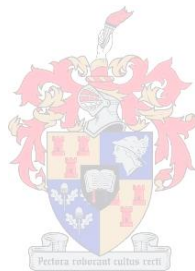


**THE USE OF LANGUAGE BY THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS IN ITS 1999-2009
NATIONAL ELECTION MANIFESTOS**

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**Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MPhil in
Intercultural Communication**



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Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the authorship holder thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Teboho Pankratijs Bojabotseha

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October 2013

Dedication

I dedicate this study to my father, Tiisetso Johannes Bojabotseha, and my mother, Maphuthi Elizabeth Mkangala. I also address it to my late sisters Mdutyulwa Ouma Jane-Juliet “Lila” Anastasia Manthata (née Mkangala), Ntombikayise ‘Kuly’ Judith Gerda Mkangala, and my late nephew Luvo Bongani “Lolo” Lawrence Manthata. Charles D’orléan’s (1391-1465) poem *Oft In My Thought* – with slight changes, of course – better expresses how I feel about all of you:

Oft in my thought full busily have I sought,
Against the beginning of this fresh new year,
What pretty thing that I best given ought
To [them] that [were] mine hearte’s [sisters and nephew] dear;
But all that thought bitane is fro me clear
Since death, alas, hath closed [them] under clay
And hath this world fornaked with [them] here –
God have [their] soul, I can no better say.

But for to keep in custom, lo, my thought,
And of my seely service the manere,
In showing als that I forget [them] not
Unto each wight, I shall to my powere
This dead [them] serve with masses and prayere;
For all too foul a shame were me, mafay,
[Them] to forget this time that nigheth near –
God have [their] soul, I can no better say.

To [them] profit now nis there to be bought
None other thing all will I buy it dear;
Wherefore, thou Lord that lordest all aloft,
My deedes take, such as goodness steer,
And crown [them], Lord, within thine heavenly sphere
As for most truest [sisters and nephew], may I say
Most good, most fair, and most benign of cheer –
God have [their] soul, I can no better say.

When I [them] praise, or praising of [their] hear
Although it whilom were to me pleasere,
It fil enough it doth mine heart today,
And doth me wish I clothed had my bier –
God have [their] soul, I can no better say.

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I would not have completed this study without the assistance of quite a number of people. Unfortunately, they are just too many to mention here. However, the following deserve a special mention:

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Abstract

There is more to language than just its formal structural properties and, similarly, more to language function than just its communicative and naming function. Language does not exist independent of society. As a part of society, it is used in a diversity of functions: it influences thought processes, constitutes what people perceive as reality, and produces, reproduces and denies prejudices. It is in pursuit of its ideological function that language plays a significant role in the establishment and maintenance of systematically asymmetrical power relations. This study focuses on the role that language plays in efforts to position the African National Congress (ANC) as more fit to govern than other political parties in South Africa. Adopting a qualitative research strategy, the study provides an analysis of the discourse that is constructed in the ANC's 1999, 2004 and 2009 national election manifestos. The analysis is presented within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and is performed in terms of linguistic devices, techniques and strategies such as genre and its sequential structure, pronouns, contrasting expressions, intertextuality, grounding and elision, statistics and numerical figures, and discourse. It is demonstrated that the three election manifestos are situated within a specific socio-economic and political context defined by poverty, unemployment and inequality, which are rooted in the South African history of colonialism and race-based capitalism. The texts draw from resources of the genre of manifesto and show common structural features. It is shown that ambiguous pronouns are used to build up affinities between the ANC and the reader/listener with respect to the achievements of the ANC-led government, what work still needs to be done, and to position the ANC's vision as one that is generally shared by the people. Contrasting expressions are used to disparage the apartheid system and to extol the post-1994 democratic system. In all three texts the ANC is foregrounded as the organization which not only brought freedom to South Africa, but which in fact led the struggle for freedom and change. At the same time, there is an omission of other political organizations and the role they played in this struggle. It is also demonstrated that the three texts – constituted by elements of other texts such as the Freedom Charter (1955), the Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994) and the Constitution (1996) – use statistics and figures to bestow the ANC with a systematic and scientific gravitas. Lastly, the three manifestos reflect a discourse of "complete" or "total" freedom, which is inclusive of the social, economic and political aspects of the reality of South Africans' lives. It is argued that these linguistic devices, techniques and strategies are used in the 1999, 2004 and 2009 national election manifestos to position the ANC as more fit to govern South Africa than other political parties.

