterment of the South African condition within the global arena. This is reflected in the literature that describes transformational leaders as "having extraordinary effects on their followers and eventually on social systems" (Shamir *et al* 1993). Sunter is aware of dissent in both national and international opinions of the country and exploits the uncertainty that this brings. He acknowledges personal conflict within his reader by openly empathising with their fear but then includes a high frequency of tenacity judgements to combat their uncertainty and move the reader to believe in themselves. Sunter uses the evaluative inconsistencies (i.e. fear – Affect, and courage – Judgement) to channel his readers' collective energies towards changing the country and being able to cope with the economic demands brought by new capitalism.

This discussion of tenacity has been primarily concerned with the Judgement category of Social Esteem. This category has been seen to include judgements that stimulate a reader's self-esteem and sense of personal potential. I move now to report on the Social Sanction judgements that emerge in Sunter's text to examine how self-worth is stimulated for the reader as motivation for her/him to commit to change. Social Sanction judgements assess behaviour in terms of veracity and propriety and are indicative of the issues Sunter projects as being in accordance, or not, with social norms.

4.4.4 Analysis of Social Sanction Judgements in the Texts

In identifying instances of Social Sanction in the texts, I once again used Martin & White's (2005:53) sample of lexical items as a guideline to positive and negative instances of veracity and propriety. I asked myself how far the behaviour in question was judged either implicitly or explicitly by Sunter as being "truthful, honest, credible, real or dishonest, manipulative, deceitful etc." (veracity) or "good, moral, ethical, just, caring, heroic or corrupt, immoral, evil, unjust etc." (propriety). I have summarised the instance of Social Sanctions from each of the Appendices Aiii, Biii, and Ciii in the respective

tables that follow. I report on the analysis of each of the texts individually before discussing commonalities in all three texts in the conclusion (cf. 4.4.5). Once again the 'No.' in the left-most column in Tables 23, 24 and 25 refers to the instance of judgement and NOT to line numbers. The numbers that appear after the quotes correspond with these 'No.s' in the respective tables.

4.4.4.1 The Tom Peters Text

Table 23 shows that all of the Social Sanction judgements that Sunter makes in the Tom Peters (Appendix Aii) texts are positive judgements. Those in 33, 35, and 36 are found in the sentences that read "Management by objectives and performance appraisal should be replaced by all employees having to do annual resumes in which they show not only how they have added value to the company but how they have improved themselves. Customers should testify to the truth of these resumes". The value assumption analysis reported on in 4.2.2 shows that Sunter assumes that transactional style management techniques are undesirable and promotes transformational leadership approaches that seek to empower followers through self-evaluation and emphasis on employees' contribution to the community. He frames these new techniques as being ethically desirable (33, 36) and encourages veracity by insisting on truthfulness from both employees and customers in a reflexive process of evaluation. The importance of the role of employees is elevated to be an ethical consideration as well where Sunter makes a judgement regarding propriety in "Companies should put the person who serves the customer first – and the customer second" (49) to evoke feelings of sensitivity and care for workers in any given organisation.

The veracity assumed in "What creates trust in the end, is the leader's manifest respect for followers" (50, 51) seeks to highlight the honesty and truthfulness necessary for good leader-follower relations. The target of Sunter's Social Sanction judgments are seen to be those involved in interpersonal relationships within a given corporation's hierarchy; he refers to the interaction between customers and employees, and employees and leaders. Social Sanction in this text is concerned with truthful (veracity) and ethical (propriety) business practice that acknowledges the importance of a culture of cooperation. By

construing these preferred principles as moral and just, Sunter surpasses a mere top-down approach to enforcing business practice and appeals to his reader's sense of self-worth. The effect is to encourage the reader to act in accordance with Sunter's advice, not because he says so, but because it is assumed to be the correct way to engage in just and credible business (cf. 4.2.2, business approaches assumed to be desirable in the value assumption analysis).

No.	Text Instantiation	JUDGEMENT Category	Target
33	"employees having to do annual resumes"	Sanction: Propriety +	Employees
35	"how they have improved themselves"	Sanction: Veracity +	Employees
36	"Customers must testify to the truth"	Sanction: Propriety +	Customers
49	"should put the person who serves... the customer second"	Sanction: Propriety +	Companies
50	"trust"	Sanction: Veracity +	Employees
51	"respect for followers"	Sanction: Veracity +	Leaders
70	"true dispenser of enthusiasm"	Sanction: Veracity +	Peters

Table 23: Evidence of Social Sanction Choices in the Tom Peters Text

The final instance of veracity is in 70 where Sunter calls Peters a "true dispenser of enthusiasm". This evaluates Peters as an honest authority in the promotion of enthusiasm amongst those in the business world, and serves to enforce Peters' "pearls of wisdom" that Sunter has offered throughout the text. It brings a moral cadence to the conclusion of the article that emphasises Social Sanction judgements elsewhere.

4.4.4.2 The CR Text

In the CR text (Appendix Bii), Sunter evaluates the behaviour of Rhodes and Ramaphosa. Table 24 summarises the Social Sanction choices in this text. Not surprising, all the Social Sanction judgements he makes in relation to these two men are positive since he sets them up as worthy of praise, admiration and emulation. Sunter evaluates

Ramaphosa's contribution to drafting the final constitution as ethically sound (19), exploiting the reader's knowledge of the importance of the South African Constitution to give this judgement weight. He highlights Ramaphosa's veracity in his ability to negotiate (38) and evokes credibility and trustworthiness by writing how Ramaphosa "keeps his word too" (40). In this same vein Rhodes is seen to be honest by not having regarded "moneymaking as an end in itself" (45). Besides being shown as superb businessmen, both Rhodes and Ramaphosa's ethic and good morals are foregrounded by Sunter. Business for Sunter once again stimulates these higher-order qualities and moves beyond simple rewards of money, in line with transactional leadership approaches (cf. 4.2.2.7, transactional leadership assumed to be undesirable in value assumption analysis).

No.	Text Instantiation	JUDGEMENT Category	Target
19	"He will have supervised...a final constitution"	Sanction: Propriety +	Ramaphosa
38	"taking him to the brink...is declared"	Sanction: Veracity +	Ramaphosa's negotiation technique
40	"He keeps his word too"	Sanction: Veracity +	Ramaphosa
45	"He never regarded moneymaking as an end in itself"	Sanction: Veracity +	Rhodes
51	"empower the disadvantaged"	Sanction: Propriety +	SA's empowerment strategies
54	"He's right"	Sanction: Veracity +	Ramaphosa
55	"dedicate themselves...the masses"	Sanction: Propriety +	SA business leaders
57	"easily accessible"	Sanction: Veracity +	SA business
58	"not a privileged pastime"	Sanction: Propriety -	SA business
59	"a Club"	Sanction: Propriety -	Elitism, unfair (racial) exclusion – Apartheid history?

Table 24: Evidence of Social Sanction Choices in the CR Text

The Social Sanction judgements evoked in 51 to 59 appear in the last paragraph of the text. This is significant because once more Sunter is seen to end the article with judgements that stimulate moral and ethical considerations to encourage alignment with his reader. Sunter supports Ramaphosa's proposal that empowering the disadvantaged (51) is the "right" (54) thing to do. Making business accessible to all citizens (57) is not merely a suggestion, it is cast as a moral requirement on the part of South Africa companies. Sunter alludes to the "Club" (59) that has existed within the South African economy and describes it as a "privileged past time" (58); both judgements evoke the only two negative Social Sanction judgements in the entire text. Negative propriety towards the Club metaphor implies that systematic denial of rights and privileges that characterised Apartheid legislation were immoral and corrupt. But the reader brings with them this background knowledge to make sense of Sunter's judgements because the "Club" is merely a trigger to evoke these evaluations. By mentioning a collective past in this way, Sunter increases the meaningfulness of a future common goal because it is important to each and every reader (Shamir *et al* 1993).

Sunter reminds his reader about the past and condemns the "Club". From this moral high ground he can influence the suggested changes towards business approaches from an ethical position; changes in the economic sector are seen to be demands at a moral level to redress the inequalities of the past and promote fairness. Rhodes and Ramaphosa's truthfulness are exemplified as key personality traits to ensure business success, and the reader is encouraged to be like them if s/he is to be good at business as well. Shamir *et al* (1993:580) explain that people derive meaning from a sense of "continuity between the past, present and projected future, and from the correspondence between their behaviour and self-concept". Sunter highlights the historical achievements of Rhodes (45) and Ramaphosa (19, 38) and continues Ramaphosa's veracity and propriety to the present (40, 54). This affords Sunter moral motivation as a resource for his reader to engage their own self-concept with the future challenges facing the country. The future becomes personal because, first, the reader wants to embody the goodness exhibited by Rhodes and Ramaphosa to better their own self-esteem; and second, a reader strives towards change that undoes the immorality brought by Apartheid to negotiate their self-worth

within the grander scheme of things. Shamir *et al* 1993 note that a sense of moral correctness is an important source of strength and confidence. Sunter exploits his reader's sense of moral correctness to mobilise transformational change.

4.4.4.3 The FDR and Maggie Thatcher Text

No.	Text Instantiation	JUDGEMENT Category	Target
6	"to alleviate the suffering of the general populace"	Sanction: Propriety +	FDR's New Deal programme
10	"caring government"	Sanction: Veracity +	FDR's government
11	"one that helps people...to help themselves"	Sanction: Veracity +	FDR's government
14	"FDR's contribution"	Sanction: Veracity +	FDR
19	"admit it frankly"	Sanction: Veracity +	Experimenter/Reader
30	"Judge me...by the enemies I have made"	Sanction: Veracity +	FDR
37	"social improvement"	Sanction: Propriety +	Social improvement
52	"correct"	Sanction: Veracity +	FDR
55	"social exclusion"	Sanction: Propriety -	Social discrimination (Apartheid/ racism?)
57	"initial conditions will lead...in this country"	Sanction: Propriety +	SA government policy
78	"which kills ideas when they are still in bud"	Sanction: Veracity -	South African ideology

Table 25: Evidence of Social Sanction Choices in the FDR and Maggie Thatcher Text

Transformational leaders interpret the past and present to stimulate a sense of community and belonging through a shared history and collective interest in the possibilities to come; "they link present behaviours to past events by citing historical examples" (Shamir *et al* 1993:585). Sunter's FDR and Maggie Thatcher text (Appendix Cii) sees Sunter doing exactly that (see Table 25). He shows "FDR's contribution" (14) to be creditable and therefore translatable to the demands facing 1996 South Africa. Roosevelt's "caring

government" (10) that "alleviate[d] the suffering of the general populace" (6) during the Great Depression is positively appraised in ethical and moral terms. Roosevelt realised the value in "help[ing] people and communities to help themselves" (11), an underlying empowerment belief that informs transformational leadership. His fearlessness in following his moral beliefs (30) is judged as candid and honest by Sunter, and Sunter extends this openness to his reader in (19). He makes Roosevelt's words "If it fails, admit it frankly" applicable to his reader to promote a culture of experimentation that is conducive to change. Honesty and integrity is judged as imperative for any kind of "social improvement" (37).

Social improvement is juxtaposed with the negatively judged "social exclusion" (55). Once more this evokes reminders of the past for a South African reader who understands Sunter's euphemism for Apartheid. Sunter extends Roosevelt's "correct" (52) principle of boldness as a point of reference for the 1996 South African government - they can learn from Roosevelt's ethical approach to leadership. The importance of creating an environment to foster "an entrepreneurial chain reaction" (57) is seen to be an urgent challenge that the government needs to overcome if they are to shadow Roosevelt's morality. For Sunter, economic reform is more than a series of programmes, it needs to be driven by a sense of duty that embodies veracity and propriety. Shamir *et al* (1993) propose that a transformational leader's message will be effective if the message reflects the values and identities held by potential followers. Sunter is seen to stimulate the self-worth of followers by referring to a common and fearful approach to business, using the definite article: "The discouraging 'yes but' syndrome which kills ideas in the bud..." (78). Readers are assumed to have experienced, or at least to know this syndrome, and to share Sunter's evaluation of it being a "scourge". They can identify with Sunter and so are more likely to hear his message; a message that necessitates achieving moral fulfilment to usher in change.

4.4.5 Conclusion

Shamir *et al* (1993:586) propose that in order to implicate the followers' self-concepts, both the deliberate and nondeliberate messages of transformational leaders will contain

higher frequencies of the following features than the messages of non-transformational leaders:

- (a) more references to values and moral justifications
- (b) more references to the collective and to collective identity
- (c) more references to history
- (d) more positive references to followers' worth and efficacy as individuals and as the collective
- (e) more expressions of high expectations from followers
- (f) more references to distal goals and less reference to proximal goals.

I believe that the application of APPRAISAL theory to Sunter's texts has worked well to highlight the ways in which his discourse reflects these transformational leadership characteristics. Although the Affect analysis has shown that Sunter's discourse makes recourse to the baser emotion of disquiet to motivate change, his high frequency of evoked tenacity seen in the Judgement analysis demonstrates his preoccupation with stimulating the higher order needs of his reader, namely self-esteem and self-worth. I have argued that the uniqueness of the South African context has afforded Sunter the opportunity to draw on both disquiet and tenacity in a strategic balance of emotions to mobilise change.

In 1996 South Africa and its people faced the daunting task of having to renegotiate its role in the global business arena. The advent of new capitalism meant that the challenges and demands that faced the country were nothing like the difficulties of the past. New levels of commitment and motivation were required on the part of the citizens of South Africa if the country was to redress the problems of the past, prove itself to the rest of the world and survive economic competition, post-Apartheid. These extraordinary challenges created a climate that was conducive to the rise of transformational leaders, specifically a climate of uncertainty, conflict and possibility for the brave. Sunter came to the fore, offering change as a means to disengage with the disappointment and delusions of the past. A look at the Social Sanction judgements in Sunter's texts reveal that a shared history of Apartheid allowed him to define changes, and especially changes pertaining to business strategy and leadership, in moral terms. He makes judgements in terms of veracity and propriety to stimulate the higher-order social codes of ethics and

conduct to give weight to his proposals for new business and leadership strategies. In this way, change is not merely an option, it becomes a moral necessity; “the collective objective, then, is elevated from a mere task to a heroic, even moral act, heightening productivity and increasing self-efficacy along the way” (Mannarelli 2006:47).

Sunter tends to focus his Social Sanction judgements towards the end of his three texts, which provides powerful and inspiring undertones at the climax of his transformational messages. Sunter extends the reader’s duty to be more than just improving her/his self-esteem; he encourages her/him to consider their role in the grander scheme of a country undergoing transformation. The Social Sanction judgements indicate Sunter’s use of transformational strategies that emphasise an individual’s contribution within the community and further evoke feelings of empowerment and self-actualisation (Gee 1999, Puth 2002, Harvey 2004).

4.5 Analysis of Modes of Operation of Ideology

4.5.1 Introduction

The following analysis seeks to answer my third research question: what discursal strategies does Sunter use to promote the ideology of new capitalism? In foregrounding the ideological techniques Sunter uses in his texts, I show how his leadership discourse both reflects and supports the ideology of new capitalism. I conducted a detailed analysis of all the modes of operation of ideology in all three texts and tabulated these findings in Appendix E (cf. 3.4.2). However, due to space constraints I was forced to make an informed selection and deal exhaustively with only one of the texts in this section and feature the other two more generally in the discussions in sections 4.5.3 and 4.5.4. To this end, section 4.5.2 is dedicated to a thorough analysis of all five modes operating in the CR text. I selected this particular text because it is rather typical of Sunter insofar as it has a powerful transformational message and reflects key themes that characterise his writing. Furthermore, it is the text that features the “African” personalities (Rhodes and Ramaphosa) and is the text in which Sunter uses all of Thompson’s (1990) modes to promote the ideology of new capitalism in some interesting combinations. I use the main findings of this full analysis to guide the discussion of two fundamental inconsistencies

that underpin new capitalism reflected in Sunter's discourse across all three texts. I argue that Sunter promotes "the spirit of capitalism" (Chiapello & Fairclough 2002), or the ideology that renders capitalism attractive, in two main ways; via the strategy of legitimisation (cf. 4.5.2) and by creating an illusion of unity (cf. 4.5.3). I show how both these strategies are exploited to disguise the inherent paradoxes that riddle the ideology of new capitalism. Where quotes are included, the line numbers in brackets are taken from Appendices Ai, Bi and Ci respectively. I conclude with a general summary of the main issues to emerge and return to answer the third research question in section 5.2.3.

4.5.2 Analysis of Modes of Operation of Ideology in the CR Text

In what follows, I move through the CR text from the first to the last paragraph as this shows how Sunter builds his argument based on the preceding information to culminate in a strong stance by the end of the article. I conclude by discussing in some detail the ideological implications present in the final paragraph, where the ideology of new capitalism is especially significant.

Readers will recall that in this article Sunter aims to draw parallels between Cecil Rhodes and Cyril Ramaphosa. At first glance it may seem to anyone with an idea about the history of these men that claims to their similarities are absurd. On the one hand we have a White coloniser who, in crude terms, was responsible for mobilising mass exploitation of Black South Africans in the establishment of British Imperialism and ultimately White rule in the country; on the other hand, we have a Black South African who was a prominent anti-Apartheid activist and trade unionist who vehemently opposed White rule and was instrumental in enabling Black governance. Nonetheless, Sunter calls both men "great" (line 2) in the opening sentence and commits himself to the belief that they are similar beyond merely sharing the initials C.R. He dedicates the rest of his article to mounting an argument that testifies to the greatness of each man and vouches for their similarities to support his opening claim. Indeed, paragraphs 2 to 6 consist mostly of Sunter employing *legitimation* (cf. 2.4.2, page 51) to convince the reader to accept the ideology that equates Ramaphosa and Rhodes and sets up the two men as undisputedly admirable.

Sunter makes recourse to historical accounts of the achievements of both men to rationalise his argument. This is the strategy of *narrativisation* (cf. pg 52), used to tell stories of past accomplishments as weight in *legitimising* the greatness, and converse likeness, of Rhodes and Ramaphosa; “ ‘I was in the business of politics, now I’m entering the politics of business’ – could easily, if reversed, have been said by Rhodes in 1890. That was the year he moved from the world of business to become Prime Minister of the Cape Colony” (lines 4-6). Ramaphosa’s voice (and indirectly Rhodes’s voice) is brought to the text by Sunter to validate and summarise the historical stories which follow. The quote is also an example of *dissimulation* (cf. pg 52), whereby Sunter blurs the semantic domains of business and politics. These two traditionally distinct social areas of commerce and politics are presented as practically interchangeable. The semantics and connotations from one social domain are *displaced* to the other. This reconstrual of meaning that accompanies restructuring of social organisation echoes the reshaping associated with a new capitalist ideology (cf. 2.3.3). Rhodes and Ramaphosa’s flexibility is foregrounded; they are adaptable in shaping their successful careers, whether in the fields of politics or business or insofar as perhaps these fields are the same thing. Their career versatility is *legitimised* in a new capitalist context that requires just this kind of flexibility; Sunter admires their diverse skills, a characteristic of the “knowledge workers” (Harrison & Young 2005) of new capitalism.

