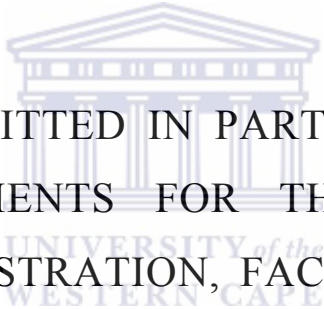


A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE
PREAMBLES OF SELECTED PUBLIC DOCUMENTS
WITH REFERENCE TO RACIAL CLASSIFICATION

BY

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‘Words and deeds are quite different modes of the divine energy. Words are also actions, and actions are a kind of words’

(Ralph Waldo Emerson, cited in Williams, M. (1995:16). *Style: Toward Clarity and Grace*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

‘The art of those who govern, as is the case with the art of advocates, consists above all in the science of employing words. One of the greatest difficulties of this art is, that in one and the same society the same words very often have different meanings for the different social classes, who employ in appearance the same words, but never speak the same language’

(Le Bon, G. (1960:107). *The Crowd*. The U.S.A: The Murray Printing Company

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	vii
ABSTRACT	viii
LIST OF KEY CONCEPTS	xi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xii
DECLARATION	xii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xiii

Chapter 1: Introduction and Background to the Study

1.1	Description of the Study	1
1.2	Background and Context of the Study	9
1.3	Purpose and Objectives of the Study	10
1.4	Problem Statement	11
1.5	Research Questions	12
1.6	Significance of the Study	12
1.7	Scope and Delimitations	13
1.8	Research Design	15
1.9	Limitations of Methodology	16
1.10	Thesis Overview	16
1.10.1	Chapter 1: Introduction and Background to the Study	16
1.10.2	Chapter 2: A Review of Relevant Discourse Theories	17
1.10.3	Chapter 3: A Social Grammar of Discourse Analysis Method	17

1.10.4	Chapter 4: Analyzing the Field and Tenor of Public Policy Discourse: What Happened and Who was Involved	17
1.10.5	Chapter 5: Analysing the Mode of Public Policy Discourse: Preambles of Selected Public Policy Documents	17
1.10.7	Chapter 7: Conclusions and Summary	18
1.11	Ethics Statement	18

Chapter 2: A Review of Relevant Discourse Theories

2.1	Introduction	19
2.2	Origin of the Concepts Discourse and Critical	21
2.3	Locating the Study	22
2.3.1	Some history of Language Studies	23
2.3.2	Language, Genre and Discourse	24
2.4	Public Policy As Discourse	27
2.5	Public Policies as Ideology	38
2.6	Public Policies as a Value System	40
2.7	Summary	41

Chapter 3: A Social Grammar of Discourse Analysis Method

3.1	Introduction	42
3.2	A Critical Discourse –Based Approach to Research	42
3.3	Generation of Research Questions	43
3.4	Case Study Research	44

3.5	The Research Site	45
3.6	Data Collection	45
3.7	Data Analysis	46
3.7.1	A Critical Discourse Analysis of Preambles at the Level of Structure and Texture	46
3.7.2	Triangulation of Data and Findings	48
3.8	Evaluation of the Research Process	49
3.9	Summary	49

Chapter 4: Analyzing the Field and Tenor of Public Policy Discourse: What Happened and Who was Involved

4.1	Introduction	50
4.2	The Field and Tenor of Public Policy Discourse	51
4.3	The Discourses of 'Race Differences' and Post-apartheid Public Policy	54
4.4	South Africa's Bill of Rights, Public Policy and Transformation	56
4.5	Summary	59

Chapter 5: Analysing a Mode of Public Policy Discourse: Preambles of Selected Public Policy Documents

5.1	Introduction	61
5.2	The Politics of Identity and Race Differences	62
5.3	Elicitation of Relevant Data	63
5.4	Critical Discourse Analysis of Selected Preambles at a Level of Structure	63
5.5	Critical Discourse Analysis at a Level of Texture (Clause Structures)	64

5.6	Critical Discourse Analysis and Interpretation of Meaning	65
5.7	Procedure of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in this Study	66
5.8	Definition Of Unity	67
5.9	Definition Of Diversity	68
5.10	Discourse Analysis of Preambles Aimed at Unity	69
5.10.1	Analysis of the Structure South Africa's Constitutional Preamble	69
5.10.2	Analysis of the Texture South Africa's Constitutional Preamble	70
5.11	Discourse Analysis of Public Policies Aimed at Transformation	71
5.11.1	Analysis of the Structure of South Africa's Employment Equity Preamble	71
5.11.2	Analysis of the Texture South Africa's Employment Equity Preamble	73
5.12	Discourse Analysis of the Structure of South Africa's Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Preamble	75
5.12.1	Discourse Analysis of the Texture South Africa's Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Preamble	76
5.13	Discourse Analysis of Public Policies Aimed at Business Equity	77
5.13.1	Discourse Analysis of the Structure of South Africa's Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment Preamble	77
5.13.2	Discourse Analysis of the Texture of South Africa's Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment Preamble	78
5.14	Interpretation and Discussion of Unity in Racial Diversity	78
5.14.1	Discussion Unity in Racial Diversity: A Mathematical Perspective	80
5.14.2	Discussion Unity in Racial Diversity: A Critical Linguistic Perspective	82
5.14.3	Discussion Unity in Racial Diversity: Legal Perspective	83

5.15	United in Our Racial Diversity: Implications for Social Practices	83
5.16	A Critical Discourse Analysis of Job Application Form Z 83 (81/.971431, DPE 1: Appendix 1): Implications for Social Practice	87
5.17	Summary	90

Chapter 6: Towards A Discourse Alternative to United in 'Racial' Diversity Transformation Strategy with Reference to the Base and Superstructure

6.1	Introduction	92
6.2	Debating Discourse Alternatives to Race-Based Policies	93
6.2.1	South Africa's Current Position	93
6.2.2	Current Educational Outcomes	97
6.2.3	Current Debates About Race-Based Affirmative Action	101
6.2.	Towards a Discourse Alternative to 'United in Racial Diversity' Transformation Strategy in Relation to Based and Super Structure	106
6.3	Towards an Alternative to A Racial Classification System	110
6.3.1	Class versus Race-Based Affirmative Action	110
6.3.3	Proposed Intervention to Mediate Spatial (Land) Access	112
6.3.4	Proposed Intervention to Mediate Equitable Legal Access	113
6.3.5	Proposed Intervention to Mediate Equitable Educational Access	114
6.4	Summary	121

Chapter 7: Discourse Perspectives and Final Remarks

7.1	Introduction	123
7.2	Unity in Racial Diversity Discourse as Transformation and Nation Building Strategy	124
7.3	Objectives Achieved	127
7.4	Recommendations for Further Research	128
7.5	Final Remarks: Discourse, Social Change and Contribution of this Thesis	129
	APPENDIX	134
	REFERENCES	135



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LIST OF TABLES

Table 1:	Analytical Framework of Systemic Functional Grammar	31
Table 2:	Identification and Discourse Analysis of Race-Based Affirmative Action Policies	36
Table 3:	(2.3.7. 2.3.8 and 2.3.9) Shows no schooling, schooling and Occupation Statistics of ‘racial groups’ (Statistics South Africa 2012)	97
Table 4:	Mid-year population estimates for South Africa by population group and sex 2013 (Source: Statistics South Africa:P0302)	99
Table 5:	Education Transformation Estimates (2012-2013): No Schooling and Schooling per Group Numbers and Percentages from Grade 1 to Masters or Doctorate	100
Table 6:	Education Transformation Estimates (2012-2013): No Schooling and Schooling of Total Population Numbers and Percentages from Grade 1 to Masters or Doctorate	100
Table 7:	Total Education Transformation Estimates (2012-2013): Schooling and Occupation Numbers and Percentages of Population	101

ABSTRACT

One of the most pertinent issues currently confronting South Africans and perhaps people around the world is the question of how to bring about social justice for everybody regardless of ‘races’, ‘ethnicities’, cultures, religions and genders. With this in mind, this study evaluates through a critical discourse analysis model the preambles of selected public policy documents in conjunction with the issue of racial classification as prescribed in the Z83 job application form in a post-apartheid South Africa. It draws specifically on Halliday’s (1978, 1989, and 2004) discourse analysis framework to evaluate the field and tenor of public discourse (what happened historically and who was involved in public policy formulations) and finally, the mode of public policy discourse (the part that language plays in the making of a new South African society). Moreover, it uses the education sector as an indicator of transformation to highlight the successes and failures of post-apartheid historical redress. It uses education as an exemplar because it ‘plays’ or has the potential to play a pivotal role in transformation and nation building in a post-apartheid South Africa.

The study appraises particularly the impact of the notion of plurality of races as a transformation strategy; that is, its successes and failures in determining educational achievements numerically as well as nation building from 1994 to 2014. It uses close linguistic/discourse analysis to unravel the meaning(s) of ‘united in our diversity’ as well as associated concepts in the preambles of selected public policy documents. The reason for this is to show that the notion of different races is implicated in the concept ‘diversity’ in the preamble of South Africa’s constitution act 108 of 1996 as well as ‘designated groups’ in the preambles of affirmative action and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) policies. Consequently, the following three questions arose:

1. ‘Why does the ANC-led government use a racial classification system as in the Z83 job application form?’

The first research question necessitates second and third research questions:

2. ‘Is the maintenance and continued use of racial categories appropriate to mediate educational equity outcomes and nation building in a post-apartheid South Africa?’
3. ‘If race-based public policies in particular affirmative action are not appropriate, what alternatives are there to a racial diversity redress strategy to nation building without referring to racial categories?’

This study is based on data derived from South Africa’s Bill of Rights, government policies, and journal and newspaper articles.

The analysis shows that the discourses of nation building and racial classification, as implicated in the concepts ‘unity and diversity’ are at odds with one another. While the actual and intended meanings of South Africa’s unity concept are consistent with nation building, the diversity concept aimed at transformation is inconsistent with nation building, because it augments race-based affirmative action and Black Economic Empowerment diversity practices. Hence, it perpetuates the myth of racial identities as ‘fixed and eternally’ different. Numerous post structuralists or critical studies show, particularly the work of Fanon (1952 and 1961) and Said (1978, 1994 and 1995) that race-based classification systems were politically invented and designed with actual and intended meanings to divide and rule rather than to fortify unity within racial diversity or to transform a society from a once unequal one to a more equalitarian one. Moreover the two dominant transformation strategies viz. race-based affirmative action and Black Economic Empowerment divide South Africans, instead of uniting them. The main reason for this is that these policies can only materialize within a racial classification

system with perhaps unintended consequences of preferential treatment of one ‘racial group over another’.

Various national as well as international reports show that since its promulgation in 1994 to 2014 race-based strategies had minimal effect on educational transformation. In addition, South African remains at a structural level unequal insofar as apartheid created unequal race-based class systems remain a dominant feature of its economic landscape. This shows that the African National Congress (ANC) led-government’s transformation template as in Z83 had minimal impact on transformation. The Z83 form compromises the freedom of individual citizens to define themselves, which may have ‘unintended’ discriminatory consequences. The research findings suggests, as indicated by the analysis of data that it is possible to mediate educational outcomes and nation building without invoking a racial classification system, but the government should reformulate race-based policies, while they address concomitantly apartheid created structural inequalities at the level of base and superstructure. As such, the study ends with a suggestion towards an intervention model on how to mediate what I call a common South African discourse, without a racial classification system, aimed at transformation and nation building.

LIST OF KEY CONCEPTS

Racial Classification

Unity

Diversity

Discourse

Critical Discourse Analysis

Social Grammar of Discourse

Redress

Equity

Transformation

Reconciliation

Nation Building



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC:	AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
CHE:	COUNCIL FOR HIGHER EDUCATION
NPC:	NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN
PIRLS:	PROGRESS INTERNATIONAL READING LITERACY STUDY
WEF:	WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM



DECLARATION

I declare that ‘A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE PREAMBLES OF SELECTED PUBLIC POLICY DOCUMENTS WITH REFERENCE TO RACIAL CLASSIFICATION’ is my own work, and that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university, and that all the sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

EBRAHIM ALEXANDER SIGNED:



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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

We, the people of South Africa,
Recognise the injustices of the past;
Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land
Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and
Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our
diversity...(South African Constitution, Act 108 of 1996: Preamble)

1.1 Description of the Study

This study uses close linguistic/discourse analysis to unravel the meaning(s) of ‘race-based’ concepts in the preambles of selected public policies with reference to the clause construct ‘united in our diversity. This clause gives, according to this study, credence to the continued maintenance of a post-apartheid racial classification system. Many anti-apartheid activists opposed the notion of different races during apartheid. This study, therefore, examines whether South Africa’s citizens’ pledge ‘united in our diversity’ had on any significant impact on transformation in education and nation building from 1994 to 2014. It evaluates the actual and intended meanings of ‘race-based’ words in the preambles of selected public policy documents. The preambles of selected public policy documents include specifically public policy documents that contain concepts or implicate the notion of different races: (1) South Africa’s constitution, (2) the Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998, (3) The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000 and Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment Act 53 of 2003 as well as other relevant literature.

This study was undertaken in a post-apartheid South Africa. At the end of apartheid in 1994, and at the start of a new democratic dispensation, South Africa’s transformation

challenges revolve around social, economic, political, educational and legal issues of redress for access aimed at building a ‘new nation’ void of institutionalized forms of discriminatory practices. Prior to 1994, the Nationalist Party governed South Africa by means of an apartheid separate development system. They divided South Africans geographically and legally into ‘distinct’ race groups viz. ‘Coloureds’, ‘Indians’, ‘Blacks’ and ‘Whites’. In this system only ‘White’ people could vote. When the African National Congress came to power in 1994, the new government devised a new constitution based on the principles of universal suffrage, which meant all citizens had now equal rights.

The clause construct ‘united in our diversity’ became subsequently South Africa’s transformation and nation building theme/project soon after the African National Congress (ANC) won the elections in 1994. To my knowledge the ‘unity’ in the ‘united in our diversity’ clause incorporates implicitly a ‘justifiable’ theme of nation building by ‘all’ South Africans (my emphasis). The concept ‘united’ is a past tense verb. United, as used in the context of the clause construct ‘united in our diversity’, has to my knowledge two strands of meaning. In the first instance, united refers to fact that South Africans are now geographically and constitutionally united. It is a position, which ‘all’ citizens ostensibly accept. The second meaning is that all South Africans accept the idea that they are united despite being diverse in terms of biological races, ethnicities, religions, cultures, genders, disabilities and so on. I contend that an affirmation by the African National Congress (ANC) led-government that everybody accept the idea that they are united despite their ‘social and legally accepted’ different racial identities remains a point of dispute [See Chapter 6, point 6.2.3 and Appendix: job application forms Z 83 (81/971431, DPE 1)]. The writing of this dissertation in which I contest the idea that I am ‘Coloured’ is an indication that not everyone accepts the idea that they

can be united on the basis of their ‘different racial’ identities. One of the reasons I object to this belief is informed by Alexander’s (2007) observation:

For, it is a fact that racialised identities, as we know from situations such as Nazi Germany, Rwanda, and many more others, have genocidal potential. It is common cause in the social sciences today that social as well as individual identities are constructed, not ‘given’ (Alexander, 2007:92-93)

In view of the above quotation, it is commonly accepted by critical theorists that identities are socially constructed and not fixed. It is my opinion that in the South African context the notion of racial diversity is the umbrella concept or primary set, which encapsulates subsets: ethnic, culture, religious, disability and gender diversities aimed at explicating South Africa’s concept of human diversity. To my knowledge one of the main goals of post-apartheid racial diversity redress strategy is to bring equal opportunities to previously disenfranchised as well as marginalized groups. Since racial diversity is the umbrella concept or primary set, the focus of my critical discourse analysis is on the continued legal enforcement of ‘biological racial diversity’ particularly its implications for educational transformation and nation building social practices in a post-apartheid South Africa.

To unravel the notion of different biological races as a dilemma in South Africa’s attempt at transformation and more particularly nation building, I analyze, compare and discuss, the nature of South Africa’s pre- and post-apartheid racial classification system. I situate it linguistically within South Africa’s pre (1940s –1994) and post-apartheid (1994 - 2013) socio-cultural context.

The starting point of my discourse analysis is South Africa’s Bill of Rights, in which the concept diversity first appears. In addition to doing a close discourse analysis of South

Africa's preambles of selected public policy documents, I draw on governmental reports, viz. National Education Infrastructure Management Report (2011), National Education Census by Province 2011, The Global Competitiveness Reports (2012 – 2013) as well various sources of literature to show the extent to which race-based redress strategies have achieved South Africa's constitutional objective of educational equity and nation building.

Despite objections to the maintenance of a biological racial classification system, the ANC-led government continues to use it as a legitimate transformation strategy. In addressing the issue of fairness to all, with a view to avoid discriminatory practices, South Africa's Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995 draws a distinction between unfair and fair discrimination. Fair discrimination requires the application of objective and unbiased criteria, whereas unfair discrimination would be considered unfair if it relies on subjective criteria to employ people. The legal procedures to ensure fair labour practices are set out in South Africa's Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995 under the heading 'Resolution of Disputes under Auspices of Commission'. These procedures deal specifically with fairness in the appointment of candidates in which race is used as a criterion. However, the multiple meanings of legal terms, particularly around interpretation and application procedures resulted in many labour disputes in South Africa (Loyson, 2009). As a result, there had been numerous debates as well as labour disputes regarding the constitutionality of race-based affirmative action policies, (Bosch, 2007; Loyson, 2009; Burger and Jafta, 2010; Nel, 2011). A number of studies have provided crucial insights into the impact of race-based affirmative action on employment equity, service delivery and nation building issues (Brickhill, 2005; Bosch, 2007; Loyson; 2009; Ngalwana, 2011).

Unfair discrimination is often linked to South Africa's post-apartheid racial

classification system. South Africa's post-apartheid constitution sanctions the preferential treatment of 'categories of persons' [(South Africa's constitution, 9(2)]. Moreover, the Employment Equity Act, No, 55 of (1998:3) define categories of people to mean 'designated' groups: "black people" is a generic term, which means Africans, Coloureds and Indians'. However, in the practice of employment equity the ANC-led government distinguishes among 'Africans', 'Coloureds' and 'Indians' and 'Whites' to implement 'hierarchical preferential treatment' as a redress strategy (See appendix 1: job application forms Z 83 (81/971431, DPE 1). The Z83 application form does not state that 'blacks is a generic term for 'Africans', 'Blacks' and 'Coloureds'. However, by invoking a racial classification system as a precondition for redress, it authenticates the system.

Hence, some people argue that the post-apartheid classification of people into different racial groups is a kind of reverse discrimination in which 'Black' people are now favoured because they dominate through a majority (Hoffman, 2007; Hermann, 2010). The counter argument is that 'Black' people suffered the most under apartheid system, they 'must', therefore, receive preferential treatment (Turok, 2008).

While the debate around 'race', transformation, fairness and unfairness is still ongoing, some studies focused on the legal and management aspects of race-based affirmative action (Bosch, 2007; Loyson, 2009; Burger and Jafta, 2010; Nel, 2011, Pauw, et al., 2002; Cloete, et al., 2006; Fourie and Opperman, 2011; Black et al., 2012). In this study, as stated, the focus and analysis are on public policies as discourse – language in use, language as spoken and written texts as well as a form of social and discursive practice.

Currently, the dominant nostrums and prescriptions that inform “sound” statecraft are the constructs of “good governance” and the “big” or “new” society agendas. However, these approaches often deny and refuse to admit the realities of developing conditions and/or fail to adequately negotiate them. These realities manifest in the (un) making of institutions and social order; the effects of the inordinate weight of culture, clientele and patronage in social structures, politics and institutions; and the carrying forward of (unruly) rupture(s) into the post-colonial social order (Khan, 2014:2)

The above quotation confirms that current studies in public policy focus mainly on ‘good governance’ and what it calls ‘big’ and ‘new society agenda’s while neglecting how post-colonial realities are created and carried into a social order. This is an issue, which this study seeks to address through a critical discourse analysis of public policy. Steyn et al., (2007), for example, discuss how post-colonial South Africa’s ‘united in our diversity’ theme is derived from European paradigms, while Alexander (2007) critiques ‘race-based Affirmative action. He argues that it perpetuates racial identities in post-apartheid South Africa’. While both arguments problematize the monolithic nature of post-apartheid racial categories, they are not anchored in critical discourse analysis. Their critical discussions, therefore, exclude dimensions of public policy as language in use, particularly, as forms of written texts, social and discursive practices in relation to the political economy of a country. In addition, they do not suggest how one can analyse public policy linguistically to change or end the perpetuation of racial identities. I use critical discourse analysis (CDA) to make explicit how current government policies maintain the status quo and maintenance of racial identities. I understand that changes in public policy discourse alone cannot transform a society. However, since language underpins and influences how people conceive social, economic, political and educational systems, it has a key role to play in transforming these systems. This study expounds in later chapters, the relationship amongst linguistic, social and the political

economy in determining social transformation.

According to this study, the main reason why public policies aimed at transformation and nation building have not been investigated from critical discourse/linguistic perspectives is that perhaps researchers in South Africa have overlooked insights one can derive from how governments invent language-use stencils as a precursor to represent realities, enact social relations and establish racial identities. Since the ANC continue to the use of a racial classification, they might have overlooked the fundamental role language could play as:

1. 'Resource' for meaning making and problem-solving in a post-apartheid South Africa (Halliday, 1978, 1989 and 2004),
2. 'A means of production' (Volosinov, 1930) a source for conceptual innovation,
3. 'Culture' in the making of societies (Williams, 1985).

In retrospect, there are many areas which one can use to measure successes and failures of transformation viz. employment equity, housing and health provision by the state in South Africa. In this study, as stated, I chose educational certification (graduations from school, high school, university, employment concomitantly employment equity achievements and so on). Education is the one area, which is indicative of the growth of a society (Roux, 2011). Moreover, it forms the basis in modern societies from which one can assess a country's development as well as how citizen's other needs (housing, health, sport, recreation and so on), can be addressed. Educational development is thus pivotal to transformation in other spheres of society:

Education and training are important, because even high economic growth will not guarantee job creation if the labour force is not suitably equipped with skills and expertise. To compete in today's world economy, production costs need to be minimised and efficiencies need to be maximised. This is simply not possible if the

potential labour force is not at least able to read and write, and is consequently unable to master basic technological skills (Roux, 2011:64)

From here onwards, I use the concept ‘unity in diversity’ and ‘united in our diversity’ interchangeably because the two phrases have in my opinion the same meaning.

I use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) also termed a ‘Social Grammar of Discourse’ approach as a theoretical framework to situate South Africa’s race-based redress strategies within the country’s context of situation and culture (Halliday, 1989 and 2004). The context of situation refers to the social contexts in which public policies are practiced. The context of culture includes the present and past experiences of racial classification. Although Halliday’s Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) and Fairclough’s Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theoretical frameworks originated in critical linguistics, their models have wider implications for the critical analysis of public policies. They argue for multidimensional and multifunctional approaches and analyses to language studies, particularly language use as spoken and written texts because words can be multidimensional and multifunctional.

As such, both SFG and CDA incorporate the views of diverse social and critical theorists in education, history, psychology, economics and so on. In this regard, SFG and CDA are useful to analyze critically the ANC-led government’s race-based redress strategies and practices. Based on the outcome of a Critical Discourse Analysis of race-based policies, I suggest how one can work towards an alternative a reformulation of the ‘united in our diversity’ redress strategy, which excludes a legalised system of racial classification. This study is aligned to critical theorists who view value-laden definitions as contested terrains rather than a given axiom (Macey, 2001). In the discipline of

mathematics an axiom is mathematical statement that is accepted as true and hence does not require any form of proof or evidence (Jacobs, 1994).