Opsomming

Taal behels meer as net formele strukturele eienskappe, en die funksies van taal behels eweneens meer as net benaming en kommunikasie. Taal bestaan nie onafhanklik van die gemeenskap nie. As 'n deel van die gemeenskap, word taal in 'n verskeidenheid funksies gebruik: dit beïnvloed denkprosesse, bepaal wat mense beskou as die werklikheid, en dien om vooroordele te skep, te verhoog en te ontken. Dit is in die uitoefening van sy ideologiese funksie dat taal 'n beduidende rol speel in die vestiging en handhawing van sistematiese asimmetriese magsverhoudings. Hierdie studie fokus op die rol wat taal speel in pogings om die African National Congress (ANC) te posisioneer as meer geskik om te regeer as ander politieke partye in Suid-Afrika. Met 'n kwalitatiewe navorsingstrategie as uitgangspunt, bied die studie 'n analise van die diskoers wat gekonstrueer word in die ANC se onderskeie manifeste vir die 1999, 2004 en 2009 nasionale verkiesings. Die analise word aangebied binne die raamwerk van Kritiese Diskoersanalise ("Critical Discourse Analysis") en word uitgevoer in terme van taalkundige meganismes, tegnieke en strategieë soos genre and sy sekwensiële struktuur, voornaamwoorde, teenstellende uitdrukkings, intertekstualiteit, opstelling en weglating ("grounding and elision"), statistieke en getalle, en diskoers. Daar word aangetoon dat die drie verkiesingsmanifeste ingebed is in 'n spesifieke sosio-ekonomiese en politieke konteks van armoede, werkloosheid en ongelykheid, wat gegrond is in die Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis van kolonialisme en rasgebaseerde kapitalisme. Die tekste benut die middele van die manifeste-genre en vertoon gemeenskaplike strukturele kenmerke. Daar word aangetoon hoe dubbelsinnige voornaamwoorde gebruik word om 'n affiniteit tussen die ANC en die leser/hoorder tot stand te bring ten opsigte van die ANC-regering se prestasies, die werk wat nog gedoen moet word, en ook om die ANC se visie voor te hou as een wat algemeen deur die mense gedeel word. Teenstellende uitdrukkings word gebruik om die apartheidstelsel te verdoem en die post-1994 demokratiese stelsel op te hemel. In al drie tekste word die ANC vooropgestel as die organisasie wat nie net vryheid na Suid-Afrika gebring het nie, maar wat in feite die stryd om vryheid en verandering gelei het. Terselfdertyd word geen melding gemaak van ander politieke organisasies en die rol wat hulle in dié stryd gespeel het nie. Daar word ook aangetoon dat die drie tekste – wat verskeie elemente insluit van ander tekste soos die Freedom Charter (1955), die Heropbou- en Ontwikkelingsprogram ("Reconstruction and Development Programme", 1994) en die Grondwet (1996) – gebruik maak van statistieke en getalle om die ANC te bedeel met 'n sistematiese en wetenskaplike gravitas. Die drie manifeste vertoon, laastens, 'n diskoers van "totale" of "volledige" vryheid, wat die sosiale, ekonomiese en politieke aspekte van die werklikheid van Suid-Afrikaners se lewens omvat. Daar word geargumenteer dat dié taalkundige meganismes, tegnieke en strategieë in die 1999, 2004 en 2009 verkiesingsmanifeste gebruik word om die ANC te posisioneer as meer geskik om te regeer as ander politieke partye.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACDP	African Christian Democratic Party
AIDS	Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
Cope	Congress of the People
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DA	Democratic Alliance
DP	Democratic Party
EISA	Electoral Institute for the Sustainability of Democracy in South Africa
FC	Freedom Charter
FF	Freedom Front
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution Policy Framework
HEI	Higher Education Institution
HIV	Human Immuno Virus
ID	Independent Democrats
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
ISA	Ideological State Apparatuses
MEC	Mineral-Energy Complex
MRM	Moral Regeneration Movement
NALEDI	National, Labour and Economic Development Institute
NDR	National Democratic Revolution
NEC	National Executive Committee
NNP	New National Party
NP	National Party
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSA	Repressive State Apparatus
SACP	South African Communist Party
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
SAIIA	South African Institute of International Affairs
UCDP	United Christian Democratic Party
UDM	United Democratic Movement
UN	United Nations