Sunter goes on to develop this idea by using *metaphor* (cf. pg 53) in the second paragraph. He uses *reification* (cf. pg 54) for the sentence “it is very rare for a sportsman to be chosen to represent his country at more than one national sport” (lines 7-8), thereby *externalising* this social phenomenon from society to set it up as an achievement that is prized, uncommon or “rare” to allow for the full impact of the sporting *metaphor* to affect the reader; “so it is exceptional that a person climbs to the top of the ladder in politics as well as business” (lines 8-9). There is a double layering of *metaphor* here, an example of the strategy of *trope* (cf. pg 53) within the mode of *dissimulation*. It works very well to obscure what Sunter is promoting as an admirable ideology. On the first level it is assumed that the reader will buy into the ‘business as a sport’ analogy. This can be seen to *legitimise* the competitive nature of business that is developed in the second figurative

picture painted of climbing to the top of a ladder. Business is so competitive in a new capitalist context, in fact, that success depends on reaching the top at any cost. Domination and/or exploitation of those 'on the lower rungs of the ladder' is ignored when one reaches the summit of "his" (*sic*) business or political career. It is desirable since it testifies to the drive, tenacity (cf. 4.4) and power of a successful politician or businessman, especially in the case of Rhodes and Ramaphosa who have 'climbed both ladders'. But Sunter avoids exposing these assumptions directly by dissimulating the ideology through quite convoluted use of *trope*.

Sunter makes both men's rise "to the pinnacle of their occupations" even more impressive by stressing the pace at which they did so - "at absurdly young ages" (line 11). This exemplifies the strategy of *universalisation* (cf. pg 51), where Sunter assumes that such achievement is desirable for all who read his text. This imposes a typically Western and capitalist ideology that sees greatness quantifiable by both the extent of power and the speed of reaching it; a kind of 'the sooner, the better' concept of instant gratification. It also *universalises* the idea that greatness takes time and since these men achieved greatness before they were 45 years old they are exceptional.

The distinction between Rhodes and Ramaphosa and the rest of capitalist businessmen facilitates the mode of *fragmentation* (cf. pg 53) nicely; "They were handling immense power when most other people are consolidating the first phase of their careers and aspiring to rise from junior to middle management" (lines 12-14). The sentence reiterates the universal (capitalist) assumption that success means climbing the corporate ladder, so to speak, and that Rhodes and Ramaphosa are different. Sunter differentiates their greatness from the majority of a population engaged in mundane and uninspired careers as further evidence of their uniqueness. I think this creates potential conflict in Sunter's ideological argument. He praises the capitalist ideology of development and progression from one rank as indicative of successful business people and acknowledges that this may be a slow process; but then he shows this progression as deficient (mere consolidation) if it takes time. Patient capitalism does not impress Sunter, he praises rapid ascension to the top. This is another example of *displacement* in the text where Sunter takes the

liberty of redefining the meaning of capitalism to include inspired and creative rising to power. This is a plausible argument given the economic climate in South Africa in 1996. Businesses were restructuring and invigorating their strategies to become internationally competitive, and having to do so rapidly to make up the deficit caused by substantial retardation during Apartheid (cf. 2.2.5). Recall the effects of the advent of the "New South Africa" on Anglo American Corporation PLC, discussed in section 1.3.3.

The majority of the third paragraph comprises Sunter listing the respective achievements of Rhodes and Ramaphosa; "Rhodes had established De Beers Consolidated Mines in Kimberley, the Gold Fields of South Africa Company in Johannesburg and the British South Africa Company to develop the new territory north of South Africa by the time he was 35" (lines 14-17). This continues to enable *legitimation* of the ideology that development and indeed colonisation is remarkable and praiseworthy. The most obvious strategy here is *narrativisation* with Sunter citing historical events to testify to Rhodes's worthiness of support. It is interesting though that this strategy is used to validate Ramaphosa as well; "Ramaphosa had formed the National Union of Mineworkers by the time he was 30 and played a key role in the formulation of the interim constitution by the time he was 39. He will have supervised the even more important task of drafting a final constitution by the time he is 44" (lines 17-21). I think that for any South African reading this text in 1996 Ramaphosa's achievements and role in transforming South Africa would speak for themselves. It does not take much convincing on Sunter's part because the historical events he mentions for Ramaphosa are *naturalised* to embody a new South African ideology of reconciliation and healing that permeated the socio-historic context at the time of text publication (cf. 3.5). Drafting the final constitution is *reified* as a vital necessity for the country post-Apartheid, and is therefore a difficult assumption to challenge.

But Rhodes's achievements are far less convincing at face value since they happened centuries before Ramaphosa's achievements and involved large-scale exploitation of both the indigenous people and resources of South Africa for the betterment of the British Empire. And yet by putting Rhodes's potentially controversial achievements just before

Ramaphosa's more acceptable ones, Sunter uses *universalisation* to assume that the men embody the same ideology - an ideology that is worthy of documentation and remembrance in history books; "By his deeds so far, Ramaphosa's name will assuredly feature in books about the development of South Africa in the twentieth century as Rhodes's will continue to feature in books about the previous century" (lines 21-22). The actions of both men are given, *rationalised*, as being beneficial to the development of South Africa and for all South Africans. Sunter uses *narrativisation* to promote future *narrativisation*. The ideology assumes that personal feats determine the calibre of the individual, and when these deeds are recorded, then those men are worthy of historical entrenchment and will stand as examples to be emulated into the future, and so perpetuate the capitalist ideology they embody. Just who decides that Rhodes's and Ramaphosa's names will "assuredly feature in history books" remains obscured by the use of *passivisation* that enables more *reification*. Assuredly it will be those who support a capitalist ideology and are educationally privileged enough to create such history books. The concept of "development" is *dissimulated* by Sunter to include change in line with new capitalism. He obscures the degree of exploitation inherent in this kind of development.

Dissimulation is the predominant mode of operation of ideology in the fourth paragraph. Sunter makes extensive use of *euphemisation*. To say that Rhodes "wheeled and dealt until he had everyone under a single umbrella" (lines 26-27) describes the expansion of colonial influence in South Africa as if it were a flippant, creative and flamboyant entrepreneurial exercise that ultimately saw Rhodes group everyone together. No doubt 'everyone' refers mostly to the Black people whose land was being mined and colonised, and to those in opposition to Rhodes's businesses whom he sought to control in line with British Imperial policies.

In the same vein, Sunter praises Ramaphosa's role as chief negotiator for the ANC but employs *euphemisation* in "he has succeeded extremely well despite the tenseness of having to sort out the thorniest issues in the last lap of the negotiation process" (lines 29-30). The issues that required negotiating were not only thorny but threatened the peace of

the entire nation. Sunter trivialises the enormity of problems that faced the country and indeed there was 'tension' that manifested in devastating violence and death. Against the 1996 South African milieu, it is not surprising that the terror, resistance to negotiation and evils of Apartheid are played down. At the time of text production, the collective aim of the country was to forgive and forget in a spirit of reconciliation and social unity, so it is not for lack of detail that Sunter glosses over the time of negotiation pre-1994. He aligns his reader by drawing on a shared history to create the illusion of unity (cf. 4.5.3). By *nominalising* "negotiation process" the actual activity involved in the negotiations is removed to *reify* the negotiation process as an event outside of human agency. This works to reinforce the predominant mode of *dissimulation* and distances the reader from the harsher realities of what actually happened and who was involved.

Sunter strategically puts Ramaphosa's voice in the text to bring his *narrativisation* to life at the start of the fifth paragraph. This has the effect of *legitimising* certain of Ramaphosa's character traits that Sunter deems praiseworthy. The quote in the text vouches for Ramaphosa's negotiation capabilities, "'You know, Clem, whenever we have a chat like this, it's bound to end up in some type of negotiation'. It demonstrated the single-mindedness of the individual" (lines 32-34). Sunter in fact dedicates the whole of this paragraph to telling the story of how Ramaphosa negotiates, assuming that this way is the way great men do or should negotiate. "He is sensationally good at instinctively guessing at his opponent's bottom line, taking him to the brink with a suitable dose of histrionics and then settling just before a dispute is declared" (lines 35-38).

Sunter makes a number of value assumptions through the *narrativisation* strategy employed here. He assumes that "single-mindedness", or ambition and drive are valuable and that there is innate skill involved in being able to negotiate well. A good negotiator can manipulate sufficient resistance and contestation and yet settle at the right moment. Negotiation is seen as a natural and inevitable process, one where all parties involved are satisfied with the agreement reached. In practice though, and especially for contemporary capitalist business, negotiation is invariably steered to consensus by those with more power. Actual negotiation entails manipulation by the powerful of the

powerless to further relations of dominance. But Sunter qualifies negotiation as morally sound by telling the story of how charming Ramaphosa is when he gives “one of those full-bellied laughs that charm the pants off the people he is negotiating with” (lines 34-35) and describes him as a man who “keeps his word” (line 38). Honesty and a sense of humour are portrayed, ironically, as integral qualities for a great negotiator of Ramaphosa’s calibre.

Paragraph six continues Sunter’s use of *fragmentation* as a mode of operation of ideology. He *differentiates* Rhodes and Ramaphosa from others by recounting further historical stories as evidence of their greatness. Ramaphosa’s ambition is illustrated in “Ramaphosa is his own man... When everyone expected him to take a cabinet post in the Government of National Unity, he became ANC secretary-general and chairman of the Constitutional Assembly. Smart move – he added more value his way” (lines 39-42). Sunter praises Ramaphosa’s tenacity, unpredictability and independence. He then draws a parallel with Rhodes with these same qualities featuring in the next few anecdotes, “Likewise, Rhodes must have exasperated some of his fellow directors because he never regarded moneymaking as an end in itself. His dream of “painting the map red” and building a railway from Cape to Cairo demonstrated a much grander vision than a normal businessman would have” (lines 42-46).

Through the strategy of *narrativisation*, Rhodes and Ramaphosa collectively embody personal qualities that set them apart from the ‘others’ – “his colleagues” (line 39), “everyone” (line 40) (in Ramaphosa’s case) and “fellow directors” (line 43), “normal businessmen” (line 46) (in Rhodes’s case). The ‘others’ are implicitly criticised for “regarding moneymaking as an end in itself” (line 44); the implication is that Rhodes, the “consummate dealmaker” (line 24) and ultimate colonialist, apparently didn’t. Moneymaking as an end in itself is a basic premise for capitalism but, for Sunter, vision and the ability to have dreams and mobilise them surpasses this as the ultimate goal for any capitalist. Normal businessmen are described as having deficient visions and dreams compared to Rhodes, thereby emphasising the promotion of the idea that development and global rescaling are *universally* desirable (cf. 2.3.2) – a fundamental element of new

capitalism. Rhodes and Ramaphosa are valuable because they are brave enough to do things their way. For Sunter at least, these two men have set a new standard for defining greatness; greatness defined by an ideology that seeks to perpetuate capitalism and move towards new capitalism.

The last paragraph is highly significant. There is an interesting and complex interplay of the related modes of *unification* and *fragmentation* here (cf. Table 26 in which I summarise the classification of 'us' and 'them' I now make). Sunter quotes Ramaphosa as saying "I believe that the ultimate survival of big companies, and of the corporate sector, in this country revolves around how we empower the disadvantaged. If we don't develop clear strategies, we could all lose" (lines 47-50).

Despite the potential, perhaps even desired, effect of using the pronoun "we" to *unify*, there is an obvious *differentiation* of parties at this point. The first two uses of "we" appeal to a particular limited group and exclude everyone else, i.e. exclusive use of 'we'. 'We' are separate from 'them', "the disadvantaged" and disempowered. This implies that 'we' are privileged, advantaged people with power. 'We' are educated since we can see the rational connection between power and advantage and are capable of developing "clear strategies" to fulfil our duty of empowering those who are disadvantaged. This is a good example of *displacement* whereby power and advantage are almost synonymous – another fundamental premise of capitalism. The exclusive 'we' appears to refer to those involved (leaders, owners, workers) in "big companies" and "the corporate sector" in South Africa and is likely to resemble the ideal reader of this text written in 1996.

The third "we" is slightly more ambiguous in terms of whether it seeks to *unify* the receivers of Ramaphosa's message. On a superficial level, I believe it is meant to be an inclusive 'we', referring to all South Africans in a weak attempt at *unification*. It paves the way for a dominant ideology to be imposed uniformly on all individuals irrespective of any social diversity or alternative ideology. The dominant ideology assumes that all South African are threatened with 'losing' if clear strategies are not created to empower the disadvantaged. In reality though, the third 'we' is still exclusive. It comprises those

same groups of individuals who run big companies with interests in the corporate sector mentioned above. These privileged people stand to lose more since they have more. The disadvantaged have little to lose by comparison. In fact, those who are disadvantaged are *differentiated* to the point of being construed as a “threat” to the “survival” of capitalism, and essentially the success of capitalists, in the country. The conditional use of “if” constructs the effect of the unavoidable, or naturalised, cause and effect of a disguised warning. This tends dangerously towards the *fragmentation* strategy of *expurgation of the other*. In order for ‘us’ to survive the threat from ‘them’ we need to manage or control them by empowering ‘them’, but only as we see fit. ‘We’ need ‘strategies’ if we are to ‘win’, i.e. if ‘we’ are to maintain power. Ramaphosa is *rationalising* the need for action by capitalists, and using very military vocabulary to do so.

Whereas Ramaphosa’s quote doesn’t explicitly mention who the *differentiated* parties are, Sunter does. He vehemently agrees with Ramaphosa’s *rationale* by affirming “he’s right” (line 50) which has a further *legitimising* effect for the ideology put forward by Ramaphosa. This is possibly because Sunter identifies himself as part of ‘us’ at threat from ‘them’. He labels ‘us’ the “leaders of business” and ‘them’ as “the masses” in case the reader hasn’t made the connection in the subtler beginning of the paragraph for themselves; “Leaders of business must dedicate themselves to spreading a passion for business among the masses” (lines 50-51).

“Business must be easily accessible, not a privileged pastime. We’ve had a Club for too long. It must disband” (lines 52-53). Sunter reiterates Ramaphosa’s argument by baldly stating the need for business to change through *rationalisation*. He makes interesting use of capitalisation in “Club” which forces the reader to assume Sunter is referring to the elitism and separation associated with Apartheid that tainted the business sector of the country. “Club” is gross *dissimulation*; it is hugely *euphemistic* and recasts the systematic and unfair denial of Black people to engage in Business under White-rule in terms of a club membership. This metaphor of elitism being recast in trivial “pastime” terms such as a book or golf club, say, hides the reality that in 1996 South African business was still largely unrepresentative of the population. Sunter’s call for the “Club”

of empowered and business leaders to “disband” has obvious political undertones. Although Apartheid and racial inequalities had ended, at least in theory, by 1996, there was still a White majority in big business in South Africa – as remains the case today. Perhaps this is why Sunter likens a more recent Black business leader to an older White one in a bid to stress the need to include this sector of society in the transformation towards racial equality. Racial equality and opportunity for disadvantaged “masses”, however, must be dictated by those with power via “clear strategies”.

Sunter praises Ramaphosa and sees him as the answer to leading South Africa into the new century, “we need a black equivalent of Rhodes to give everybody a dream. With Ramaphosa, anything is possible”. The ‘we’ is again problematic. I think it is meant to include all South Africans in a *united* new South Africa, especially used in conjunction with “everybody”, but the underlying assumption of ‘we’ meaning those who are powerful and privileged that has pervaded the whole of the final paragraph makes me sceptical. I think that despite efforts at *unification*, *fragmentation* is still present. ‘We’ remains exclusive to include only privileged, mostly White, educated and empowered business leaders as these are the people who would seek to emulate Rhodes insofar as he had “dreams”. Based on the sixth paragraph, any good capitalist will positively evaluate the need for dreams as inspiration for development and growth. From this assumption, Sunter uses *universalisation* as his strategy to *rationalise* Ramaphosa’s likeness to Rhodes “we need a black equivalent of Rhodes to give everybody a dream”.

The *rationalisation* does not sit too well with me though. From what has gone before Sunter praises Rhodes for his exceptional ability firstly to dream and then to realise these dreams. By giving historical evidence of this, Sunter portrays Rhodes as worthy of admiration and emulation by anyone who buys into the capitalist ideology. Then Sunter concludes by saying we should all have such dreams but implies only Ramaphosa can “give” us them. He is urging South Africans to dream but only to dream those dreams that Ramaphosa provides. If this is the intended interpretation, Sunter is making a very powerful assumption. He is appealing to his ideal reader - literate, educated, privileged, powerful, probably White, business leader - to entertain only visions that Ramaphosa

validates, e.g. capitalist visions such as “develop clear strategies” to triumph over the threat to the survival of big business by the disempowered.

The maintenance of a strict ‘us’ versus ‘them’ that I have explained above is a far cry from genuine commitment to equality of opportunity in South African commerce. In fact it seems to me that relations of domination are promoted throughout this text. The ideology of capitalism is operating through the various strategies that enable Thompson’s (1990) five modes within this article. Both Rhodes and Ramaphosa are praised by Sunter and in turn this promotes the capitalist ideology they are shown to embody.

US	THEM
The leaders of business in South Africa: “big companies”, “the corporate sector”	The masses
Mostly Whites and perhaps a few privileged Blacks	Mostly Blacks
The advantaged	The disadvantaged
The empowered	The powerless
The educated	The uneducated
Those who are responsible	Those without responsibility
Capitalists	Non-capitalists
The wealthy	The poor
Stable	Unpredictable, a threat
Those who dream	Those without dreams

Table 26: Differentiation in the CR Text.

I expand on this theme of social separation in a more general discussion of all three texts in the following sections 4.5.3 and 4.5.4. I focus on the paradoxes of the ideology of new capitalism that are uncovered when Sunter’s texts are scrutinised more closely.