1.2 Background and Context of the Study

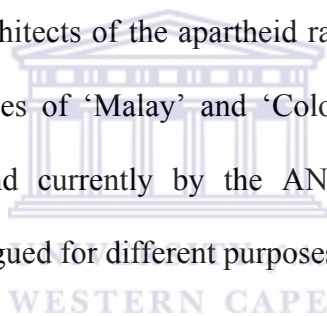
This study stems from my experiences as a South African citizen as well as a political activist in pre- and post-apartheid South Africa. During apartheid era the Nationalist Party registered me as ‘Cape Malay’. The ANC-led government has now labeled me as a ‘Coloured’. Although I was registered as ‘Malay’ during apartheid, I stayed and grew up, in one of South Africa’s townships designated for ‘Coloured’ people. Townships are communities characterized by extremely poor infrastructure, high levels of unemployment, gangsterism as well as many other social ills. Many of these dysfunctional elements that characterise predominantly townships can be directly attributed to apartheid’s ideology of separate development for the ‘different races’. The deliberate exclusion of equal opportunities for the previously disenfranchised majority in South Africa is best encapsulated by Verwoerd’s infamous ideological agenda:

‘There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour... for that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community, where he cannot be absorbed. Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze’ (Cited in Molteno, 1998:92)

Although the above quotation refers to ‘Black’ South Africans, the application of the exclusive policy of white dominant privileges excluded ‘Coloured’s and Indians as well. This stance of Verwoerd and even more crudely the material manifestation of apartheid policies encourage Manning (2006) to conclude:

The government of Botha and his successor, FW de Klerk, had a market of roughly five million white citizens. Anyone who was not white simply did not matter (Manning, 2006:19)

It is common knowledge that the idea that others who was not white did not matter materialized in the form of forced removals of millions of people to townships and separate homeland systems for the vast majority of previously disenfranchised South Africans. Moreover, townships and homelands are in general characterised by poor social infrastructures and educational resources compared to previously 'white' exclusive communities (Kallaway et al., 1997). Therefore, given the intention of Verwoerd as one of the architects of the apartheid racial classification system, I object vehemently to the categories of 'Malay' and 'Coloured' used first by the apartheid Nationalist government and currently by the ANC-led government to define my humanity, which may be argued for different purposes.



1.3 Purpose and Objectives of the Study

Firstly, the primary purpose of this study is to investigate whether transformation and nation building is possible without invoking a racial classification system.

Secondly, the general objectives of this study are to:

1. Analyze critically the preambles of key legislated documents that are underpinned by the clause 'united we are in our diversity'.
2. Explore the failures and successes of the 'united in our diversity' redress theme/strategy/programme.
3. Identify the social implications race-based policies in particular affirmative action may hold for post-apartheid social practices.

4. Propose elements toward an alternative to the continued maintenance of racial classification system as a redress strategy

1.4 Problem Statement

After a decade of apartheid, the ANC-led government wants to unite South African citizens on the basis of a common pledge ‘united in our diversity’ I explained earlier that the notion of diversity in the constitution refers to an acknowledgement seemingly by South African citizens that there are diverse racial, religious, cultures, disabilities, genders and ethnic groups in South Africa (See South Africa’s relevant National Policies). Due to South Africa’s apartheid history, the need to combat racism is in the founding provisions of South Africa’s constitution, Act 108 of 1996:3 as (b) ‘Non-racialism’ because racism was an obstacle to social justice during apartheid.

Therefore:

Republic of South Africa

The Republic of South Africa is one, sovereign, democratic state founded on the following values:

Human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms.

Non-racialism and non-sexism

Supremacy of the constitution and the rule of law.

Universal adult suffrage, a national common voters role, regular elections and a multi-party system of democratic government, to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness.

The Collins English Dictionary (1998:942) defines ‘racism’ or ‘racialism’ as:

1. the belief that races have distinctive cultural characteristics determined by hereditary factors and this endows some races with an intrinsic superiority. While it defines ‘non’ (1998:771) as: 1. indicating negation: non-existent

In view of Collins definition of ‘racialism’ and ‘non’ one can safely infer that racism or racialism becomes meaningful only if one accepts socially and legally that there are distinctly different races (See Appendix).

1.5 Research Questions

Since, the concept of ‘designated groups’ in the preamble of Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998 generates, arguably a need for the maintenance of a racial classification system, the research question arose:

1. ‘Why does the ANC-led government use a racial classification system as in the Z83 job application form?’

The first research question necessitates second and third research questions:

2. ‘Is the maintenance and continued use of racial categories appropriate to mediate educational equity outcomes and nation building in a post-apartheid South Africa?’
3. ‘If race-based public policies in particular affirmative action are not appropriate, what alternatives are there to a racial diversity redress strategy to nation building without referring to racial categories?’

1.6 Significance of the Study

‘The way we think about life comes across in the way we talk and write about it... If you want your thought processes to be clear and accurate, then start by focusing on the language you use!’(Elwes,

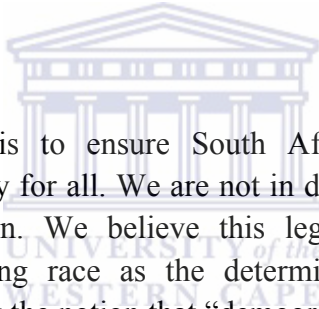
2011:9)

The above quotation points out that language plays a central role in the formulation of our thought processes and therefore our reasoning (See chapter 3, point 3.7.1). I elaborate on these aspects in more detail in chapter 2. Therefore to understand the continued use of racial categories in a post-apartheid South Africa, one has to understand the thought processes of public policy legislators by analyzing their language use in relation to the material conditions they were socialized in. The key concern of this study is how mythical conceptualisations can create false impressions certain groups of people. (Boonzaier and Sharp, 1989; Said, 1995; Salzano, 1997). In this regard, numerous studies show that racial stereotypes lead to bigotry and intolerance of one group of people over another based on false perceptions (Fanon, 1961; Brown, 1991; Haley, 1977; Anderson, 1982; Jamieson, 2002). As such, the study is significant because it proposes alternative formulations to certain textual aspects of the preambles of selected public policies. Secondly, a critical discourse analysis and discussion of a race-based driven unity in diversity transformation approach are not only significant for South Africa, but have also implications for many countries faced with post-colonial challenges of how to explore alternative strategies. It is my opinion that critical linguistic perspectives can play a significant role, especially in mediating educational transformation and nation building without invoking a racial classification system.

1.7 Scope and Delimitations

The focus of this study is not whether there are different races. Such a notion is according to this study a misnomer. As stated, the key concern of this study is the

implications South Africa's 'united in our 'racial diversity' clause holds for post-apartheid social practices. Like studies mentioned in points 1.1, I do not dispute the idea that there should be social, economic and educational transformation in South Africa (Turok, 2008; Roux, 2011). At the same time, I am aware that there may be political parties in South Africa who disagree in private with race-based policies, but since race-based policies are legally enforceable, they are 'obliged' to endorse such regulations. For this reason, I use the concept 'ANC-led' government instead of government in order to indicate that all political parties 'must' implement and uphold race-based public policies. The Democratic Alliance (DA) is an example of a South African political party that contests affirmative action solely based on race. According to Barnard (2014: DA Online):



The DA's goal is to ensure South Africa becomes an open, opportunity society for all. We are not in denial about the impact of past discrimination. We believe this legacy must be addressed without entrenching race as the determinant of a person's life chances. We reject the notion that "demography is destiny". We also understand how important it is in any society to reinforce the link between effort and ability (on the one hand) and outcomes and rewards (on the other).

Since, the focus of my analysis is not on the administrative and management aspects of public policies, I am not using conventional models, such as, the elite/mass, group, institutional, social interaction, systems, policy network and community, chaos, complexity and quantum, functional, policy stages/phases models and symbolic models to analyse public policy processes (Pauw, et al., 2002; Cloete, et al., 2006; Fourie and Opperman, 2011; Black et al., 2012; Khan; 2014). Secondly, for the purposes my study, the phases of policy processes, viz. initiation, design, analysis, formulation, dialogue and advocacy, implementation and evaluation will be applied in a manner that conforms

to critical discourse analysis research procedures in which texts (words and sentences) are objects of data analyses (See de Coning, 2006:3-21 for an in-depth discussion of policy processes and analysis from the perspectives of different models).

Due to time and financial constraints, I could not interview government officials to ascertain their views on race-based policies. To overcome this, the study drew on government official publications to collate their position on the belief that there are distinctly different races in the South Africa.

1.8 Research Design

Since the focus of research is on written texts (words and sentences) as data, I chose a qualitative research design rather than a quantitative one to collect, analyse and interpret data. I use primary sources: official government publications in verbatim form and secondary sources of data: academic literature, and media reports. I use a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) Model to analyse public policy discourses as processes and products of a South African historical narrative: its field (what happened), tenor (who was involved) and mode of discourse (what part did language play/plays in public policy formulation). Thus, in this context:

The term ‘discourse’ is used in day-to-day language interchangeably with discussion or dialogue. The story of a discussion or dialogue is the object of discourse analysis. Such analysis aims to expose patterns and hidden rules of how language used and narratives are created. Thus, discourse analysis is a research method, which involves examining communication in order to gain new insights (Hewit, 2009:1)

To generate possible new insights into the political and cultural nature of the preambles in selected public policy documents, I analyse the mode (the part that language plays) in

terms of its structure (the overall argumentative structure of preambles in selected public policy documents) and texture (their internal configuration of words and sentences).

1.9 Limitations of Methodology

As indicated earlier, I use, in this study Halliday's (1989 and 2004) and associates social grammar approach to discourse as theoretical framework to analyse the preambles of selected public policy documents. While Halliday (1989 and 2004) confined his analysis to children's fiction, oral narrative, sonnet, autobiography, dramatic dialogue, Fairclough (1992) pays minimal attention to an analysis of how people actually produce and consume texts (Luke, 1997). Fairclough's (1992) work is what Meyer (2001:5) calls, 'a politically engaged discourse analysis'. His work focuses fundamentally on exposing how power relations function in hegemonic texts. Widdowson (1998), Pennycook (1999) criticize Fairclough (1992) for ignoring how people from different cultural backgrounds may use their knowledge to respond to dominant discourse structures. To address limitations in Halliday's and Fairclough's models of discourse analysis, I extend it to South Africa's context situation and culture as well as its post-apartheid political economy with reference to public discourse.

1.10 Thesis Overview

1.10.1 Chapter 1: Introduction and Background to the Study

This chapter provides a general introduction to the study. It provides a brief overview of the central issues in the research, the research problem, context and objectives as well as how I generated the research questions. It explains why this research is significant, particularly, its contribution to the role of discourse in transformation and nation building.

1.10.2 Chapter 2: A Review of Relevant Discourse Theories

This chapter reviews the literature that is relevant to understanding the research problem. It draws particularly on Halliday's (1989 and 2004) conception of discourse as basis to outline the historical narrative of public policy development in terms of the field discourse (what happened), tenor (who was involved and mode of discourse (the part that language plays)).

1.10.3 Chapter 3: A Social Grammar of Discourse Analysis Method

This chapter explains and discusses the design method followed to collect, analyse and interpret the data in order to address the research questions in a systematic and coherent manner.

1.10.4 Chapter 4: Analyzing the Field and Tenor of Public Policy Discourse:

What Happened and Who was Involved

This chapter provides an overview of pre- (1948-1994) and post-apartheid discourse (1994-2014) and socio-cultural contexts, which enabled the researcher to answer the first research question:

‘Why does the ANC-led government use a racial classification system as in the Z83 job application form?’

1.10.5 Chapter 5: Analysing a Mode of Public Policy Discourse: Preambles of

Selected Public Policy Documents

Through a critical discourse analysis of the preambles of relevant selected public policy documents, this chapter answers the research question: ‘Is the maintenance and continued use of racial categories appropriate to mediate educational equity outcomes

and nation building in a post-apartheid South Africa?

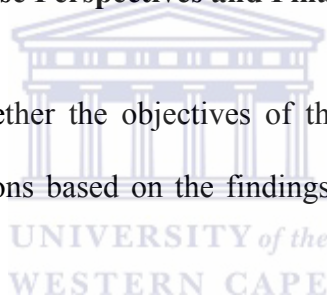
1.10.6 Chapter 6: Proposed Intervention Model: Relating Race-Based Affirmative Action to South African Texts and Contexts

This chapter presents and discusses the findings. It uses the findings alongside other relevant literature to address the final research question:

‘If race-based public policies in particular affirmative action are not appropriate, what alternatives are there to a racial diversity redress strategy to nation building without referring to racial categories?’

1.10.7 Chapter 7: Discourse Perspectives and Final Remarks

This chapter discusses whether the objectives of the research had been achieved. In addition, it draws conclusions based on the findings and recommends suggestions for further studies.



1.11 Ethics Statement

The study was conducted strictly according to the conventions of scientific research. As such, it attempted to reflect government views on the notion of ‘different races’ as accurately and fairly as possible with a view to avoid academic prejudice. Thus, the governmental sources were analysed in terms of accepted academic conventions.

CHAPTER 2

A REVIEW OF RELEVANT DISCOURSE THEORIES

"(a) We are, in all our thinking and forever, 'at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for [our] society', because we cannot but 'see and hear otherwise experience' in terms of the categories and distinctions encoded in language; (b) the categories and distinctions encoded in one language system are unique to that system and incommensurable with those of other systems" (Lyons, 1981:304).

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the interrelationship among public policy as discourse (language use as spoken and written texts), an ideological and value system whose meanings manifest in diverse social contexts. It is the opinion of this study that the nature of public policy as written discourse (language in use) has implications for the types of practices (implementation and management) it generates, which in turn, have implications for educational development and nation building social practices. This chapter therefore also motivates my choice of research model relevant to the type of data and analysis.

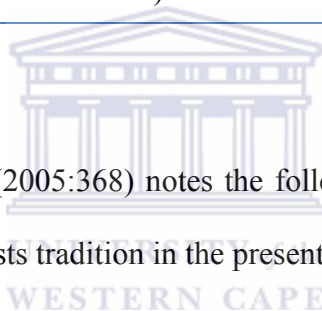
To this end, I review Halliday's (1989 and 2004) social grammar discourse, which enabled me to develop a framework to analyse conceptually the preambles of selected public policies. I have used Halliday's model of discourse analysis for my doctoral studies in which I analysed the written discourse strategies of a group isiXhosa-English Second Language (XESL) Speakers (Alexander, 2011). I found Halliday's model of discourse analysis, or sometimes referred to a 'Social Grammar of Discourse' useful because Halliday (1989) and his associates, Hasan (1989), Martin (1989) provide the grammatical categories to analyse spoken and written texts within diverse as well as specific social contexts. The focus of my analysis in my doctoral studies was first

language interference in the acquisition of the second or target language. Given this scenario, I looked at the discourse strategies a group of isiXhosa Speakers deployed to navigate English as they ‘struggled’ to create a coherent written academic essay.

2.2 Origin of the Concepts Discourse and Critical

The concepts that are pivotal to this study are: ‘discourse and critical analysis’. According to Rogers et al., (2005:369) the concept discourse is derived from Latin *discursis* which means to ‘run to and fro’. Thus, as one analysis discourse, as I do in this study; as language in use in the form of spoken and written texts, one would move to and fro through history in the process of analysis, interpretation with a view to unravel the meaning of a particular phenomenon or concept. The concept critical or being critical can in my opinion take on a form of objection, contribution and discussion in the search for alternatives. Thus, the notion of being critical is perhaps as old as human beings on the planet earth. However, the first scholarly articles of being critical are mainly attributed to the Frankfurt School of thought founded in Germany in 1923 (Macey, 2000). The focus of the founders was on how to reinterpret Freud and Marx in the light of contemporary changes in their society (Rogers et al., 2005). This tradition of reinterpreting particular theories with a view to apply them to particular societies is still ongoing as an integral part of modern research methods. A key feature of critical theory is the argument that human beings do not passively observe history, but they make history in the processes of making society. As such, they can change the way they do things and in doing this they can change the hitherto paths followed throughout history as things that are irrefutably immutable. Thus, modern critical theory is mainly based on Karl Marx’s idea of history and the role that human beings play in the making of their societies. Marx articulates his conception of ‘forces’ responsible for making and bringing about changes in society throughout history as follows:

In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or – this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms – with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution. The changes in the economic foundation lead sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure (Marx, Preface: 1859).



In retrospect, Rogers et al (2005:368) notes the following about critical traditions that align themselves to a Marxist tradition in the presentation of history and societies:

Critical theory is not a unified set of perspectives. Rather, it includes critical race theory, post-structuralism, post-modernism, neo-colonial studies, queer theory, and so on. Critical theories are generally concerned with issues of power and justice and the ways that the economy, race, class, gender, religion, education, and sexual orientation construct, reproduce, or transform social systems.

Thus critical theory analyse key forces/elements of society, social, economic, political and cultural. The words that Collin's dictionary and thesaurus (1993:40) use to clarify the concept analysis are: 'anatomization, anatomy, assay, breakdown, dissection, dissolution, division, enquiry, examination, investigation, perusal, resolution, scrutiny, separation, sifting' and so on In the next section, I elaborate on how this study links itself to critical traditions by locating its position with an expansion of Marxist theory to

linguistic studies.

2.3 Locating the Study

This study is located within the broad framework of critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis, which to my knowledge are extensions of critical theory (my emphasis). There are many critical theories as there are critical theorists (Macey, 2000; Rogers et al., 2005). Another key aspect of critical theories is it challenges common sense or taken for granted definitions. Critical theory seeks to engage commonly held structuralists' assumptions of how the world 'actually' works (Rogers et al., 2005). Critical theorists challenge structuralists' notions, interpretations as well as presentations of how power and meaning function in society, of which their expositions dominated the Enlightenment period (Ascroft, et al., 1995). While structuralists' explanations are a-historical and a-political, critical theories challenge such notions; at the same time it provides alternative historical as well political perspectives (Hook, 1994; Ascroft, et al., 1995; Macey, 2000). Just like Marx (1844 and 1859), many post structuralists endorse the idea of the social nature of human beings because as Marx explains the social nature of human beings implies that they have to enter into relations of production, which are 'independent of their will' (Marx, 1959: Preface).

In following the latter tradition, Halliday's and associates social, critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach to language studies has been seminal to the discipline of Applied Linguistics, which is referred to as the 'Linguistic turn' (Rogers et al., 2005). While some post-structuralists or critical theorists focus mainly on how relations of power and meaning function in terms of culture, politics and economics, Halliday's (1989 and 2004) critical analysis is on a critical analysis on the actual use of words and

sentences in conversational and written discourse in culture, politics, economics and so on. He explains not only the 'how's', but also the 'why's behind people's choices in their use of everyday words and sentences. I provide a very short history of language studies - none critical as well as critical models to argue how and why Halliday and associates' model of discourse analysis is relevant to this study.

2.3.1 Some history of Language Studies

According to Williams (1985) the first studies in the Pre-Socratic era focused on language as an activity. They emphasized the history of language. Neither one of these approaches gave a systematic overview of language and its real relationship to humans. The major emphasis on language as an activity started in the eighteenth century. Language and reality were treated as separate entities for philosophical investigation. This led to a separation of consciousness and the material world, which corresponded to actual practical divisions between mental and practical activity.

As language studies fragmented further, the dichotomy between theory and practice became entrenched in the dominant positivist perspectives, which postulated that linguistic structures are immutable as are certain traditions and practices in society. Consequently, very little was done to challenge existing dominant power relations. Language as a way of indicating reality was studied as logic and, as a specific fixed form of reality, was studied as grammar. Language as an instrument used by people for special purposes was applied in rhetoric and in associated poetics. These branches of languages became specific and independent disciplines, which laid the foundation for the kinds of investigations to be made into 'language' and 'reality' (Williams, 1985:23).

Various modes of language construction developed from the diverse branches of language. Grammar and rhetoric moved into relatively formal properties of classical

written material, which later became known as ‘literary study’ and from the early seventeenth century as ‘criticism’ (Williams, 1985).

The distinction between reality and language was eventually addressed when Vico in response to Descartes proposed the criterion, ‘that we can have full knowledge only of what we ourselves can make or do’ (Williams, 1985: 23). By arguing that we can understand society because we made it and that we understand it only in the process of making it, and that language plays an instrumental role in this process, Vico introduced a whole new dimension into the study of languages (Williams, 1985). Vico’s remark to language studies ushered in a new era of language studies.

2.3.2 Language, Genre and Discourse

While positivists continue to view language in abstract terms, critical theorists interpret language as a material reality. Although Marx (1844) first conceived the materiality of history in terms of the relations, forces and economic mode production, he did not write about the role of language (Williams, 1985). However, since the initial conception of language as a mode of production, various people have written about language as a material entity from various perspectives (See Williams, 1985 and Fairclough, 1992). Influenced by the arguments of Marx, post structural or critical theorists now interpreted language use as dialectical in nature. In other words, language use and social changes are not only in historical in nature, but even more importantly are shaped by people’s material conditions –class positions. Just as classes stratify society, language stratifies classes. Hence different classes, owners of the means of production (capitalist entrepreneurs), middle (managerial) and working classes are socialized into class-specific ways of speaking (Bernstein, 1990). Language use and social changes, as it is in the case of economics, involve political processes of class struggles. Ultimately, class

struggles rotate around issue of whose language use (ideas) will be accepted as the dominant political and economic currencies, moreover, which classes will determine how society will be governed. Thus, according to Marx (1944 and 1959) through a process of struggle over the means of production the working class can change the current political economy (the thesis), from a process of struggle (anti-thesis) they will develop new ideas (mode of production) on which a new egalitarian classless society will emerge with new relations and forces of production (a new thesis).

Thus post-structuralists expound on the role of language in the struggle for a fair and just society based on the will of all the people, particularly the working class. This new idea of examining the role of language in the making of societies lead to specialized areas of studies, viz. notably genre and discourse studies in relation to language. Like many other areas of study an interest to people, genre and discourse studies attracted many participants such as Foucault, 1969; Brown and Yule, 1983; Halliday; 1985) as well many others. Due to limitations regarding the scope of this thesis, I am only referencing theorists whom I consider relevant to my analysis of public policy as discourse, notably Halliday's (1985 and 2006) social grammar of discourse analysis model. I clarify in subsequent sections why I preferred Halliday's social grammar of discourse analysis model (see especially chapter 6, point 6.5 in which I elaborate on why for real change to take place the relationship among linguistic and social structure on the one hand and, base and superstructure as prerequisites on the other should also change)

According to Cope et al., (1993), genre theorists who have linguistic analysis of

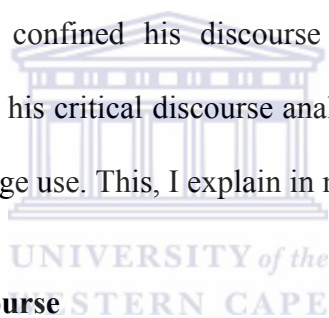
'specialized' spoken and written forms of language use as their area of interest are influenced by Halliday's (1978) register model of linguistic analysis (my emphasis). Therefore, while some academics view register and genre as two distinct phenomena, Cope et al., (1993) regard Halliday's register as the catalyst for genre-based or specialized forms of language studies with educational aims in mind. Swales (1990:2) whose notion of genre in language studies bears a strong linguistic resemblance to Halliday's register concept, states that genre studies originated in attempts by Barber (1962), Halliday, McIntosh and Stevens (1964) to develop 'language analyses for specific purposes' which, 'historically, began in quantitative studies of the linguistic properties of functional varieties or registers of language'. Halliday was the first one to develop the grammatical categories to analyse the social nature of discourse. His model could then be used to analyse spoken and written discourse in diverse social settings in which people are seen as social actors, participating in social events with social goals in mind. The idea that language is a social event coalesce with Marx's perspective about the social nature of human beings with innate desires to fulfill their material needs (Marx, 1959). To this end, Gee (1999) observes:

'Language has a magical property: when we speak or write we craft what we have to say to fit the situation or context in which we are communicating. But, at the same time, how we speak or write creates that very situation or context. It seems, then, that we fit our language to a situation or context that our language, in turn, helped to create in the first place.

This is rather like the "chicken and egg" question: Which comes first? The situations were in (e.g. a committee meeting)? Or the language we use (our committee ways of talking and interacting)? Is this a "committee meeting" because we are speaking and acting this way, or are we speaking and acting this way because this is a committee meeting? After all, if we did not speak and act in certain ways, committees could not exist; but then, if institutions, committees, and committee meetings didn't already exist, speaking and acting this way would be nonsense. The answer here is that this

magical property is real and language and institutions ““boot strap”” each other into existence in a reciprocal process through time.’ (Gee, 1999:10)

Similarly, I follow this model of language studies which argues that there is dialectical relationship between cognition and social structure; languages influence and shape diverse social settings: social institutions, culture, economics, politics and these, in turn, influence and shape peoples’ language use – problem-solving abilities. Language use as public policy not only maintains societal systems, but equally important it regulates, and revises them, if and when considered necessary by the people or the government. In retrospect, while Halliday confined his discourse analysis to educational matters, Fairclough (1992) extended his critical discourse analysis by including the political and ideological nature of language use. This, I explain in more detail in the next sections.