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Topic of the study

The function of language is not just to communicate information. Various other functions that language can be used to perform have been identified in the literature. Ngugi (1987:13), for instance, points out the dual character of language: language as a means of communication and as a carrier of culture. Gee (1990:78) maintains that language is also a device to think, to feel and to signal and negotiate social identity. Ting-Toomey (1999:91) identifies such diverse functions of language across cultures as membership identify, perceptual filtering, cognitive reasoning, status and intimacy and creativity functions. Bamgbose (2000:7-29) discusses how language serves as a tool for human participation and exclusion in national and international affairs of a country. This study addresses the issue of how language functions in asymmetrical power relations. If language has a role in the establishment and maintenance of social relations of power, as stated by Chick (1995), then what is this role exactly?

Of the 117 political parties registered for the national elections held in April 2009 (IEC 2009:1) in South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC) enjoyed a position of political dominance. Fundamental to our understanding of the means that the ANC employs to maintain its political dominance, is the way in which it uses language. In other words, the leading idea of this study is that there are linguistic means that the ANC uses in the maintenance of its political dominance in South Africa's political landscape. An important part of maintaining its political dominance is positioning itself in such a way that it seems more fit to govern than other political parties. The various ways in which language is used to position the ANC as more fit to govern than other political parties in South Africa forms the main topic of investigation of the current study.

1.2 Political context of the study

With the first non-racial elections in 1994, South Africa launched itself as a new liberal democracy. This new identity included a progressive Constitution which

provides for three spheres of government – national, provincial and local – all compelled to work together for, among others, “effective, transparent, accountable and coherent government for the Republic as a whole”,¹ a Bill of Rights which enshrines an extensive range of individual, collective and socio-economic rights for all South Africans, an independent judiciary, and a wide range of institutions established to support and strengthen constitutional democracy, namely a Public Protector, a Human Rights Commission, a Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities, an Independent Electoral Commission, a Commission for Gender Equality, and the Auditor-General. But most important is the provision the Constitution makes for the existence of a multiplicity of political parties.² In 1999 these parties included the ANC and its allies – the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) – the National Party (NP),³ the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the Democratic Party (DP), the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), the Freedom Front (FF), and the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), among many others. Of all these parties, only the ANC and the DP (or more precisely, the Democratic Alliance (DA), which in due course developed out of the DP) may be considered major parties. The ANC, however, enjoys a position of dominance (Lodge 1999a; Reynolds 1999).

In an address at the Annual General Meeting of the Law Society of South Africa to mark its 10th Anniversary, held at Stellenbosch, Pityana (2008:4) stated that the “ANC will remain the dominant political force in South Africa”. Since 1994 the ANC has been returned to power successively unopposed. The results of the South African National Assembly elections of 1994, 1999, 2004 and 2009, respectively, bear testimony to the reality of the political dominance of the ANC. In the 1994 elections the ANC received a majority of almost two-thirds – 40 percentage points ahead its nearest rival (Friedman 1999:97; Lodge 1994:38). More specifically, at national level the ANC obtained 62,5 per cent of the vote, taking 12,237,655 of the 19,530,498 valid votes cast and thus gaining 253 seats in the 400-seat National

¹ The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996, p. 25.

² The Constitution provides every citizen with such political choice as the right to “form a political party, to participate in the activities of, or recruit members for, a political party and to campaign for a political party or course” (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996, p. 9).

³ In 1997 the National Party became the New National Party (NNP) under the leadership of Marthinus van Schalkwyk.

Assembly. This is in contrast to the 20,4 per cent of the poll obtained by the NP, with 3,983,690 votes collected and 82 seats gained in the National Assembly (Meredith 1994:184-185; Reynolds 1994:183). In the June 1999 elections the ANC won a sweeping victory. It received 66,4 per cent of the vote, taking 10,601,330 of the total of 15,977,142 valid votes and thus gaining 266 seats in the National Assembly. In contrast, the DP and the NNP received only 9.6 per cent and 6,9 per cent, respectively, which translated into 1,527,337 votes collected and 38 seats in the National Assembly for the DP and 1,098,215 votes collected and 28 seats in the National Assembly for the NNP (Lodge 1999b:167; Reynolds 1999:175).