4.5.3 The Illusion of Unity: “Community of Practice” False Consciousness

It has been noted that new capitalism brings with it inherent paradoxes that threaten its operation (cf. 2.3.4). The paradox I focus on now is what Harvey (2004) has termed the power-empowerment paradox. In a new capitalist context, if those with power want to maintain their power, they need to exploit those less powerful, just as was the case in old capitalism. However the hyper-competitive nature of business (changed as a result of

global transformations, restructuring, rescaling etc.) means that the powerless need to be exploited much more than in the past to keep profit margins increasingly competitive. But the working class are more skilled and knowledgeable than ever before, e.g. tertiary educated, versatile, IT-literate, and so are more critical of power inequalities than in the past. Those who support new capitalism need to encourage workers to believe in this social order that will ultimately continue to exploit them. To do this, advocates of new capitalism foster a “spirit of capitalism” (Chiapello & Fairclough 2002:186) – the ideology that justifies and *legitimises* people’s commitment to this latest type of super-charged capitalism. Sunter does this in his texts. He creates an illusion of *unity* to promote the belief that all South Africans are equal and share in the “community of practice” that obscures the asymmetric power relations that underlie the social order. The CR text analysis above reveals the discrepancies surrounding the use of the pronoun “we” that attempts to unify South Africans but, I argue, is essentially maintaining power inequalities.

Sunter exploits the mode of *unification* in the Tom Peters and FDR and Maggie Thatcher texts as well but a close examination shows that the power inconsistencies remain. Sunter aims to unify South Africans through *reified* claims like “now we have to live with unemployment...” (FDR:34) and “we’re both soggy and poor” (FDR:48). These statements seek to show all the people of the country as suffering shared hardships. However, it is highly unlikely that this is the case for those with power. Believers of new capitalism view unemployed as a problem merely because it frustrates the development of capitalism within the country. A further inconsistency in the FDR text is revealed through the *metaphorical* image, “Crunchiness brings wealth. Wealth leads to sogginess. Sogginess brings poverty. Poverty creates crunchiness. From this immutable cycle we know that to hang on to wealth, you must keep things crunchy” (FDR:43-46). Sunter attempts to *rationalise* the need for tenacity to maintain wealth. This is another example of *universalisation* whereby the capitalist perspective that wealth is desirable is imposed upon all. But more than this, the logical argument is flawed insofar as it promotes social class inequalities – it implies that poverty is a precursor to wealth. Capitalists exploit those with less power to keep theirs; poverty works well to keep power inequalities alive.

The second paradox in the FDR text is seen in “If our government wants to tackle head-on the overriding problem of social exclusion, they have to think radically about what conditions will lead to an entrepreneurial chain reaction in this country. How do we get everybody to wheel and deal? Then they must go for it, irrespective of ill feelings from those left behind” (FDR:37-41). Sunter *nominalises* “social exclusion” thereby deleting agency and eclipsing the historical influence of Apartheid that denied Blacks economic opportunity. He *universalises* this *naturalised* problem, so everyone shoulders the burden as a community and *rationalises* entrepreneurship (a capitalist concept) as the answer to social exclusion. The irony, however, is that those who do not support capitalism will be left behind; so much for overcoming social exclusion. Those who support capitalism, and go forward by implication, are *differentiated* from those who do not. The “in-group” buys into the spirit of capitalism, the preferred ideology, and the “out-group” does not (Achugar 2004).

Sunter’s discourse enables the spirit of capitalism by promoting the notion of community of practice amongst his readers. Workers are led to believe that their work is a means by which they achieve new levels of self-actualisation by contributing to the betterment of the community or corporation; “If you can’t say why you’ve made your company a better place, you’re out” (TP:24) universalises the premise that all people would strive to measure their worth according to improving a business, i.e. so long as they increase profits. Those with less power operate under false consciousness believing in their work as means to empowerment, where “people and communities help themselves” (FDR:9-10). Sunter *rationalises* the role of employees as integral to the success of business, thereby appealing to their sense of self-worth – a powerful motivational strategy (cf. 4.4.2); “Companies should put the person who serves the customer first” (TP:40-41). The paradox of motivating workers to greater levels of commitment to their jobs is solved by the workers believing that they are working to better themselves and are blind to the fact that they are being exploited. Profits increase and new capitalism is perpetuated because its perceived ‘benefits’ are foregrounded by those who market the system, like Sunter.

4.5.4 Irrationalisation of New Capitalism: A Summary

In this section, I recap briefly on the main insights from 4.5.2 and 4.5.3 by drawing on the tabulated examples in Appendix E that pertain to the mode of *legitimation*; more specifically, I summarise the arguments Sunter puts forward to *rationalise* new capitalism. I have chosen to focus on the strategies of *legitimation* and *rationalisation* in particular because they appear most frequently in the two previous sections and they highlight more inconsistencies in Sunter's promotion of the new capitalist ideology. Despite Sunter's talent in showing new capitalism as credible and worthy of support, a closer unveiling of his *legitimation* strategies show how his arguments are not as *rational* as they may appear superficially.

Sunter constructs a series of arguments in favour of business throughout the three texts. These arguments reflect logic that makes sense from a new capitalist perspective and not logic that is necessarily shared by all. Sunter contends that business is a "cooperative activity that can be incredible fun and the best adventure for anyone to experience in his or her lifetime" (TP:6-7) and should therefore be encouraged. He goes so far as to claim, *universally*, that "the ultimate determinant of a country's long-term fortunes" is "being world-class in business" (TP:9-10). Business is *rationalised* to supersede democracy in ensuring success, success that is measured by development and wealth (CR) – the very epitome of new capitalism. Sunter maintains that promoting a culture of entrepreneurship will redress social inequalities and bring social improvement (FDR). This is false logic; new capitalism necessarily relies on the ever-increasing divide between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' (cf. 2.3.4). The '*irrationalisation*' tends to influence false cause and effect in Sunter's bid to *legitimise* new capitalism; for example, disadvantaged people are seen to threaten the survival of big companies (CR), and out-innovating competition will ensure sustainable advantage (TP).

Change, offered by Sunter, markets new capitalism as *the* answer to South Africa's success. Those who see change in this preferred way are *differentiated* from those who do not. Despite his attempts to *unify* South Africans, and thereby *rationalise* the need for "all" to support new capitalism, Sunter's discourse promotes the division between

supporters of new capitalism and critics and this is reflective of the power-empowerment paradox (I expand on this issue below cf. 4.5.5). I have included Tables 27 and 28 to show this *differentiation* as it manifests in Sunter's other texts for illustrative purposes. Space limitations prevent me from examining these tables in detail but they should be cross-referred to section 4.2 where the dichotomy of "desirables" and "undesirables" in the value assumption analysis reflect this "in-group" – "out-group" distinction to a large extent.

US	THEM
Those who are passionate about business	Those who are not passionate about business
Those who see business as the ultimate determiner of a country's long-fortunes (Peters, Sunter, capitalists)	Those who think a country's fortune depends on things (sport) other than business
Those who seek sustainable advantage	Competition
Great innovators	Incrementalists

Table 27: Differentiation in the Tom Peters text.

US	THEM
Government who empowers the unempowered	Individuals and communities who need to be helped
Those who embrace and keep up with change	Those "left behind" (social exclusion maintained)
FDR (transformers) who challenge conventional wisdom	Those who think conventionally and predictably
Those who are intelligent enough to interpret change positively	Those who are afraid of change, thus "afflicted" (sick, diseased)

Table 28: Differentiation in the FDR and Maggie Thatcher text.

4.5.5 Conclusion

New capitalism relies on the maintenance of gross social inequalities for it to succeed. However, the increased economic demands brought by the advent of new capitalism and the level of knowledge possessed by workers in this context make the task of exploiting

the labour of the powerless that much more difficult (cf. the challenges that faced Anglo discussed in section 1.3.3). To overcome this challenge, supporters, i.e. the powerful, promote the “spirit of capitalism” (Chiapello & Fairclough 2002:186) - the ideology that justifies people’s commitment to capitalism and renders this commitment attractive (cf. 2.3.5). Through his discourse, Sunter creates the illusion that business is the means by which all can actualise their potential and achieve empowerment. Workers are encouraged to fulfil their duties, and thereby support new capitalism, because they see themselves as playing a role towards the betterment of society at large. Those with less power operate under false consciousness, believing they are becoming empowered; however, a detailed examination of the texts reveals that Sunter’s discourse promotes social differentiation and inequalities that undermine genuine empowerment because, essentially, the workers are still forced to sell their labour (Graham 2006). Within the context of new capitalism, if those with more power want to maintain the status quo that affords them power, they need to appear to relinquish some of this power to the powerless (cf. “the ultimate survival of big companies... revolves around how we empower the disadvantaged” (CR:48-49)). Hence the power-empowerment paradox; in order to hold onto power, one must (seem to) give up some of it. As the analysis of the strategy of *differentiation* operating in Sunter’s texts shows, however, the empowerment afforded to workers is largely illusory and ultimately serves to increase the profit and growth of business.

Sunter’s discursive dexterity works to promote the spirit of new capitalism. As I have shown, he employs a combination of strategies within Thompson’s (1990) modes of operation of ideology. Most significantly, he obscures the power relations at work through the techniques of *displacement*, *unification*, *universalisation* and *rationalisation*. This means he presents new capitalism in an attractive way to encourage his reader to buy into change that supports this social order.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has reported on four analyses I conducted on the three selected texts. The values assumption analysis (cf. 4.2) and the analysis of the modes of operation of the

ideology of new capitalism in Sunter's texts, with specific focus on the CR text, (cf. 4.5) were inspired by CDA theory. The APPRAISAL analyses of Affect (cf. 4.3) and Judgement choices (cf. 4.4) drew from the comprehensive methodology of SFL. In the following chapter I revisit the three research questions that I set out to answer (cf. 1.2) in light of the findings that I have shared in this chapter.

5. Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

There are two main goals to this final chapter: firstly, I revisit the research questions that directed this research and answer them in light of the findings that emerge from my various analyses of the data (cf. 5.2). Secondly, I reflect on the challenges and limitations I encountered in reaching the answers to these questions. I also suggest opportunities for future research, based largely on the shortfalls of my own work (5.3).

5.2 Research Questions Revisited

The three research questions introduced in section 1.2. are:

1. How does Sunter use language to embody the qualities and attributes of a successful transformational leader, i.e. how is Sunter's discourse transformational?
 - a. What does Sunter assume to be good, and so desirable, or bad, and so undesirable, about leadership and business in general; i.e. what does he evaluate positively and negatively?
 - b. What kinds of emotions does Sunter exploit in his discourse to construct a relationship of solidarity with his reader?
 - c. What kinds of appeals to morality and judgment (higher-order needs of self-actualisation etc.) does Sunter make to encourage change in his reader?
2. What are the socio-political factors, unique to the 1996 South African context, that promote the generation and reproduction of transformational discourse such as Sunter's?

3. What discursual strategies does Sunter use to promote the ideology of new capitalism, i.e. how does Sunter's discourse reproduce the ideology of new capitalism?

I answer each of the questions in the three sections that follow.

5.2.1 Research Question One: How is Sunter's Discourse Transformational?

In order to answer the first research question, I chose to begin with the analysis of the value assumptions within Sunter's text (cf. 4.2). This was because the findings could immediately indicate whether or not Sunter's discourse was transformational; in other words, I could test the transformational leadership features from the literature against the value assumptions in Sunter's discourse to determine how far Sunter's perceptions of business and leadership principles were congruent with the relevant literature. The findings from this analysis formed a sounder basis from which to branch out to the slightly more challenging analyses using APPRAISAL theory. Furthermore this initial analysis resulted in trends that prompted the analysis of Sunter's discourse in terms of it enabling the ideology of new capitalism (4.5), namely, that the "desirables" oriented towards business in the text reflected the theoretical underpinnings of new capitalism. I discuss this in more detail in 5.2.3.

To conduct the value assumption analysis, I followed Fairclough's (2003) dichotomous categorisation to separate those phenomena that Sunter deemed good and so "desirable" from those things he assumed to be bad and therefore "undesirable". Tabulating this separation made for succinct visual summaries (cf. Tables 9, 10 and 11) from which I could draw conclusions to answer sub-question 1a. The analysis reveals that what Sunter values are those things that transformational leaders are purported to support and value, i.e. Sunter's assumptions about what is good typifies the qualities that transformers assume are good. I could presume, therefore, that my choice of Sunter as the subject for the research was appropriate. According to the value assumption analysis, Sunter is indeed a transformational leader. I summarise Sunter's main value assumptions now (cf. 4.2.2.8).

Sunter's preoccupation with the notion of change epitomises him as a transformational leader. He challenges the status quo and offers change as a means to overcome the frustrations and ineffectiveness of the current order of things. New ideas and innovation are prized over established business practices, which are assumed to be 'old' and therefore outdated. He favours action and bravery over stagnation through fear. Sunter assumes that having a vision and clear strategy to implement the change he promotes is extremely valuable; however, this vision tends to be expressed in abstract terms with emphasis on long-term solutions as opposed to short-term success. Sunter assumes that being excited about business is valuable and that all people should want to engage in business intrepidly. Failure is assumed to be an integral, and positive, ingredient in encouraging experimentation and advancement within companies. In this same vein, the notion of insanity is construed as valuable since it promotes creativity. Therefore, employees who are tenacious are prized since they are neither afraid to abandon sanity nor to fail. It is assumed that having certain skills is also desirable, like being able to negotiate and take risks. Sunter assumes too that good leaders empower their followers, raise them to higher levels of morality and appeal to their sense of self-actualisation. Mutual trust and respect in the leader-follower relationship are seen to be good. Leaders who view their employees as assets as opposed to liabilities, and emphasise the individual's contribution within the community are assumed to be valuable. In essence, Sunter assumes all features that are indicative of transformational leadership are good, valuable and therefore worthy of emulation.

Conversely, Sunter assumes those features that are incongruent with a transformational leadership perspective to be bad, worthless and so undesirable. He assumes that traditional management hierarchies with top-down, more transactional-type leadership, are undesirable. Separating individuals from the community in which they work and failing to address their higher-order needs is seen to be undesirable as well; money as a primary motivator is bad according to Sunter. In this way, Sunter's negative value assumptions are further support for his transformational stance, i.e. they discredit a leadership-style that is inconsistent with transformational leadership.

The answers to sub-questions 1b and 1c supplemented the answers to 1a (that were covered in the value assumption analysis). Questions 1b and 1c concern Sunter's attitude as it is manifested in his texts and it was for this reason that I applied APPRAISAL theory to the data to find answers. APPRAISAL theory offers a rigorous framework with which to explore the interpersonal relationship that Sunter constructs with his reader. It is especially useful in highlighting the emotions that Sunter brings to the text (question 1b) in the analysis of his Affect choices.

The analysis of Sunter's discourse in terms of his Affect choices reveals the dominant emotion to be insecurity, i.e. Sunter stimulates his reader's sense of disquiet throughout all three texts. Furthermore, this disquiet is largely evoked. This observation is highly significant for two reasons: firstly, it is completely inconsistent with what the literature explains for a transformational leader to draw on baser emotions, such as fear, to instigate change in her/his followers. Transformational leaders tend to appeal to a follower's higher-order needs (discussed in response to sub-question 1c below), but Sunter's texts clearly exploit this lower-order emotion. Secondly, the fact that the disquiet is mainly evoked, e.g. through triggers such as metaphors, shows that Sunter relies on his reader to bring their own world knowledge to the text to make the preferred meaning of his transformational message. In other words, Sunter aligns himself with the reader by assuming a shared background with her/him. The socio-economic context at the time of text production affords Sunter the opportunity to exploit his reader's interpretive latitude through the process of intertextuality (Fairclough 2001); both Sunter and his reader experienced South Africa's momentous transition from White to Black governance in the democratic elections of 1994, but the 1996 context retains the undercurrent of uncertainty with regard to the country's future under new leadership. Sunter acknowledges and prompts these feelings of insecurity to mobilise change towards a better, more stable future.

With regard to question 1c, the APPRAISAL analysis reveals too that Sunter exploits the resource of Judgment within his texts more than the other types of Attitude, namely Affect or Appreciation. His Judgement choices (cf. 4.4) reveal his discourse to be

congruent with research on transformational leadership discourse (Shamir *et al* 1993, Harvey 2004); i.e. there is a preponderance of evoked tenacity. By appealing to his reader's sense of bravery and courage, Sunter is seen to stimulate her/his sense of self-esteem – a higher-order need and a powerful source of motivation. Furthermore, the extensive use of tenacity works in an effective configuration with the sense of disquiet shown in the analysis of Affect choices. Sunter imbues his discourse, and so too his reader, with feelings of empowerment and strength to overcome her/his insecurities, insecurities that he keeps prompting throughout the texts to emphasise the urgent need for this tenacity. The uniqueness of the South African context at the time of text production allows Sunter to exploit both higher and lower-order feelings in his reader (discussed further in the following section 5.2.2). A more detailed examination of the Judgement choices made by Sunter within the category of Social Sanction (cf. 4.4.4) shows how Sunter manipulates his reader's sense of self-worth to mobilise change. He expresses the need for transformation in moral terms and emphasises the role of the individual in the grander scheme of improving the community. Once more, the shared history of Apartheid affords Sunter the opportunity to present change, especially insofar as it concerns business and leadership, as an ethical obligation for those who receive his message, and as an enticing way to disengage with the immorality of the past (i.e. racial discrimination and gross violation of human rights).

In conclusion therefore, Sunter's discourse is transformational because it exhibits the fundamental value assumptions that underpin the discourse of transformers as described in the literature (cf. 4.4.5) and evokes much tenacity in his reader. Although he stimulates insecurity through the texts, this too shapes the discourse as the fear works as a further resource to promote change, given the macrolevel conditions of 1996 South Africa.

5.2.2 Research Question Two: The Importance of Context

From the discussion of the APPRAISAL analyses above (cf. 4.3 and 4.4), it is clear that the context surrounding Sunter's texts is a vital influence in providing him with opportunity to exploit certain resources and in effecting the success of his

transformational message. This claim is supported by the CDA/SFL premise (cf. 3.5.1) that cognisance must be given to the macrolevel context in which a text is produced and interpreted to understand fully the microlinguistic level manifestations; i.e. Sunter's textual choices are both representative of the 1996 context and constrained by it. The interpretive relationship extends beyond Sunter and his readers to Sunter and the immediate South African context. The end to Apartheid in 1994 and transition from White to Black governance meant that the socio-political climate of 1996 South Africa was conducive to the rise of a transformational leader like Sunter. People were lost and seeking guidance towards a more stable future, the likes of which Sunter offers in a very attractive way (cf. 5.2.1). Although the country was, ostensibly, a democracy in 1996, much social transformation was still needed at the time of text production. Sunter capitalises on this need and projects change as the answer to reaching the country's goals of social equalities, stability and economic growth. To do this, he evokes a delicate balance of the emotions of fear and bravery in his target audience, specifically South Africans who have experienced Apartheid and the elections of 1994 and so can align themselves with Sunter's message. The country's socio-political history extends the discursual resources available to Sunter.