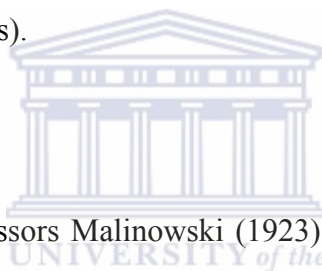
2.4 Public Policy As Discourse

Halliday’s (1989) point of departure to discourse studies is that one should not separate language use from meaning because the two are inextricably bound. One can therefore safely infer meaning and use should not be separated in public policy analysis. For Halliday (1989) meaning is realized in social contexts because the meaning of a word or sentence may change as the social context changes. In contrast to structural grammar models, like Chomsky, (1957) for whom words and sentences are the object of analysis, for Halliday (1989 and 2004) texts are the object of analysis. While Chomsky interprets words and sentences as cognitive features, as alluded to earlier, Halliday (1978, 1989 and 2004) argues that the use of words and sentences signify social events.

According to Halliday (1989), meaning is encoded in words and sentences; hence, one cannot separate words and sentences. However, rather than treat words as independent

entities, one should explore from a linguistic and social perspective, the interrelationship between and among words and sentences through textual analysis. For Halliday, the main purpose of textual analysis is to show how cohesion and coherence unfolds in texts.

He contends that language happens in social contexts, people are social beings and education is a social process. It is then, in this regard, that Halliday's framework of social grammar becomes increasingly relevant to this study because public policies are texts, which are practiced not only in texts, but also in a social, political, economic as well as educational context(s).



By drawing on his predecessors Malinowski (1923) and Firth (1935), Halliday (1978, 1989, and 2004) argues that language comes to life when functioning in some environments and that culture plays a fundamental role in meaning making. However, while his predecessors Malinowski (1923) and Firth (1935) restricted their analysis and discussion of the context of situation and culture mainly to oral forms of communication, Halliday (1978, 1989, and 2004) incorporates written forms to show the generative nature of context of situation and culture. Crucially, the conceptual focus of this study is profoundly different. As indicated in chapter 1, whereas Halliday (1978, 1989, and 2004) analysed, English First (L1) Language forms, viz. children's fiction, oral narrative, sonnet, autobiography, dramatic dialogue, in British and Australian contexts, the focus in this study is on South Africa's the preambles of selected public policies as written texts.

In view of Halliday's (1978, 1989, and 2004) rendition of discourse, I contend that race-based policies should be located within South Africa's context of situation and culture as one seeks to understand the nature of government's language use in public policies.

In doing this way, one may follow Kress's (1990:6) lead that:

‘Institutions and social groupings have specific meanings and values which are articulated in language in systematic ways’. Moreover, this means, ‘The starting point of account is the listener/reader/writer, is seen not as an isolated individual, but as a social agent, located in a network of social relations, in specific places in a social structure’ (Kress, 1990:5).

In terms of Kress' (1990) argument, the legislators of public policies, should not be seen as an isolated individuals, but as social agents, located in a network of social relations, in specific places in a social structure' As explained, the purpose of my discourse analysis is not only to show the successes and failures of educational transformation by referring to statistically to educational outcomes, but equally important to show how the ANC-led government represents South African realities, enforces identities and establishes relationships among citizens. For these reasons, I discuss Halliday's, Social Grammar of Discourse model in greater detail. Halliday (1989 and 2004) analyzes what people do with their language(s), how and why they use it in particular ways to achieve a variety of goals. He, therefore, chooses function and purpose as the two main components responsible for the generation of peoples' grammatical choices:

‘In the simplest sense, the word function can be thought of as a synonym for the word ‘use’, so that when we talk about functions of language, we may mean no more than the way people use their language or their languages if they have more than one. Stated in most general terms, people do different things with their language; that is, they expect to achieve by talking and writing, and by listening and reading, a large number of different aims and different

purposes' (Halliday, 1989:15).

In addressing the question, how people makes discourse cohere - language use meaningful, Halliday's implied answer to this question is that the types of linguistic cohesive devices people decide to use are determined by the linguistic demands and constraints of the context of situation and culture. He qualifies this point:

'A text is characterised by coherence; it hangs together. At any point after the beginning, what has gone before provides the environment for what is coming next. This sets up internal expectations; and these are matched up with the expectations referred to earlier, that the listener or reader brings from the external sources, form the context of situation and culture' (Halliday, 1989:48).

According to Halliday, one would find in any context of situation actors, actions and goals to be achieved, regardless of the language a person may use. These are universal features found in all languages. One can, therefore, safely deduce that race-based affirmative action policy practices happen in South African context of situation and culture, in which government and the citizens are the actors. When government and citizens interact, they perform certain actions with specified or unspecified intentions to achieve specific goals. Halliday (1989) describes actors as the tenor of discourse, action as the field of discourse, and goal as the mode of discourse. The tenor is contained in noun and pronoun forms, it highlights who was involved. Nouns and pronouns express interpersonal themes or meanings. Verbs and verbal extension, express the field of discourse – what happened. The textual aspects of lexical and conjunctive cohesion have an effect on the mode of discourse – the part that language plays in meaning making. Table 1 shows how the different aspects of discourses, viz. tenor, field and mode interface to create textual coherence.

Table 1: Analytical Framework of Systemic Functional Grammar

Actor	Action	Goal
Tenor (Who is involved)	Field (What is happening)	Mode (Part language is playing)
Tenor of discourse	Field of discourse	Mode of discourse
Meanings		
Interpersonal (mood, modality, person, etc.)	Experiential (transitivity, naming etc.)	Textual (theme, information, cohesive relations)

Since Halliday's (1989 and 2004) analytical framework is linguistic in orientation, but intended and directed towards revealing the social and educational dimensions of grammar, his approach is fundamentally different from conventional structural approaches, which use grammatical categories, subject (noun), predicate (verb) and object (noun). For example, in conventional grammar, 'The man (subject) kicks (predicate) the ball (object)'. In contrast, Halliday's focus of analysis would not only be on what is happening in terms of conventional grammar models, but also who is involved, and even more critically, he would seek to explore the historical, social and cultural reasons why the man kicked the ball. He does this, by interpreting verbs as process establishing devices. Different verbs create different meaning processes. Examples of verb forms that indicate existence and possession are 'having' and 'being'. Verb forms that indicate movement and location are 'sending', 'carrying', 'going', 'putting', and so on (Halliday, 1989:8). Halliday explains why one needs to explore the grammars of discourse within social contexts:

'The general notion of context of situation is as necessary for the

understanding of English or any other major language as it is for the understanding of Kiriwinian. It is simply that the specific contexts of the culture are different. The activities that people are engaging in may differ from one place to another; but the general principle that all language must be understood in its context of situation is just as valid for every community in every stage of development' (Halliday, 1989:8)

According to critical linguists the social position that people find themselves in society determines the manner in which they use language as well as have access to it. The latter is critical in the South African context in which many South African academics emphasize the disadvantaged position that the majority of previously disenfranchised, working class people find themselves in, which contributes to their daily struggles involving, housing, economic, academic access and subsequently their 'social frailty' in the acquisition of academic discourses (Angélil Carter and Moore, 1998; Leibowitz and Mohamed, 2000; Boughey, 2000; Tshotsho, 2006; Gough, 1996)

Since critical linguistics illustrate the social meaning of discourses, as a theory it is particularly useful to address issues of transformation and nation building as these happen in social contexts. The aim of critical linguistics is 'recovering the social meanings expressed in discourse by analysing the linguistic structures in the light of their interactional and wider social contexts' (Fowler et al., 1979:195-6). This means that while positivists present language as an entity that is distinct from other spheres of life, for Halliday (1989) and associates, Hasan, Martin, Kress and But (1990) language is just one system of meaning making amongst many others, which Halliday argues may include music, dance, painting, sculptor, and so on. These other systems shape language use and, in turn, people use language to mold them (Halliday, 1989, 2004). Thus,

although linguistic, social and cultural factors influence and shape our use of cohesive devices which, are aimed at developing coherent discourse(s), language is the primary system that people use to ‘make sense of experiences and enact social relationships’ (Halliday, 2004:29). The notion that language is a system that interacts with other systems, Capra (1982) expresses poignantly to mean:

‘The new vision of reality we have been talking about is based on awareness of the essential interrelatedness and interdependence of all phenomena – physical, biological, psychological, social, and cultural’ (Capra, 1982: 285).

In retrospect, this study attempts to understand the ANC’s public policies, not only as part of a linguistic and legal system, but critically also as a socio-cultural system. In other words, apart from viewing South Africa’s ‘united in our diversity’ clause as a grammatical feature of choice, this study regards the manner in which the ANC-led government defines people on the basis of colour as part of the pre- and post- apartheid contexts of culture.

It further argues that the relevant acts that underpin public policy should be located within South African histories and cultures as one seeks to understand the nature of the ANC led government’s language use and the connection to issues of accessibility to knowledge and power. This means that this study also acknowledges the identities of parliamentarians as social agents functioning within a South African context.

At the same time, the notion of social agents functioning within social structures also implies that the citizens of South Africa are not passive recipients of government policies, but rather active participants in a situation, which they constructed and which,

in turn, constructed them as citizens. They are participants in a network of social relationships in and outside South Africa. This perspective has implications for how one views South African citizens in the processes of social and educational redress. In making South African citizens conscious of their agency as well as the norms and values of the discourse through an intervention strategy, they can make choices as they strive to appropriate the cultural and economic capital to become equal citizens in the South African landscape. Using Clark and Ivanič (1997: 231) exemplar, we need to make citizens aware ‘that their discursal choices construct an image not only of themselves, but also of others and that they need to take control over this as much as they can; not so they can deceive their listeners, but so that they do not betray themselves.

In view of Clark and Ivanič’s (1997) statement about citizens as social agents, this study endorses the arguments of Halliday (1989) and associates, Hasan (1990), Martin (1990), Kress (1990) and Butler (1990) who all advocate a view of language in use, as a socially-constructed phenomenon in which clauses and sentences are conceived as instances of either spoken or written discourses. From their perspectives, public policies as discourses are never fixed and one can therefore adapt them to achieve specific social goals (Halliday, 1989). To understand how one could mediate race-based public policy changes, one need, perhaps first to understand the differences between open and close registers:

‘In order to incorporate this into our general theory, we need the concept of a variety language, corresponding to a variety of situation: a concept of the kind of variation in language that goes with variation in the context of situation. This therefore is the point at which we need to bring in the notion of a REGISTER’ (Halliday, 1989:38).

Register in this context, refers to language variety. Halliday (1989 and 2004) distinguishes between open and close registers. Happy Birthday is an example of a close register in which the message form is fixed and finite. Open registers are, for example: 'headlines, recipes, legal documents, buying and selling at an auction, communication between doctor and patient', which may vary with time and space. It appears that there is close relationship between Halliday's register concept and subsequent work by a range of genre theorists in the field of academic writing. However, Chandler (2000) points out, there has been controversy around the term 'genre', particularly its origin.

According to Cope et al., (1993), genre theorists who have linguistic analysis of spoken and written forms of language use as their area of interest are influenced by Halliday's register model of linguistic analysis. Therefore, while some academics view register and genre as two distinct phenomena, Cope et al., (1993) regard Halliday's register as the catalyst for genre-based or specialized forms of language studies with educational aims in mind. Swales (1990:2), whose notion of genre in language studies bears a strong linguistic resemblance to Halliday's register concept, states that genre studies originated in attempts by Barber (1962), Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1964) to develop 'language analyses for specific purposes' which, 'historically, began in quantitative studies of the linguistic properties of functional varieties or registers of language'.

When viewed from Halliday (1989) arguments about discourse, the field of discourse would be a dialogue between South African citizens and the government in Constitution Act 108 of 1996 and the Employment Equity Act, No, 55 of 1998 and the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000 and Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment Act 53 of 2003. In terms of the tenor of discourse the people involve in South Africa's post-apartheid dialogue are the ANC led government, South Africa's apartheid past - government and citizens. The mode of discourse is the part that

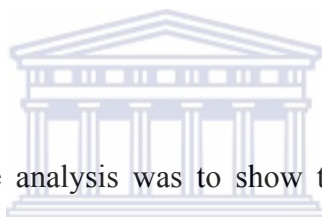
language plays as written texts template to represent South African realities, enact social relationships and establish post-apartheid identities.

To illustrate the appropriateness of discourse analysis to this study, I show below a sample analysis of the preamble of the South Africa's Constitution, Act 108 of 1996 as argument structure: the introduction, body and conclusion (Martin, 1989).

Table 2: Identification and Discourse Analysis of South Africa's Constitutional Preamble

Preamble to South Africa's Constitution, Act 108 of 1996				
Argument Structure				
		Themes		
		Ideational (Verb Forms)	Interpersonal (Nouns and Pronouns)	Textual Conjunctive Forms
Introduction/Precipitating Event				
We the people of South Africa			People of South Africa	
Recognise the injustices of the past		Recognise		
Body/Consequence				
Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land		Honour	those who suffered	Consequent relation: implied
Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and		Respect	Those who have worked	
Conclusion/Revelation				
Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity		Believe	All who live in it	Consequent relation: implied

The ideational themes (verb forms) and interpersonal themes (noun forms) in the preamble of South Africa's constitution are premised on the idea that 'We, the people of South Africa recognize, honour, respect and believe that South Africa belongs to all who worked and develop our country'. The sentence is consistent because in terms of interpersonal relations it is inclusive of all South African people. The notion of race does not enter the discussion/argument at this point, except, perhaps, implied in the concept 'diversity'. The unity aspect in the phrase was linguistically coherent in the ideational and interpersonal themes until the authors of the text added the notion of 'diversity'. I analyse and discuss this notion of united in our diversity in detail in chapters 4 and 5.



The purpose of the sample analysis was to show that Halliday's Social Grammar of Discourse model is suitable to analyse texts beyond the sentence level as well as across texts from different sources. Fairclough (1992) refers to the latter as intertextuality. He divides intertextuality into three parts viz. 'sequential intertextuality', where different parts or discourse types alternate within a text... 'embedded intertextuality', where one text or discourse type is clearly contained within the matrix of another, and 'mixed intertextuality', where texts or discourse types are merged in a more complex and less easily separable way' (Fairclough, 1992:118).

In the next sections, this study shows how and why public policies are not only written texts, but are also underpinned by ideological processes and value systems with a view to later analyze and unravel the meaning(s) of words and sentences in the preambles of selected public policies.

2.5 Public Policies as Ideology

Theories of policy and policy-making have also been closely associated with political paradigms (ideologies) in which political values play an important role (de Coning and Cloete, 2006:29).

Since public policies are written texts, it follows that they are also forms of social and discursive practices – they are produced and consumed and distributed by people to serve specific purposes (Pauw, et al., 2002; Cloete, et al., 2006; Fourie and Opperman, 2011; Black et al., 2012). To clarify discursive practices, Fairclough (1992) draws on Halliday's initial arguments about the multifunctional and multidimensional nature of texts – words and sentences. At the same time, he criticizes Halliday for confining his linguistic analysis to finished products while omitting the importance of discursive processes, particularly the underlying ideological factors/processes involved in, and behind the production, distribution and consumption of texts. According to Fairclough (1992), how discourse is produced, consumed and distributed plays a pertinent role in determining what one regards as a meaningful - coherent text. In Fairclough's conception of discourse, people's selection of words/sentences and what is determined as coherent (meaningful) is often influenced by factors that extend far beyond immediate speech contexts. Thus, he articulates that to count for cohesion and coherence in any given texts demands a discussion on the role of politics and ideology. This, in turn, necessitates a type of linguistic analysis, which would seek to expose the political and ideological factors underpinning the surface meaning of discourse (Fairclough, 1992).

Like many critical theorists, Fairclough's (1992) foremost objective is to demonstrate

how language use is embedded in ideology and power for social and political domination. He combines (1) Gramsci's (1971) idea of hegemony (the unifying elements of dominant power relations) and Althusser's (1971) conception of power relations (ideological and repressive state apparatus), to define discourse as a form of social practice with political content and intention(s). At another level, he invokes Foucault's (1971) argument about how knowledge is stratified in modern societies to account for discourse as a form of discursive practice, particularly the interface between knowledge and power. He infers that the notion of discourse as a form of social practice has two implications:

‘Firstly, it implies that discourse is a mode of action, one form in which people may act upon the world especially upon each other, as well as mode of representation. This is a view of language use, which has been made familiar, though not often in individualistic terms, by linguistic philosophy and pragmatics (Levinson 1983). Secondly, it implies that there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and social structure, there being more generally such a relationship between social practice and social structure: the latter is both a condition for, and effect of, the former’ (Fairclough, 1992:63).

Fairclough (1992) maintains that to act upon the world through a critical discourse analysis of texts means that one should analyse texts critically in order to expose (1) how knowledge or common sense is produced, consumed and distributed based on current social stratification systems, and (2) hegemonic (dominant power) relations with a view to bring about social changes in society. Thus, ‘critical’ implies showing connections and causes, which are hidden; it also implies intervention, for example providing resources for those who may be disadvantaged through political change’ (Fairclough, 1992:9)

It is the opinion of this study that Fairclough (1992) holds an idealistic view of the potential of his CDA model to bring about social change in society, because a critical analysis of text may have the potential to bring about social changes. Social change often requires movements and actions beyond textual analysis, such as political protest as well. In other words, theory and practice work together as it often happened during the anti-apartheid struggles for equality. Nevertheless, the strength of Fairclough's CDA is that it not only encourages academics to focus on how language is used, but just the same, it clarifies the role of ideology in the choices people make in, and around their daily language use, why they prefer one form over another.

2.6 Public Policies as a Value System

Policy specifies the basic principles to be pursued in attaining specific goals. Policy interprets the values of society and is usually embodied in the management of pertinent projects and programmes (de Coning, 2006:3)

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This section explains how public policies may become value systems or systems of meaning making. While Halliday and Fairclough presents language use as equal to discourse, for Gee (1996) there is only discourse(s). Language is secondary to discourses because: Discourses' comprise different combinations of 'saying-doing-thinking-feeling-valuing' (Gee, 1999:17). Discourses produce value systems in which people learn to say, think, feel and value things in particular ways. Thus public policies are not only written texts per se, but equally important also discourses, aimed at making South African people, say, do, think, feel, and value one another in certain ways. To clarify how this works, Gee (1996) distinguishes between discourse with a small d and Discourse with a capital D. There are, according to Gee (1999), multiple Discourses representing different social realities. Thus in the reading and writing of texts:

‘[t]here is no such thing as ‘reading’ or ‘writing’, only reading or writing something (a text of a certain type) in a certain way with certain values, while at least appearing to think and feel in certain ways. We read and write only within a Discourse never outside all of them’ (Gee, 1996:xviii).

Thus, the nature of public policies should be described, analysed and understood within a particular value system not only to show how policies are formulated, but also why they are formulated and implemented in certain ideologically sanctioned ways. In Gee’s (1996) conception of discourse, people are socialized into particular ways of using language that are inextricably linked to their home cultures. Their home cultures require them to conform to particular identities and roles. Similarly, the discourses of government as authors (legislature) of the Constitution Act 108 of 1996 and the Employment Equity Act, No, 55 of 1998 and the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000 and Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment Act 53 of 2003 could be linked to confirmations of the legislators’ home cultures and discourses.

2.7 Summary

A key aspect of Hallidayean perspective, which I talked about in this chapter, is that for him, what is critical is meaning - meaning is negotiated by participants in any interactional event. Meaning for Halliday is social - language is basically for him a social event. This is crucial from internalized psychological activity. It is critical because it signals a shift from language as internalized psychological activity to language as part of the external world. As such, one can infer safely that public policies as language in use are part of the external world. Therefore to understand its meaning(s), driven by a need to change it, one has to conceptually link it to the external world.

CHAPTER 3

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS RESEARCH METHOD

Research methodology in the social sciences is closely related to policy management. This relationship stems from the communality of analysis and option generation in both research and policy analysis... Common basic steps in the research methodological process are generally accepted. These include the initial definition of the problem; delineation of the study field (and research design); the collection of theoretical and empirical data in a broad sense, usually a literature study and fieldwork respectively; synthesis (evaluation and interpretation); and conclusions and recommendations, which usually culminate in a research report (de Coning, 2006:8)

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter 1, I discussed how and where this study departs from previous research on public policy analysis. I explained the potential of a discourse-based - close linguistic analysis model to develop a strategy towards an alternative methodology/model to South Africa's 'united we are in our 'embedded' racial diversity' redress strategy.

In Chapter 2, I reviewed the work of key critical linguistic theorists to show how public policy discourse is a form of text whose meaning (coherence) can become clear once linguistically analyzed at a sentence as well as discourse level. This chapter describes the consequent research orientation, the process of selecting the research site as well as explicates methods of data collection and analysis.

3.2 A Critical Discourse –Based Approach to Research

Positivist theories, like the classical, liberal and elite models would regard phenomena such as the words and sentences in the preambles of selected public policies as quantifiable data. In this regard, Cohen et al., (2003:18) comment that positivist's

socially detached position on research ‘reduces human behaviour to technicism’. In contrast, critical theorists, argue that truth is always dependent on a situation, context or position (Gephart, 2005:7). The language in which a text is expressed reflects, and in some cases constructs, its context. This understanding of texts as social practice necessitates a qualitative approach, which seeks to describe, interpret and explain texts by socially situating them.

The goal of critical discourse analysis as a research model is to make visible hidden linguistic and socio-cultural practices with a view to influence change (Fairclough, 1992). My goal is to do a close linguistic analysis of the preambles of selected public policies in an attempt to understand the nature of the ANC-led government’s conception of human beings as different races. This includes trying to access the linguistic and cultural sources that the ANC-led government drew on when they wrote the Constitution Act 108 of 1996 and the Employment Equity Act, No, 55 of 1998 and the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000 and Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment Act 53 of 2003.

Ultimately, the goal of this study is to facilitate a process of understanding that will influence literacy pedagogy in the public sphere that South Africans are human beings. It is, then from this premise, I would argue that one seeks to address imbalances created by colonial and apartheid created unequal relations of power and meaning for the vast majority of previously disenfranchised South Africans.

3.3 Generation of Research Questions

Since the ANC-led government maintains the racial classification system in a post-apartheid South Africa, the following research questions emerged:

1. 'Why does the ANC-led government use a racial classification system as in the Z83 job application form?'

The first research question necessitates second and third research questions:

2. 'Is the maintenance and continued use of racial categories appropriate to mediate educational equity outcomes and nation building in a post-apartheid South Africa?'
3. 'If race-based public policies in particular affirmative action are not appropriate, what alternatives are there to a racial diversity redress strategy to nation building without referring to racial categories?'

3.4 Case Study Research

This research is framed as a case study. Case study designs have been widely used in Educational research when researching a program, an entity, a person, or a group of people (Cresswell, 1994; Nunan, 1992). In this study the case or entity is South Africa. The strength of a case study approach is that it describes and analyses language within real-life contexts. In this sense, the case study approach coheres with an understanding of texts as social practice. While written texts are the central data source in this study, it also draws on previous studies in order to contextualize the texts.

A significant strength of the case study approach is that it facilitates detailed analyses of a single phenomenon. A drawback of this is that it limits generalisability. It is, therefore, crucial that case study researchers provide detailed description of both their methods of their research site and context, data collection and analysis in order to ensure that the study may be evaluated and replicated by others in the future (Nunan, 1992).

3.5 The Research Site

As discussed earlier, this study evolved out of my experiences as a South African citizen from 1958 to the 2013 in Cape Town, South Africa. As a result, my own knowledge and experience as a South African citizen of the research site has played a role in the conceptualization of the research problem. South Africa has a population of 52 982 000 (fifty million, nine hundred and eighty two thousand citizens (Statistics South Africa: P0302)

South Africa is a country at the Southern tip of Africa. It has a long history of colonial occupation, subjugation, oppression and repression first by the Dutch, followed by the British. When the British withdrew from South Africa, they handed power to a 'White' minority of people whose lineage are 'Dutch-based' (Alexander and et al., 1988; Saul and Bond, 2014). When the ANC became the government of national unity in 1994, to bring about social and economic redress, they promulgated the Constitution Act 108 of 1996. The fundamental purpose of the constitution to ensure equal access and treatment for 'all', with 'special reference' to previously disenfranchised South Africa's citizens. As stated in Chapter 2, informed by the democratic principles and values of the struggle against apartheid, the preamble of South Africa's constitution, act 108 of (1996:1) is a pledge by South African people to transform South African society from an apartheid state to a democratic one.