In the third national elections after 1994 held on 14 April 2004 the ANC, which had been in power since the end of the apartheid system, was elected with an increased majority. It received 69.7 per cent of the vote, taking 10,880,915 of the total of 15,612,671 valid votes cast and thus gaining 279 seats in the National Assembly. This is in contrast to the 12.4 percentage points obtained by the Democratic Alliance (DA), the closest opposition party, and the 1.7 percentage points obtained by the NNP. The percentage received by the DA translated to 1,931,201 of the total votes cast and 50 seats in the National Assembly, while those of the NNP translated to 257,824 of the total valid votes cast and only 7 seats in the National Assembly (IEC 2004:1).

The outcomes of the fourth national general elections after full democracy, held on 22 April 2009, are also significant. In these elections the ANC received 65,9 per cent of the vote, taking 11,650,784 of the 17,680,729 valid votes cast and thus gaining 264 seats in the National Assembly (EISA 2009:1; IEC 2009:1). The number of votes that the ANC received stands in contrast to the 16,66 percent of the poll obtained by the DA (2,945,829 votes, with 67 seats gained in the National Assembly), 7,42 per cent of the poll obtained by Congress of the People (Cope) (1,311,027 votes, and 30 seats), 4,55 per cent of the poll obtained by the IFP (804,260 votes, 18 seats), and 0,92 per cent of the poll obtained by the Independent Democrats (ID) (162,915 votes, 4 seats) (EISA 2009:1; IEC 2009:1).

There have been and continue to be numerous challenges to the ANC's political dominance in South Africa. One such challenge is posed by Cope, which was

established in Bloemfontein on 16 December 2008 by some former ANC members⁴ who were concerned about the “abuse of power, threats to the constitution [of the Republic of South Africa – TB] and violations of the right of the people to form opposition parties by the African National Congress” (Cope 2009a:9). The formation of Cope is also widely attributed to former ANC members’ dissatisfaction with the ANC’s decision to recall Thabo Mbeki as the President of the Republic of South Africa (Mahlangu and Ncana 2009:1). Another challenge to the ANC’s political dominance is the gradual decrease in the voting turnout despite a substantial growth over the last decade in the country’s population. In 1994, 19.5 million people voted, in 1999 just over 16 million voted and in 2004 fewer than 16 million people cast their votes (McKinley 1993:3). This is clearly a serious challenge for a party whose historic mission is the fundamental transformation of society in South Africa. Thirdly, the ANC also faces challenges to its dominance from various political parties in particular provinces, specifically the United Democratic Movement (UDM) in the Eastern Cape, the United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP) in North-West, the DA in the Western Cape and the IFP in KwaZulu-Natal. However, at least for the foreseeable future, it seems unlikely that these challenges (among others) will bring about a fundamental change in the dominant status the ANC enjoys nation-wide.

Many different theories have been put forward to explain the dominant political status of the ANC. Firstly, much emphasis is placed on the ANC’s consistent history of struggle against colonial oppression and imperialist exploitation and its positive vision of a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa. Secondly, reference is often made to the “African pattern” of post-colonial societies in which liberation movements that win the first election subsequently get even larger margins of victory from uncritical or uninformed voters. A third view is that parties (like the ANC) that identify with the interests of the numerically dominant group easily win huge majorities in dominant party systems or configurations, as we have in South Africa (Gilliomee and Simkins 1999; Lodge 1999b:4). Related to this is the notion that the political dominance of the ANC comes as a result of a “racial” or “ethnic census” that

⁴ These included, among others, Mosiuoa Lekota (former Minister of Defence), Mbhazima Shilowa (former Premier of Gauteng Province), Mluleki George, Leonard Ramatlakane (former Western Cape Minister of Safety and Security), Nosimo Balindlela (former Eastern Cape Premier) and Smuts Ngonyama (former ANC Head of Communications). Two former senior ANC members who also subsequently joined Cope are former South African Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka and the prominent South African businessman and close ally of Thabo Mbeki, Saki Macozoma (Cope 2009b:1).

is typical of elections in an ethnically/racially divided South Africa. Lastly, Mattes, Taylor and Africa's (1999) account of the political dominance of the ANC considers factors that shape people's vote, the ANC's own performance in government, skilled campaigning and an opposition that fails to become a credible alternative to the ruling party.