Trends within the greater global context are also responsible for enabling Sunter to be an effective transformational leader. The advent of new capitalism, the latest manifestation of capitalism (Fairclough 2003), is observed to increase the pressures on the South African economy to keep up with globalisation. Businesses in 1996 were having to adapt to the hyper-competitive, consumer-driven and technology-based international markets. The turbulence in the global economic dynamics meant that extraneous demands were pressured onto employees to keep profits competitive. With change, the need for effective leadership increases and so Sunter is well-received as the leader to guide followers into the unknown social order of new capitalism.

5.2.3 Research Question Three: Sunter as an Agent of New Capitalism

The analysis of modes of operation of ideology in Sunter's texts (cf. 4.5) reveals, without a doubt, that his discourse reflects that ideology of new capitalism. Sunter is constrained

by the new capitalism context to promote change towards this new social order; but more than this, by virtue of the fact that he is constrained in this way, he plays a vital role in enabling the ideology of new capitalism. Fairclough (2001) captures this concept by explaining that being constrained is a precondition for being enabled. In this way, Sunter is indeed an agent of new capitalism. He foregrounds the spirit of capitalism through strategies of legitimation to show new capitalism as the attractive answer to the uncertainty. He rationalises the need for followers to embrace change by constructing chains of logical reasoning, and by creating the illusion of unity through unification strategies. Sunter, on a superficial level, obscures relationships of dominance via the modes of reification and displacement so his reader perceives their work as a means to reach new levels of self-actualisation and empowerment. I argue, however, that this is merely a successful strategy used by those who market new capitalism, as Sunter does, to overcome the inherent power-empowerment paradox of new capitalism. Skilful promoters, such as transformational leaders, encourage workers to motivate themselves so the vast power inequalities between the workers and capitalists are obscured. Those with power appear to relinquish some of their power to the newly 'empowered' knowledge workers of new capitalism. Workers thus operate in a false consciousness, believing that fulfilling their duties betters themselves and the community when in actual fact they perpetuate their role as workers and contribute to increased profits of the corporation overall.

Sunter, the transformational leader and change agent, thrives in a new capitalist context. He is the answer to overcoming people's resistance to change by projecting an alluring picture of a future that embraces new capitalism. In this way, Sunter gains the support of those with less power because he leads them to believe that their work is meaningful – this is preferable to the powerless seeing the essence of capitalism at work, whereby they are still forced to sell their labour to those with more power. Those with power (e.g. Anglo American Corporation PLC) support Sunter too because he is instrumental in ushering in change that reflects new capitalism, thereby perpetuating the social order, maintaining asymmetrical power relations and so promoting their best interests. Sunter's transformational discourse obscures these unequal power relations so that they continue

to function. He effectively markets new capitalism, being well-received by those with power and those without.

5.3 Limitations and Opportunities for Future Research

This section of the conclusion discusses the limitations of my research and opportunities for future research. I have grouped these topics together since the opportunities I suggest are essentially derived from the challenges I experienced during the course of this research. I dwell briefly on the weaknesses of my data selection and offer thoughts on selecting alternative data for research of this nature (cf. 5.3.1). In section 5.3.2, I discuss the frustrations I experienced in applying each of the chosen methodologies and recommend changes that would improve their application. In section 5.3.3 I mention the difficulties I experienced in drawing on a diverse range of theory for this research and I end with a brief look at Harvey's (2006) recent work that explores the use of the genre of autobiography as an alternative data source for transformational discourse in section 5.3.4.

5.3.1 Data Selection

The first challenge that presented itself was the selection of data for this project. Having read all of Sunter's work, I ended up selecting only three relatively short texts from one of the fourteen books he has written. At first glance this selection may seem too narrow and not representative enough of Sunter's discourse. Nonetheless the qualitative focus and use of a selection of methodologies on these three texts resulted in a plethora of data, much of which I do not report on in this thesis due to space constraints. I aimed to select texts that were emblematic of Sunter's transformational discourse and so the findings are only generalisable up to a point, given the limited data sources (cf. 1.4.4 and 3.5 for a more detailed justification of the text selection).

For pragmatic reasons, I chose to look only at Sunter's written texts but in the future, an examination of Sunter's spoken texts, e.g. presentations (video-recorded and live) and spontaneous conversation (cf. Harvey 2004, 2006), would provide for a much richer analysis. One could compare features of spoken and written transformational discourse

to determine whether the discursual features in written texts appear as frequently as in spoken ones (cf. 5.3.3). One could also explore the mix of such features. This would indicate to what extent preparation plays a part in a transformational leader's message being effective, i.e. are transformational leaders, like Sunter, better at motivating change through written, verbal and/or visual media? There is also potential for a multimodal analysis of transformational leadership discourse from a range of sources.

Furthermore, my selection of texts come from only one of Sunter's books. A more thorough analysis could examine texts written over a greater time period, e.g. texts chosen from each of Sunter's books that span the 1990s; or one could conduct a comparative analysis of Sunter's earlier and later work to affect a longitudinal-type study that explores more subtly how Sunter's discourse responds to the changing environment.

5.3.2 Methodological Challenges

I draw on a selection of three main methodological frameworks when analysing the data; APPRAISAL theory, grounded in Systemic Functional Linguistics, value assumption theory, based on more recent CDA work (Fairclough 2003) and Thompson's (1990) theory on modes of operation of ideology. I now share the limitations I experienced with each of these.

5.3.2.1 Value Assumptions

Fairclough's (2003) identification of assumption types inspired me to examine the value assumptions inherent in Sunter's texts. However, I struggled to apply his work to my data during the initial stages of data analysis. Despite the concept of value assumptions being enticing on a theoretical level, it lacked objectivity when I applied it practically. Other than merely listing value assumptions into positive or negative categories, Fairclough offers no clear framework to make the distinction. I found I had to rely on my own interpretations to identify value assumptions without any means of checking whether my classification of these assumptions as "desirable" or "undesirable" was accurate or not. This is problematic because "one's interpretation of texts in terms of values depends upon one's knowledge and recognition of such value systems" (Fairclough 2003:57). In

attempting to 'read between the lines' to reveal the implicit assumptions, I had to draw on my own values system; so it was only through referring to my intrinsic ideas of what was desirable or not (whatever that means for a White, 25 year-old, middle-class, Zimbabwean female) that I could hope to make sense of and then classify Sunter's value assumptions. This jeopardised maintaining a critical perspective on the data (cf. 5.3.2.3.2). This subjectivity meant too that I constantly feared having missed other value assumptions in the text. The move to tabulate the value assumptions in the three summarised tables (cf. Tables 9, 10 and 11) helped to contain the assumptions I was dealing with but also meant that in condensing them I again worried about leaving some out.

Furthermore the dichotomy of assumptions into good and bad values was unsatisfactory in certain instances. It ignores degrees of desirability; I could identify simply what was good or bad but not what was better or worse. A closer look at modality as a feature would have shed light on those assumptions that were more integral to Sunter's conception of good business and those that were more peripheral; for example, "*Companies should have a bias for action*" and "*Business must be easily accessible*" assume that action is desirable and that accessibility to business is desirable respectively, but the use of "must" implies that the second assumption is more valuable than the first. The continuum of value is overlooked in an either/or classification like the one Fairclough offers. I think that a method that can distinguish these subtleties in the classification would be useful in ranking the importance of "desirables" and "undesirables", and so provide more detail as to the nature of the common ground that Sunter shapes. An inclusion of the APPRAISAL subsystem of Graduation (cf. 3.2.4) would have proved useful in addressing this problem. I believe, therefore, that future research that deals with value assumption types needs to employ a far more rigorous framework that acknowledges the importance of modality (5.3.2.2.2). Over and above this, the framework should include some means to ensure the objectivity of identifying assumptions to avoid excessive reliance on the researcher's own interpretations.

5.3.2.2 APPRAISAL Subsystem Selection

It is obvious that I neglect to include an analysis of the Appreciation choices in Sunter's texts; I chose to focus only on the APPRAISAL sub-systems of Affect and Judgement. This was largely a data-driven decision since the Affect and Judgement Summary tables for each text (Appendices Aiv, Biv and Civ) show obvious and interesting trends straight away; most notably that Sunter prompts feelings of disquiet (Affect) and tenacity (Judgement). These findings, therefore, were my focus for the APPRAISAL analyses. The Appreciation choices do not reveal any striking trends and, furthermore, the evaluations of the phenomena in this category tend to overlap with the positive and negative value assumptions that are revealed in the first analysis I conducted (cf. 4.2). So from an impressionistic level at least, I wanted to avoid redundancy and therefore left out Appreciation choices. This does mean however, that future research could include an examination of the choices from this Attitude subsystem. There is also opportunity to study the other types of Affect (e.g. Un/happiness) and Judgement (normality, capacity) that emerged in the APPRAISAL analysis as these would make for a more comprehensive description of transformational discourse.

5.3.2.2.1 Appreciation as a Resource

The Appreciation summary tables (Appendices Aiv, Biv and Civ) show that Sunter mainly evaluates phenomena with choices from the category of valuation; moreover, there is a tendency for positive over negative valuations (cf. value assumption analysis that revealed a higher frequency of positive "desirable" than negative "undesirable" assumptions in section 4.2). It would be interesting to look at the targets of these valuation choices to see how far they resemble features of new capitalism. For example, Sunter positively appreciates "transformation". In this way, he nominalises the process of change, or reifies it (cf. 4.5 strategies for promoting the ideology of new capitalism), to project it as a thing to be evaluated. In this way, processes that support a new capitalist ideology can be evaluated within the Appreciation subsystem to elevate them to object status (e.g. "innovation"); this obscures the process and participants involved, which has been seen to be an effective means to disguise power inequalities. An examination of the

discoursal choices within the Appreciation category could disclose these asymmetric power relations.

5.3.2.3 Ideological Analysis

The analysis of the strategies Sunter uses to promote the ideology of new capitalism is the final analysis I conducted. There are two main challenges I experienced here; specifically, limiting the scope of the analysis and maintaining a critical perspective on the texts.

5.3.2.3.1 Scope of Analysis

Although I conducted a thorough analysis of all the discoursal strategies Sunter uses to promote new capitalism in all three texts (Appendix E), I chose to report on only the CR text in detail in section 4.5.2. This was due to space constraints and obviously it would have been preferable to discuss the modes that appear in all three texts in detail; as such, there remains a large amount of data in Appendix E to be reported on. I have justified my selection of the CR text ahead of the other two in section 4.5.1 but am aware that having to make a choice in this way could be criticised. The CR text is best suited because, as I have said, it features the more 'African' of all the personalities and this is significant for Sunter's exploitation of a shared history, seen via the strategy of narrativisation, for example. Furthermore this article exhibits interesting notions of who is involved in the social power plays of 1996 South Africa and sheds light on the illusion of unity created by the spirit of capitalism strategy. From this detailed report, I moved to include evidence from the other two texts that supported the main new capitalism features emerging from the CR analysis. The scope of analysis was therefore restricted by only focussing on those features that are emblematic of new capitalism; this is potentially unsatisfactory and could be improved with more rigorous discussion of all the features in the three texts.

5.3.2.3.2 Maintaining Critical Distance

I believe that any analysis that draws on CDA theory is challenging since it entails being critical of ideologies and, by their very definition, ideologies are difficult to pinpoint and

understand. The new capitalist context in which I exist means that much of the ideology of new capitalism is naturalised for me. It means that it was easy to read 'with' Sunter's texts because they reflect many of the common sense assumptions that are imposed upon me today. It was much more challenging to read 'against' the text, i.e. from a critical perspective, because it meant having to de-naturalise many of these common sense assumptions that influence my interpretation of Sunter's discourse. I needed to understand the ideology first, i.e. by buying into it, to make a preferred (new capitalist) reading of Sunter's message, before I could be critical of it. It was very easy to be swept up in the energy and dexterity of Sunter's discourse and fail to maintain an objective and clear perspective on the texts. The ideological analysis was the most difficult of all the analyses by virtue of the reflexive nature of having to negotiate my own ideologies (shaped to a large extent by new capitalism) against Sunter's. I had to foreground the implicit assumptions that shape my world perspective; in this way, I had to be critical of my own ideology – which I have found to be a very challenging task.

From a more personal perspective, it was difficult not to let my own opinions of Sunter influence my work. He was very accommodating when I met him for the personal interview; he showed tremendous kindness towards me and a genuine interest in my work. He was forthcoming with information and very honest about his career. It was testing, therefore, to maintain a critical stance throughout the analyses of his texts. I frequently had to keep my emotions in check and step back from the person behind the texts to avoid overtly subjective interpretations.

5.3.3 Reading Across Disciplines

I explain in section 1.1 how it was necessary for me to draw on a diverse range of theory to conduct this research. The inter-disciplinary nature of my focus, i.e. transformational leadership, new capitalism and discourse, meant that I had to explore resources beyond the realm of linguistics and read across social science disciplines, such as sociology, organisational psychology, history, leadership theory and economics. This was extremely challenging for me, coming from a linguistics background; I had to negotiate my way through multiple resources in such a way as to understand the fundamentals of

each field but without losing the linguistic focus. I feared being too brief in certain areas and too detailed in others. The balance and focus needed checking continually.

5.3.4 Autobiography as Rhetoric

It became more evident to me towards the end of this research that the interview I conducted with Sunter could have figured as a valuable data source, especially in light of Harvey's (2006) work on autobiography as a source of transformational rhetoric/discourse. She explains how interviews, where transformational leaders recount their life's path to success (as Sunter did in his interview with me), provide a platform to examine other facets of a leader's discursual prowess, such as story-telling or identity construction. Gardner (1995:13) in Goethals (2005) also emphasises this importance of story-telling, explaining that effective leaders tell stories "about themselves and their groups, about where they were coming from and where they were headed, about what to be feared, struggled against and dreamed about". In Sunter's case, it would have been interesting to examine the extent to which he acknowledges the ripeness of the socio-economic context in contributing to his success, if I had carried out a more thorough interview with him. It would have been interesting also to determine what Sunter's explicit hopes for change in the country may be to see how far his perspectives overtly mirrored the ideology of new capitalism. It may be intriguing to show Sunter the results of the analysis of the strategies he uses to promote new capitalism and determine to what extent he is/was aware of his role in marketing this latest social order; this would shed more light on whether Sunter is conscious of his powers of persuasion that favour new capitalism. An interview of this sort could be compared to the findings from this research (cf. 4.5). Generally, it seems that recording the spontaneous oral texts of transformational leaders provides a very worthwhile type of data.

5.4 Conclusion

This research aimed to describe the discursual features of Clem Sunter's writing. I found that his discourse is transformational in nature and therefore enables him to be an effective transformational leader. In addition I showed that Sunter capitalises on the uncertainty of the 1996 South African context brought about by changes in the socio-

political climate after the 1994 transition to new governance. He exploits too the turbulence generated by the advent of the social order of new capitalism. In this way, the macrolevel context both influences Sunter's discourse and is reflected in Sunter's discourse. His writing promotes the 'spirit of capitalism' and obscures the intrinsic inconsistencies of this latest social order. In this way, Sunter is seen to be an effective agent of new capitalism; he is well-received by those with power and those without power. He uses his discourse to convince people that change is good and creates a sense of empowerment for his followers by appealing to their higher-order needs. He is opportunistic, making good use of the uniqueness of the South African context at the time of text production to further the goals of his transformational discourse. Insofar as Sunter's discourse enables him to be a transformational leader, it enables him to be a new capitalist leader too.

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A: The Tom Peters Text

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APPENDIX A: Original Text

Tom Peters

Tom is a world-class business guru who lives his life out loud.

28.1.1996 I had the pleasure last Monday of opening and closing a presentation by Tom Peters at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg. He is the foremost business evangelist in the world and with Bob Waterman wrote the best-selling business book ever *In Search of Excellence*. South Africans on the whole are passionate about politics and sport. They're not passionate about business. In contrast, Tom portrays business as a cooperative activity that can be incredible fun and the best adventure for anyone to experience in his or her lifetime.

This dovetails with a point I make in my "High Road" lectures. Being world class in rugby and cricket is all very well, but it is not the ultimate determinant of a country's long-term fortunes. Being world class in business is. Not even politics is more important. Do you associate the Swiss more closely with their cantons or their watches, the Japanese with the quality of their prime ministers or their cars? Democracy is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for a winning nation. Now for some of Tom's pearls of wisdom gleaned from a multiplicity of sources.

The only sustainable advantage for a company comes from out-innovating the competition. But incrementalism is innovation's worst enemy, sanity is the playground of the unimaginative. Most of the world's great innovators are crazy; if they were to pitch up at most companies' personnel departments looking for a job, they'd be flatly turned down. Innovators lead markets, they don't follow them. When society was in a state of wheel-lessness, who wanted the wheel? It was probably a flop to begin with, like video cassette recorders and cellular telephones. Curious corporations employ curious people - ones who have gaps in their CVs.

If you can't say why you've made your company a better place, you're out. Management by objectives and performance appraisal should be replaced by all employees having to do annual resumes in which they show not only how they have added value to the company but how they have improved themselves. Customers must testify to the truth of these resumes.

Companies should have a bias for action. Instead of Ready, Aim, Aim, Aim... it should be Ready, Fire, Aim. It is not new ideas that get companies into trouble, it is old ideas that they won't forget. Occasionally, one needs strategic forgetfulness.

Forget the boss. While working in a restaurant as a student, Tom saw himself as CEO and Entertainer-in-Chief of his five tables and fifteen seatings and 38 guests between 5.30 and 11 each night. And nobody could stop him. Let no one complain that they can't make something out of even the humblest job. The express aim of one hotel is that the housekeepers on each floor should see themselves as Michelangelos in keeping the rooms beautifully clean. After all, customers see more of them than the manager and are directly affected by the quality of their work. Companies should put the person who serves the customer first – and the customer second.

What creates trust, in the end, is the leader's manifest respect for followers. Outstanding companies spend 6 per cent of gross revenue on training. Conversely, 70 per cent of people interviewed as to why they switched to a competitor in a particular industry did so because of bad contact with their original supplier's staff (nothing to do with the product). In a recent review of the American car industry, the most defective area was customer service.

Tom's best story was how at a conference he was asked by one of the audience what relevance his ideas on customer service could be if a business was self-service. He gave an inadequate response. After the presentation, he was approached by the owner of a petrol station who said he could have given a much better answer. His business was situated at a busy junction with three rival stations in close proximity. He offered self-service which had successfully drawn business away from his three competitors. He filled the cars himself, cleaned the windows himself and vacuumed the interiors himself! Even though his competitors saw him doing this, they did not follow suit. Wrongly they thought that differentiation lay in the chemical additives in the petrol. They were blind to the fact that simple things count.

Tom, you're welcome back anytime. To use your lingo, for a 53-year-old you live your life out real loud. You are a true dispenser of enthusiasm. Maybe Nelson Mandela should twist your arm to do a one-month road show for free so that next time everyone can get to hear your passionate message – and have their molecules rearranged.