3.6 Data Collection

The data collected for a critical discourse analyses with a view to answer the research questions are: the Constitution Act 108 of 1996 and the Employment Equity Act, No, 55 of 1998 and the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000 and Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment Act 53 of 2003. This study

draws also on books, journal, newspaper articles as well as educational and economic reports as sources of data.

3.7 Data Analysis

A Social Grammar of Discourse analysis is paramount to this thesis. South Africa's preambles of selected public policy documents as written texts are at the centre of the data analysis. An analytical method was designed based on Halliday's social grammar of discourse model, which would enable me to test my research questions which revolve issues of race, educational outcomes and nation building at different levels of data analysis, interpretation and discussion.

3.7.1 A Critical Discourse Analysis of Preambles at the Level of Structure and Texture

Firstly, I decided to analyse the preambles of selected, relevant public policy because the preambles form the initial argument structure, which qualifies subsequent extensions of public policy.

Secondly, I decided to analyse the relevant preambles of public policies in relation to education and nation building for the following reasons:

- Public policy is in my opinion an integral part of a country's legal system.
- The fundamental purpose of a legal system is to regulate human behaviour in public as well as private spaces.
- Adherence to legal regulation starts as an educational process. In other words, education socializes people to conform to the political, economic, social and moral values of a society.
- Hence education plays a key role in transformation and nation building issues

because it is informed and guided by public policies.

In this regard, I found Halliday's multidimensional model of linguistic analysis to analyse government texts viz. the words and sentences in the preambles of South Africa's Constitution, Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998, and Promotion of Equality Act and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act 2000 useful. The analytical categories Hasan (1989) uses to analyze texts are useful to this study because she shows how cohesion and coherence unfolds at the level of structure and texture. According to Hasan (1989:70), the contextual configuration (unity of texts) is decided by two sources, viz., structure and texture. While structure is determined by the situation, the texture (textual configuration) is confirmed by the presence of certain semantic and lexico-grammatical relations. If for some reason, certain words were missing, a reader would know that the texture is incoherent in that it does not conform to a prescribed convention. Hence, Hasan (1989:70) infers:

‘There is thus a two-way relationship between text structure and textual configuration: the on-going structure of the text defines and confirms that nature of the textual configuration, while the latter acts as point of reference for deciding what kind of elements can appear when, where, how and how often’

Hasan (1989) cites the cohesive function of endophoric relations: which parallelism, referring expressions, substitution, ellipsis to establish cohesion and thereby contribute to the development of texture and structure. While I found Hasan's (1989) explanations of cohesion and coherence useful, to explain how texture and structure unfold in written argumentative texts, I found Martin's conjunctive categories useful as he explains the role of conjunctions in the arrangement of logical discourse:

‘At the core of every form of Exposition is some form of reasoning. The function of Exposition is to interpret and to explain, so realising

the cause and effect are important. Expositions are about why. For this reason, we need to look at the ways in which languages like English express reasoning. These grammatical resources have to be deployed effectively if students are to write effective expository texts' (Martin, 1990:18).

Martin (1990) shows how conjunctions can be used to generate logical relations in argumentative texts (Chapter 2). I focus on conjunctions that add, cause changes, compare and contrast information in the preambles of South Africa's constitution, Act 108 of 1998 and Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998, the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000 and Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment Act 53 of 2003.



3.7.2 Triangulation of Data and Findings

Triangulation refers to the use of multiple sources to increase the reliability of observations in a single case study. In this study, I use three sources of evidence, viz., preambles of selected policy documents, journal/book articles and economic reports. To test the 'reliability' of views on race-based public policies in relation to educational outcomes and nation building as data as well as 'validity' of findings, I am guided by Nunan's (1992:17) definitions of these two concepts. Nunan (1992:16-17) divides reliability into two forms – internal and external. He further differentiates between 'Construct Validity' and 'Internal Validity'. Construct validity begs the question whether 'the study is actually investigating what it is supposed to be investigating'. I investigated the preambles of selected public policies as set out in my research questions. Internal validity refers to, 'causal relationships' in research. I therefore, drew on critical theorists who argue that meaning making in the form of language has both a linguistic and social context to show causal relationships between race on the one hand

educational outcomes and nation building on the other. Firstly, with regard to reliability I applied the same format in the collection and analysis of texts. If the analyses were inconsistent with the analytical model, then the results would show inconsistent patterns in the presentation, analysis, and interpretation of the data. Thirdly, I consider the written acts as reliable sources of evidence, because they were verbatim representations of the words obtained from government sources (Nunan, 1992).

3.8 Evaluation of the Research Process

A shortcoming of this study is that I could not, due to time, financial and practical constraints interview authors of the policy documents to find out why they have adopted racial diversity as an integral part of South Africa's unity in diversity redress strategy aimed at post-apartheid transformation and nation building. To address this shortcoming, I drew on various articles that explain how the notion of race became part of a post-apartheid redress economic strategy. Therefore, the results as well as suggestions to reformulate the preambles as well as associated clauses and concepts, I derived mainly from a close and systematic linguistic analysis of books, journal articles, printed media and government policy documents.

3.9 Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the research site and described the design and methodology used to collect and analyse the data, which secured the research process. I explained how I adapted Halliday's Social Grammar of Discourse model: field, tenor and mode as expanded by Hasan's (1990) structure and texture of discourse and Martin's (1990) conjunctive cohesion models in order to analyse the preambles of selected public policies. In the next chapter, I implement the analytical model in order to answer my research questions

CHAPTER 4

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE FIELD AND TENOR OF PUBLIC POLICY DISCOURSE: WHAT HAPPENED AND WHO WAS INVOLVED

In any modern democratic state there is a policy framework (a written or unwritten constitution) that spells out the broad principles and/or values that will enable policy makers to set up guidelines and procedures for the management of public affairs (Cloete et al., 2006:V)

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review the relevant pre (1948 – 1994) and post-apartheid (1994 -2013) literature that could perhaps explain how the narrative of different races or the racial classification system remained a part of post-apartheid public policies. It answers the research question:

‘Why does the ANC-led government use a racial classification system as in the Z83 job application form?’

As stated in Chapter 3, there are several models of public policy research and analysis, viz. the elite mass model, the group model, the institutional model, the social interaction model, the systems model, policy network and community models, the chaos, complexity and quantum model of policy analysis, functional policy stages/phases models, and Symbolic models (de Coning and Cloete, 2006:36-54). As indicated in chapter 1, while these models focus on policy analysis in terms of policy implementation and management, this study does a critical linguistic - discourse analysis to assess its impact on transformation in the educational sector and nation building from 1994 to 2014.

Debates regarding the nature of a future post-apartheid South Africa might have started

long before 1948 when apartheid was legally promulgated. Many South Africans from diverse disciplines imagined a future without apartheid (Hellman, 1956; Van Der Horst; 1960; Adam, 1971; van der Merwe, and West, 1979; Leatt et al., 1986; Relly, 1987; Shabalala 1990; Innes et al., 1993). Since the African National Congress (ANC) won the 1994 elections it has been governing South Africa. It follows that the focus and analysis in this study should be on the evolution of the ANC's public policies.

4.2 The Field and Tenor of Public Policy Discourse

In this section, I discuss the initiation phase in public policy process formulation; the historical circumstances/factors that influenced and shaped South Africa's post-apartheid public policy. One key aspect of South African history is that it was, and still is an engagement of the indigenous people, the colonists (foreign investors), and South African citizens on how to address the legacy of apartheid created social inequalities, which are pervasive in the townships and informal settlements (Turok, 2008; Seekings and Natrass, 2002; Cloete et al., 2006; Schwab, 2013; Saul and Bond, 2014).

According to Turok (2008), the ANC envisaged as early as 1943 the nature and principles of a future South African economic – public policy to address and transform the apartheid race and class-based social stratification system. Prior to 1943, ANC membership was confined to 'African' people. Turok (2008) notes that this changed on 16th of December 1943:

‘It was a landmark document, in that for the first time in its history the ANC demanded the granting of full citizenship rights to the African people of South Africa and the abolition of all discrimination based on race’ (Turok, 2008:20).

He further explains that this initial shift in policy was followed by a number of other

shifts in policy changes. Most notable of all of these was the Freedom Charter adopted at the Congress of the people held in Kliptown in 1955. This shift, ... ‘led in 1956 to the formation of a loose confederation in the form of the Congress Alliance, which brought together political groupings representative of all South Africa’s race groups and labour’ (Turok, 2008:21)

Other events that brought about shifts in policy changes were the Morogoro Conference held in Tanzania in April, 1969, the Green Book, 1979 and the Kabwe Consultative Conference, 1985 held in Kabwe, Zambia (Turok, 2008).

Turok (2008) elaborates that the negotiations for a future South African were spurred on by internal pressure in the form of political protests and international pressure. International pressures were lodged in the form of economic sanctions. The negotiations for a future South Africa followed two stages. In stage one, the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA One), held in December 1991, the Nationalist party and ANC negotiators agreed to a two stage transition, first an interim government and later, a final constitution’ (Turok, 2008:42). After an almost failed second CODESA, the negotiators agreed to a compromise as proposed by the ANC – the ‘sunset clause’. The sunset clause compromise Joe Slovo (1993) cited in Turok (2008:43) explains:

‘This lead to “a ‘sunset’ clause in the new constitution, which would provide for compulsory power-sharing for a fixed number of years” and the “restructuring” [of] the civil (including the SAP and SADF), which takes into account existing contracts and/or provides for retirement compensation’

The existing contracts in the above quotation do not only refer to labour contracts, but also ownership of property. Turok, summarizes the final outcome as well as its future service delivery implications:

‘The ANC inherited a strong market economy, whose acceptance was part of the negotiated settlement. However, a market economy is not designed for the equitable sharing of national resources. It always favours the strong, and in South Africa that means the entrenched and still overwhelming White economic power block’ (Turok, 2008:57).

Turok (2008) notes further that like many other, previously colonized countries, the newly ANC-led government had to relent also to the demands of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. This meant while fundamental political changes would be allowed, the economic structures must continue with minimal invasion and changes by the state. Turok (2008:51) encapsulates this to mean: ‘In short, they effectively installed a process for the recolonisation of Africa’. Apart from these, the underlying principles that were formed, interpreted from a critical discourse point of view meant that ‘White’ people would maintain their privileges, which they acquired as ‘White’ in the sense of regarding themselves as the ‘superior race’ The implications were that this agreement could put constraints on service delivery outcomes at a municipal level. Fourie and Opperman (2011:2) illustrate the importance of the role of local government in the transformation process:

‘Local government is where service delivery begins. Local government is about what happens in our homes, in our streets and in our communities. If we cannot achieve good government at this level, we will never be able to claim South Africa is truly transformed’

Like Turok (2008), Fourie and Opperman (2011), Saul and Bond, (2014) explain how the negotiated revolution influenced and shaped the constraints and demands of local government to manage service delivery outcomes. Fourie and Opperman (2011)

summarizes the conditions of the ‘negotiated revolution and its aftermath:

‘The transformation process impacted on every aspect of the business of local government, including the establishment of newly demarcated municipalities, amended powers, and functions, corporate governance, and new municipal structures and financial and operational systems’ (Fourie and Opperman, 2011:2).

I discuss the significance of the land issue and the racial classification system in transformational outcomes in chapter 7, after an analysis of the part that language played and continue to play in equity redress in South Africa.

4.3 The Discourses of ‘Race Differences’ and Post-apartheid Public Policy

This section discusses the ‘origin’, function and purpose of notion of different races from a critical historical perspective in South Africa. It shows that the Nationalist Party’s system of apartheid was a ‘total onslaught’ in denying the previous disenfranchised majority access to the power, privilege and prestige which the ‘White’ minority secured for themselves through military and ‘legal’ domination (Saul and Bond, 2014).

When viewed against the backdrop of apartheid’s total onslaught campaign and the negotiated revolution, it becomes perhaps apparent that a single race-based redress strategy, such as affirmative action is not sufficient to address the myriad of social inequalities permeating the South African social order (See Turok, 2008; Saul and Bond, 2014). It is the opinion of this study that one needs to understand how apartheid functioned. Such an understanding is perhaps necessary for one to devise a redress strategy void of a legalized racial classification system.

The Nationalist Party’s apartheid system of racial classification unfolded formally in

1948 and lasted until South Africa's held its first democratic elections in 1994. It is now common knowledge that alongside military conquests, the racial classification system was one of the key ideological apparatus that the apartheid Nationalist Party enforced to dispossess the majority of the previously disenfranchised people not only from the land, but even more critically, denied them equal access to housing, education and employment (See Althusser's (1971) analysis on how governments use the repressive: police and military, and state ideological apparatus: public and civil society institutions) to dominate and control political dissent. The Nationalist Party derived their separatist policies from the colonial praxis that there are different races. As such, to maintain 'racial harmony', the National Party argued that it was the moral, religious and legal responsibility of the 'White' minority government not only to define, but also to keep the different races, viz. 'White', 'Indian', 'Coloured' and 'Black' apart (Kallaway, 1988) apart, thereby, masking their intentions of economic domination (See Degenaar, 1978 on Afrikaner Nationalism).

In this system of racial classification the 'White' minority had sole voting rights. They could use their voting rights to either change or keep the status quo - they chose to do the latter. The 'White' minority sanctioned legally this racial classification system in which they swayed power, privilege and prestige over, and at the expense of the disenfranchised majority (Kallaway, 1988; Kallaway, et al., 2001; Turok, 2008). This situation led to gross, social, economic, and political inequalities amongst the disenfranchised so-called different 'races'

Despite 'White' minority behaviour, after a prolonged and sustained struggle against apartheid, the De Klerk led Nationalist Party Government had to, because of the cumulative effect of internal pressure, international isolation and economic bankruptcy,

release Nelson Mandela and many other political prisoners unconditionally from prison in 1990 (Turok, 2008). As mentioned earlier, South Africa held its first democratic elections in 1994, all citizens over the age of eighteen participated. The ANC government became the first democratically majority elected government. One of the key responsibilities of the ANC was to address the apartheid legacy of social, educational, political and economic inequality amongst the ‘so called’ different ‘races’. When the ANC became the government of national unity in 1994, to bring about social and economic redress, they formulated the Bill of Rights to ensure equal access and treatment for all of South Africa’s citizens.

4.4 South Africa’s Bill of Rights, Public Policy and Transformation

Post-apartheid South Africa is a constitutional democracy. South Africa’s Bill of Rights is the foundation for all other acts and subsequent public policies. Clause 29 in the Bill of Rights of South Africa’s Constitution Act 108 of 1996 states:

Everyone has the right-

to a basic education, including adult basic education; and

to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible

Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable. In order to ensure the effective access to, and implementation of, this right, the state must consider all reasonable educational alternatives, including single medium institutions, taking into account –

equity;

practicability; and

the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws and practices

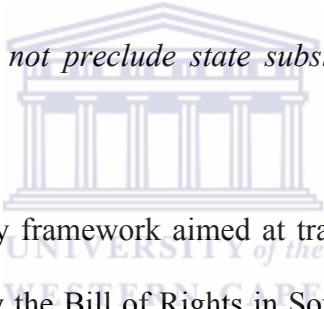
Everyone has the right to establish and maintain, at their own expense, independent educational institutions that-

do not discriminate on the basis of race;

are registered with the state; and

maintain standards that are not inferior to standards at comparable public educational institutions.

(4) Subsection (3) does not preclude state subsidies for independent educational institutions.



South Africa's public policy framework aimed at transformation in general as well as education is underpinned by the Bill of Rights in South Africa's Constitution, Act 108 of 1996; Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998; Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000 (Fourie and Opperman, 2010). Although there are various laws regulating education, they are all subordinate to the constitution. These laws are: The National Education Policy Act 27 of 1996; South African Schools Act 84 of 1996; The South African Council for Educators Act 31 of 2000; Further Education and Training Act 98 of 1998.

Like many other countries, South Africa's public policy-making process for, problem identification, problem articulation, agenda setting, policy formulation, policy legitimization, programme design and development, programme implementation, programme evaluation, policy assessment and policy change for service delivery processes in housing, health, education and employment sectors adopts a standardized

generic template (Dubnick and Romzec, 1999:7). The reason for this approach is to allow arguably space for debate and change within the processes of identification, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of service delivery (Cloete and Meyer, 2006). At the same time, the generic structure underpinned by the relevant acts, may remain unchanged because it is sanctioned by constitutional imperatives, such as for example preferential treatment for ‘designated groups’, ‘Blacks’ ‘Coloureds’, ‘Indians’ religious, cultural, disability and ethnic minority groups. Therefore to change policies means the constitution will first have to change. The successes and failures of public policies regarding, for example, service delivery issues, transformation and nation building are evaluated within the objectives: implementation and management of constitutional imperatives as well as the relevant acts. Thus, in order to change the public policy framework responsible for educational transformation, one has to change the sections of constitution as well related acts, which authenticate the public policy framework (Anderson, et al., 2012). Moreover:

The South African Constitution constitutes the public sector in South Africa as national, provincial and local spheres of government, which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated. To prevent conflict between spheres and promote the concepts of interdependence and interrelationships, the principles of cooperative government and intergovernmental relations are set out in Section 41 of the Constitution (Fourie and Opperman, 2010:3).

As indicated by the above quotation, South Africa has a three-tier government structure, which must function within the legal framework of South Africa’s constitution. South Africa has nine provinces, which are divided into municipal regions. Municipalities are primarily responsible for the implementation of service delivery, while national government, based on the input from the different spheres of government formulates the

required policies aimed at meeting the required objectives of equity (Fourie and Opperman, 2010).

However, despite various inbuilt checks and balances, the 2012 auditor general's report shows that only 5 percent of South Africa's municipalities have clean audits, which indicates their failures not only to implement and manage public policy successfully, but critically also to meet national objectives in bringing about transformation in the housing, health, education and employment sectors of the economy (Nombembe, 2012). Clearly, auditor general's report is one example of how the path followed by the current policy framework responsible for transformation does not bring about the desired political objectives of social, economic and educational equity, particularly for the previously disenfranchised majority. In this regard, Schwab, (2013) notes that the inequality gap between the 'White' minority and previously disenfranchised majority has in fact increased.

4.5 Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to address the research question: 'Why does the ANC-led government use a racial classification system as in the Z83 job application form?'

As such, this chapter discussed the origin, function and purpose of the notion of different races in South Africa.

The analysis suggests the main reason why the ANC-led government maintains the racial classification system, is like their predecessors, the Nationalist Party government (1948 – 1994), they believe there are distinct biological human races in the world. Given South Africa's history of apartheid, they believe further that transformation

should be race-based because 'Black', 'Coloured' 'Indian' gender, religious, cultural and disability minority groups - earmarked as 'designated groups' in South Africa's constitution were denied and deprive socially, educationally, as well as economically the most, hence they should be given priority in redress strategies aimed at equity.



CHAPTER 5

ANALYSING THE MODE OF PUBLIC POLICY DISCOURSE: PREAMBLES OF SELECTED PUBLIC POLICY DOCUMENTS

‘Historically, the aim of policy analysis has been to provide policy makers with information that could be used to exercise reasoned judgement in finding solutions to policy intricacies. Thus policy analysis has a fundamental, practical modus operandi originating in the applied social sciences’ (Wissink, 2006:63)

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter answered the research question: ‘Why does the ANC-led government use a racial classification system as in the Z83 job application form?’

In this chapter, I assess the extent to which race-based affirmative policies transform education equity outcomes and nation building. I draw on the views and opinions of South African citizens working in diverse sectors of the economy as well as data provided Statistics South Africa.

Apart from answering the research question, this chapter evaluates the constitutional nature of post-apartheid race-based policies. It answers the research question: ‘Is the maintenance and continued use of racial categories appropriate to mediate educational equity outcomes and nation building in a post-apartheid South Africa?’

In order to answer the second research question, this chapter does a detailed discourse analysis of key concepts in the preambles in selected public policy documents with special reference to clause structure/theme ‘united in our diversity’. I have illustrated in chapters 2 and 3 that Halliday’s (1989 and 2004) model of discourse analysis contains a variety of grammatical categories to analyse texts at both a sentence and discourse level.

I am applying some of these grammatical categories in this chapter. I start by discussing how I have elicited the relevant data, which I will use to answer my second and third research questions.

5.2 The Politics of Post Colonial Identity-Race Differences

[R]ace is not simply a peculiarity of certain nations; it is a phenomenon of expansive nations and the emotional borderlines set by the laws that define and constitute nations. People were turned into races when nations extended and defined their political hegemony through conquest and expropriation. Race and nation were born and raised together; they are the Siamese twins of modernity.

(Nicholson, 1999:7)

There are many debates around the politics of identity, cultural, race differences perceived or real in post-colonial societies (See Williams and Chrisman, 1993; Goldberg, 1994; Ashcroft et al., 1995). Fraser (1997) notes that since the eighties the politics for recognition of minority identity, cultural, religious, race differences displaced the politics of redistribution and advocacy around issues of equity. Instead of focusing on the unequal distribution of resources in society people concentrate on their perceived different identities. This stance, Fraser (1997) argues led to greater inequality.

Similarly, Chatterjee (1993) shows how post-colonial identity differences led to how people of India conceptualise their anti-post colonial identity - a nationalistic identity detached from European influences. He argues that the struggle for a nationalistic identity in the face of capitalist created structural inequalities sustains rather than transformed social inequalities, because the cast system as part of this nationalistic identity was consolidated rather than abolished. With these in mind, I do a critical discourse analysis of the preamble of relevant public policies to show how the politics of identity differences find expression in text and context in a post-colonial and post-

apartheid South Africa.

5.3 Elicitation of Relevant Data

To address the research questions in a systematic manner, I consulted relevant acts that endorse South Africa's 'united we are in our diversity' clause viz. the preambles of (1) the constitution, (2) the Employment Act, No. 55 of 1998, (3), the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000 and Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment Act 53 of 2003 as well as other relevant literature.

5.4 Critical Discourse Analysis of Selected Preambles at a Level of Structure

The clause construct 'united in our diversity' is an integral part of an argument structure in the preamble to South Africa's constitution. I draw on Ruby's (1972:65) definition of argument as a point of clarification:

By "argument" here we shall mean the basic unit of reasoning. An argument is a unit of proof (or attempted proof) that something is or is not a fact.

For Martin (1990) a typical argument structure has an introduction, body and conclusion. Winter (1970) proposes a more evaluative model, "Situation: review of the literature; Problem: the question(s) to be addressed; Solution: answers/proposals flowing from the analyses and findings of the research questions; Evaluation: a conclusion that comments on what has been achieved and what remains to be done. Like Winter (1976), Hasan (1990) proposes an evaluative model to explain the sections of an argument structure, viz. a precipitating event, consequence and revelation. A typical argument structure in the humanities is a logical syllogism – a model invented by Aristotle the Greek philosopher (See Rosen, 2006; Badenhorst, 2008).

An example of a ‘truth’ syllogistic structure – argument would be:

Introduction	1 st Premise	A = B
Body	2 nd Premise	B= C
Conclusion	Therefore	A=C

Whereas an example of a false syllogistic structure – argument would be:

Introduction	1 st Premise	A cow has four legs
Body	2 nd Premise	A table has four legs
Conclusion	Therefore	Therefore a cow is a table

The first example of a typical syllogistic structure is not value based, whereas the second one is value-based. The table is inanimate and the cow animate. Therefore to compare the legs of a table with that of a cow creates a false premise in the argument structure. The ANC-led government’s argument structure as contained in the preambles of relevant public policy documents is value-based because they are not only ideologically driven, but also refers to human (animate) beings living in South Africa.

5.5 Critical Discourse Analysis at a Level of Texture (Clause Structures)

To analyse the selected preambles at a sentence level, I focus on theme structures Ideational Theme (verb forms), Interpersonal Theme (nouns and pronouns) and Textual Themes (conjunctions and prepositions) forms that are used to code reasoning in South Africa’s constitution, Act 108 of 1996 and the Employment Equity Act, No, 55 of 1998 and the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000 and Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment Act 53 of 2003.