1.3 Rationale of the study

Studies of political power relations in South Africa generally do not incorporate or pay significant attention to language-based accounts. As far as could be ascertained, there is no account that considers the role that language plays in the maintenance of these types of asymmetrical power relations and, specifically, in the positioning of the ANC as more fit to govern than other political parties in South Africa. It is as if the history of the ANC, together with the dominant political status it currently enjoys, has nothing to do with how the ANC uses language. Halliday and Martin (1993:10) state that human history is as much a history of semiotic activity as it is a history of socio-economic activity. This also applies to the ANC, whose history is as much a history of semiotic activity as it is a history of socio-economic and political activity. Theories of Intercultural Communication, too, have often been criticized for failing to incorporate or pay proper attention to the issue of power (see e.g. Gudykunst 2003:183).⁵ An investigation into how the ANC uses language to position itself as more fit to govern than other political parties in South Africa will thus contribute to attempts that seek to explain the relationship between language, power and inter-group relations in general.

1.4 Research question, aim and objectives

The investigation conducted in this study focuses on the following general question:

- How does the ANC use language in its 1999, 2004 and 2009 national election manifestos to position itself as more fit to govern than other political parties in South Africa?

⁵ Gudykunst (2003:163) views intercultural communication as one "type" of inter-group communication: communication between members of different social groups. Other types of inter-group communication include communication between able-bodied and disabled, intergenerational communication, communication between members of different social classes and interracial/interethnic communication. The current study, which focuses on power relations between the ANC and other political groupings in South Africa, can be located within the general category of inter-group communication.

The overall aim of the study is –

- to investigate the ways in which language functions in the ANC's discourse of positioning itself as more fit to govern than other political parties in South Africa.

In order to achieve this general aim, the study will –

- investigate the relationship between language and power, specifically those aspects of this relationship that are pertinent to this study;
- investigate the linguistic devices, techniques and strategies that are generally used in the maintenance of asymmetrical power relations; and
- investigate how the ANC uses some of these these linguistic devices, techniques and strategies to position itself as more fit to govern than other political parties in South Africa.

1.5 Organization of the study

The study is organised into five chapters. This chapter, Chapter 1, introduces the topic of the study, and also provides some general background and the rationale for the study. In addition, this chapter presents the research question and the general aim and objectives of the investigation.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the relevant literature on power and power relations, particularly as these are reflected in language use, as well as on the structural features of language and the various functions it is used to perform in modern society. A description is also given of the linguistic devices, techniques and strategies – located in symbolic constructions or discursive resources – which are used in the maintenance of systematically asymmetrical power relations in society. The discussion of these issues forms the theoretical background for the central contention of the study, namely that language plays a fundamental role in the manner that the ANC positions itself as more fit to govern than other political parties in South Africa.

Chapter 3 presents the research strategy adopted in the study, as well as the specific tools used to conduct the study, that is, the methods used in the collection and analysis of the data. Document-based sources, specifically the ANC's 1999, 2004 and 2009 national election manifestos, are the data that will be analyzed within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). As part of the methodological background, Chapter 3 will provide an outline of the basic premises and characteristics of this method of data analysis. In this chapter brief attention is also given to the ethical principles which guided the collection and analysis of the data, and the dissemination of the findings of the study.

Chapter 4 provides an analysis, within the CDA framework, of the discourse reflected in the ANC's 1999, 2004 and 2009 national election manifestos, which are taken to be shifting articulations of symbolic constructions or discursive resources. In line with the premises of the CDA approach, the analysis is presented in terms of linguistic devices, techniques and strategies such as genre and its sequential structure, pronouns, contrasting expressions, intertextuality, grounding and elision, statistics and figures and discourse. It is argued that such linguistic devices, techniques and strategies – which are found in symbolic constructions or discursive resources, and which are used in the maintenance of systematically asymmetrical power relations in general – are also, more specifically, employed in positioning the ANC as more fit to govern than other political parties in South Africa.

The final chapter, Chapter 5, provides a summary of the most important findings of the analysis of the discourse of power and power relations as reflected in the ANC's 1999, 2004 and 2009 national election manifestos, as well as a conclusion based on these findings.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Language is a very important medium for the expression of relations of power, [although] it is not the only medium.