APPENDIX Ai: Line Numbering

Tom Peters

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5. about politics and sport. They're not passionate about business. In contrast, Tom
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7. adventure for anyone to experience in his or her lifetime.

8. This dovetails with a point I make in my "High Road" lectures. Being world class
9. in rugby and cricket is all very well, but it is not the ultimate determinant of a
10. country's long-term fortunes. Being world class in business is. Not even politics
11. is more important. Do you associate the Swiss more closely with their cantons or
12. their watches, the Japanese with the quality of their prime ministers or their cars?
13. Democracy is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for a winning nation. Now
14. for some of Tom's pearls of wisdom gleaned from a multiplicity of sources.

15. The only sustainable advantage for a company comes from out-innovating the
16. competition. But incrementalism is innovation's worst enemy, sanity is the
17. playground of the unimaginative. Most of the world's great innovators are crazy;
18. if they were to pitch up at most companies' personnel departments looking for a
19. job, they'd be flatly turned down. Innovators lead markets, they don't follow
20. them. When society was in a state of wheel-lessness, who wanted the wheel? It
21. was probably a flop to begin with, like video cassette recorders and cellular
22. telephones. Curious corporations employ curious people - ones who have gaps in
23. their CVs.

24. If you can't say why you've made your company a better place, you're out.

25. Management by objectives and performance appraisal should be replaced by all
26. employees having to do annual resumes in which they show not only how they
27. have added value to the company but how they have improved themselves.
28. Customers must testify to the truth of these resumes.
29. Companies should have a bias for action. Instead of Ready, Aim, Aim, Aim... it
30. should be Ready, Fire, Aim. It is not new ideas that get companies into trouble, it
31. is old ideas that they won't forget. Occasionally, one needs strategic
32. forgetfulness.
33. Forget the boss. While working in a restaurant as a student, Tom saw himself as
34. CEO and Entertainer-in-Chief of his five tables and fifteen seatings and 38 guests
35. between 5.30 and 11 each night. And nobody could stop him. Let no one
36. complain that they can't make something out of even the humblest job. The
37. express aim of one hotel is that the housekeepers on each floor should see
38. themselves as Michelangelos in keeping the rooms beautifully clean. After all,
39. customers see more of them than the manager and are directly affected by the
40. quality of their work. Companies should put the person who serves the customer
41. first – and the customer second.
42. What creates trust, in the end, is the leader's manifest respect for followers.
43. Outstanding companies spend 6 per cent of gross revenue on training.
44. Conversely, 70 per cent of people interviewed as to why they switched to a
45. competitor in a particular industry did so because of bad contact with their
46. original supplier's staff (nothing to do with the product). In a recent review of the
47. American car industry, the most defective area was customer service.
48. Tom's best story was how at a conference he was asked by one of the audience
49. what relevance his ideas on customer service could be if a business was self-
50. service. He gave an inadequate response. After the presentation, he was
51. approached by the owner of a petrol station who said he could have given a much

52. better answer. His business was situated at a busy junction with three rival
53. stations in close proximity. He offered self-service which had successfully drawn
54. business away from his three competitors. He filled the cars himself, cleaned the
55. windows himself and vacuumed the interiors himself! Even though his
56. competitors saw him doing this, they did not follow suit. Wrongly they thought
57. that differentiation lay in the chemical additives in the petrol. They were blind to
58. the fact that simple things count.

59. Tom, you're welcome back anytime. To use your lingo, for a 53-year-old you
60. live your life out real loud. You are a true dispenser of enthusiasm. Maybe
61. Nelson Mandela should twist your arm to do a one-month road show for free so
62. that next time everyone can get to hear your passionate message – and have their
63. molecules rearranged.

APPENDIX Aii: Appraisal Identification and Numbering

Tom Peters

Tom is a world-class business guru who lives his life out loud.

28.1.1996 I had the pleasure (1) last Monday of opening and closing a presentation by Tom Peters at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg. He is the foremost business evangelist in the world (2) and with Bob Waterman wrote the best-selling business book ever (3) *In Search of Excellence*. South Africans on the whole are passionate about politics and sport (4). They're not passionate about business (5). In contrast, Tom portrays business as a cooperative activity (6) that can be incredible fun (7) and the best adventure for anyone to experience in his or her lifetime (8).

This dovetails with a point I make in my "High Road" lectures. Being world class in rugby and cricket (9) is all very well, but it is not the ultimate determinant (10) of a country's long-term fortunes (11). Being world class in business is (12). Not even politics is more important (13). Do you associate the Swiss more closely with their cantons or their watches (14), the Japanese with the quality of their prime ministers or their cars (15)? Democracy is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for a winning nation (16). Now for some of Tom's pearls of wisdom (17) gleaned from a multiplicity of sources.

The only sustainable advantage (18) for a company comes from out-innovating the competition (19). But incrementalism is innovation's worst enemy (20), sanity is the playground of the unimaginative (21). Most of the world's great (22) innovators are crazy (23); if they were to pitch up at most companies' personnel departments looking for a job, they'd be flatly turned down (24). Innovators lead markets, they don't follow them (25). When society was in a state of wheel-lessness (26), who wanted the wheel? It was probably a flop (27) to begin with, like video cassette recorders and cellular telephones. Curious corporations employ curious people (28) - ones who have gaps in their CVs (29).

If you can't say why you've made your company (30) a better place (31), you're out (32). Management by objectives and performance appraisal should be replaced by all employees having to do annual resumes (33) in which they show not only how they have

added value (34) to the company but how they have improved themselves (35). Customers must testify to the truth (36) of these resumes.

Companies should have a bias for action (37). Instead of Ready, Aim, Aim, Aim... it should be Ready, Fire, Aim. It is not new ideas (38) that get companies into trouble (39), it is old ideas (40) that they won't forget (41). Occasionally, one needs strategic forgetfulness (42).

Forget the boss. While working in a restaurant as a student, Tom saw himself as CEO and Entertainer-in-Chief (43) of his five tables and fifteen seatings and 38 guests between 5.30 and 11 each night. And nobody could stop him (44). Let no one complain that they can't make something out of even the humblest job (45). The express aim of one hotel is that the housekeepers on each floor should see themselves as Michelangelos (46) in keeping the rooms beautifully clean (47). After all, customers see more of them than the manager and are directly affected by the quality of their work (48). Companies should put the person who serves the customer first – and the customer second (49).

What creates trust (50), in the end, is the leader's manifest respect for followers (51). Outstanding (52) companies spend 6 per cent of gross revenue on training (53). Conversely, 70 per cent of people interviewed as to why they switched to a competitor (54) in a particular industry did so because of bad contact (55) with their original supplier's staff (nothing to do with the product). In a recent review of the American car industry, the most defective (56) area was customer service.

Tom's best story (57) was how at a conference he was asked by one of the audience what relevance (58) his ideas on customer service could be if a business was self-service. He gave an inadequate (59) response. After the presentation, he was approached by the owner of a petrol station who said he could have given a much better (60) answer. His business was situated at a busy junction with three rival (61) stations in close proximity. He offered self-service which had successfully drawn business away from his three competitors (62). He filled the cars himself, cleaned the windows himself and vacuumed the interiors himself (63)! Even though his competitors saw him doing this, they did not follow suit (64). Wrongly (65) they thought that differentiation lay in the chemical additives in the petrol. They were blind (66) to the fact that simple things count (67).

Tom, you're welcome back anytime (68). To use your lingo, for a 53-year-old you live your life out real loud (69). You are a true dispenser of enthusiasm (70). Maybe Nelson Mandela should twist your arm to do a one-month road show for free so that next time everyone can get to hear your passionate message (71) – and have their molecules rearranged.

APPENDIX Aiii: Appraisal Table

Number	Instantiation (Text)	APPRAISAL (ATTITUDE)			INSCRIBED/ EVOKED	TARGET
		AFFECT	APPRECIATION	JUDGEMENT		
1	" <i>pleasure</i> "	Satisfaction: pleasure +			Inscribed	Sunter
2	" <i>foremost</i> business evangelist in the world"			Esteem: normality +	Inscribed	Peters
3	"the best-selling business book ever"		Reaction: impact +		Evoked	Peters's book
4	" <i>passionate</i> about politics and sport"	Satisfaction: interest +			Inscribed	South Africans
5	" <i>not passionate</i> "	Satisfaction: interest -			Inscribed	South Africans
6	" <i>cooperative</i> activity"		Composition: balance +		Inscribed	Business
7	" <i>incredible fun</i> "	Happiness: cheer +			Inscribed	Business
8	" <i>best</i> adventure for anyone to experience in his or her lifetime"		Reaction: quality +		Inscribed	Business
9	"Being <i>world class</i> in rugby and cricket"			Esteem: normality +	Inscribed	South African sport
10	"not the ultimate determinant"		valuation -		Evoked	Quality of South African sport and politics
11	"country's long-term fortunes"		valuation +		Evoked	South African wealth

12	"Being <i>world class</i> in business is"			Esteem: normality +	Inscribed	South African business
13	"Not even politics is more important"		valuation -		Evoked	South African politics
14	"their watches"		Reaction: quality +		Evoked	Switzerland (Swiss watches)
15	"quality of their prime ministers or their cars"		Reaction: quality +		Evoked	Japan
16	"necessary but not a sufficient condition for a winning nation"		valuation -		Evoked	Democracy
17	"pearls of wisdom"		Reaction: impact +		Evoked	Peters's advice
18	"sustainable advantage"		valuation +		Evoked	Business advantage
19	"out-innovating the competition"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	A company
20	"innovation's worst enemy"	Security: disquiet -			Evoked	Incrementalism
21	"playground of the unimaginative"			Esteem: capacity -	Evoked	Sanity
22	"world's <i>great</i> "			Esteem: capacity +	Inscribed	Innovators
23	" <i>crazy</i> "			Esteem: capacity -	Inscribed	Innovators
24	"flatly turned down"			Esteem: normality -	Evoked	Innovators

25	"Innovators lead markets, they don't follow them"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	Innovators
26	"a state of wheel-lessness"	Security: disquiet -			Evoked	Society
27	"a <i>flop</i> "		valuation -		Inscribed	The wheel, VCRs, cellular telephones
28	"Curious corporations employ curious people"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	Companies
29	"gaps in their CVs"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	Curious people
30	"If you can't say why you've made your company"			Esteem: capacity -	Evoked	Reader / Businessman or woman
31	"a <i>better</i> place"		Reaction: quality +		Inscribed	Reader's / Businessman or woman's company
32	"you're out"	Security: disquiet -			Evoked	Reader / Businessman or woman
33	"employees having to do annual resumes"			Sanction: propriety +	Evoked	Employees
34	"added <i>value</i> "		valuation +		Inscribed	Employees
35	"how they have improved themselves"			Sanction: veracity +	Evoked	Employees
36	"Customers must <i>testify to the truth</i> "			Sanction: propriety +	Inscribed	Customers

37	"have a bias for action"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	Companies
38	"new ideas"		valuation +		Inscribed	Ideas
39	"gets companies into trouble"	Security: disquiet -			Inscribed	Companies
40	"old ideas"		valuation -		Inscribed	Ideas
41	"they won't forget"		Reaction: impact -		Evoked	Old ideas
42	"strategic forgetfulness"			Esteem: capacity +	Evoked	Employees
43	"CEO and Entertainer-in-Chief"			Esteem: normality +	Evoked	Peters
44	"And nobody could stop him"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	Peters
45	"Let no one complain...out of even the humblest job"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	Employees
46	"see themselves as Michelangelos"			Esteem: capacity +	Evoked	Housekeepers/ employees
47	"beautifully clean"		Reaction: quality +		Inscribed	Housekeepers'/ employees' work
48	"quality of their work"		Reaction: quality +		Inscribed	Housekeepers'/ employees' work
49	"should put the person who serves... the customer second"			Sanction: propriety +	Evoked	Companies

50	"trust"			Sanction: veracity +	Inscribed	Employees
51	"respect for followers"			Sanction: veracity +	Evoked	Leaders
52	" <i>Outstanding</i> "			Esteem: normality +	Inscribed	Companies
53	"spend 6 per cent of gross revenue on training"			Esteem: capacity +	Evoked	Companies
54	"switched to a competitor"	Satisfaction: displeasure -			Evoked	Dissatisfied customers
55	" <i>bad</i> contact"		valuation -		Inscribed	Ineffective sales staff
56	" <i>defective</i> "		valuation -		Inscribed	Customer service
57	" <i>best</i> story"			Esteem: normality +	Inscribed	Peters's story
58	" <i>relevance</i> "		valuation +		Inscribed	Peters's ideas
59	" <i>inadequate</i> "		Composition: balance -		Inscribed	Peters's response
60	" <i>much better</i> "		Composition: balance +		Inscribed	Petrol owner's response
61	"rival"	Security: disquiet -			Evoked	Competition to petrol station owner's business
62	"successfully drawn business away... competitors"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	Petrol station owner

63	"He filled the cars himself... vacuumed the interiors himself"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	Petrol station owner
64	"Even though his competitors... they did not follow suit"			Esteem: capacity -	Evoked	Competition to petrol station owner's business
65	"Wrongly"			Esteem: capacity -	Evoked	Competition to petrol station owner's business
66	"They were blind"			Esteem: capacity -	Evoked	Competition to petrol station owner's business
67	" <i>simple</i> things count"		Composition: complexity +		Inscribed	Business principles
68	"you're welcome back anytime"	Satisfaction: pleasure +			Evoked	Sunter
69	"you live your life out real loud"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	Peters
70	" <i>true</i> dispenser of enthusiasm"			Sanction: veracity +	Inscribed	Peters
71	" <i>passionate</i> message"		Reaction: impact +		Inscribed	Peters's message

APPENDIX Aiv: Appraisal Component Summaries

Tom Peters: Affect Summary

Emotions		No.	E/I	Target
Satisfaction (5)	pleasure +	1 68	I E	Sunter Sunter
	pleasure -	54	E	dissatisfied customers
	interest +	4	I	South Africans
	interest -	5	I	South Africans
Security (5)	disquiet -	20	E	incrementalism
		26	E	society
		32	E	business person / reader
		39	I	companies
		61	E	competition to petrol station owner
Happiness (1)	cheer +	7	I	business
Totals	positives = 4 negatives = 7	11	I = 5 E = 6	

Tom Peters: Appreciation Summary

Appreciation Type		No.	E/I	Target
Reaction	impact +	3	E	Peters's book
		17	E	Peters's advice
		71	I	Peters's message
	impact -	41	E	old ideas
	quality +	8	I	business
		14	E	Switzerland (Swiss watches)
		15	E	Japan (Japanese cars)
		31	I	business person's / reader's company
		47	I	employees' /housekeepers' work
		48	I	employees' /housekeepers' work
Composition	balance +	6	I	business
		60	I	petrol station owner's response
	balance -	59	I	Peters's response
	complexity +	67	I	simple business principles
Evaluation	+	11	E	SA wealth
		18	E	business advantage
		34	I	employees
		38	I	new ideas
		58	I	Peters's ideas
	-	10	E	SA sport and politics
		13	E	SA politics
		16	E	democracy
		27	I	initial wheel,cellphone,VCR invention attempts
		40	I	old ideas
		55	I	ineffective sales staff
		56	I	bad customer service
Totals	positives = 17 negatives = 9	26	E = 10 I = 16	

Tom Peters: Judgement Summary

Judgement Category	Judgement Types	No.	E/I	Target
Social Esteem	normality +	2	I	Tom Peters
		9	I	SA sport
		12	I	SA business
		43	E	Tom Peters
		52	I	(outstanding) companies
		57	I	Tom Peters's story
	normality - (7)	24	E	innovators
	capacity +	22	I	innovators
		42	E	employees
		46	E	employees/ housekeepers
		53	E	companies
	capacity - (10)	21	E	sanity
		23	I	innovators
		30	E	business person/ reader
		64	E	competitors to petrol station owner
		65	E	competitors to petrol station owner
		66	E	competitors to petrol station owner
	tenacity +	19	E	company strategy
		25	E	innovators
		28	E	curious corporations
		29	E	curious people
		37	E	companies
		44	E	Tom Peters
		45	E	employees
		62	E	petrol station owner

(27)	(10)	63	E	petrol station owner
		69	E	Tom Peters
Social Sanction	veracity +	35	E	employees
		50	I	employees
		51	E	leaders
		(4) 70	I	Tom Peters
	propriety +	33	E	employees
(7)	(3)	36	I	customers
		49	E	companies
Totals	positives = 27 negatives = 7	34	E = 24 I = 10	

B: The CR Text

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Appendix Bii:	Appraisal Identification and Numbering	page 194
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APPENDIX B: Original Text

CR

CR is a world-class business leader – old and new!

5.5.1996 Looking at the photograph of Cyril Ramaphosa on the front page of the souvenir edition of *Sowetan Business*, I was struck by similarities to another great man with the initials CR – Cecil Rhodes. The quote attributable to Ramaphosa – “I was in the business of politics, now I’m entering the politics of business” – could easily, if reversed, have been said by Rhodes in 1890. That was the year he moved from the world of business to become Prime Minister of the Cape Colony.

Just as it is very rare for a sportsman to be chosen to represent his country at more than one national sport, so it is exceptional that a person climbs to the top of the ladder in politics as well as business. But the two men – Rhodes and Ramaphosa – have much in common.

Firstly, they both rose to the pinnacle of their occupations at absurdly young ages. They were handling immense power when most other people are still consolidating the first phase of their careers and aspiring to rise from junior to middle management. Rhodes had established De Beers Consolidated Mines Limited in Kimberley, the Gold Fields of South Africa Company in Johannesburg and the British South Africa Company to develop the new territory to the north of South Africa by the time he was 35. Ramaphosa had formed the National Union of Mineworkers by the time he was 30 and had played a key role in the formulation of the interim constitution by the time he was 39. He will have supervised the even more important task of drafting a final constitution before he is 44. By his deeds so far, Ramaphosa’s name will as assuredly feature in history books about the development of South Africa in the twentieth century, as Rhodes’s will continue to feature in books about the previous century.

Rhodes was the consummate deal maker of his era, as is evidenced by the way he progressed from being an impoverished digger to the leader of the diamond industry in a few brief years. He wheeled and dealt until he had everyone under a single umbrella. Ramaphosa has had to cope with a bewildering array of individuals with competing political interests and weld them together into a team with deadlines to meet. He has

succeeded extremely well despite the tenseness of having to sort out the thorniest issues in the last lap of the negotiation process.

During a casual conversation when I first met Ramaphosa as general secretary of the NUM, he said to me: "You know, Clem, whenever we have a chat like this, it's bound to end up in some type of negotiation." It demonstrated the single-mindedness of the individual. But then he gave one of those full-bellied laughs which charm the pants off the people he is negotiating with. He is sensationally good at instinctively guessing at his opponent's bottom line, taking him to the brink with a suitable dose of histrionics and then settling just before a dispute is declared. He keeps his word too.