5.6 Critical Discourse Analysis, Presentation and Interpretation of Meaning

To ensure objective standards in the application of legal terms with a view to diminished ambiguity in application, the discipline of law prescribes specific procedures ‘the interpretation of statutes’ to be followed as a necessary principle to dispense equal and unbiased justice for all (See Hoffmann and Zeffertt, 1997; Kleyn and Viljoen, 2000; Anderson et al., 2012). In legal procedure, objective standards require that the magistrate or judge first decipher the meaning of a word in texts, and then relate it to specific contexts. If a magistrate or judge cannot arrive at a ‘reasonable’ meaning, she consults previous case studies with a view to finalize application. This latter process is referred to as ‘presumptions’ or application of specific act practices that has gone before (Hoffman and Zeffertt, 1997; Kleyn and Viljoen, 2000; Anderson, et al., 2012). Whereas in criminal and civil procedures a magistrate or judge administer justice/fairness in the courts, labour disputes follow a process of conciliation, mediation and arbitration to decide whether certain practices had been fair or unfair. Arbitration is the final process in dispute resolutions. If a disputant is not satisfied with the outcome of the arbitration hearing, she can appeal to the equality court. If the matter is again not resolve to her satisfaction, she can appeal to the constitutional court (South Africa’s Labour Relations Act, No.66 of 1995). The constitutional court is the highest decision making body in South Africa. This is why South Africa is a constitutional democracy (Hoffman and Zeffertt, 1997; Kleyn and Viljoen, 2000; Anderson, et al., 2012).

To interpret meaning from a critical linguistic perspective, the reader of a text should first be aware that words might have multiple meanings. In this regard, critical linguists distinguish between the actual and intended (pragmatic) meaning of words (Grice, 1979). It is for this reason that Halliday and Fairclough, argue that a word takes on meaning in practice. For example, if someone says he will kick you, the verb ‘kick’

takes on meaning once put into practice. Because the political, social, economic, legal and cultural contexts of countries may differ, it follows that the ‘application practice’ of ‘the united in our diversity clause may differ from one country to another. To compare different countries in the use of the unity of diversity clause goes beyond the scope of the present study. I am merely showing the reader that the unity in diversity clause is an international phenomenon aimed at transformation and reconciliation with a view to mediate race, ethnic, religious differences between and amongst groups of people in the world whether real or perceived. Hence, the United Nations adopted, to my knowledge also the use of the ‘unity in diversity’ clause as a transformation and reconciliation strategy in a ‘post-colonial’ era.

In my analysis of interpretation and meaning making, I distinguish between words that have singular meanings, and words, which have multiple meanings. Words that have singular meanings are words, which refer to concrete objects, while emotive and political words may have multiple meanings, because the reader brings meaning to these words rather than derive meaning from them. These are abstract words, love, hate, democracy, justice and so on (See, Ruby, 1972; Crystal, 2005).

5.7 Procedure of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in this Study

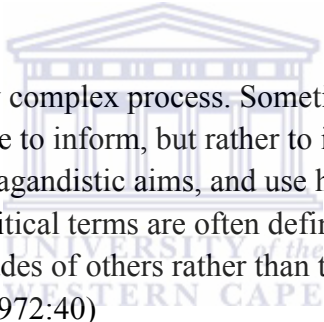
The process of CDA analyses would be as follows:

A critical discourse analysis of the preambles of South Africa’s Constitution Act 108 of 1996 and the Employment Equity Act, No, 55 of 1998 and the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000 and Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment Act 53 of 2003 at both level of structure and texture.

Presentation of the preambles of the relevant policy documents in verbatim form

In the analysis of the different preambles bold italic letters represent ideational (verb forms) themes (representation of South African realities), normal/underlined italics are used for interpersonal (noun forms) themes and bold/underlined letters for textual themes.

‘Unity’ and ‘diversity’ are the two key concepts in the clause construct; ‘united we are in our diversity’ are the centre of South Africa’s post-apartheid racial classification system (Preamble to South Africa’s constitution, Act 108 of 1996). Hence, I show definitions of the two concepts from what I deem a neutral perspective because the Collins dictionary (1998) does not want to persuade for propagandistic reasons as the quotation below illustrates:



 ‘Defining is a very complex process. Sometimes the definer’s purpose may not be to inform, but rather to influence his audience. He may have propagandistic aims, and use his definitions to suite his own purposes. Political terms are often defined in this way to influence the attitudes of others rather than to explain the meaning of the term’ (Ruby, 1972:40)

5.8 Definition Of Unity

The Collins English Dictionary and Thesaurus (1998:1270-71) defines:

‘Unity (‘ju:niti) n., pl –ties **1.** The state or quality of being one, oneness.

the act, state or quality of forming a whole from separate parts.

Something whole or complete that is composed of separate parts

Mutual agreement; harmony concord: the participants were no longer in unity.

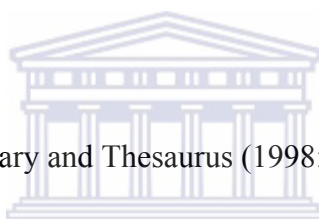
5. uniformity or constancy: unity of purpose **6. Maths. a.** the number or numeral one. **b.**

a quantity assuming the value of one: the area of a triangle was regarded as unity. **c.**

the element of a set producing no change in a number following multiplication. 7. any one of three principles of dramatic structure by which the action of a play should be limited to a single plot (unity of action), a single location (unity of place), and a single day (unity of time). [C13: form OF *unité*, from L, *ūnitās*, from *ūnus* one’.

I will draw on key aspects in the above definitions to show whether South Africa’s definition of unity in the clause construct ‘united we are in our diversity’ is to inform, to persuade or propagandistic purposes and finally to determine whether the clause construct is consistent with the above established mathematical conventions/principles of unity in relation to diversity.

5.9 Definition of Diversity



The Collins English Dictionary and Thesaurus (1998:328) defines diversity as:

‘assortment, difference, dissimilarity, distinctiveness, divergence, diverseness, diversification, heterogeneity, medley, multiplicity, range, unlikeness, variance, variegation, variety’

In the next section, the purpose of the analysis of public policies at a structural level, particularly the nature of its syllogistic argumentative structure is to show the logical relations between the introduction, body and conclusion of the relevant preambles. This type of analysis becomes clear once followed by an analysis at a textual level (the internal configuration of words and sentences).

5.10 Discourse Analysis of Preambles Aimed at Unity

5.10.1 Analysis of the Structure South Africa's Constitutional Preamble

Logical Structure

1st Premise

1. Introduction/Precipitating Event

We, the people of South Africa,

Recognise the injustices of the past;

2. Body/Consequences

2nd Premise

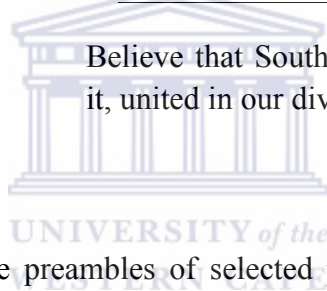
Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land

Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and

3. Conclusion/Revelation/Solution

Therefore

Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity



The logical structure of the preambles of selected public documents is basically the same (See 5.9.3 - 5.12.2). The structures follow the argument that:

1st Premise

During apartheid the vast majority of people were denied their basic human rights – equal access to the factors of production and hence could not realize their full human potential.

2nd Premise

As a result South Africa became a gross unequalled society in which 'Whites' made decisions solely and hence dominated in every sphere of society.

Conclusion

It follows, therefore that in a post-apartheid South Africa there is the undisputable need for social, educational, economic and political transformation in order to address the apartheid legacy of unequal power relations.

Given South Africa's apartheid history, it would be difficult to refute that this logical structure makes sense. The ethical problem with South Africa's redress strategy lies at

the level of texture (points 5.9.3 - 5.12.2). The challenge for South Africa is to undo the apartheid discriminatory unequalled power relations while avoiding the formulation of new power relations that is unequal in decision making because it is majority based and automatically assumed to be logical. Herein lies the nature of its discriminatory potential. To understand how this may occur, one has to analyse in detail the preambles of relevant policies.

5.10.2 Analysis of the Texture South Africa's Constitutional Preamble

1. Precipitating Event

In the preamble to South Africa's constitution, apartheid – the injustices of the past is the precipitating event: 'We the people of South Africa recognize the injustices of the past' that triggered a consequence for social and economic redress: 'We' is a collective pronoun; it signifies unity. This is followed by a second 'We' in 'We therefore: 'Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land', Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and:

The pronouns 'those' in the sentence: 'Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land', Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; may refer to all people who suffered in South Africa – the previously disenfranchised as well as 'white' people who chose because of conscience to protest against apartheid. If this is the case, then it poses, therefore, in my opinion a moral dilemma for all South Africans that the children of 'Whites' who suffered because of their participation in the anti- apartheid struggles are not included in the designated groups. Here, I am thinking specifically of Neil Agget, Ruth First, Joe Slovo as well as many others. Since the pronoun 'those' refer to designated groups 'Coloureds', 'Indians' and 'Blacks' and grammatically linked to 'our country' it shows politically bias towards 'White' people

who suffered due to their struggle in the anti-apartheid struggle.

2. Consequence

The revelation follows the precipitating event: ‘Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity’. The verb belief is a commitment that ‘...South Africa belongs to all who live in it...’ At this point this discourse strategy aimed at Nation Building is inclusive of all citizens. However, with the introduction of the clause structure ‘united in our diversity’ the diversity concept in my opinion changes this.

3. Revelation

The different sections of the preamble speak to each other as a coherent whole. It is based on a single idea about South Africa’s apartheid injustices and what needs to be done in a post-apartheid South Africa to correct the apartheid wrongs. The authors (parliament) speak for and on behalf of all South Africans in the country as ‘We the people of South Africa...’ as if the ‘We’ is a given in terms of a common collective agreement. I will show later how this is not the case.

5.11 Discourse Analysis of Public Policies Aimed at Transformation

5.11.1 Analysis of the Structure of South Africa’s Employment Equity Preamble

The precipitating event of this act forms an intertextual link with the preamble of South Africa’s constitution in the sense of its reference to South Africa’s apartheid themes and its causal relationship with post-apartheid redress themes. As indicated in chapter 2, Fairclough (1992) refers to this type of link as intertextuality. Intertextuality describes how texts in different sources are linked across time and space in which they share a common topic or themes.

Logical Structure

Ist Premise

1. Introduction/Precipitating Event

that as a result of Apartheid and other discriminatory laws and practices, there are disparities in employment, occupation and income within the national labour market; and

that those disparities create such pronounced disadvantages for certain categories of people that they cannot be redressed simply by repealing discriminatory laws,

2. Body/Consequence2nd Premise

To provide for employment equity; and to provide for matters incidental thereto.

Preamble.--Recognising--

that as a result of Apartheid and other discriminatory laws and practices, there are disparities in employment, occupation and income within the national labour market; and

that those disparities create such pronounced disadvantages for certain categories of people that they cannot be redressed simply by repealing discriminatory laws,

promote the constitutional right of equality and the exercise of true democracy;

eliminate unfair discrimination in employment;

ensure the implementation of employment equity to redress the effects of discrimination;

3. Conclusion/Revelation/Solution

Therefore

achieve a diverse workforce broadly representative of our people;

promote economic development and efficiency in the workforce; and

give effect to the obligations of the Republic as a member of the International Labour Organisation,

5.11.2 Analysis of the Texture South Africa's Employment Equity Preamble

Whereas in the constitution the text signifying the precipitating event appears at the start, it appears after it has a 'stated intention' to correct the past: **To provide** for employment equity; and to provide for matters incidental thereto. 'The authors of this text did not qualify what they mean by 'the matters incidental thereto'. One can only assume that it is matters related to employment equity redress.

It follows on from the precipitating event in the preamble of South Africa's constitution: '**We the people** of South Africa recognize the injustices of the past' As a result of the injustices of the past, the consequence is, **To provide** for employment equity; and to provide for matters incidental thereto' This is also an different restatement of previous precipitation event, 'that as a result of Apartheid and other discriminatory laws and practices' Then it goes on to explain the consequences:

, there are disparities in employment, occupation and income within the national labour market; and

It proceeds to explain the nature of the consequences:

that those disparities create such pronounced disadvantages for certain categories of people that they cannot be redressed simply by repealing discriminatory laws,

The nature of the disparities necessitated the need to ' earmark' certain categories of people as inclusive of a post-apartheid redress strategy. Moreover, this requires further a type of action that goes beyond merely 'repealing discriminatory laws', Since South Africa's designated groups include ethnic, cultural, gender, disability and race groups one can therefore safely assume that 'certain categories of people' refer to them. The authors then list specific types of action that would go beyond merely: 'repealing discriminatory laws'

Therefore, (concluding adjunct) in order to--

promote the constitutional right of equality **and** the exercise of true democracy;

eliminate unfair discrimination in employment;

ensure the implementation of employment equity to **redress** the effects of discrimination;

To be consistent with its stated intentions that involves fundamentally redressing past injustices in the work place, the authors (legislators) concluded with a strategy:

achieve a diverse workforce broadly representative of our people;

promote economic development and efficiency in the workforce; and

give effect to the obligations of the Republic as a member of the International Labour Organisation,



Again one can assume that ‘diverse workforce’ referred to in the conclusion refers to ‘designated groups’ in the constitution, ‘categories of people’ in the employment equity act.

In the Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998, the notion of ‘**united in our diversity**’ resonates with ‘**diverse workforce**’, which is to transfer purposely the notion of racial diversity into the workspace.

5.12 Discourse Analysis of the Structure of South Africa's Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Preamble

Logical Structure

1st Premise

1. Introduction/Precipitating Event

The consolidation of democracy in our country requires the eradication of social and economic inequalities, especially those that are systemic in nature, which were generated in our history by colonialism, Apartheid and patriarchy, and which brought pain and suffering to the great majority of our people;

Although (contrastive adjunct) significant progress has been made in restructuring and transforming our society and its institutions, systemic inequalities and unfair discrimination remain deeply embedded in social structures, practices and attitudes, undermining the aspirations of our constitutional democracy;

2nd Premise

2. Body/Consequences

The basis for progressively redressing these conditions lies in the Constitution which, amongst others, upholds the values of human dignity, equality, freedom and social justice in a united, non-racial and non-sexist society where all may flourish;

South Africa also has international obligations under binding treaties and customary international law in the field of human rights which promote equality and prohibit unfair discrimination. Among these obligations are those specified in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination;

Section 9 of the Constitution provides for the enactment of national legislation to prevent or prohibit unfair discrimination and to promote the achievement of equality;

Therefore

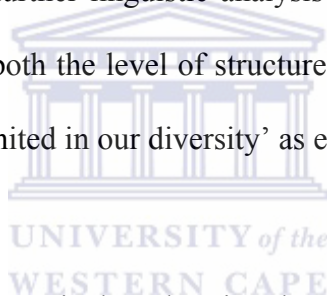
3. Conclusion/Revelation/Solution

This implies the advancement, by special legal and other measures, of historically disadvantaged individuals, communities and social groups who were dispossessed of their land and resources, deprived of their human dignity and who continue to endure the consequences;

This Act endeavours to facilitate the transition to a democratic society, united in its diversity, marked by human relations that are caring and compassionate, and guided by the principles of equality, fairness, equity, social progress, justice, human dignity and freedom.

5.12.1 Discourse Analysis of the Texture South Africa's Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Preamble

Since the promotion of equality and prevention of unfair discrimination act of 2000 adopt the same basic argument structure as the constitution and the employment equity act it does not necessitate further linguistic analysis because their argument structures support the constitution at both the level of structure and texture. These acts affirm the initial redress strategy of 'united in our diversity' as expressed in the constitution:



'The basis for progressively redressing these conditions lies in the Constitution, which, amongst others, upholds the values of human dignity, equality, freedom and social justice in a united, non-racial and non-sexist society where all may flourish...' (Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act 4 of 2000:2)

South Africa does not have an affirmative policy act. Race-based affirmative action, as indicated earlier, is extrapolated from the constitution ('diversity') as well as South Africa's Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998 ('diverse workforce'), Promotion of Unfair Discrimination Act, No. 2000 ('the great majority of our people... and 'historically disadvantaged individuals, communities and social groups') and Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment Act 53 of 2003 ('by the majority of its people' and 'vast majority of its people'). I have indicated in chapter 1, whether race-based

affirmative action is discriminatory or had been discriminatory remains a topic, which is still debated across South Africa (See Loyson, 2009 for case law studies). As mentioned, the purpose of my analysis is to show that race-based affirmative action as emanating from the concept diversity which in turn generated the need for maintenance of the racial classification is in my opinion by default inherently discriminatory for reasons which I will explain after my discourse analysis of ‘united we are in our diversity’ clause’.

5.13 Discourse Analysis of Public Policies Aimed at Business Equity

5.13.1 Discourse Analysis of the Structure of South Africa’s Broad- based Black Economic Empowerment Preamble

Logical Structure

1st Premise

1. Introduction/Precipitating Event

WHEREAS under Apartheid race was used to control access to South Africa's

productive resources and access to skills;

WHEREAS South Africa's economy still excludes the vast majority of its people from ownership of productive assets and the possession of advanced skills;

WHEREAS South Africa's economy performs below its potential because of the low level of income earned and generated by the majority of its people;

AND WHEREAS, unless further steps are taken to increase the effective participation of the majority of South Africans in the economy, the stability and prosperity of the economy in the future may be undermined to the detriment of all South Africans, irrespective of race;

2nd Premise

2. Body/Consequence

AND IN ORDER TO—

• promote the achievement of the constitutional right to equality, increase broad-based and effective participation of black people in the economy and promote a higher growth rate, increased employment and more equitable income distribution;

3. Conclusion/Revelation/Solution

Therefore and establish a national policy on broad based black economic empowerment so as to promote the economic unity of the nation, protect the common market, and promote equal opportunity and equal access to government services,

5.13.2 Discourse Analysis of the Texture of South Africa's Broad- based Black Economic Empowerment Preamble

The precipitating event in this act starts with 'established facts'. These facts are prefixed with the conjunction ('Whereas', which is similar to the conjunction 'Since') as a logical connector to justify claims/actions that are to follow:

- **promote** the achievement of the constitutional right to equality, **increase** broad-based and effective participation of black people in the economy and promote a higher growth rate, increased employment and more equitable income distribution;

The conclusion is that to make the above a reality there is a need for a broad based black economic empowerment policy as a form of redress/corrective to the stated facts in the precipitating event. To be consistent with preceding public policies, this policy is also aimed at designated groups because they were denied equal access to the markets by a myriad of Apartheid laws/actions. Thus 'Black' economic empowerment is justified as follows:

***WHEREAS** under Apartheid race was used to control access to South Africa's*

productive resources and access to skills;

***WHEREAS** South Africa's economy still excludes the vast majority of its people from ownership of productive assets and the possession of advanced skills.*

5.14 Interpretation and Discussion of Unity in Racial Diversity

South Africa's 'united in our diversity' clause is based on an assumption that 'We'

(South Africans) can find unity despite our cultural, religious, gender, disability and racial differences (diversity). South Africa's biological racial unity concept conforms to a single plot (unity of action), a single location (unity of place), and a single day (unity of time) as explicated by the Collins English Dictionary and Thesaurus (1998:1270-71). However, its problem lies in what I call 'unity of purpose' The key purposes of South Africa's post-apartheid redress strategies are transformation from an apartheid state to a democratic one based on the values enshrined in South Africa's constitution: While I agree that in principle one may find unity of purpose, South Africa's transformational purpose does not transcend racial categories, but maintain it in its unity of action. Herein lies the discrimination because the post-apartheid government not only denies current theories that there are not biologically distinct human races, they define arbitrarily through a legal system what it means to be human (Frederickson, 1982). Fraser (1997:68) explains that in such scenarios: 'Cultural domination supplants exploitation as the fundamental injustice. And cultural reproduction displaces socioeconomic redistribution as the remedy for injustice and goal of political struggle'. In doing so, the post-apartheid government complements colonial and apartheid conceptions of absolute and immutable categories to encapsulate differentiated humanness for the different 'racial groups'. Moreover, to my knowledge the idea of unity in purpose should have been founded on an agreed upon set of principles by all South African citizens. The ANC-led government did not consult with its citizens on the following via a referendum:

1. The maintenance of the racial classification system as a redress strategy in a post-apartheid South Africa;
2. The use of race-based affirmative action as a redress strategy aimed at transformation and reconciliation;

The definition of South African's in terms of stereotypical racial categories and in doing this usurped the prerogative to provide a prototype on how to:

1. Present South African realities
2. Enact identities
3. Regulate human relations and social interactions as typical 'Coloureds', 'Blacks', 'Whites' and 'Indian' behaviour in text and contexts in public domains.

Apart from the above, the argument by post-apartheid policy legislators' that unity can be found in biological racial diversity and thereby avoid any form of discriminatory practices does not make sense from the standpoint of (1) mathematics, (2) presumptions as in the interpretation of statutes and (3) linguistics as in discourse as a form of social and discursive practice (the production, consumption and distribution of messages). I discuss each of these in turn to show how the argument does not make any logical sense.

5.14.1 Discussion Unity in Racial Diversity: A Mathematical Perspective

South Africa's constitution conception of unity as: 'We', 'all', 'united', is consistent with Collin's definition of unity as: oneness, whole, uniformity, numeral one, unity of action and place. Collin's dictionary also defines unity as, the act or quality of forming a whole from separate parts. These separate parts to my knowledge refers to percentage or same fractional parts that makes up the whole, because:

'Mathematics knows no races or geographic boundaries; for mathematics the cultural world is one country' (Willers, 2011:9-10)

The key to determining unity within group would lie in unity of action – whether the different elements are not only agreed upon, but are socially practice as one entity. While one may argue that South Africa’s unity concept manifests unity of action in its nation building strategies/programmes/projects, one cannot affirm the same about its diversity practices in race-based affirmative action and Broad-based economic empowerment. The intended meaning of the diversity concept may be to unite, but when translated into practice its actual meaning divides at the level of texture in the respective policies as well as subsequent employment practices (See Appendix).

From a mathematical standpoint the number 1 represents unity (Jacobs, 1994; Courant and Robbins, 1996;). One is an element of the natural our counting numbers. It is a whole number because it refers to a complete entity, for example one apple, one car, one tree and so on. If South Africa’s apartheid nation was negative one, then post apartheid as the inverse should be positive one. If one wants to undo negative one, one must add positive one and not a fraction of positive one, because positive one is the additive inverse of negative one. Mathematically the inverse property of apartheid 1 would be:

For each real number a (post-apartheid), there is a unique real number denoted $-a$ (apartheid) such that $a + (-a) = 0$. Therefore to undo apartheid one must inverse it completely and not partially. By maintaining the racial classification system this is not possible. As one can see from a mathematical standpoint one cannot undo apartheid negative one by adding positive, while keeping one of its key components viz. the racial classification system.

Kallaway (1988) demonstrates that the racial classification system was part of a colonial strategy of divide and rule. The primary purpose of the racial classification was to

divide people into distinctly different racial groups with a view to not only regulate their behaviour as ‘Coloured’ Indian, Black and White, but also to get them to accept a ‘false sense of consciousness’ about themselves in the Fanonian sense (Fanon, 1952 and 1961). The apartheid government expressed negative one as separate, but equal. In terms of this ideology ‘whites, ‘Blacks’ Indian’s and Coloured’s must be kept apart by various legislative measures because they are different races. The most notorious of these acts were the 1913 land act and the group areas act. In terms of the 1913 land act ‘Black people’ were not allowed to own land in South Africa ‘proper’. They were removed forcefully to homelands with their own governments. ‘Coloureds’ and ‘Indians’ were removed forcefully to ‘Coloured’ and ‘Indian’ areas in terms of the group areas act. While the new ANC-led government does not remove people forcefully to entrench a racial classification system, one cannot deny that they divide and rule South Africans at the level of discourse and race-based affirmative action practices on the basis of perceived different biological races.

5.14.2 Discussion Unity in Racial Diversity: A Critical Linguistic Perspective

There are many concepts in the preambles with multiple meanings. The meanings of these words can only be realized in practice. In practice, there is what I call an inner-play/outer-play between noun (We, our people, – innerplay, designated groups, diverse workforce (outerplay) and verb forms ‘**Believe** that South Africa belongs to all who **live** in it, aimed at nation building.

The outer-play scenario is further stratified along racial lines when designated groups are qualified to mean ‘Blacks’, ‘Coloureds’ and ‘Indians’. This inner/outerplay redress strategy generates, as I have stipulated earlier, a discourse that constructs South African realities, enact identities and regulate human relations according to a discourse of different races. The inner-play calls for the invention, design, and implementation of

projects aimed at nation building by all of South Africa's citizens, while the outer-play allows ostensibly only designated groups to participate in the invention, design and implementation of equity redress strategies. Thus, the inner-play generates a discourse of inclusivity, while the outer-play generates a discourse of exclusivity.