Ramaphosa is his own man, with ambitions that set him apart from his colleagues. When everyone expected him to take a cabinet post in the Government of National Unity, he became ANC secretary-general and chairman of the Constitutional Assembly. Smart move – he added more value his way. Likewise, Rhodes must have exasperated some of his fellow directors because he never regarded moneymaking as an end in itself. His dream of "painting the map red" and building a railway from Cape to Cairo demonstrated a much grander vision than a normal businessman would have.

I can only wish Ramaphosa the best of luck in his new role. As he puts it: "I believe that the ultimate survival of big companies, and of the corporate sector, in this country revolves around how we empower the disadvantaged. If we don't develop clear strategies, we could all lose." He's right. Leaders of business must dedicate themselves to spreading a passion for business among the masses. Business must be easily accessible, not a privileged pastime. We've had a Club for too long. It must disband. And by the beginning of the new century, we need a black equivalent of Rhodes to give everybody a dream. With Ramaphosa, anything is possible.

APPENDIX Bi: Line Numbering

CR

CR is a world-class business leader – old and new!

1. **5.5.1996** Looking at the photograph of Cyril Ramaphosa on the front page of the
2. souvenir edition of *Sowetan Business*, I was struck by similarities to another great
3. man with the initials CR – Cecil Rhodes. The quote attributable to Ramaphosa –
4. “I was in the business of politics, now I’m entering the politics of business” –
5. could easily, if reversed, have been said by Rhodes in 1890. That was the year he
6. moved from the world of business to become Prime Minister of the Cape Colony.

7. Just as it is very rare for a sportsman to be chosen to represent his country at more
8. than one national sport, so it is exceptional that a person climbs to the top of the
9. ladder in politics as well as business. But the two men – Rhodes and Ramaphosa
10. – have much in common.

11. Firstly, they both rose to the pinnacle of their occupations at absurdly young ages.
12. They were handling immense power when most other people are still
13. consolidating the first phase of their careers and aspiring to rise from junior to
14. middle management. Rhodes had established De Beers Consolidated Mines
15. Limited in Kimberley, the Gold Fields of South Africa Company in Johannesburg
16. and the British South Africa Company to develop the new territory to the north of
17. South Africa by the time he was 35. Ramaphosa had formed the National Union
18. of Mineworkers by the time he was 30 and had played a key role in the
19. formulation of the interim constitution by the time he was 39. He will have
20. supervised the even more important task of drafting a final constitution before he
21. is 44. By his deeds so far, Ramaphosa’s name will as assuredly feature in history
22. books about the development of South Africa in the twentieth century, as
23. Rhodes’s will continue to feature in books about the previous century.

24. Rhodes was the consummate deal maker of his era, as is evidenced by the way he

25. progressed from being an impoverished digger to the leader of the diamond
26. industry in a few brief years. He wheeled and dealt until he had everyone under
27. a single umbrella. Ramaphosa has had to cope with a bewildering array of
28. individuals with competing political interests and weld them together into a team
29. with deadlines to meet. He has succeeded extremely well despite the tenseness of
30. having to sort out the thorniest issues in the last lap of the negotiation process.

31. During a casual conversation when I first met Ramaphosa as general secretary of
32. the NUM, he said to me: "You know, Clem, whenever we have a chat like this,
33. it's bound to end up in some type of negotiation." It demonstrated the single
34. -mindedness of the individual. But then he gave one of those full-bellied laughs
35. which charm the pants off the people he is negotiating with. He is sensationally
36. good at instinctively guessing at his opponent's bottom line, taking him to the
37. brink with a suitable dose of histrionics and then settling just before a dispute is
38. declared. He keeps his word too.

39. Ramaphosa is his own man, with ambitions that set him apart from his colleagues.
40. When everyone expected him to take a cabinet post in the Government of
41. National Unity, he became ANC secretary-general and chairman of the
42. Constitutional Assembly. Smart move – he added more value his way. Likewise,
43. Rhodes must have exasperated some of his fellow directors because he never
44. regarded moneymaking as an end in itself. His dream of "painting the map red"
45. and building a railway from Cape to Cairo demonstrated a much grander vision
46. than a normal businessman would have.

47. I can only wish Ramaphosa the best of luck in his new role. As he puts it: "I
48. believe that the ultimate survival of big companies, and of the corporate sector, in
49. this country revolves around how we empower the disadvantaged. If we don't
50. develop clear strategies, we could all lose." He's right. Leaders of business must
51. dedicate themselves to spreading a passion for business among the masses.

52. Business must be easily accessible, not a privileged pastime. We've had a Club
53. for too long. It must disband. And by the beginning of the new century, we need
54. a black equivalent of Rhodes to give everybody a dream. With Ramaphosa,
55. anything is possible.

APPENDIX Bii: Appraisal Identification and Numbering

CR

CR is a world-class business leader – old and new!

5.5.1996 Looking at the photograph of Cyril Ramaphosa on the front page of the souvenir edition (1) of *Sowetan Business*, I was struck (2) by similarities to another great man (3) with the initials CR – Cecil Rhodes. The quote attributable to Ramaphosa – “I was in the business of politics, now I’m entering the politics of business” – could easily, if reversed, have been said by Rhodes in 1890. That was the year he moved from the world of business to become Prime Minister of the Cape Colony.

Just as it is very rare (4) for a sportsman to be chosen to represent his country at more than one national sport (5), so it is exceptional (6) that a person climbs to the top of the ladder (7) in politics as well as business. But the two men – Rhodes and Ramaphosa – have much in common.

Firstly, they both rose to the pinnacle of their occupations (8) at absurdly young ages (9). They were handling immense power (10) when most other people are still consolidating the first phase of their careers and aspiring to rise from junior to middle management (11). Rhodes had established De Beers Consolidated Mines Limited in Kimberley, the Gold Fields of South Africa Company in Johannesburg and the British South Africa Company to develop the (12) new territory (13) to the north of South Africa (12) by the time he was 35 (14). Ramaphosa had formed the National Union of Mineworkers (15) by the time he was 30 (16) and had played a key role (17) in the formulation of the interim constitution (15) by the time he was 39 (18). He will have supervised the (19) even more important task (20) of drafting a final constitution (19) before he is 44 (21). By his deeds so far, Ramaphosa’s name will as assuredly feature (22) in history books about the development of South Africa in the twentieth century, as Rhodes’s will continue to feature in books about the previous century.

Rhodes was the consummate (23) deal maker of his era, as is evidenced by the way he progressed from being an impoverished digger (24) to the leader of the diamond industry (25) in a few brief years. He wheeled and dealed until he had everyone under a single umbrella (26). Ramaphosa has had to cope with a bewildering array (27) of

individuals with competing political interests (28) and weld them together (29) into a team with deadlines to meet. He has succeeded extremely well (30) despite the tenseness (31) of having to sort out the thorniest issues (32) in the last lap of the negotiation process (33).

During a casual conversation when I first met Ramaphosa as general secretary of the NUM, he said to me: "You know, Clem, whenever we have a chat like this, it's bound to end up in some type of negotiation." It demonstrated the single-mindedness (34) of the individual. But then he gave one of those full-bellied laughs (35) which charm the pants off the people he is negotiating with (36). He is sensationally good (37) at instinctively guessing at his opponent's bottom line, taking him to the brink (38) with a suitable dose (39) of histrionics and then settling just before a dispute is declared (38). He keeps his word too (40).

Ramaphosa is his own man (41), with ambitions that set him apart from his colleagues (42). When everyone expected him to take a cabinet post in the Government of National Unity, he became ANC secretary-general and chairman of the Constitutional Assembly. Smart move (43) – he added more value his way (44). Likewise, Rhodes must have exasperated some of his fellow directors because he never regarded moneymaking as an end in itself (45). His dream of "painting the map red" and building a railway from Cape to Cairo (46) demonstrated a much grander vision than a normal businessman would have (47).

I can only wish Ramaphosa the best of luck (48) in his new role (49). As he puts it: "I believe that the ultimate survival of big companies, and of the corporate sector (50), in this country revolves around how we empower the disadvantaged (51). If we don't develop clear strategies (52), we could all lose (53)." He's right (54). Leaders of business must dedicate themselves to spreading (55) a passion for business (56) among the masses (55). Business must be easily accessible (57), not a privileged pastime (58). We've had a Club (59) for too long. It must disband. And by the beginning of the new century, we need a black equivalent of Rhodes (60) to give everybody a dream (61). With Ramaphosa, anything is possible (62).

APPENDIX Biii: Appraisal Table

Number	Instantiation (Text)	APPRAISAL (ATTITUDE)			INSCRIBED/ EVOKED	TARGET
		AFFECT	APPRECIATION	JUDGEMENT		
1	"souvenir edition"		valuation +		Inscribed	<i>Sowetan Business</i> newspaper
2	"struck"		Reaction: impact +		Inscribed	<i>Sowetan Business</i> newspaper
3	"great man"			Esteem: normality +	Inscribed	Rhodes
4	"it is very rare"			Esteem: normality +	Inscribed	Metaphorical sportsman (cf. Rhodes & Ramaphosa)
5	"chosen to represent his country at more than one national sport"			Esteem: capacity +	Evoked	Metaphorical sportsman (cf. Rhodes & Ramaphosa)
6	"it is <i>exceptional</i> "			Esteem: normality +	Inscribed	Rhodes & Ramaphosa
7	"climbs to the top of the ladder"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	Rhodes & Ramaphosa
8	"both rose to the pinnacle of their occupations"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	Rhodes & Ramaphosa
9	"absurdly young ages"			Esteem: normality +	Evoked	Rhodes & Ramaphosa
10	"handling immense power"			Esteem: capacity +	Evoked	Rhodes & Ramaphosa

11	"most other people are still... to middle management"			Esteem: capacity -	Evoked	Other (normal but construed as deficient?) people
12	"had established De Beers...north of South Africa"			Esteem: capacity +	Evoked	Rhodes
13	" <i>new</i> territory"		valuation +		Inscribed	Territory developed (by Rhodes)
14	"by the time he was 35"			Esteem: normality +	Evoked	Rhodes
15	"had formed... formulation of interim constitution"			Esteem: capacity +	Evoked	Ramaphosa
16	"by the time he was 30"			Esteem: normality +	Evoked	Ramaphosa
17	"a <i>key</i> role"		valuation +		Inscribed	Ramaphosa's role
18	"by the time he was 39"			Esteem: normality +	Evoked	Ramaphosa
19	"He will have supervised... a final constitution"			Sanction: propriety +	Evoked	Ramaphosa
20	"even more <i>important</i> task"		valuation +		Inscribed	Drafting the final SA Constitution
21	"before he is 44"			Esteem: normality +	Evoked	Ramaphosa
22	"will as <i>assuredly</i> feature"	Security: confidence +			Inscribed	Ramaphosa's name
23	" <i>consummate</i> "			Esteem: capacity +	Inscribed	Rhodes

24	" <i>impoverished digger</i> "		Reaction: quality -		Inscribed	Rhodes's early career
25	"leader of the diamond industry"			Esteem: capacity +	Evoked	Rhodes
26	"He wheeled and dealed...single umbrella"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	Rhodes
27	"a <i>bewildering</i> array"	Security: disquiet -			Inscribed	SA public political opinion during the time of negotiations
28	"individuals with <i>competing</i> political interests"		Composition: balance -		Inscribed	SA public political opinion during the time of negotiations
29	"weld them together"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	Ramaphosa
30	" <i>succeeded</i> extremely well"			Esteem: capacity +	Inscribed	Ramaphosa
31	" <i>tenseness</i> "	Security: disquiet -			Inscribed	SA's political negotiations
32	" <i>thorniest</i> issues"		Composition: balance -		Inscribed	Issues in SA's political negotiations
33	"last lap of the negotiation process"		valuation +		Evoked	Final and crucial stages of SA negotiations
34	" <i>single-mindedness</i> "			Esteem: tenacity +	Inscribed	Ramaphosa

35	"full-bellied laughs"	Happiness: cheer +			Inscribed	Ramaphosa
36	"charm the pants off...negotiating with"	Satisfaction: pleasure +			Evoked	People Ramaphosa negotiates with
37	"sensationally good"			Esteem: capacity +	Inscribed	Ramaphosa's negotiation technique
38	"taking him to the brink... is declared"			Sanction: veracity +	Evoked	Ramaphosa's negotiation technique
39	"suitable dose"			Esteem: normality +	Inscribed	Amount of histrionics in (Ramaphosa's) negotiation process
40	"He keeps his word too"			Sanction: veracity +	Evoked	Ramaphosa
41	"Ramaphosa is his own man"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	Ramaphosa
42	"ambitions that set him apart from his colleagues"			Esteem: normality +	Evoked	Ramaphosa
43	"Smart move"			Esteem: capacity +	Inscribed	Ramaphosa's decisions
44	"he added more value his way"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	Ramaphosa
45	"he never regarded moneymaking as an end in itself"			Sanction: veracity +	Evoked	Rhodes

46	"His dream... Cape to Cairo"		valuation +		Evoked	Rhodes's visions
47	"a <i>much grander</i> vision...normal businessman would have"			Esteem: normality +	Inscribed	Rhodes
48	"the best of luck"	Happiness: affection +			Evoked	Sunter's wish for Ramaphosa
49	" <i>new</i> role"		valuation +		Inscribed	Ramaphosa's role
50	"survival of big companies...sector"		valuation +		Evoked	SA economy
51	"empower the disadvantaged"			Sanction: propriety +	Evoked	SA's empowerment strategies
52	" <i>clear</i> strategies"		Composition: complexity +		Inscribed	SA's economic strategies
53	"we could all lose"	Security: disquiet -			Evoked	All South Africans
54	"He's right"			Sanction: veracity +	Evoked	Ramaphosa
55	"dedicate themselves...the masses"			Sanction: propriety +	Evoked	SA business leaders
56	"a passion for business"		valuation +		Evoked	Business passion
57	"easily accessible"			Sanction: veracity +	Evoked	SA business
58	"not a privileged pastime"			Sanction: propriety -	Evoked	SA business

59	"a Club"			Sanction: propriety -	Evoked	Elitism, unfair (racial) exclusion – Apartheid history?
60	"a black equivalent of Rhodes"		valuation +		Evoked	Ramaphosa
61	"a dream"		valuation +		Evoked	A dream for all South Africans
62	"With Ramaphosa, anything is possible"			Esteem: normality +	Evoked	Ramaphosa

APPENDIX Biv: Appraisal Component Summaries

CR: Affect Summary

Emotions		No.	E/I	Target
Satisfaction (1)	pleasure +	36	E	those negotiating with Ramaphosa
Security (4)	disquiet -	27	I	SA public political opinion during negotiations
		31	I	SA's political negotiations
		53	E	all South Africans
	confidence +	22	I	Ramaphosa's name
Happiness (2)	cheer +	35	I	Ramaphosa
	affection +	48	E	Sunter's wish for Ramaphosa
Totals	positives = 4 negatives = 3	7	I = 4 E = 3	

CR: Appreciation Summary

Appreciation Type		No.	E/I	Target
Reaction (2)	impact +	2	I	Sowetan Business newspaper
	quality -	24	I	Rhodes's early career (a digger)
Composition (3)	balance -	28	I	SA public political opinion during time of negotiations
		32	I	issues in SA's political negotiations
	complexity +	52	I	SA economic strategies
Valuation (11)	+	1	I	Sowetan Business newspaper
		13	I	territory developed by Rhodes
		17	I	Ramaphosa's role
		20	I	SA final Constitution (drafting)
		33	E	final stages of SA negotiation process
		46	E	Rhodes's visions
		49	I	Ramaphosa's role
		50	E	survival of SA economy
		56	E	passion for business
		60	E	Ramaphosa
		61	E	a dream for all South Africans
Totals	positives = 13 negatives = 3	16	E = 6 I = 10	

CR: Judgement Summary

Judgement Category	Judgement Types	No.	E/I	Target
Social Esteem	normality + (12)	3	I	Rhodes
		4	I	metaphorical sportsman (Rhodes & Ramaphosa)
		6	I	Rhodes & Ramaphosa
		9	E	Rhodes & Ramaphosa
		14	E	Rhodes
		16	E	Ramaphosa
		18	E	Ramaphosa
		21	E	Ramaphosa
		39	I	Ramaphosa's negotiation technique
		42	E	Ramaphosa
		47	I	Rhodes's vision
		62	E	Ramaphosa
	capacity +	5	E	metaphorical sportsman (Rhodes & Ramaphosa)
		10	E	Rhodes & Ramaphosa
		12	E	Rhodes
		15	E	Ramaphosa
		23	I	Rhodes
		25	E	Rhodes
		30	I	Ramaphosa
		37	I	Ramaphosa's negotiation technique
		43	I	Ramaphosa's decisions
	capacity – (10)	11	E	other people
	tenacity +	7	E	Rhodes & Ramaphosa
		8	E	Rhodes & Ramaphosa
		26	E	Rhodes
		29	E	Ramaphosa

(29)	(7)	34	I	Ramaphosa
		41	E	Ramaphosa
		44	E	Ramaphosa
Social Sanction	veracity +	38	E	Ramaphosa's negotiation technique
		40	E	Ramaphosa
		45	E	Rhodes
		54	E	Ramaphosa
		57	E	SA business
	(5) propriety +	19	E	Ramaphosa
		51	E	SA empowerment strategies
		55	E	SA business leaders
	(10) propriety -	58	E	SA business
		59	E	a "Club" (Apartheid/ discrimination/ elitism)
Totals	positives = 36 negatives = 3	39	E = 29 I = 10	

C: The FDR and Maggie Thatcher Text

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APPENDIX C: Original Text

FDR and Maggie Thatcher

I like crunchy leaders like FDR and Maggie Thatcher.

27.10.1996 I've always associated Franklin D. Roosevelt, arguably the greatest US president of this century, with "big government". His span of office covered the Great Depression of the 1930s and World War II of the 1940s. He was responsible for the New Deal in America, a series of government-sponsored programmes in the countryside and the cities to alleviate the suffering of the general populace caused by the 30s depression. It was breathtaking in scale and brought a new meaning to the word "liberal". Up till then the word had retained its classical flavour of "laissez faire" but thenceforward the meaning was widened to cover caring government, i.e. one that helps people and communities to help themselves.

However, an excellent article by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr in *Newsweek* casts a new perspective on FDR's contribution. Contrary to popular opinion, the essence of FDR's approach was a belief in experiment. "The country needs," FDR said in 1932, "and, unless I mistake, the country demands, bold persistent experimentation. It is common sense to take a method and try it. If it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all, try something." In other words, failure does not mean "wrong". It means "try again". All great breakthroughs are achieved after going up blind alleys. Innovation is preceded by frustration and pain.