5.14.3 Discussion Unity in Racial Diversity: Legal Perspective

Legal presumptions refer to what have gone before or past case law studies. It follows that historical presumptions would refer to what has gone before in history. We have learnt from history (what has gone before) in situations, which people deem themselves as distinctly different races, they may conjure up imagined enemies as they construct 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1982; Patterjee, 1993). This happens, because people may view their cultures, religions, rituals, norms and so on, as distinctly different, immutable and eternally fixed. It is in these situations the beauty of the human imagination becomes, in my opinion, destructive rather than creative. Cultures, particularly religious beliefs and rituals are polarized rather than generate a discourse of possibilities for new forms of innovation and beauty in our variety of arts and sciences. A particular world-view may claim universality status and may regard other forms as inferior (Frederickson, 1982; Jamieson, 2002). Apartheid South Africa and North America are historical exemplifications of such imagined communities (Haley, 1982; Brown, 1991).

5.15 United in Our Racial Diversity: Implications for Social Practices

In the preambles of selected public policies, the authors (parliament) speak for and on behalf of all South Africans in the country as 'We the people of South Africa... The reality is that not all the people of South Africa were involved in the construction in South Africa's preamble to its constitution. They interpret and represent South African

'diversity' realities or perceptions in a manner in which they view it. In this context, the authors of the constitution adopt a similar position as their predecessors the apartheid Nationalist Party who defined arbitrarily South African realities. The act in a sense is about the authors of the constitution and their solution on how relationships must be enacted and identities constructed in a post apartheid South Africa with a view to address apartheid created inequalities. Kane and Peters (1986) explain how identities manifest in written discourse:

'In the broadest sense all writing is about yourself. Even your laundry list. Wise readers have always known that words reveal the person: Napoleon studied an officer's writing before promoting him to high rank. Every kind of prose - exposition, argument, description - tells us something about the writer: in choice of subject matter, breadth and depth of knowledge, the skill with which the material is shaped and explored' (Kane and Peters, 1986:3)

Since the preamble was sanctioned by parliament, it is also about how members of the ANC-led government view their identities as South Africans. In other words, it is about their individuality. As authors of the act and as individuals they view themselves collectively as people belonging to different racial groups because their identities/individuality are separately and at the same time collectively embedded in the act. By individuality, I mean that writers draw on their personal, cultural and linguistic experiences to use discourse markers in specific ways in order to assert their identities in text (Martin and Rose, 1993).

According to Ivanič (1997) writers adopt three identities when presenting themselves in texts. The autobiographical identity is the one that 'writers bring with them'. The authorial identity is 'the impression the writer conveys' about himself (Ivanič, 1997:24-26). The discorsal identity is the writers' demonstration of self in text through generic, discourse and stylistic choices. Ivanič summarizes what it means for writers to present

the three different aspects of their identities in texts:

‘The three aspects of the identity of an actual writer change, perhaps quite radically, from one act of writing to the next. A writer's autobiographical self is constantly evolving over time. A writer may construct a quite different discursive self from one text to another, depending partly on different demands of different occasions for writing. A writer may be relatively authoritative in one text and relatively unauthoritative in another’ (Ivanič, 1997:29)

According to Ivanič (2004:225) Identity, like writing is a socio-political practice and, therefore, open to ‘contestation and change’. In this sense, the representation of identity connects to issues beyond the text. As alluded to earlier, another often overlooked strategy in learning about asserting one’s identity in texts in the South Africa’s context of situation and culture, is that this process could involve a potential clash in values, what it means to be human for South African citizens (Street, 2003). In retrospect, I concur with Trevor Manuel, minister in the presidency when he says in South Africa’s ‘National Development Plan: Our Future Make it Work’ (2011: Foreword)

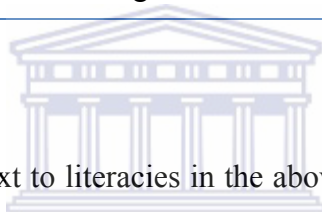
Drawing on our collective successes and failures as a nation, we need to do more to improve our future. On the present trajectory, South Africa will not achieve the objectives of eliminating poverty and reducing inequality. There is a burning need for faster progress, more action and better implementation. The future belongs to all of us and it is up to all South Africans to make it work.

Here Trevor’s statement is based on an inclusive discourse of everybody (South Africans). At the same time, in my opinion for South Africa to function cohesively with a view to develop social coherence, the ANC led government should first develop linguistic cohesion and coherence in its public policies, since, as mentioned education is ultimately about a quest for, and finding coherence (Hasan, 1989).

It is my opinion that since current race-based affirmative action policies are linguistically incoherent, because it is based on a false premise of different races.

In a manner analogous to how one defines literacy, one may problematize the belief that there are ‘typically’ different races in South Africa with ‘typically’ different material needs:

This entails the recognition of multiple literacies (multiple identities), varying according to time and space, but as contested in relations of power. NLS, then, takes nothing for granted with respect to literacy (identity) and the social practices with which it becomes associated, problematizing what counts as literacy (identity) at any time and place and asking “whose literacies” (whose identities) are dominant and whose are marginalized or resistant (Street, 2003:1).



I have inserted identities next to literacies in the above quotation. Therefore, like Street (2003) contests monolithic definitions of literacy, one should ask: ‘Whose definitions of races or identities are dominant and whose are marginalized or resistant’. When viewed from critical perspectives, monolithic definitions of race, language, culture and literacy would be problematized as obstacles to transformation and nation building because the use of such words necessitates critical engagement as opposed to accepting definitions as a given. Freire and Maschedo (1987:10) explains what it means to contest definitions as a given from a critical literacy perspective. They express a dynamic view of human agency as they propose a critical literacy paradigm to manage human affairs:

As a narrative for agency, literacy becomes synonymous with an attempt to rescue history, experience, and vision from conventional discourse and dominant power relations. It means developing the theoretical and practical conditions through which human beings can locate themselves in their own histories and in doing so make themselves present in the struggle to expand the possibilities of

human life and freedom. Literacy in these terms is not the equivalent of emancipation, it is in a more limited but essential way the precondition for engaging in struggle around both relations of meaning and relations of power. To be literate is not to be free, it is to be present and active in the struggle for reclaiming one's voice, history and future.

In view of the above quotation, I question the ANC-led government's motive for maintaining a racial classification system, particularly, if alternative definitions, policies, equity strategies are available, may be found or can be generated.

5.16 A Critical Discourse Analysis of Job Application Form Z 83 (81/971431, DPE 1: Appendix 1): Implications for Social Practice

The purpose of an analysis of document Z93 is to further show that a meaning(s) of words are materializes in practice. South African people are divided into four 'racial groups' on the Z83 (81/971431,DPE1) job application form, notably 'African', 'Coloureds', 'Indians' and 'Whites' by the ANC-led government (Appendix 1). It is only 'Blacks' who are prefixed with African. This could mean that only 'Blacks' are Africans and the others, viz. 'Coloureds', 'Indians' and 'Whites' have no country or continent of origin. Moreover, that Africa belongs to 'Blacks'. As such, South Africa as a country on the continent of Africa also belongs to 'African Blacks'.

PRESIDENT MBEKI CONGRATULATES SIBUSISO VILANE, FIRST BLACK AFRICAN TO REACH MOUNT EVEREST

Today, Monday 26 May all Africans stand 8 848 metres tall.

Sibusiso Vilane has made all of us - of all colours, cultures and stations in the continent - stick out our chests in justifiable pride and wonder.

He has earned his place in the history of climbing as the first black African to reach the top of Mount Everest.

In this, he has shown the heights we can all scale in life if we put our shoulder to the wheel and work at things without flagging.

His example of sheer grit and optimism, not alone but in the closest partnership with others is exemplary as we Africans face the Everest-like challenges ahead of us, notably to revive our continent and free it from past socio-economic subjugation.

Years ago, in 1953, when the same Everest (named after a colonial surveyor-general in India) was first climbed, the splendid news broke over an imperial nation celebrating a coronation and a new life under a new monarch, in a changed world and a changing Commonwealth.

In not-incomparable circumstances, Sibusiso has achieved fame just as a new era dawns in Africa - with the post-imperial strivings and struggles of Africans being recalled and lauded during the 40th anniversary of the OAU. The spirit of the new African Union, which has arisen in strength from the OAU, inspires us all to march on to a sustainable life of success and plenty for Africa. In this, we are in deadly earnest, and we can rightly see Sibusiso Vilane's achievement as a very special inspiration to this end.

We say to him, on behalf of the people and Government of South Africa: you have done us proud!

Contact: Bheki Khumalo on (012) 300 5436, Fax: (012) 323 6080, 083 256 9133

26 May 2003

Issued by The Presidency



Recent work has often stressed that individuals have multiple or hybrid identities and even within one setting may appeal to a range of identities. Moreover, it has become common to emphasize the process of making and claiming identities are not attributes that people 'have' or 'are' but resources that people 'use', something that they 'do'(Jamieson, 2002:2).

As argued in chapter 2, according to Halliday (1989 and 2004) the meaning of a word is realized in practice. It follows the meaning of race-based affirmative action or the classification of people into colour categories are realized in practice. South African people are divided into four 'racial groups' on the Z83 job application form, notably

‘African’, ‘Coloureds’, ‘Indians’ and ‘Whites’ by the ANC-led government (See also appendix 2, page 139 of this study on ‘African Blacks’). It is only ‘Blacks’ who are prefixed with African. This could mean that only ‘Blacks’ are Africans and the others, viz. ‘Coloureds’, ‘Indians’ and ‘Whites’ have no country or continent of origin. Moreover, that Africa belongs to ‘Blacks’. As such, South Africa as a country on the continent of Africa also belongs to ‘African Blacks’. Degenaar (1978) notes that in developing the notion of ‘A Volk’ with a nationalistic identity the Afrikaners first changed their use of language.

Earlier, the researcher objected to the notion of being labeled as ‘Coloured’, he also resents the idea that Africa belongs to what the ANC-led government deemed as Africans only. In his book *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* Brown (1970:3) infers that the North American Indians believe that we belong to the earth, the earth does not belong to us. The idea that a country or continent can be ‘racially privatized’ hold implications for the kinds of practices that led to the Jewish holocaust during the second world war (Dawidowicz, 1986), the Cambodian holocaust (Kiernan, 2007) and more recently the Rwandan genocide of the mass killings of the by the Tutsis by the Hutus (Mamdani, 2001). Apartheid in a more disguise fashion was in the researcher’s opinion also a kind of ethnic cleansing similar to the ones mentioned. Since these incidents were so brutal and vile, it is now common knowledge. Apartheid was in a similar fashion spawned by the idea of a Nationalistic identity (See Degenaar, 1978). Both Anderson (1982) and Jamieson (2002) discuss in-depth how notions of Nationalism leads to stereotypes, bigotry, prejudice as well as general disregard for the human rights and concerns of what becomes considered to be the ‘other’ by Nationalists. It is the opinion of the researcher that in a situation in which people are arbitrarily classified according to race government exercises a kind of hegemonic

power. Government defines people and moreover, what they consider to be real. This could lead to a false sense of identity for many people. Hence what, citizens may perceive ultimately as ‘real’ differences. A real danger, in the researcher’s opinion, is that people defined not as ‘African Black’ may suffer a sense of alienation because they are through linguistic means ‘subliminally’ separated from the country of their birth.

During apartheid the meaning of the words, ‘Whites’, ‘Indians’ ‘Coloureds’ and ‘Blacks’ found expression in social practices of ‘White superiority’ and the inherent inferiority of other ‘racial groups’ (Frederickson, 1981; Kallaway, 1988; Kallaway et al., 1997; Boonzaier and Sharp, 1989). Thus, ‘White’ people alone could access the best services and goods that a market economy had to offer at any given time. People considered inferior, were forced to live in second, or in the case of the majority ‘Black people’ in separate homelands. The majority of ‘Coloureds’, ‘Indians’ and some ‘Blacks were confined, as mentioned earlier to townships, which are characterised by extreme overcrowding, a serious lack of space and generally depressive conditions not fit for human habitat within modern market driven economy.

In view of the above, public policies inform public opinion, which may become a value, or belief system that the notion that there are ‘typical’ race groups becomes irrefutably real. These opinions, in turn, may be internalized as fixed barriers, which then could become hard to mediate once a majority develops a ‘collective/crowd’ nationalistic consciousness of immutable racial differences (See Le Bon, 1974).

5.17 Summary

Although South Africa’s policy documents in its preamble may make logical sense at the level of structure in the sense that there should be redress strategies, I have shown through a detailed discourse analysis that race as a redress strategy in relation to ‘unity

in diversity' does not make mathematical, legal and linguistic sense at the level of texture. One of the main reasons for this is that the public domain is constituted on a discourse of racial diversity while in the private domain there is a social expectancy South Africans social interactions should be orientated towards a discourse of unity. Moreover, because of presumptions (what has happened before in history), the continued use of racial categories is not (fair) appropriate to address transformation with a view to facilitate legally and socially nation building because it maintains stereotypical – monolithic identities in the way that it through policy: (Chapter 5, points 5.13-5.15):

1. Presents post-apartheid South African realities
2. Enacts post-apartheid identities
3. Regulates post-apartheid human relations and social interactions as typical 'Coloureds', 'Blacks', 'Whites' and 'Indian' behaviour in texts and contexts in public domains.

It appears from my discussion thus far that South Africa's transformation strategies with its over-emphasis on the politics identity differences leads to 'token' transformation instead of addressing structural inequalities. In the next chapter, I will explore and propose alternative transformation strategies without a racial classification system.

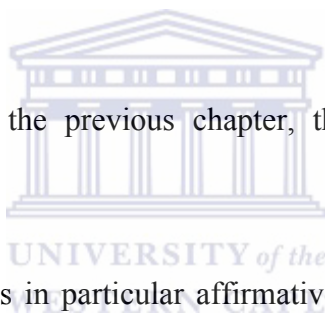
CHAPTER 6

TOWARDS A DISCOURSE ALTERNATIVE TO SOUTH AFRICA'S UNITED IN OUR 'RACIAL' DIVERSITY TRANSFORMATION STRATEGY

The fetishism of words is as dangerous in the realm of political ideology as it is in that of religious ideology. Words have to be seen together with the deeds and with the total personality of him who utters them. Words have meaning only in the total context of deed and character; unless there is unity among these factors words serve to deceive – others and oneself; instead of revealing, they have the function of hiding (Fromm, 1986:151)

6.1 Introduction

Based on the findings of the previous chapter, this chapter answers the research question:



If race-based public policies in particular affirmative action are not appropriate, what alternatives are there to a racial diversity redress strategy to nation building without referring to racial categories?

In the previous chapter, I conducted a close discourse- linguistic analysis of the clause construct, 'united in our diversity' to unravel its meaning as well as implications for educational transformation and nation building. This chapter proposes a discourse alternative to South Africa's current 'diversity' concept in the clause construct, 'united in our diversity' which I have shown became the premise on which race-based affirmative action and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) were founded.

6.2 Debating Discourse Alternatives to Race-Based Policies

6.2.1 South Africa's Current Position

The world wanted South Africa's true, liberated history – and the writing of it – to begin in 1994, but deep contradictions have quickly bubbled to the surface, revealing a society gripped in turmoil. The results of all of this have been, of course paradoxical: a series of elections since 1994 seemed to confirm that ANC's hold, both popular and legitimate, on power. Yet, simultaneously South Africa has found itself with one of the highest rates of protest, and dissent expressed both in the work-place and on township streets, in universities and technicons (higher education institutions of technology), clinics and central city squares (Saul and Bond, 2014:1-2)

The above quotation reveals South Africa's most recent transformation achievements within a twenty-year period, from 1994 to 2014. Similarly other studies show at different stages that despite the ANC-led governments efforts to get the unity in diversity clause to bring about transformation and nation building, 'the how strategies' to unify a once divided society remains in dispute (Franchia and Swartc 2003; Alexander, 2007). The ANC-led government indirectly, in my opinion, by its own admission acknowledges that the united in our diversity theme/programme as transformation strategy has not achieved its required equity goals. Therefore, the government launched the National Development Plan. On the 11 of November 2001, the National Planning Commission plotted a new vision for South Africa for the year 2030. In the forward the minister in the office of the presidency Trevor Manual sets out this vision as follows:

'South Africa belongs to all its people and the future of our country is our collective future. Making it work is a collective responsibility. All South Africans seek a better future for themselves and their children. The National Development Plan is plan for the country to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality by 2030 though uniting

South Africans, unleashing the energies of its citizens, growing an inclusive economy, building capabilities, enhancing the capability of the state and leaders working together to solve complex problems'

In addition government also held a social cohesion summit aimed at reconciliation and nation building in Soweto From 4th – 5th of July 2012 with the theme 'On the WORKING TOGETHER TO CREATE A CARING AND PROUD SOCIETY PROGRAMME THE SOCIAL COHESION'

Before one can propose an alternative to current race-based policies one has to understand the rationale that informs current public policies; how it changed from a Reconstruction and Development (RDP) Programme to a neo-liberal Growth and Development (GEAR) Programme. Historically South Africa's policies aimed at transformation and nation building have undergone several stages. The first African National Congress (ANC) post-apartheid redress strategy was reconstruction and development programme (RDP):

The RDP is an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework. It seeks to mobilise all our people and our country's resources toward the final eradication of Apartheid and building a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist government (African National Congress, 1994:1)

According to Turok (2008) the key strategy of the RDP was to work with Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) who shared the ANC's vision of the urgent need to address 'structural distortions' in South Africa's economy in which white people still dominated (Turok, 2008:100). In view of this the ANC proposed a 'people-centred sustainable development programme. This 'self-empowerment' strategy according to Turok (2008:101) 'even' the World Bank endorsed:

1. a community-based control of natural resources
2. creating units of economic management in the market place
3. people's participation in their own development and governance
4. priority aid for women and their empowerment, and
5. community ability to produce or otherwise gain access to necessary goods and services

Turok (2008) notes that since the RDP was in line with the vision of redress as articulated in the Freedom Charter, many international investors withheld investments. He observes further that the ANC then had to make adjustments to their redress strategy to appease both local and international investors, which led to the introduction of Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR). The key strategy of GEAR is to manage macro economic growth and development with a view to create employment, which in turn may lead to redistribution of resources and access to opportunities. However, twenty years into democracy more studies show that GEAR had little impact on transforming the South African economy (Turok, 2008). Some of these reasons have to do with the continued white dominated structured economy, others have to do with the ANC failure to make service delivery in health, housing, education, sport and recreation an 'equitable' reality for the majority previously disenfranchised mainly working class people (Turok, 2008:106-107):

Has South Africa moved to implement the vision of the kind of social system envisaged in the Freedom Charter and subsequent development discourse?. The provisional answer must be negative. While the political transition has been almost total, the socio-economic transition remains in abeyance. The RDP remains a powerful vision statement.

This quotation is reinforced by statistical data on the successes and failures of educational outcomes below. The purpose of the educational statistics is to show that race-based affirmative action had a minimal impact on educational transformation outcomes in relation to improvement in the absorption (Stats SA, 2001-2014:216), or employment equity in the economy (Stats SA, 2001-2014:262-263) cited in South Africa Survey 2014/2015 conducted by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

In these two areas the percentage rate for 'Black' people increased relatively more compared to 'Whites'. As argued, education plays a central role in the transformation of society because it is responsible for producing both human and material resources aimed at the development of a society. However, a lack of employment equal employment opportunity could impact negatively on individual productivity levels and concomitantly on the country's national product as a whole.

The tables that follow ranging from the period 2011 to 2012 when the first comprehensive census was done show that although 'Black' schooling improved, their employment in key sectors of the economy remained relative low compared to 'whites'. Thus transformation in schooling did not necessarily lead to corresponding transformation equity figures in the different private sectors of the economy.

Labour force Absorption rate by race Stats SA, (2001-2014:216)

Blacks 2001 (42,1%)	Whites 2001 (63.3%)
Blacks 2014 (39.6%)	Whites 2014 (50.5%)
Blacks -5.9% decrease	Whites -1.7% decrease

6.2.2 Current Educational Outcomes

The table shows levels of no schooling, schooling and occupations of the ‘different racial groups’ in South Africa for **first the comprehensive census** done in 2011:

Table 3: (2.3.7, 2.3.8 and 2.3.9) Shows no schooling, schooling and Occupation Statistics of ‘racial groups’ for the period 2011

2.12

POPULATION

2.3.7 Population by highest level of education, gender and population group

Number

Level of education and gender		Black African	Coloured	Indian or Asian	White	Total
		121	122	123	124	125
No schooling	M	2 499 412	167 388	24 436	66 148	2 757 383
	F	3 343 011	178 179	42 300	68 773	3 632 264
	T	5 842 422	345 568	66 736	134 921	6 389 647
Grade 1	M	971 097	78 329	15 483	47 916	1 112 825
	F	909 537	75 082	15 441	44 688	1 044 748
	T	1 880 635	153 411	30 924	92 604	2 157 573
Grade 2	M	667 042	54 317	9 188	30 805	761 351
	F	617 305	53 454	10 187	29 152	710 098
	T	1 284 347	107 771	19 375	59 957	1 471 450
Grade 3	M	857 950	78 336	11 860	34 006	982 152
	F	801 287	75 585	14 064	32 167	923 103
	T	1 659 237	153 921	25 925	66 173	1 905 255
Grade 4	M	937 123	92 327	13 251	34 969	1 077 670
	F	909 156	93 806	17 101	33 610	1 053 673
	T	1 846 279	186 133	30 352	68 579	2 131 342
Grade 5	M	896 190	98 560	14 511	35 406	1 044 666
	F	906 893	107 154	19 107	35 227	1 068 380
	T	1 803 083	205 713	33 618	70 633	2 113 047
Grade 6	M	936 423	114 443	16 192	40 309	1 107 367
	F	1 001 137	132 032	22 841	42 305	1 198 315
	T	1 937 561	246 475	39 033	82 614	2 305 682
Grade 7	M	1 113 054	151 667	21 722	44 944	1 331 387
	F	1 217 571	184 446	29 488	46 939	1 478 445
	T	2 330 625	336 113	51 210	91 883	2 809 832
Grade 8	M	1 147 628	183 256	43 697	93 969	1 468 550
	F	1 279 127	210 138	50 396	111 620	1 651 280
	T	2 426 755	393 393	94 093	205 589	3 119 831
Grade 9	M	935 232	147 701	29 361	68 255	1 180 549
	F	1 066 451	163 351	30 621	73 337	1 333 760
	T	2 001 684	311 052	59 982	141 592	2 514 309
Grade 10/NTC I	M	1 016 925	174 218	54 966	236 782	1 482 891
	F	1 154 193	193 471	54 737	295 877	1 698 278
	T	2 171 118	367 689	109 703	532 659	3 181 169
Grade 11/NTC II	M	852 026	86 853	37 656	81 675	1 058 210
	F	1 024 680	93 442	33 341	85 787	1 237 250
	T	1 876 706	180 295	70 998	167 462	2 295 460
Grade 12/NTC III	M	1 694 569	234 373	150 794	636 997	2 716 733
	F	1 795 715	250 568	138 188	720 388	2 904 859
	T	3 490 284	484 941	288 982	1 357 385	5 621 591
Certificate with less than grade 12	M	28 627	3 114	1 788	13 303	46 832
	F	29 769	3 674	1 442	11 928	46 813
	T	58 396	6 788	3 231	25 231	93 646
Diploma with less than grade 12	M	16 008	2 110	1 443	12 889	32 451
	F	21 820	2 888	1 197	13 315	39 220
	T	37 829	4 998	2 641	26 204	71 672
Certificate with grade 12	M	121 544	14 123	11 472	63 940	211 080
	F	139 053	16 232	10 199	64 986	230 471
	T	260 598	30 355	21 671	128 927	441 551
Diploma with grade 12	M	202 646	25 360	21 311	174 149	423 467
	F	304 872	30 845	20 198	198 068	553 984
	T	507 519	56 205	41 509	372 217	977 450
Bachelor's degree	M	63 077	6 897	13 172	95 170	178 317
	F	65 315	6 279	11 051	80 179	162 823
	T	128 392	13 176	24 224	175 348	341 140
Bachelor's degree and diploma	M	25 458	4 087	5 021	44 568	79 134
	F	31 954	3 570	4 435	46 661	86 620
	T	57 412	7 657	9 456	91 230	165 754

2.13

POPULATION

2.3.7 Population by highest level of education, gender and population group (concluded)

Level of education and gender		Number				
		Black African	Coloured	Indian or Asian	White	Total
		121	122	123	124	125
Honours degree	M	18 116	3 052	4 262	43 853	69 282
	F	18 522	2 498	4 013	36 227	61 260
	T	36 638	5 550	8 274	80 079	130 542
Higher degree (master's or doctorate)	M	15 733	2 809	5 681	63 789	88 011
	F	10 721	1 605	3 242	28 440	44 008
	T	26 454	4 414	8 923	92 228	132 020
Not applicable	M	1 871 949	197 105	37 784	116 892	2 223 731
	F	1 880 246	195 781	36 826	113 232	2 226 085
	T	3 752 195	392 887	74 609	230 124	4 449 816
Total	M	16 887 830	1 920 426	545 050	2 080 734	21 434 040
	F	18 528 336	2 074 079	570 417	2 212 905	23 385 737
	T	35 416 166	3 994 505	1 115 467	4 293 640	44 819 778

Source: Stats SA, Population census, 2001

Note: Based on the 2005 boundaries.