As a challenger of conventional wisdom, FDR knew that he would induce a hostile reaction from entrenched interests. "Judge me," he said to the people, "by the enemies I have made." Before FDR, Alexis de Tocqueville wrote that "democratic eras are periods of experiment, innovation and adventure" but added as a caution "I cannot but fear that men may arrive at such a state as to regard every new theory as a peril, every innovation as an irksome toil, every social improvement as a stepping-stone to revolution, and so refuse the move altogether for a fear of being moved too far". In modern parlance, de Tocqueville feared paralysis by analysis – a scourge that afflicts many faint-hearted bureaucracies today.

I wish FDR's words would ring in our government's ears. Not, I hasten to say, that they should copy FDR's policies. These were designed for a different world at a different time. He had to deal with unemployment created by the exodus of people out of agriculture into manufacturing and by the downward spiral in international trade. Now we have to live with unemployment caused by global competition and the transition from large-scale manufacturing to smaller-scale service industries.

Nevertheless, the principle of boldness is correct. If our government wants to tackle head-on the overriding problem of social exclusion, they have to think radically about what initial conditions will lead to an entrepreneurial chain reaction in this country. How do we get everybody to wheel and deal? Then they must go for it, irrespective of ill feelings from those left behind, and turn their ideas into action. The late Nico Colchester, former deputy editor of *The Economist*, put it very well: "Crunchiness brings wealth. Wealth leads to soggianness. Soggianness brings poverty. Poverty creates crunchiness. From this immutable cycle we know that to hang on to wealth, you must keep things crunchy."

FDR was crunchy: so was Maggie Thatcher. New Zealand is crunchy. Unfortunately, we're both soggy and poor at the moment. The discouraging "yes but" syndrome which kills ideas when they are still in bud must give way to positive climate for experimentation and innovation. We have had the transition: now we need transformation. Transformation is never perfect. It is bound to go in fits and starts.

APPENDIX Ci: Line Numbering

FDR and Maggie Thatcher

I like crunchy leaders like FDR and Maggie Thatcher.

1. 27.10.1996 I've always associated Franklin D. Roosevelt, arguably the greatest
2. US president of this century, with "big government". His span of office covered
3. the Great Depression of the 1930s and World War II of the 1940s. He was
4. responsible for the New Deal in America, a series of government-sponsored
5. programmes in the countryside and the cities to alleviate the suffering of the
6. general populace caused by the 30s depression. It was breathtaking in scale and
7. brought a new meaning to the word "liberal". Up till then the word had retained
8. its classical flavour of "laissez faire" but thenceforward the meaning was widened
9. to cover caring government, i.e. one that helps people and communities to help
10. themselves.

11. However, an excellent article by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr in *Newsweek* casts a new
12. perspective on FDR's contribution. Contrary to popular opinion, the essence of
13. FDR's approach was a belief in experiment. "The country needs," FDR said in
14. 1932, "and, unless I mistake, the country demands, bold persistent
15. experimentation. It is common sense to take a method and try it. If it fails, admit
16. it frankly and try another. But above all, try something." In other words, failure
17. does not mean "wrong". It means "try again". All great breakthroughs are
18. achieved after going up blind alleys. Innovation is preceded by frustration and
19. pain.

20. As a challenger of conventional wisdom, FDR knew that he would induce a
21. hostile reaction from entrenched interests. "Judge me," he said to the people, "by
22. the enemies I have made." Before FDR, Alexis de Tocqueville wrote that
23. "democratic eras are periods of experiment, innovation and adventure" but added
24. as a caution "I cannot but fear that men may arrive at such a state as to regard
25. every new theory as a peril, every innovation as an irksome toil, every social

26. improvement as a stepping-stone to revolution, and so refuse the move altogether
27. for a fear of being moved too far". In modern parlance, de Tocqueville feared
28. paralysis by analysis – a scourge that afflicts many faint-hearted bureaucracies
29. today.

30. I wish FDR's words would ring in our government's ears. Not, I hasten to say,
31. that they should copy FDR's policies. These were designed for a different world
32. at a different time. He had to deal with unemployment created by the exodus of
33. people out of agriculture into manufacturing and by the downward spiral in
34. international trade. Now we have to live with unemployment caused by global
35. competition and the transition from large-scale manufacturing to smaller-scale
36. service industries.

37. Nevertheless, the principle of boldness is correct. If our government wants to
38. tackle head-on the overriding problem of social exclusion, they have to think
39. radically about what initial conditions will lead to an entrepreneurial chain
40. reaction in this country. How do we get everybody to wheel and deal? Then they
41. must go for it, irrespective of ill feelings from those left behind, and turn their
42. ideas into action. The late Nico Colchester, former deputy editor of *The*
43. *Economist*, put it very well: "Crunchiness brings wealth. Wealth leads to
44. sogginess. Sogginess brings poverty. Poverty creates crunchiness. From this
45. immutable cycle we know that to hang on to wealth, you must keep things
46. crunchy."

47. FDR was crunchy: so was Maggie Thatcher. New Zealand is crunchy.
48. Unfortunately, we're both soggy and poor at the moment. The discouraging "yes
49. but" syndrome which kills ideas when they are still in bud must give way to
50. positive climate for experimentation and innovation. We have had the transition:
51. now we need transformation. Transformation is never perfect. It is bound to go
52. in fits and starts.

APPENDIX Cii: Appraisal Identification and Numbering

FDR and Maggie Thatcher

I like crunchy leaders like FDR and Maggie Thatcher.

27.10.1996 I've always associated Franklin D. Roosevelt, arguably the greatest US president of this century (1), with "big government" (2). His span of office covered the Great Depression of the 1930s and World War II of the 1940s (3). He was responsible for the (4) New Deal (5) in America (4), a series of government-sponsored programmes in the countryside and the cities to alleviate the suffering of the general populace (6) caused by the 30s depression. It was breathtaking in scale (7) and brought a new meaning (8) to the word "liberal". Up till then the word had retained its classical flavour (9) of "laissez faire" but thenceforward the meaning was widened to cover caring government (10), i.e. one that helps people and communities to help themselves (11).

However, an excellent article (12) by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr in *Newsweek* casts a new perspective (13) on FDR's contribution (14). Contrary to popular opinion, the essence of FDR's approach was a belief in experiment (15). "The country needs," FDR said in 1932, "and, unless I mistake, the country demands, bold persistent experimentation (16). It is common sense to take a method and try it (17). If it fails (18), admit it frankly (19) and try another (20). But above all, try something (21)." In other words, failure does not mean "wrong" (22). It means "try again" (23). All great breakthroughs (24) are achieved after going up blind alleys (25). Innovation (26) is preceded by frustration and pain (27).

As a challenger of conventional wisdom (28), FDR knew that he would induce a hostile reaction (29) from entrenched interests. "Judge me," he said to the people. "by the enemies I have made." (30) Before FDR, Alexis de Tocqueville wrote that "democratic eras are periods of experiment, innovation and adventure" (31) but added as a caution "I cannot but fear (32) that men may arrive at such a state as to regard every new theory (33) as a peril (34), every innovation (35) as an irksome toil (36), every social improvement (37) as a stepping-stone to revolution (38), and so refuse the move altogether for a fear (39) of being moved too far". In modern parlance, de Tocqueville

feared (40) paralysis by analysis (41) – a scourge (42) that afflicts many faint-hearted bureaucracies (43) today.

I wish FDR's words would ring in our government's ears. Not, I hasten to say, that they should copy FDR's policies. These were designed for a different world at a different time (44). He had to deal with unemployment (45) created by the exodus of people out of agriculture into manufacturing (46) and by the downward spiral in international trade (47). Now we have to live with unemployment (48) caused by global competition (49) and the transition from large-scale manufacturing to smaller-scale service industries (50).

Nevertheless, the principle of boldness (51) is correct (52). If our government wants to tackle head-on (53) the overriding problem (54) of social exclusion (55), they have to think radically (56) about what initial conditions will lead to (57) an entrepreneurial (58) chain reaction (59) in this country (57). How do we get everybody to wheel and deal? (60) Then they must go for it (61), irrespective of ill feelings (62) from those left behind (63), and turn their ideas into action (64). The late Nico Colchester, former deputy editor of *The Economist*, put it very well (65): "Crunchiness (66) brings wealth (67). Wealth leads to sogginess (68). Sogginess brings poverty (69). Poverty creates crunchiness (70). From this immutable cycle (71) we know that to hang on to wealth (72), you must keep things crunchy." (73)

FDR was crunchy (74); so was Maggie Thatcher. New Zealand is crunchy (75). Unfortunately, we're both soggy and poor (76) at the moment. The discouraging "yes but" syndrome (77) which kills ideas when they are still in bud (78) must give way to positive climate for experimentation and innovation (79). We have had the transition (80); now we need transformation (81). Transformation is never perfect (82). It is bound to go in fits and starts (83).

APPENDIX Ciii: Appraisal Table

Number	Instantiation (Text)	APPRAISAL (ATTITUDE)			INSCRIBED/ EVOKED	TARGET
		AFFECT	APPRECIATION	JUDGEMENT		
1	"the <i>greatest</i> US president of this century"			Esteem: normality +	Inscribed	FDR
2	" <i>big</i> government"		Reaction: quality +		Inscribed	FDR
3	"His span of office...of the 1940s"			Esteem: normality +	Evoked	FDR
4	"He was responsible for the New Deal in America"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	FDR
5	"the New Deal"		valuation +		Evoked	FDR's New Deal programme
6	"to alleviate the suffering of the general populace"			Sanction: propriety +	Evoked	FDR's New Deal programme
7	"It was <i>breathtaking</i> in scale"		Reaction: impact +		Inscribed	FDR's New Deal programme
8	" <i>new</i> meaning"		valuation +		Inscribed	FDR's New Deal Programme
9	" <i>classical</i> flavour"			Esteem: normality +	Inscribed	Liberalism
10	" <i>caring</i> government"			Sanction: veracity +	Inscribed	FDR's government
11	"one that helps people...to help			Sanction: veracity +	Evoked	FDR's government

	themselves"					
12	"an <i>excellent</i> article"		Reaction: quality +		Inscribed	Schlesinger's article
13	"a <i>new</i> perspective"		valuation +		Inscribed	Schlesinger's article
14	"FDR's contribution"			Sanction: veracity +	Evoked	FDR
15	"a belief in experiment"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	FDR
16	" <i>bold, persistent experimentation</i> "			Esteem: tenacity +	Inscribed	Experimentation
17	"It is common sense to take a method and try it"		valuation +		Evoked	Experimentation
18	"If it <i>fails</i> "			Esteem: capacity -	Inscribed	Experimentation
19	"admit it <i>frankly</i> "			Sanction: veracity +	Inscribed	Experimenter/Reader
20	"and try another"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	Experimenter/Reader
21	"try something"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	Experimenter/Reader
22	"failure does not mean 'wrong' "		valuation +		Evoked	Failure
23	" 'try again' "			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	Experimenter/Reader

24	"great breakthroughs"		Reaction: quality +		Inscribed	Breakthroughs
25	"blind alleys"		Composition: complexity -		Evoked	Difficulties
26	" <i>Innovation</i> "			Esteem: capacity +	Inscribed	Experimenter's/ Reader's potential innovation
27	" <i>frustration and pain</i> "	Satisfaction: displeasure -			Inscribed	Experimenter's/ Reader's potential frustration and pain
28	"a challenger of conventional wisdom"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	FDR
29	" <i>hostile reaction</i> "	Security: disquiet -			Inscribed	Those in opposition to FDR's ideas
30	"Judge me...by the enemies I have made"			Sanction: veracity +	Evoked	FDR
31	" <i>experiment, innovation and adventure</i> "			Esteem: tenacity +	Inscribed	Democratic eras
32	"I cannot but <i>fear</i> "	Security: disquiet -			Inscribed	de Tocqueville
33	" <i>new theory</i> "		valuation +		Inscribed	New theory
34	"a <i>peril</i> "	Security: disquiet -			Inscribed	New Theory
35	"every innovation"		valuation +		Evoked	Innovation
36	"an <i>irksome</i> toil"		Reaction: impact -		Inscribed	Innovation

37	"social improvement"			Sanction: propriety +	Evoked	Social improvement
38	"a stepping-stone to revolution"	Security: disquiet -			Evoked	Social improvement
39	"a <i>fear</i> "	Security: disquiet -			Inscribed	Society
40	" <i>feared</i> "	Security: disquiet -			Inscribed	de Tocquevill
41	"paralysis by analysis"			Esteem: capacity -	Evoked	Society
42	"a <i>scourge</i> "		Reaction: quality -		Inscribed	A social failing ('paralysis by analysis')
43	" <i>faint-hearted</i> bureaucracies"			Esteem: tenacity -	Inscribed	Companies
44	"a <i>different</i> world at a <i>different</i> time"			Esteem: normality -	Inscribed	FDR's era
45	"unemployment"	Security: disquiet -			Evoked	Unemployment
46	"exodus of people out of agriculture into manufacturing"	Security: disquiet -			Evoked	Changes in employment
47	"downward spiral in international trade"	Security: disquiet -			Evoked	Negative changes in international trade
48	"unemployment"	Security: disquiet -			Evoked	Unemployment
49	"global competition"	Security: disquiet -			Evoked	Global competition

50	"the transition for large-scale... service industries"	Security: disquiet -			Evoked	Changes in size of industry
51	"the principle of <i>boldness</i> "			Esteem: tenacity +	Inscribed	FDR
52	" <i>correct</i> "			Sanction: veracity +	Inscribed	FDR
53	"If our government wants to tackle head-on"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	SA government
54	"the overriding problem"	Security: disquiet -			Evoked	SA society
55	"social exclusion"			Sanction: propriety -	Evoked	Social discrimination (Apartheid/ racism?)
56	"think radically"			Esteem: normality +	Evoked	SA government
57	"initial conditions will lead...in this country"			Sanction: propriety +	Evoked	SA government policy
58	"an entrepreneurial"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	SA business
59	"chain reaction"		valuation +		Evoked	SA business
60	"to wheel and deal?"			Esteem: capacity +	Evoked	South Africans
61	"must go for it"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	SA government
62	" <i>ill feelings</i> "	Satisfaction: displeasure -			Inscribed	People who resist the entrepreneurial culture

63	"those left behind"			Esteem: capacity -	Evoked	People who resist the entrepreneurial culture
64	"turn their ideas into action"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	SA government
65	"put it very well"			Esteem: capacity +	Evoked	Nico Colchester
66	"Crunchiness"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	Reader's / country's attitudes and outlook
67	"wealth"	Security: confidence +			Evoked	Country's wealth
68	"sogginess"			Esteem: tenacity -	Evoked	Reader's / country's incapacities, inertia, complacency
69	"poverty"	Security: confidence -			Evoked	Poverty
70	"Poverty creates crunchiness"		valuation +		Evoked	Poverty
71	"immutable cycle"			Esteem: tenacity +	Inscribed	Social cycle
72	"to hang on to wealth"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	South Africa/ South Africans
73	"you must keep things crunchy"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	South Africa/ South Africans
74	"crunchy"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	FDR and Thatcher
75	"crunchy"			Esteem: tenacity +	Evoked	New Zealand
76	"we're both soggy and poor"			Esteem: tenacity -	Evoked	South Africans

77	"discouraging 'yes but' syndrome"			Esteem: tenacity -	Inscribed	South African ideology
78	"which kills ideas when they are still in bud"			Sanction: veracity -	Evoked	South African ideology
79	"to positive climate for <i>experimentation and innovation</i> "			Esteem: tenacity +	Inscribed	South Africa
80	"the transition"		valuation +		Evoked	South Africa
81	"transformation"		valuation +		Evoked	South Africa
82	"transformation is <i>never perfect</i> "		Composition: balance -		Inscribed	Transformation
83	"fits and starts"		Composition: balance -		Evoked	Transformation

APPENDIX Civ: Appraisal Component Summaries

FDR and Maggie Thatcher: Affect Summary

Emotions		No.	E/I	Target
Satisfaction (2)	displeasure -	27 62	I I	experimenter's/ reader's potential pain and frustration those against an entrepreneurial culture
Security	disquiet -	29 32 34 38 39 40 45 46 47 48 49 50 54	I I I E I I E E E E E E E	those opposed to FDR's ideas de Tocqueville new theories social improvement society de Tocqueville unemployment changes in unemployment changes in international trade unemployment global competition changes in size of industry SA society
	confidence +	67	E	wealth of a country
(15)	confidence -	68	E	poverty
Totals	positives = 1 negatives = 16	17	I = 7 E = 10	

FDR and Maggie Thatcher: Appreciation Summary

Appreciation Type		No.	E/I	Target
Reaction	impact +	7	I	FDR (New Deal Programme)
	impact -	36	I	innovation
	quality +	2	I	FDR
		12	I	Schlesinger's article
		24	I	breakthroughs
(6)	quality -	42	I	a social failing (paralysis by analysis)
Composition	balance -	82	I	transformation
		83	E	transformation
(3)	complexity -	25	E	difficulties
Valuation	+	5	E	FDR (New Deal Programme)
		8	I	FDR (New Deal Programme)
		13	I	Schlesinger's article
		17	E	experimentation
		22	E	failure
		33	I	a new theory
		35	E	innovation
		59	E	chain reaction
		70	E	poverty
		80	E	the transition
		81	E	transformation
(11)				
Totals	positives = 15 negatives = 5	20	E = 10 I = 10	

FDR and Maggie Thatcher: Judgement Summary

Judgement Category	Judgement Types	No.	E/I	Target
Social Esteem	normality +	1	I	FDR
		3	E	FDR
		9	I	liberalism
		56	E	SA government
	normality - (5)	44	I	FDR's era
	capacity +	26	I	experimenter's/ reader's potential innovation
		60	E	South Africans
		65	E	Colchester
	capacity - (6)	18	I	experimentation
		41	E	society
		63	E	those against an entrepreneurial culture
	tenacity +	4	E	FDR
		15	E	FDR
		16	I	experimentation
		20	E	experimenter / reader
		21	E	experimenter / reader
		23	E	experimenter / reader
		28	E	FDR
		31	I	democratic eras
		51	I	FDR
		53	E	SA government
		58	E	SA business
		61	E	SA government
		64	E	SA government
		66	E	country's outlook

(35)	tenacity -	71	I	social cycle
		72	E	South Africans
		73	E	South Africans
		74	E	FDR and Thatcher
		75	E	New Zealand
		79	I	South Africa
		43	I	companies
		68	E	country's complacency
		76	E	South Africans
		77	I	SA ideology
Social Sanction	veracity +	10	I	FDR's government
		11	E	FDR's government
		14	E	FDR
		19	I	experimenter/ reader
		30	E	FDR
		52	I	FDR
	veracity -	78	E	SA ideology
	propriety +	6	E	FDR (New Deal programme)
		37	E	social improvement
		57	E	SA government policies
(11)	propriety -	55	E	social discrimination
Totals	positives = 36 negatives = 10	46	E = 31 I = 15	

D: Transcription of Interview with Clem Sunter

Pages 223-227

APPENDIX D: Interview with Clem Sunter (Monday 22 October)

G: ...And you said to me on the phone, you said you know but I don't, you said, am I really a transformational leader – I'm a scenario planner (yes) and um I think you are and it's because in a nutshell, transformational leaders are born out of times of unrest, uncertainty (ya), often a lot of fear and they come to the fore and offer hope, inspiration, charisma and a lot of the leadership manuals talk about how to do this correctly (ya) but I want to know what's happening at a nuts and bolts level (ya). So I've chosen to look at your "What it Really Takes to be World Class" (yes) and I'm at the moment just looking at three of the texts that you've written for the newspapers (yes) and looking at those and putting the frameworks on them to see the kind of judgments that are either implicit or explicit in terms of morality or evaluation and what's valued and what's not (ya) to see why you have the effect that you do, clearly, on people (yes). So that's me. And in order to sort of justify my choice of you to my markers (ya) I wanted to trace your placement of joining Anglo in Lusaka I think?