2.3.8 Population (employed, aged 15-65 years) by occupation, gender and population group

Occupation group and gender		Number				
		Black African	Coloured	Indian or Asian	White	Total
		126	127	128	129	130
Legislators, senior officials and managers	M	97 703	26 901	35 817	202 646	363 068
	F	41 806	15 302	10 774	84 440	152 322
	T	139 509	42 202	46 591	287 087	515 389
Professionals	M	135 579	25 811	28 984	193 216	383 590
	F	106 000	21 787	19 208	137 878	284 873
	T	241 578	47 599	48 192	331 094	668 463
Technicians and associate professionals	M	203 195	42 635	27 497	135 388	408 714
	F	283 536	59 165	21 265	147 093	511 060
	T	486 731	101 800	48 762	282 481	919 774
Clerks	M	224 337	52 127	35 678	66 070	378 212
	F	254 809	106 552	47 936	260 190	669 486
	T	479 146	158 679	83 614	326 260	1 047 699
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	M	427 001	54 459	33 167	117 819	632 446
	F	204 997	49 178	15 287	75 679	345 141
	T	631 999	103 637	48 453	193 497	977 587
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	M	138 977	22 282	1 330	37 581	200 170
	F	52 743	7 925	214	7 058	67 940
	T	191 720	30 207	1 545	44 638	268 110
Craft and related trades workers	M	689 127	126 298	32 914	144 615	992 954
	F	120 629	30 994	7 818	12 578	172 018
	T	809 756	157 292	40 732	157 193	1 164 973
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	M	608 332	67 818	23 269	35 069	734 487
	F	65 734	29 908	9 804	4 300	109 745
	T	674 066	97 725	33 073	39 369	844 233
Elementary occupations	M	899 371	192 468	13 748	32 018	1 137 604
	F	1 181 897	193 068	7 331	20 042	1 402 338
	T	2 081 268	385 536	21 078	52 060	2 539 942
Undetermined	M	215 125	45 399	14 689	79 842	355 055
	F	164 931	37 317	10 202	70 089	282 538
	T	380 056	82 716	24 891	149 931	637 593
Total	M	3 638 748	656 197	247 093	1 044 263	5 586 300
	F	2 477 081	551 196	149 838	819 347	3 997 462
	T	6 115 829	1 207 393	396 931	1 863 610	9 583 762

Source: Stats SA, Population census, 2001

Note: Based on the 2005 boundaries.

Table 4: Mid-year population estimates for South Africa by population group and sex 2013 (Source: Statistics South Africa:P0302)

Population group	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	% of male population	Number	% of female population	Number	% of total population
African	20 607 800	79,8	21 676 300	79,8	42 284 100	79,8
Coloured	2 306 800	8,9	2 459 400	9,1	4 766 200	9,0
Indian/Asian	669 200	2,6	660 100	2,4	1 329 300	2,5
White	2 239 500	8,7	2 362 900	8,7	4 602 400	8,7
Total	25 823 300	100	27 158 700	100	52 982 000	100

The tables 5 and 6 below are derived from information provided by the preceding tables 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6 based on no schooling, schooling, occupation, and population size. The tables show comparisons among the 'different race' groups in terms of no schooling, schooling and occupational completion from Grade 1 to Masters or Doctorate. It shows the numbers and percentage calculations within each group and per population for the period 2012 to 2013.

Table 5: Education Transformation Estimates (2012-2013): No Schooling and Schooling per Group Numbers and Percentages from Grade 1 to Masters or Doctorate

Population	Group Total Males + Females	No Schooling	% of Group Total	Schooling	% of Group Total
African	42 284 100	2 499 412	5,9	35 416 166	83,7
Coloured	4 766 200	167 388	3,5	3 994 505	83,8
Indian	1 329 300	24 536	1,8	1 115 467	83,9
White	4 602 400	66 148	1,4	4 293 640	93,2
Total	52 982 000	2 757 484	12,6	44 819 778	

Table 6 shows that ‘Blacks’ have the highest level of no schooling (5,9%) compared to ‘Whites’ 1,4% per group. ‘Whites’ have the highest level of schooling per group (93,2%), while ‘Coloureds’ have the lowest per group (83,8%).

Table 6: Education Transformation Estimates (2012-2013): No Schooling and Schooling of Total Population Numbers and Percentages from Grade 1 to Masters or Doctorate

Population	Group Totals Males + Females	No Schooling	% of Population Total	Schooling	% of Population Total
African	42 284 100	2 499 412	4,7	35 416 166	66,8
Coloured	4 766 200	167 388	0,3	3 994 505	7,5
Indian	1 329 300	24 536	0,04	1 115 467	2,1
White	4 602 400	66 148	0,1	4 293 640	8,1
Population Totals	52 982 000	2 757 484	5,14	44 819 788	84,5

Table 7 shows that Africans have the highest level of no schooling (4,7 %) out of a

population of 52 982 000, while ‘Whites’ have the lowest (0,1%).

Table 7: Education Transformation Estimates (2012-2013): Schooling and Occupation Numbers and Percentages of Total Population

Population	Group Totals	Schooling	% of Population Total	Occupation	% of Population Total
African	42 284 100	35 416 166	66,8	6115 829	11,5
Coloured	4 766 200	3 994 505	7,5	1 207 393	2,2
Indian	1 329 300	1 115 467	2,1	396 931	0,7
White	4 602 400	4 293 640	8,1	1 863 610	3,5
Population Total	52 982 000	44 819 778	84,5	9 583 763	17,9

Table 8 is significant because it shows that although Africans have completed since 2011 to 2012 schooling of 66,8 percentage of the population (52 982 000) only 17,2% (35 416 166 – 6115 829 = 29 300 337) is employed in the different sectors of the economy as indicated on table 4: legislators, senior officials, managers, professionals, technicians, associate professionals, clerks, skilled agricultural, fishery workers, craft, related trade workers, plant, machine operators, assembles and elementary occupations. ‘Whites’ on the other hand have completed schooling 8,1% out of population of (52 982 000), they have occupations 43,4% in the categories listed. For a break down and comparison of employment figures among the ‘different racial groups’, see table 4.

6.2.3 Current Debates About Race-Based Affirmative Action

Based on the statistical information of school graduates, I will now show that many South Africans continue to question the efficacy of race-based affirmative action and

BEE policies as effective transformation and nation building strategies. They are concerned about the impact of race-based transformation strategies on reconciliation and nation building social efforts. Although, they point out the ‘wrongs’ in racial diversity practices, they do not propose alternatives at the level of texture structure in the preamble of public policy documents as well as political economy. For the purpose of efficacy and in situations, which I consider the comments/observations about transformation and nation building may lose their meanings once written in my words, I have chosen to reference these in verbatim form.

With regard to race-based affirmative action, Nell (2011:ii) states, ‘Whether the present policy has achieved this goal or is capable of doing so has been the subject of much controversy’. She further contends, ‘It is argued that affirmative action as currently applied has an assortment of negative consequences, ranging from stigmatization of beneficiaries as incapable individuals, the perpetuation of racial division and detrimental impact on the South African economy as a result of loss in efficiency’ Hoffman, (2007) cautions that race-based affirmative action has a negative effect on nation building and that education plays a central role in this process. He notes several areas of difficulty in the manner in which race-based affirmative action is implemented (Hoffman, 2007:2): ‘The promotion of equality could not be achieved because the laws and policies failed to reach this objective’

Hoffman (2007) notes that representativity based on race is difficult to measure because one should include organizations in the private sector, non-governmental organizations, sport bodies which should all reflect the demographics of the country, region or communities of people. As one can see with regard to last point this is not possible, since notions of race are abstract and cannot be readily quantified. Similarly, de Vos (2010) augments this view by arguing that representativity should not be the only

criteria for appointment or promotion. He notes three conditions, which should accompany representativity:

As the Constitutional Court found in the case of *Minister of Finance v Van Heerden*, for an affirmative action plan to be valid there had to be a plan (not random preferential treatment) in which the overwhelming majority of the group targeted for advancement had to consist of individuals who belonged to a group who had suffered from past unfair discrimination.

Second, the measures had to be designed to protect or advance those disadvantaged by past discrimination. This meant that the measures had to be reasonably capable of achieving its goal. If the measures were arbitrary, capricious or displayed naked preference it would not be constitutionally valid.

Third, the measures used had to promote the achievement of equality in the long term. While the achievement of this goal may often come at a price for those who were previously advantaged (in other words, Whites), the long-term goal of our society is a non-racial, non-sexist society in which each person will be recognised and treated as a human being of equal worth and dignity. In assessing therefore whether a measure will in the long-term promote equality, it should be asked whether the measures constituted an abuse of power or imposed such substantial and undue harm on those excluded from its benefits that our long-term constitutional goal would be threatened. Therefore, in view of the fact that the strategy of bringing about equality is in conflict with nation building objectives, Hermann (2010:19) proposes the following:

Special measures to address the inequalities in the South African society are needed, but these measures must strike a balance between nation building and equality as constitutional imperatives;

The current affirmative action model is not the answer to the inequalities that persists in our society. While it has greatly contributed to the creation of a black middle class and elite, the majorities of South Africans still lives in abject poverty and have not been affirmed.

The current affirmative action model has led to nepotism, tokenism and has accentuated ethnic identities.

The current affirmative action model has led to alienation amongst the non – designated group.

The current affirmative action model has obtained a permanent nature, which is contrary to international standards.

South Africans are suffering due to the lack of service delivery as a result of the loss of critical skills due to affirmative action.

The current affirmative action model must be amended and a new system should be introduced.

Central to these amendments stands the belief that the focus of the EEA should shift from being output based (racial targets in accordance with the ideology of representativity) to being input based (skills development).

A responsible debate on a national level regarding affirmative action is of the utmost importance.

Many studies allude to the social difficulties created by race-based affirmative in education without suggesting how it may be changed, for example Hoffman (2007:4) notes ‘Graduates graduate into unemployment. This leads some to stay longer in university than is necessary’. He laments the high dropout rates in schools, the shortage

of skills as well as the huge brain drain. He concludes: 'The poor have been getting more disadvantaged while the laws, policies and practices of the government have been put in place in implemented'

To address the domino effect of young qualified people leaving the country due to race-based affirmative action, de Havilland (2007:26) suggest the following strategies:

The starting point, she argues is the constitution, which prescribes that we are all equal before the law.

Moreover, ...it should take into account skills availability and competency, ...it cannot constitute an absolute barrier to non-designated groups.

She concludes, ...we also need to ensure progressive realization of all socio economic rights and a simultaneous equitable redistribution of wealth.

More recent studies as well as government sources show that race-based affirmative action does not generate the required outcomes of educational outcomes and therefore equity. The Council for Higher Education Report 2013 shows that only 5% of 'African' and 'Coloured' youth succeed at university. The dropout and failure rates remained constant for last thirteen years: 2003-2013. One in four students managed to graduate from universities within the required times. Research further shows that neither the schools nor further education and training (FET) colleges are equipped to prepare students on how to succeed at university. The Global Competitiveness Report (2012 - 2013) shows that out of 144 economies South Africa's educational system ranked at 140 for quality of education.

Habib (2011:1) blames affirmative action for the poor service delivery. He states:

The problem is that black people are placed in key positions because they are cadres and

not because they are qualified for the positions.

“By getting rid of the White bureaucracy in the state, the transferral of skills is destroyed.

“It did change the colour of public service delivery but it created a crisis because skills and mentorship are not transferred.”

Habib said it was interesting that advertisements were recently again placed to bring back “White skilled labour”

6.2.4 Towards A Discourse Alternative to United in 'Racial' Diversity Transformation Strategy with Reference to the Base and Superstructure

An in-depth linguistic analysis of the unity in diversity clause shows that this redress strategy had little impact on educational outcomes and has a negative impact on reconciliation and nation building. Moreover, critically mass poverty remains one of the country's greatest challenges and poses a serious threat to democracy (Turok, 2008; Roux, 2011; Fourie and Opperman, 2011)

‘At the time of constitutional change, poverty was indeed – and still is today – the most discomfoting feature of the South African economic landscape. The lack of job opportunities among millions of previously disenfranchised citizens of the new South Africa is partly the result of statutory and other regulatory measures that inhibited occupational and geographical mobility in the past’ (Black, et al., 2012:5).

The above quotation illustrates that for the vast majority of previously disenfranchised South Africans equality of opportunity remains largely unattainable and therefore as the tables show on pages 90 to 94 it has a corresponding effect on the academic qualification outcomes. Given the comments and concerns of South African citizens at

the start of point 6.2 up to and including the concerns as expressed in the above quotation, the starting point to address South Africa's mass poverty threat and the failure of the 'united in our diversity' themes/programmes to address this issue, should be at the level of discourse structure and texture – the preamble to South Africa's constitution. At the same time, the material-structural inequality should be addressed because equal opportunity starts in the family and community structures a person is born into, the schools one attend, the support structures to harness intellectual growth and development. Since, as argued by Halliday (1989) there is a structural correspondence between linguistic structure and social structure, we should become aware of the role of language in the making of societies. As stated, there is a dialectical relationship between linguistic structure and social structure. The one shapes and reinforces the other in diverse ways.

With regard to policy changes, I propose the clause structure from 'united in our diversity' should be changed to 'united in our humanity'. I also suggest the following changes to subsequent textures in preambles, which my analysis shows leads to discourse confusion. By this I mean discourse as confusion in spoken and written language in use (Halliday, 1989), as a form of social and discursive practice: the production, consumption and distribution of messages (Fairclough, 1992), ways of acting, behaving, reflecting and thinking (Gee, 1999), in educational outcomes and nation building discourses.

In the preamble of the Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998 '**achieve** a diverse workforce broadly representative of our people change it to 'achieve a workforce of our people'. This would eliminate the racially implied notion of different races in 'broadly representative'. It would also be consistent with 'We the people of South Africa and our people' In this way the responsibility of transformation becomes every citizen's and not

only the government's. It is my opinion that transformation should not only be legislated, but citizens should 'buy into it' Given the history of South Africa, legal persuasion based on sound argument is better than enforced legislation. This aspect is partly captured in:

This implies the advancement, by special legal and other measures, of historically disadvantaged individuals, communities and social groups who were **dispossessed** of their land and resources, **deprived** of their human dignity and who continue to endure the consequences;

These special legal and other measures should include a redistribution of residential space. If South Africans, rich and poor fail to take responsibility for transformation, the past will continue to be a threat to the country's best intentions aimed at reconciliation and nation building (See Saul and Bond, 2014). While I agree with all of the arguments contained in the text below, I would suggest that 'united in its diversity' should be changed once more to 'united in its humanity' for reasons, which I have previously explained.

This Act **endeavours** to **facilitate** the transition to a democratic society, **united in its humanity, marked** by human relations that are caring and compassionate, and **guided** by the principles of equality, fairness, equity, social progress, justice, human dignity and freedom.

These linguistic changes, would in my opinion be more in line the ANC's initial RDP vision of redress aimed at reconciliation and nation building:

Moreover, in changing discourse at the level of structure and texture of the respective acts, one would now generate different sets of questions, which one can then seek to address systemically, because the policy would be driven by South African academic

research (points 6.2.3-6.2.7 below). For example:

1. Why is it that the land audit report of 2012 and 2013 shows that state owns 14% of the land in South Africa, while, private individuals and foreigners own close to 80 percent of South African land? (Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights Report 2012-2013)
2. Why is that is it that less than 5% of 'Black African' and 'Coloured' youth succeed at university? (2013 Council for Higher Education Report).
3. Why is it that there is a serious lack of access to technology by the majority of South Africans which impedes the country's competitiveness? (2013 Global Information Technology Report).
4. Why is that South Africa ranks second last in the world in mathematics and science?
5. Why is that that most South African grade five learners struggled to acquire basic literacy skills? (Howie et al., 2011)

Clearly it appears current race-based affirmative action is not addressing these questions. This study does not have the answers to the above questions, however, in view of these findings, I draw on relevant research to propose generalized heuristic strategies aimed at the level of social and linguistic (educational) structure. The previously disenfranchised majority would be better empowered to transform South Africa if government address as a primary step the land question, in tandem with secondary steps: discourse and legal access and discourse and educational access. I motivate why such a heuristic is important given South Africa's legacy of apartheid

(points 6.2.3-6.2.7) below:

6.3 Proposed Alternative to A Racial Classification System

6.3.1 Class versus Race-Based Affirmative Action

Alexander (2007:102) is one of the foremost proponents of a class-based rather than race based redress strategy. He argues:

Firstly, there is no need to use racial categories of the past in order to undertake affirmative action policies. In the South African context, because of the demographic fact of a black majority at this stage of the evolution of the population's cultural consciousness, the strategy would be equally effective and more precisely targeted at the level of individual beneficiaries if class or income groups were used as the main driving force of the programme.

In my opinion, a class-based strategy will not end unequal power relations because capitalism generates unequal relations of power (Marx, 1844; Waddington, 1974). The debate about how to address an alternative to capitalism is ongoing in the world, which would require a separate dissertation. However, I agree with Alexander (2007) that a class and income-based strategy would take the redress strategy focus away from race and hence better informed for nation building purposes. Moreover, a class and income-based strategy should incorporate questions/surveys about the types of access people have to economic, spatial (land), educational and legal access at an individual level. These factors are interrelated, thus questions about parent's educational level, income, where individuals live and attended schools would include the previously disenfranchised majority working class people of South Africa.

6.3.2 Proposed Intervention to Mediate Equitable Economic Access

Since all service delivery issues are underpinned by economic policy, this section

highlights the key purposes of economic policy. Industrialised or, modern societies whose economies function according to capitalist democratic principles follow similar economic principles, of which the purposes are (Roux, 2011):

1. Firstly, governments must improve the national productivity levels in order to enhance the standard of living of its citizens.
2. Secondly, an increased in national productivity leads to an increase in employment levels, which in turn, improves social security.
3. Thirdly, governments must try to maintain the balance of equilibrium.
4. Finally, governments must ensure in the future of the economy and its growth.

With regard to point 1, government can only improve national productivity levels by improving educational outcomes both in terms of quantity and quality. Unlike first world countries, the South African government, like many other previously colonized countries must confront transformation on two fronts. Firstly, when viewed within the historical context of apartheid, South Africa was a racial capitalist system in which a 'White' minority controlled predominantly both the means and forces of production. Secondly, as a result, post 1994 apartheid South Africa is no longer a racial political system. However, on many other fronts, social, economic and educational South African society is characterized by apartheid remnants the 'Whites have' and the 'majority have not' (Turok, 2008; Saul and Bond, 2014). A strong indicator of this reality is that townships are found only in previously disenfranchised communities, which resonate with higher unemployment figures, dropouts from school and many other social ills normally associated with economically deprived communities compared to more affluent previously 'Whites' only communities (Roux, 2011; Black et al., 2012; Saul and Bond, 2014). Therefore government must reorganize the racial capitalist

system as well as reconstruct township apartheid spatial arrangements.

6.3.3 Proposed Intervention to Mediate Spatial (Land) Access

‘Geography becomes critical when access to opportunities is distributed unevenly over space. For example, when good schools are concentrated in urban areas, one must live in these areas to have good educational opportunities, and therefore good job prospects. In South Africa, which experienced more than 40 years of Apartheid policies, different population groups were segregated in separate residential areas with unequal access to education. As a result, location was a critical factor’ (Yamauchi, 2011:146)

Many studies show that spatial development has a direct bearing on cognitive and intellectual development of children, which in turn, influences and shapes the outcome of academic development in poorer communities (Bernstein, 1959; Bernstein, 1971; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Cummins, 1984; Bernstein, 1990; Ballard and Clancy, 1993; Street, 2003; Walker, 1993; Walker and Badsha, 1993; Angelil-Carter, et al., 1998; Boughey, 2000; Leibowitz and Mohamed, 2000).

The current approach of willing seller and buyer of land distribution strategy is not working given the constraints and demands of government’s national budget (Fourie and Opperman, 2011). It follows that government needs to devise a more progressive and urgent land redistribution plan to alleviate the psycho-social pathologies of township residents (See Saul and Bond, 2014). As a start, government should perhaps renegotiate the terms of reference by making South Africa’s ‘White’ people part of the solution rather than part of the problem. They should work with government, as South African citizens and not as ‘Whites’ to solve the land question because it is in my opinion not a ‘White’, ‘Black’, ‘Coloured’ or ‘Indian’ problem but a South African -

human one.

6.3.4 Proposed Intervention to Mediate Equitable Legal Access

The fundamental purpose of law is according to Kleyn and Viljoen (1998) regulate human behaviour in diverse social contexts. It is for this reason that the previous apartheid government had a multitude of legislative measures to regulate every aspect of the previous disenfranchised majority behaviour – it was total onslaught to regulate the behaviour of South African citizens for total control. According to Anderson et al., (2012) many South Africans do not get their basic human rights enforced because of legal cost. To facilitate legal access to previously disenfranchised communities the ANC-led government promulgated the legal practice bill:

1. Introduction/Precipitating Event

WHEREAS section 22 of the Bill of Rights of the Constitution establishes the right to freedom of trade, occupation and profession, and provides that the practice of a trade, occupation or profession may be regulated by law;

2. Body/Consequence

AND BEARING IN MIND THAT—

- * the legal profession is regulated by different laws which apply in different parts of the national territory and, as a result thereof, is fragmented and divided;
- * access to affordable legal services is not a reality for most South Africans;
- * the legal profession is not representative of the demographics of South Africa;
- * entry into the legal profession is, in some respects, dependent on compliance with out dated, unnecessary, and overly restrictive prescripts; * access to legal services is limited;

3. Conclusion/Revelation

AND IN ORDER TO—

- * provide a legislative framework for the transformation and restructuring of the legal profession into a unified profession which is representative of the Republic's demographics;
- * ensure that the values underpinning the Constitution are embraced and that the rule of law is upheld;
- * ensure that legal services are affordable and within the reach of the citizenry;
- * regulate the legal profession, in the public interest, by means of a single statute;
- * remove any barriers for entry into the legal profession;
- * strengthen the independence of the legal profession; and
- * ensure the accountability of the legal profession to the public.



Like in the case of the land issue, education plays a key role in mediating access to justice because the making of legal practitioners is an educational process.

6.3.5 Proposed Intervention to Mediate Equitable Educational Access

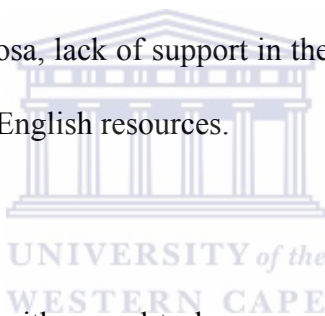
Inequality in South Africa is closely related to education. On the one hand, tertiary education opens up the route to 'middle class' occupations. On the other hand, young men and women who leave school prior to matric are usually confined to a lifetime of low-paid employment or chronic intermittent unemployment. How a student performs in school is, however, not simply a matter of individual ability. Rather, there is a clear relationship between parental class and children's educational attainment. A social democratic agenda must include the promotion of more equal opportunities (Seekings and Natrass, 2003:20)

At the centre of transformation and nation building, I have argued throughout this thesis lies education. It is clearly evident from the previous section that policies alone cannot address the huge inequalities created by an apartheid state. However, one should liberate the discourses that give impetus to the apartheid legacy of defining people in terms of race. In this regard education has a key role to play. However like the legal profession, education is grossly unequal due to the apartheid legacy of differential treatment for the different racial groups (Cloete et al., 2006; Black et al., 2012)

However, a number of South African academics discuss the role of language in access to education, particularly with reference to second language speakers of English (Angelil-Carter, et al., 1998; Boughey, 2000; Leibowitz and Mohamed, 2000, Alexander, 2011). South African has eleven official languages. Afrikaans and English are the two dominant modes of educational instruction in South Africa. For many 'Black' people English is not only a second language, but also a third or fourth language as they speak more than one African language. Thus, they have to learn how to access knowledge through their first, second or third language, while English remains a fourth language. The debate on how to best address this challenge is still on going in South Africa (Alexander, 2011). Gough (1996) cites the following reasons why Xhosa-English second English Speakers struggles to access – mediate education through the medium of English:

1. The teachers of English are often themselves mother Xhosa mother tongue speakers
2. The environment within which learners learn to speak English is culturally deprived from English first language speakers
3. A serious lack of resources further hampers access to the target language

The aforementioned factors can be applied equally to speakers of other African languages, viz. Afrikaans, Ndebele, Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Swati, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu. Apart from the linguistic aspects of transference XESL Speakers used, Gough (1996:6) suggests one should also consider the social and contextual factors, which may influence the process of transfer from Xhosa to English. Spofana (2001:83) defines social factors as the conditions in the learner's social environment in which the language learning process takes place. Social factors are capable of promoting or retarding the learner's interest to acquire the target language (Spofana, 2001). Gough (1996:13) identifies a number of social factors that influence XESL speakers' acquisition of English, viz., apartheid education, English teachers whose mother tongue is Xhosa, lack of support in the communities for the development of English, and insufficient English resources.

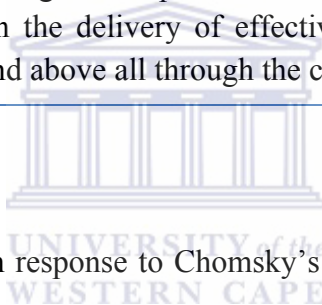


The aforementioned points with regard to language studies and academic development in relation to Second Language Speakers are still relevant (Siegel, 1999; Kapp, 2001; Nomlomo, 2001; De Wet, 2002; Tshotsho, 2006). Just as in the case of other indigenous languages, the learning of English for Xhosa speakers is not only complicated by the standardized form of Xhosa, but also by several different regional dialects, viz., isiNgqika/isiRharhabe/isiGcaleka, isiBaca, isiBomvana, isiCele, isiHlubi, isiMpondo, isiMpondomise, isiNtlangwini, isiThembu and isiXesibe (Nomlomo, 2001:77).

By addressing the serious lack of economic, spatial, legal and educational access as human concerns, it means now that we now acknowledge that all human beings have the same basic needs and government would strive to address these needs in the same

way the apartheid government addressed the needs of the ‘White’ minority. In other words, they must provide houses and educational resources of equal standing in order to ‘level the playing fields’. In addition to addressing inequalities created by the apartheid discourses of privilege ‘whites’ compared to linguistically deprived disenfranchised majority in relation to legal, cognitive and social structure, the ANC-led government should urgently, in the words of De Klerk (2009:5):

The measures on which the state should concentrate in its efforts to promote equality in terms of Section 9 (2) of the Constitution should not primarily centre on the present type of affirmative action and BEE - although these have a role to play. They should instead be focus on uplifting the 50% of our population that is most disadvantaged through the provision of decent and effective education; through the delivery of effective health, municipal and social services - and above all through the creation of jobs.



As mentioned in chapter, in response to Chomsky’s statement that all people have the innate ability to acquire language and that language is a mirror of mind, Halliday (1978, 1989 and 2004) states that language is also a social event. As such, he argues that language has three key functions; it represents realities, enacts social relations and establishes identities.

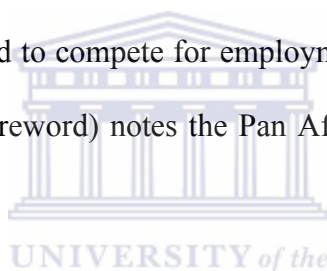
However, while Halliday (1990) and associates stressed the significance of the relationship between linguistic and social structure in regulating points 1, 2 and 3 above, they do not link linguistically the role of language in determining the political economy. This does not diminished the significance of Halliday’s social grammar of discourse insofar as it clarifies the centrality of language in influencing and shaping the dialectical relationship between linguistic and social structure.

We have learnt from the Sweatt versus Painter (1950) legal case in the United States of America that a change in the language of policy, particularly as legal discourse can change how institutions function. In the Sweatt versus Painter, the judge ruled that the notion that there can be separate but equal education for ‘African Americans’ and ‘White’s is not only legally unconstitutional, but also discriminatory. As a result of this ruling, schools that were predominantly attended by ‘White’ students had to be open for everybody regardless of ‘race’, ‘ethnicity’ or religious orientation. Therefore, we no longer have to dispute the fact that language as policy change can have this type of effect as it transformed the manner in which the United States discriminatory policies regulated their educational institutions.



However, I contend for real social change in society to happen the nature of relationship between the base (economic structure: forces, relations and modes production of material goods and services) and the political structure: ideology - ideas on how society should function in terms of the values of the free market system) needs also to be changed (Marx, 1844). More specifically this means that structural changes at the level of the base and superstructure should coincide with policy changes. In this regard, I once more draw on my South African experiences to illustrate why this is imperative. As discussed earlier, in South Africa, the Nationalist Party – apartheid government implemented a myriad of policies to regulate their total separation and governance of ‘what they defined’ as distinct racial groups. The ‘Coloured’ and ‘Indian’ people were relegated to the level of second-class citizenships, at the same time the ‘Africans’ were removed forcibly to homeland systems of self-governance. With the inception of a new democratic government many apartheid discriminatory policies were removed from the statutory books. This meant that all South Africans could now freely move around and

live anywhere in South Africa without fear of persecution or prosecution (South Africa's Bill of Rights, Act 108 of 1996). Despite these changes, the post-apartheid ANC-led government kept, what I regard as one of the corner stones of the apartheid system viz. the racial classification system. The post-apartheid system of racial classification is pervasive because it is by legislation implemented and managed by all sectors of government. In addition, many of the apartheid structural created inequality systems remain unchanged; unequal infrastructures and resources in the homelands, townships, education and so on (Fourie and Opperman, 2011). All of these can be linked to the question of the land, particularly spatial arrangements necessary for 'cognitive growth' and intellectual development of citizens in a market driven economy in which people are required to compete for employment opportunities (See Alexander, 1994). Shabalala (1990: Foreword) notes the Pan Africanist Congress' (PAC) position on this issue as follows:

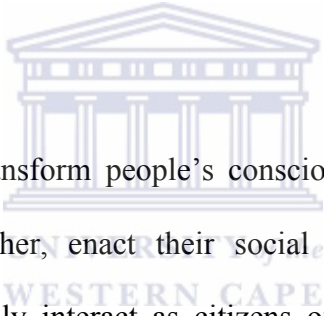


Our liberation struggle is about the land and its resources. We, the African majority, have been ruthlessly exploited since the arrival of the white settler minority in 1652. As history unfolds we find ourselves at a point where there are negotiations but the real issues, the wealth of the country, is clouded in terms such as equal opportunity and an open economy. What would our struggle have been about if the very system that resulted in the imbalances is left intact?

For the vast majority of previously disenfranchised people in South Africa their ability to compete is hampered by extreme conditions of structural inequalities (Roux, 2011).

Throughout this thesis, I have illustrated why the five hundred year old idea of different races is problematic because it was founded and instituted on the misconception that 'White' people are superior and that other 'races' are inferior (Schutte, 2015). The

legalization and subsequent institutionalization of this misguided notion had dire and traumatic effects for many so called other inferior races around the world (Fanon, 2004). The point that I am illustrating here is how dominant power relations can be regulated ‘unfairly’ by means of policy between the base and the superstructure on the one hand and the colonial powers and satellite structures on the other. I have shown throughout this thesis that the post-apartheid narrative of structural inequality as indicated from different disciplines remains largely unchanged. For this reason, I maintain that in terms of the critical theory, it is imperative and would be justifiable why meaningful transformation aimed at achieving equal educational and nation-building outcomes for all citizens should address the following:

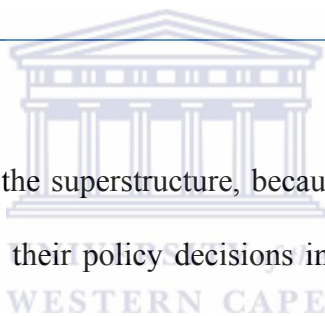
- 
1. At a policy level to transform people’s consciousness in the way they represent realities about each other, enact their social relationships and establish their identities as they socially interact as citizens of South Africa or citizens of the world. The South African Reconciliation Barometer of 2013 survey conclude based on research findings of South Africans’ perception of the past, culture, economics, politics, education in relation to reconciliation:

The desire for unity expressed by all South Africans may be sincere, but it also needs to be grounded in a shared aspiration to redress the effects of the past on the present. By not supporting efforts to redress the wrongs of the past, the majority of white South Africans allow a system of racial privilege and inequality to continue. We can constructively build on the shared desire to unite and move forward from apartheid. To do so, however, South Africans of all races need to come together on the same page about the pressing need to rectify the economic, cultural and psychological imbalance which pervades our society (Wale, 2013:14).

2. At the level the base to ‘level the playing fields’ in terms of infrastructure and resource capacity development in all areas of the previously disenfranchised - colonised people’s daily lives so that they can compete on an unequal footing with ‘White’ people in the free-market economic system.

Roux (2011:xiii) notes:

Twenty years ago, the full democratization of South Africa was but a vague possibility as the economy wrestled with the reality of sustained isolation and domestic stagnation. The consequent normalization of society and reintegration into the world economy have helped to create a generally much-improved macro-economic environment, although there are still many concerns and policy challenges – not at least which is disturbingly high unemployment rate. And poverty rates in South Africa remain stubbornly high, while income inequality persists.



3. Changes at the level of the superstructure, because government plays a key role in the making of societies, their policy decisions influence and shape the nation as a whole.

More recently Saul and Bond reiterates (2014:3):

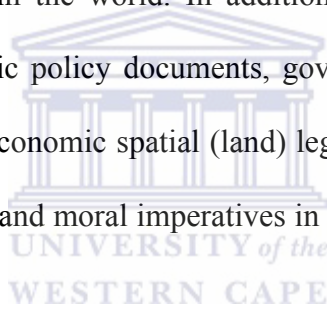
For the problem lies in determining just how ‘new’ the new South Africa really is. Against the undeniable drama of the transition from the formal structures of white minority rule that has occurred must be set the fact that South Africa today is much more unequal society than during apartheid, one deeply stratified in class and gender terms, and also in racial terms (‘class’ still remaining so substantially ‘raced’ in the country). Moreover, it is facing the prospect of genuine economic and ecological calamities.

6.4 Summary

This chapter answered the research question: ‘If race-based public policies are not appropriate, what alternatives are there to a racial diversity redress strategy to bring

about transformation in South Africa free from an apartheid racial classification system?’

In summary, based on the findings of chapters, 3, 4, 5, and 6, this study suggests that at a policy level the linguistic concept ‘**unity in diversity**’ should be changed as it may falsely represent South African realities, enact identities and establish relationships. With regard to the notion of ‘**unity in diversity**’ where diversity refers to so call different races, the government should explicitly state ‘**unity in cultural, gender, disability and religious diversity**’. Following on from a race free definition, there should be a sentence/statement refers to people living in South Africa since they could have lived anywhere else in the world. In addition, to the linguistic changes in the preambles of selected public policy documents, government should address discourse issues in relation to bases economic spatial (land) legal and educational access as these are, in my opinion political and moral imperatives in transformation and nation building processes.



CHAPTER 7

DISCOURSE PERSPECTIVES AND FINAL REMARKS

Language is a political institution: those who are wise in its ways, capable of using it to shape and serve important personal and social goals, will be the ones who are ‘empowered’ (to use a fashionable word): able, that is, not merely to participate effectively in the world, but able also to act upon it, in the sense that they can strive for significant social change’ (Halliday and Hasan, 1989:x)

7.1 Introduction

In this study I answered three research questions:

1. ‘Why does the ANC-led government use a racial classification system as in the Z83 job application form?’

The first research question necessitated a second and third research questions:

2. ‘Is the maintenance and continued use of racial categories appropriate to mediate educational outcomes and nation building in a post-apartheid South Africa?’
3. ‘If race-based public policies in particular affirmative action are not appropriate, what alternatives are there to a racial diversity redress strategy to nation building without referring to racial categories?’

In this concluding chapter, I summarise the research findings. The question that one should ask is whether knowing anything about Discourse Analysis or Social Grammars of Discourse would enable one to develop a framework to suggest alternatives to a racial classification system as historical redress strategy. The answer to this question is emphatically ‘yes’, particularly if one demonstrates how discourse analysis implicates the ideological underpinnings of social and discursive practices of public policies as

written texts at both the level of base and superstructure.

In this regard, I want to strengthen the conclusion derived from my initial argument on the role of language in the making of societies by invoking Harrison's (2014:12) conception of the role of language:

What do you do when you've stared at the same problem for years
but still cannot figure out how to solve it? You frame it differently
and see it through someone else's eyes

He argues that language is the foundation on which societies are built. He infers that 'language can reshape the economy' because 'language is the cement', which holds everything else together (Harrison, 2014:12).

As such, critical discourse analysis shows that policy processes as templates are embedded in discourses, which, in turn, underpin planning, programming, implementation, management of South African realities, identities and relationships as well as cements the base and superstructure of a society. Thus, if public policy language use is based on sound logical principles then planning, programming and implementation can also take on a truly democratic orientation by seeking to liberate government's language use from stereotypical race-based identities at the level of base and superstructure.

7.2 Unity in Racial Diversity Discourses as Transformation and Nation Building

Strategy

This study has shown that South Africa's post-apartheid racial classification as implicated in its 'diversity' concepts in the preambles of the selected public policy documents bear the imprints of colonial and apartheid discourses in the social discourse

and legal construction of the ‘other(s), in cultural traditions and ideological rhetoric (Chapter 4).

As such, the ANC-led government wove different textual tapestries of linguistic and cultural meaning into public policies drawing on the resources of their home based-discourse - norms and values as shaped by apartheid and colonial discourses of ‘other(s)’. While the ANC-led government is attempting to change the law through the introduction of the legal practice bill so that more people can have access to justice (See Chapter 6, point 6.8.2). The racial classification system, as stated, as a means of redress, despite its inherent contradictions remains functional. Race-based affirmative action is not seen as discriminatory by the ANC led government. I disagree with this view because the notion of ‘Coloured’ is in my opinion derogatory. One has to analyze the origin-roots of the term to establish its meaning. In the South African apartheid context or narrative, to my experience and knowledge ‘the concept of ‘Coloured’ historically means second class citizen, township resident and dweller in contrast to ‘White’ which meant ‘superior’.

For the ANC-led government to abolish South Africa’s post-apartheid racial classification system and thereby give holistic meaning to transformation well as **coherence** in nation building strategies, they should resolve **inconsistencies** in the design, planning, implementation and management of public policies.

1. Through appropriate linguistic/discourse intervention, resolve ambiguities in the founding principles of the constitution as well as associated acts (Chapters 4 and 5).
2. Implement programmes to facilitate cognitive access at the level of schooling in working class communities. As stated, South Africa has eleven official languages. English and Afrikaans are the two dominant modes of instruction. For many

speakers of Indigenous languages, viz. English is not even a second, but a third and fourth language. Consequently they struggle to access knowledge through English as well as Afrikaans because these languages are foreign to their linguistic and cultural experiences (Alexander, 2011).

3. Democratize legal access. Since English is dominant language of international capital as well as the dominant medium of instruction it is hegemonic in representing reality, enacting social relations, and establishing South African identities. At the same time English legal discourse regulates the behaviour of the previously disenfranchised majority in ways, which makes it difficult to for them to question the apartheid-engineered status quo (de Gruyter, 1995). For the previously, particularly working class majority disenfranchised, access and participation in legal conventions is often far removed from their daily life experiences (Alexander, 2011).
4. Social Access: There is a structural correspondence between linguistics structure and social structure; how people learn to speak and write is influenced by the types of discourse and social structures they have access to (Kress, 1993; Alexander 1994).

Several study show that unless the ANC-led government addresses huge levels of social inequality, in particular residential spatial arrangement and apartheid architectural designs the apartheid social stratification system will reproduce itself perpetually given the unequalled relations of economic power between the ‘White’ minority and the previously disfranchised majority (Roux, 2011; Black et al., 2012; Saul and Bond, 2014).

The result of a failure to produce a coherent profile of development for South Africa is a growing alienation among the mass of the people, as evidenced by protests at municipal level, which could pose a serious challenge to the ANC and its government in the long term. There seems to be a growing restlessness among the youth, students, labour and in the informal settlements, which is of concern (Turok, 2008:267)

The above quotation contends that how an incoherent public policy discourse leads to social unrest. Thus, the quest for a coherent profile of development should start the level of how we use our language as we approach the challenges of educational transformation and nation building. If the issues, I have raised as prerequisites for transformation (points: 6.3.5 and 7.2), the nature of the class make up of South Africa may slightly change as more ‘Whites’ become unemployed are more ‘African Blacks’ become part of the middle class as a result of race-based affirmative action policies, the dominant apartheid structures will prevail in new social disguises and nuisances (Seekings and Natrass, 2002). Thus, it is in my opinion a race-based underpinned and driven economy will have very little effect on educational outcomes and nation building unless all South Africans understand the imperative need for transformation at all levels of society. The starting point should be to develop what I call a liberation grammar of discourse inclusive of all South African citizens. In this liberation of discourse grammar pervading the base and superstructure the focus should be on how best to address human needs given South Africa’s apartheid legacy and the impending dangers if we should fail to address the huge income poverty levels among the previously majority disenfranchised on the one hand and ‘whites’ on the other.

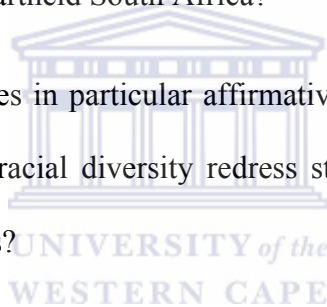
7.3 Objectives Achieved

With reference to the objectives (point 1.3) in Chapter 1:

4. To answer the first research question: Why does the ANC-led government use a racial classification system as in the Z83 job application form?’

In chapter 4, I reviewed the relevant pre-apartheid (1948-1994) and post-apartheid (1994-2013) public policy literature followed by an analysis of the constitutional nature of the preambles of selected public policy documents aimed at transformation and nation building in chapter 5. I also addressed the general objectives of the study by evaluating the impact of race-based policies on education, transformation and nation building. To answer the second and third research question: ‘Is the maintenance and continued use of racial categories appropriate to mediate educational outcomes and nation building in a post-apartheid South Africa?’

‘If race-based public policies in particular affirmative action are not appropriate, what alternatives are there to a racial diversity redress strategy to nation building without referring to racial categories?’



I discussed the social implications of race-based policies from chapters 4 to 6. Thus, in my analysis I have narrowed the gap between understanding the role of public policies as discourse and its implications for social practices by unraveling its intended and actual meanings aimed at transformation and nation building. I used educational outcomes in which I showed that race-based affirmative action policies might not be appropriate to transform South African society from an apartheid state to a ‘truly’ liberated one (See Saul and Bond, 2014). In chapter 6, I suggest ways to mediate educational outcomes and nation building without invoking a racial classification system.

7.4 Recommendations for Further Research

Researchers can investigate how discourse in classrooms and legal courts facilitates or

retard social changes to the extent that it does very little to transform South African society. They can conduct surveys on the perceptions South Africans regarding the fact that the notion of different races is a criterion for addressing social, economic and educational inequalities

7.5 Final Remarks: Discourse, Social Change and Contribution of this Thesis

In my doctoral studies I noted that Critical Discourse studies have demonstrated the ways in which language is connected to power in the way it is stratified along class (Alexander, 2011). Therefore, some academics, attribute the inequalities in South Africa, particularly education not only to apartheid, but also critically to the role language plays in shaping identities, as well as determining access to academic knowledge in a post-apartheid South Africa (Alexander, 2011). They recognize language, among other modes of communication, as the primary method through which we access, and explain everything else (Angelil-Carter and Moore, 1998; Ridge, 2000; Thesen and Pletzen, eds 2006). Therefore Ndebele's argument is salient:

The deliberate use of language to give legitimacy to the social and political reality of Apartheid has been one of the most observable features of the system. The power divide between rulers and ruled, the oppressors and the oppressed, played itself out even within the domain of language in which we had the namers and the named. If the success of the namer in naming is a function of the namer's power, then ultimate challenging the manifestation of Apartheid in linguistic dominance will be a function of the success of the liberation struggle (Ndebele, 1995:3).

Kapp (1998: 24) has pointed out that '... although language alone will not alter power structures, it acts as a powerful social marker, or gatekeeper. Therefore, in view of the prominent role of the two dominant languages in South Africa: English and Afrikaans,

‘certainly, it is dangerous to abstract language absolutely from the context individual speech utterances. It is disastrous to abstract it from culture and history’ (Aitchinson, 1976:65). Similarly it would be ‘disastrous to abstract’ public policy from culture and history, because it is a form of discourse – language in use.

I have argued in chapter 1 that policy researchers have focused thus far on the maintenance, implementation and management of policies. I argued that one of the main reasons for this is that they may have overlooked the role of policy as it serves as a template to how people may represent realities, enact social relations and establish their identities. As such, this thesis contributes to an understanding of how policy as discourse can function at a personal as well as interpersonal level at the level of base and superstructure.

In addition, while Halliday and associates framework of critical discourse level show how one can analyse linguistic structure to demonstrate the inevitable relationship between linguistic and social structure at a sentence level and beyond, this thesis, by drawing on my South African experience shows why for real transformation to happen changes should happen at both the level of discourse (as language in use, a form of social and discursive practices as well as at the levels of base and superstructure. In this regard, this thesis is unique because to my knowledge a discussion on the role of policy as discourse and its relationship to the base and superstructure to effect social change in the South African context has not been researched. Moreover, changes in these areas are paramount to transformation and nation building in order to prevent the fruition of ‘othering’ (Jamieson, 2002). We have learnt through the extensive work of Kiernan (2007) on genocidal tendencies that processes of ‘othering’, have been responsible for many genocidal occurrences around the world. Xenophobia or xenophobic behaviour

towards others perceived to be different, is in my opinion a profound example of 'othering'



APPENDIX



Application for Employment Z 83 (81/971431)

<p>WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS FORM</p> <p>To assist a government department in selecting a person for an advertised post.</p> <p>This form may be used to identify candidates to be interviewed. Since all applicants cannot be interviewed, you need to fill in this form completely, accurately and legibly. This will help to process your application fairly.</p> <p>WHO SHOULD COMPLETE THIS FORM</p> <p>Only persons wishing to apply for an advertised position in a government department.</p> <p>ADDITIONAL INFORMATION</p> <p>This form requires basic information. Candidates who are selected for interviews will be requested to furnish additional certified information that may be required to make a final selection.</p> <p>SPECIAL NOTES</p> <p>1 - All information will be treated with the strictest confidentiality and will not be disclosed or used for any other purpose than to assess the suitability of a person, except in so far as it may be required and permitted by law. Your personal details must correspond with the details in your ID or passport.</p> <p>2 - Passport number in the case of non-South Africans.</p> <p>3 - This information is required to enable the department to comply with the Employment Equity Act, 1998.</p> <p>4 - This information will only be taken into account if it directly relates to the requirements of the position.</p> <p>5 - Applicants with substantial qualifications or work experience must attach a CV.</p>	<p>A. THE ADVERTISED POST</p>			
	Position for which you are applying (as advertised)		Department where the position was advertised	
Reference number (as stated in the advert)		If you are offered the position, when can you start OR how much notice must you serve with your current employer		
<p>B. PERSONAL INFORMATION</p>				
Surname				
First Names				
Date of Birth				
ID number ²				
Race ³	<i>AFRICAN</i>	<i>WHITE</i>	<i>COLOURED</i>	<i>INDIAN</i>
Gender ³	<i>MALE</i>		<i>FEMALE</i>	
Do you have a disability? ³	<i>YES</i>		<i>NO</i>	
Are you a South African Citizen?	<i>YES</i>		<i>NO</i>	
If no, what is your Nationality				
And do you have a valid work Permit?	<i>YES</i>		<i>NO</i>	
Have you ever been convicted of a criminal offence or been dismissed from employment? ⁴	<i>YES</i>		<i>NO</i>	
If your profession or occupation requires State or official registration, provide date and particulars of registration.				
<p>C. HOW DO WE CONTACT YOU</p>				
Preferred language for correspondence?				
Telephone number during office hours				
Preferred method for correspondence	<i>POST</i>	<i>E-MAIL</i>	<i>FAX</i>	
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