C: No well I joined Anglo in London really (ok) it was called Charter, but in 1966, so it's just over 40 years ago and then I went to Lusaka after finishing my kind of induction process and was there for two years and then I came down here in '73 and then I had a normal corporate career so of thing, but then I was given this very critical task of the scenario planning function in '82 and essentially I had some of the best futurists that you could assemble anywhere in the world working either as consultants or as part of the network that the consultants had and we so did some fantastic global scenarios, but the real thing was the High Road Low Road which I didn't write, it was written for me, by Bobby Godsell and Michael O'Dowd. Bobby Godsell's just finished with Anglo Gold. And so you know the kind of language which I used to, and it did change the conversation in South Africa in the mid-80s of a fairly sort of negative tone of we're going to have another Rhodesia sort of happening here, and either tame Blacks are going to be co-opted into the government and that's going to lead to huge tensions or this is going to lead to flat out civil war. Those were the kinds of things people were saying and you know and in a very kind of you know very sensible way we offered the alternative of actually negotiating the future with the real representatives. And the language was good because it definitely got into the minds of people and they talked of High Roads and Low Roads and stuff like this, terribly simple words but it really did work in terms of changing the conversation at the time.

G: Why were you chosen? What about you at the time put you in a position... (no I)

C: Funnily enough I was chosen purely because I was Secretary of the Executive at the time and so I was very close to the Chairman of Anglo, so when he looked around the room to find somebody who could look after the scenario planning function – I was there. So I mean it was pure fluke that I was chosen. But you see, this is the really important thing about it, was that the early work we did was purely for Anglo. It was to try and improve the radar system of Anglo in terms of the world economy and in terms of what was going on in South Africa. But when I found that the presentation that I was giving based on these experts was so popular inside Anglo that's when I went to the Chairman at

the time, Gavin Relly, and said do you mind if I do one or two public speeches and he could have said "No", he could have easily said No, because we've actually paid for all the research and stuff like this. But he didn't, he said "Go for it and see". Then I gave a couple of speeches outside and 'Boof!' it took off and I mean it was quite like being part of the Beatles to be quite honest for a year a half. I mean I was getting two or three hundred phone calls a day asking me to do presentations on High Roads and Low Roads and then I brought in two other guys, a guy called Jim Buys and Michael Spicer and the three of us, literally went around the country talking to audiences and I think we covered about 25000 people in the space of 4 or 5 months. And ya it even amazed me that through a process of offering futures in a fairly non-provocative, non-threatening way...

G:... but in uncertain time...

C:... yes exactly. I mean I had things going for me which were that it was a very uncertain time, people were looking, were lost and so it was absolutely timed right and um...

G: You addressed FW de Klerk and (the Cabinet?)

C: Oh yes absolutely ya that was in November '86. I mean ya they definitely, in fact there's a book coming out in November by Nick Seagull because he went and interviewed de Klerk to ask him about the impact of scenario planning on him and I don't know what the answer is cos I haven't read the book. But there was a second exercise done at the beginning of the 90s by a guy called Adam Kahane and similar deal. He had a different approach, he brought people together who were future decision makers, like Trevor Manuel and Tito Mboweni. They sat down together at a place called Mont Fleur which is a place just outside Stellenbosch. And so the Mont Fleur Scenarios are quite famous and there's no doubt that they changed the minds of the ANC about economic policies. so it was a kind of two-hit thing. I did the sort of transformational stuff with the old government in getting them to see that it was sensible to think about negotiating and giving up power. He did a great thing with the incoming regime leadership in terms of changing them from the old Freedom Charter socialism to more pragmatic sort of mixed economy stuff and it really did show that using this kind of language of possibilities rather than trying to forecast the future is very evocative, very evocative.

G: And then you visited Mandela?

C: Yes but that was just before he was released

G: In your personal or professional capacity?

C: Well you know he had, I think, he had read one of my books because I got a call from the prison saying that he wanted to see me so I just went down to Victor Verster, which is outside Paarl, and spent a whole morning with him, had lunch with him and then I left but I don't think that I changed his mind about anything, it was just one heck of a nice experience. You know he said one of the best quotes in your book is "I don't care if a cat

is Black or White as long as it catches mice" which is the Deng quote which I put in the book. So old Mandela was already sort of moving his opinions and I always, when I compare hedgehogs and foxes because you know; people who have one idea and stick to it through thick and thin, and people who are prepared to be flexible and change their minds. George Bush is a hedgehog, Tony Blair is a hedgehog, Mandela was a fox, so was de Klerk because they changed their minds. I mean de Klerk changed his mind from being a Conservative Afrikaaner to actually the biggest thing of all which was basically walking away from power. That's huge – I mean he really changed his mind. And in that sense, if transformational leadership is about people changing their minds, and having catalysts that change peoples minds, there's no doubt that I kind of had a contribution to make with the old regime and this guy Adam Kahane certainly had something to do with people of the ANC who came to power.

G: That's great because in the beginning I introduce you as an agent of change (ya). You don't bring the people, you don't force or it's not through fear or coercion that...

C: I think one of the other things Gina which helped me a lot is that I came from England, you know so I was able to go to places like Pietersburg and Britz and give this talk about negotiating with Black people and stuff like that without them thinking that I was a traitor to the folk. You know I was an outsider who came in and said "here you are guys, here's the possibilities" and so I wasn't nailed to anybody's mast. I was a complete outsider. It was actually very amusing because when we went around the country giving talks about the future, my mother kept ringing me from England says "Oh what on earth could you tell South Africans?" And the fact is it made me realise that if you want to be a change agent it's good if one has a neutral background.

G: And then you moved from, can I call it more academic scenario planning, specialising in that kind of genre that (this stuff) but also I'm interested in, why did you start writing for the newspaper columns?

C: Oh the newspaper column, I just I was asked. I was invited by David ((Wightman)) and he was the editor of the *Sunday Tribune* and he just asked if I would be prepared to write for the newspapers and so I said "yes" and he said "Well why don't you just write a column every Sunday?" There was no sort of great strategy behind it he just thought I could do a weekly column and it was fun. I really had fun for those 4 years when I was writing those columns. But you know what, when I stopped I had written myself out. I kind of caught myself repeating what I had done in earlier articles. And so I think it's rather like presidential term, you can be a columnist for 4 years and then you start running out of ideas and you start repeating yourself and so I did that. I had these magic 4 years that I wrote on virtually anything I wanted..

G: Timed nicely as well because you had a reputation..

C: No No I had a reputation by then, so yes and it helped but I tell you what, that the difference between writing books and writing articles is that you've got 800 words. So you have to be incredibly economical in language to express the views and so in a way I

found it much tougher writing those short columns and I like sort of going on and on but you can't because you've got 800 words.

G: And who do you think your ideal reader was in terms of the books and then when you were going column? Obviously you had a wider readership, do you think...

C: Ya you know, funnily enough the readership was the *Sunday Tribune* so I don't know what the breakdown for the demographics for the *Sunday Tribune* was, but it was a widely read newspaper for all groups in Natal so that was a good thing. The other side, which was you know the books, I didn't write the books with particularly anybody in mind that was just I wrote them because it was fun writing books, so I didn't have any readership in mind, just to sell as many books as possible. ((laughs)) Just like the three books on the Foxes that I've written with Chantelle Illbury – great fun because lots of different types of people have read the book. And ya whether it's the written word or the spoken word, what's really nice is when people come up to you and they say "I read your book and I decided to do this and it changed my life". And so you, with both the written word and the spoken word, sort of change peoples' lives. But just one final point, as a speaker, I had never done any public speaking until 1980, well until I did the High Road Low Road, and I tell you what I think you've got to have the right degree and I think I combine the right degree of humour and enthusiasm and all that kind of stuff to put a message (to be well-received) yes to be well-received, to put the message across. because I've never believed in being a serious speaker, you've got to lighten the whole thing and then people start really thinking. You know so I've always been that kind of speaker where you kind of mix it. And ya I literally had no preparation, nothing, I just got up and gave the first speak and then it just went on. But I did play in a rock band in the UK and it did help. Ya (similarities) similarities. You're entertaining. You're entertaining people. But obviously with a speech you've got an entertainment with an objective in mind, which is to change their minds about whatever topic you're thing, but if you don't entertain them it won't work. So you know I've always held the thing that you've got to provide an entertaining experience.

G: Finally the five figures that come up in the 3 articles I'm looking at are CR, FDR and Maggie, Tom Peters (oh gosh yes) and I'm looking at these 5 characters (yes yes) and looking at them for commonalities. And by you setting them up as people to be emulated and admired and valued (yes) it's their ideology and what they embody that is being foregrounded (yes) as good.

C: Yes but obviously there is a vast difference between the ideology of Maggie Thatcher and someone like Cyril Ramaphosa, so it's less their ideological background; for me what makes them is their personality and the fact that they really did do impact on people with their presence, I mean people say that Bill Clinton has exactly the same impact on people. So no I didn't choose those people because of the ideologies, much more I chose them because I thought they were nice human beings.

G: Although what's becoming apparent to me is that they're all radically interested in radical change (oh yes yes) which is highly transformational (yes absolutely) and the

most predominant feeling that comes out through the frameworks is a judgement of positive tenacity (yup absolutely) which makes sense at the time. More than them being extra normal or (yes yes yes) extra capable (ya) it's their tenacity.

C: But can I just say that being a change agent you don't tend to be ideological you just, what changes people? you seduce them into changing them with a whole as I said entertainment with this and that. Tom Peters, God, huge entertainer, you know and stuff like that. Maggie Thatcher you couldn't call an entertainer really but she had that charm of butter even though she was called the Iron Lady. So ya I mean she was a huge change agent. So ya you're right on that's probably why I chose all those people you know was that they had changed a lot of people's lives.

G: And then Anglo moved in 1998 to the London Stock Exchange (yes yes) How come?

C: Ya look I think that it was a decision to basically be close to where you can raise lots of money and open new mines. It wasn't South Africa versus England or anything like that. It's just to be near the financial capital of the world which is for me why they moved. But of course it has meant that since then the company's changed completely. The head office is in London and that's where the power is and all that kind of stuff. And we're a branch office in Johannesburg so ya there has been a change in the culture in Anglo ya.

G: Was there a position of Scenario Planner before you were it?

C: No

G: So that was a completely different restructuring?

C: Yes

G: Ok

C: But it wasn't a restructuring, it was just the idea that we should use an innovative way of looking at the future. And very few companies still use scenario planning, it's still seen as a bit of a marginal science so it's not as though it's a hugely popular thing. But having said that, this model that we use which is a much more practical and down-to-earth as questions and stuff like that has tried to change the image of scenario planning from a deep intellectual pursuit to something that ordinary people can use (pragmatically) in discussing their business.

G: Ok thank you that's perfect.

**E: Modes and Strategies for the Operation of Ideology in
Sunter's Texts**

Pages 228-232

APPENDIX E: Modes (and Strategies) of Operation of Ideology in Sunter's Texts

KEY: Examples from the Tom Peters text are in blue.

Examples from the CR text are in red.

Examples from the FDR and Maggie Thatcher text are in green.

LEGITIMATION:

Representation of something as legitimate, credible, worthy of support.

- **Rationalisation:** construction of a logical chain of reasoning to defend or justify a set of social rules.

False logic: "a best-selling book" and being a "foremost business evangelist" equates to success as leader, authority on business.

Business (according to Peters) is a "cooperative activity that can be incredible fun and the best adventure" so should be pursued.

The success of Japan and Switzerland vouch for claim that business is more important than politics.

Importance of employees used to rationalise their role in the business environment.

False cause and effect: Sustainable advantage can only be gained "through out-innovating competition" – business competition is necessary.

False logic: personal increase in wealth and power, together with growth, expansion and development (especially colonisation) equates to greatness.

Remembrance in history books necessarily equates to greatness.

False cause and effect: In order for big companies to survive, the threat from the disadvantaged must be overcome by empowering them.

Flawed logic: Rhodes realised his dreams, we should do the same but Ramaphosa must give us dreams i.e. we cannot have our own dreams, they must be in line with Ramaphosa's capitalist ideology.

False logic: change necessarily brings social improvement.

Promoting a culture of entrepreneurship will redress social inequalities. i.e. capitalism is necessary.

South Africa should strive to be like FDR, Maggie Thatcher and New Zealand because all are tenacious and powerful.

Flawed logic: "sogginess crunchiness" metaphorical cycle – tenacity brings wealth, wealth brings complacency, complacency brings poverty, poverty brings tenacity. Implies poverty is a necessary precursor to wealth. Capitalism exploits those less powerful.

- **Narrativisation:** claims in stories which recount the past and treat the present as part of a timeless and cherished tradition.

Recounts experience of Peters presentation to set him (and his "pearls of wisdom"/ideology) up as authoritative.

Historical recount of when society was without the wheel as shared point of reference to legitimise the value of innovation.

Peters's anecdotes to exemplify good business practice.

Recourse to historical events as evidence for Rhodes and Ramaphosa's respective greatness – legitimises their capitalist ideology and justifies the likeness between them. The actions of both men were/are beneficial for South Africa – capitalism is beneficial.

Recourse to historical events as evidence for FDR's greatness – legitimises FDR's principles, specifically business and leadership ideology.

- **Universalisation:** institutional arrangements which serve individual interests represented as serving the interests of all.

"South Africans are not passionate about business" – disapproval that everyone feels this way. People should be able to explain how they bettered themselves and their company (transformational leadership characteristic).
All companies suffer if change is neglected.

Capitalist values of increasing wealth and power rapidly are constructed as the norm: money-making is regarded as an end in itself – capitalist ideology.

Everyone needs a "dream" similar to those capitalist dreams that Rhodes and Ramaphosa had.

Capitalist perspectives are constructed as representing everyone's views: the desire to engage in business. The necessity for change (in accordance with capitalist principles), i.e. everyone needs change. Government has a duty to create conditions favourable to promoting an entrepreneurial culture.

DISSIMULATION:

Relationships of dominance are obscured, concealed or denied.

- **Displacement:** positive or negative connotations of one set of meanings displaced to other sets associated with it.

"The foremost business evangelist" – marries traditionally distinct social domains, business leadership blurred with religious leadership, i.e. business is a religion to be followed.
Business involves fun, adventure and benefits others (transformational leader characteristic).
Being insane recast in terms of being genius, creative.

Business and politics, traditionally distinct social and semantic domains are blurred – indicative of new capitalism restructuring of social networks and organisations.

New capitalism means inspired and creative ascension to the top; impatience with others merely consolidating careers.

Power and advantage are synonymous – fundamental capitalist premise.

Leadership interpreted to mean bottom-up, caring governance. "one that helps people and communities to help themselves" – power-empowerment paradox (transformational leadership characteristic).

"Failure means try again" – failure construed as necessary for change and innovation in increase country's wealth.

Transformation Change necessarily means growth in the business, commercial sector.

- **Euphemism:** redescription for positive evaluation, name slippage, shift of sense.

"Wheeled and dealed until he had everyone under a single umbrella" (for colonial expansion- controlling Black people under British rule).

"The thorniest of issues" (for threats to political stability).

"A Club" (for systematically denying Black people to engage in commerce under Apartheid policies).

"Social exclusion" (for racial discrimination).
 "Transition" (for change from White to Black governance, end to Apartheid).
 "Wheel and deal" (for engaging in commercial, business ventures).

- Trope: figurative use of language.

Metaphor – application of term to an object to which it is not literally applicable.

"Incrementalism" described as the "enemy" – military metaphor i.e. slow, predictable change is a threat.

"Sanity is the playground of the unimaginative" – those who are sane are childish, immature.

"...you're out" – competitiveness of business likened to gaming.

"Ready, Aim, Fire" – war metaphor, i.e. competitive.

Work as art metaphor.

"Just as it is rare for a sportsman..." – business described in terms of sport, i.e. competitive. "Last lap of the negotiation process" – sporting metaphor once more.

"Climbs to the top of the ladder" – business success described as reaching the pinnacle, i.e. obscures self-interest, domination of those on the lower 'rungs'.

"Clear strategies" to overcome the threat of the disadvantaged, military metaphor.

"Not a privileged pastime" – business should not be trivialised to hobby status.

"Paralysis by analysis", "a scourge that afflict...", "yes-but syndrome" – fear of change, failure to embrace capitalist ideology is likened to having a disease or sickness.

REIFICATION:

Transitory states presented as permanent, natural, timeless – socio-historic character eclipsed.

- Naturalisation: reification, social/historical state of affairs presented as natural.

Being world-class in business makes a winning nation.

Business is more important than politics.

"Sustainable advantage" exists and is desirable.

Trust in a leader is created when the leader respects followers (transformational leadership characteristic).

"Single-mindedness", ambition and drive ensure good negotiation technique.

Winning negotiations i.e. dominating others, is integral to effective business and politics, but so is being honest and having a sense of humour – potentially paradoxical.

The disadvantaged threaten the survival of big companies.

Big companies and the corporate sector must survive, i.e. the powerless must be exploited for the powerful to maintain power.

Democracy entails experimentation, innovation and adventure (i.e. strong commercial bias).

New capitalism ("global competition" and down-scaling from "large-scale manufacturing to smaller-scale service industries") causes unemployment.

Transition does not equate to transformation, i.e. transformation to embrace capitalist ideologies is more important than change of government.

- Externalisation: social/historical phenomena portrayed as permanent and unchanging, ever-recurring customs, traditions, institutions.