(*Thompson 1984*)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with what has been described as the chief concern of critical sociolinguistics, the proposition that “language creates, sustains and replicates fundamental inequalities in societies” (Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert and Leap 2000: 317). Taking this view as point of departure, it is contended for the purpose of this study that language plays a central role in efforts to maintain dominant power relations in society. These power relations are unequal in nature, and are characterized by the dominance of one social group over others. More specifically, in the South African political context since 1994, political power relations are characterized by the dominance of the ANC over other political formations. In light of these observations, Chapter 2 provides an overview of the relevant literature on how power and power relations are reflected in language use, and in particular on the manner in which the ANC uses language to position itself as more fit to govern than other political parties in South Africa. The first part of the chapter focuses on the notions of power and power relations. The second part deals with language, its relevant features and the various functions it can be used to perform. Lastly, attention is given to the linguistic devices, techniques and strategies which are found in symbolic constructions or discursive resources, and which regularly feature in the maintenance of systematically asymmetrical power relations. Note that the discussion in Chapter 2 deals with broad issues such as power, power relations, and general features and functions of language. The specific framework that is adopted in this study for the analysis of the data, that is, the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, will be briefly outlined in Chapter 3.

2.2 Power

It has long been acknowledged that power is “a fundamental concept in social science just like energy is a fundamental concept in physics” (Lukes 2005:61). And

yet there are endless debates about questions of power which are seemingly not about to be resolved. According to Lukes (2005: 61), there are disagreements about “how to define power, how to conceive it, how to study it and, if it can be measured, how to measure it”; moreover, there does not even seem to be agreement on whether all this disagreement actually matters.

Berger (1994:451-454) provides an insightful discussion of various definitions of power, principal commonalities and variations, and typologies of power. For the purpose of this study, “power” is taken to refer to the capacity of social agents to influence the behaviour of others, their emotions, or the course of events (SACOD 2002:916; Scruton 1982:366; Vincent 1978:179). These social agents may be individual agents or collective agents of various kinds. Collective agents may include states, institutions, associations, alliances, social movements, groups, clubs, etc. (Lukes 2005:72).

2.3 Forms of power

Power can take many forms (Fairclough 2001:3; Scruton 1982:366). It may be economic, political and personal (Scruton 1982:366). In its economic form, power concerns the ability of social agents to influence or control the means of production. Means of production, in this case, are all those means necessary to produce a finished product. These include not only instruments of production but also land, raw materials, buildings in which production takes place, transport and others (Cornforth 1976:37). In commodity-producing societies it is mainly the bourgeoisie that enjoys this form of power, that is, economic power: it has ownership and control of the means of production. This is in direct contrast to the position of the proletariat, who neither own nor control the means of production but live entirely from the sale of its labour power (Engels 1970:3). Political power has to do with the ability of social agents to influence or control the institutions through which laws are made or applied, whereas personal power relates to the ability of social agents to exert influence or control over other people (Scruton 1982:366).

Fairclough (2001:33) makes reference to ideological power which is exercised through discourse. This is the power used to portray one’s practices as universal and

common sense. Ideological power is seen as a significant complement to economic and political power (Fairclough 2001:33). For Talbot, Atkinson and Atkinson (2003:1) power is constituted in many different locations and in many different ways, which implies that power is pervasive: it is everywhere. It permeates all kinds of human relations, including social relations, economic relations, political relations, and educational relations. Lukes (2005:12) describes this “pervasive view” of power as “ultra-radical”. To maintain that power is everywhere implies that it cannot be escaped: as Lukes (2005:12) puts it, “there is no escaping domination, there is no freedom from it or reasoning independent of it”. Thompson (1984) contends, however, that power should be related to the institutional site from which it derives. At this level (that is, the institutional level) power “enables or empowers agents to make decisions, pursue ends or realize interests” (Thompson 1984:129).

The French Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser (1971) draws a distinction between *state power*, whose seizure and conservation by a certain class or an alliance of classes or class fractions is the object of political class struggle, and *state apparatus*, whose use is a function of class objectives. In terms of this distinction, a class or an alliance between classes/class fractions that holds state power has at its disposal state apparatus to use in order to achieve its class objectives. State apparatus contains the body of institutions which represent the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) on the one hand, and those institutions which represent the body of Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) on the other hand (Althusser 1971:140). There are, in the main, three differences between these two types of state apparatus. The repressive state apparatus, on the one hand, firstly contains such institutions as the government, administration, the army, police, courts, prisons, etc.; secondly, it belongs entirely in the public domain; and lastly, it functions predominantly by repression.

The ideological state apparatuses, on the other hand, firstly comprise religious, educational, family, legal, political, trade union, communication and cultural institutions; secondly, they are part of the private domain; and lastly, they function predominantly by ideology (Althusser 1971:137-139). In accordance with this view, it follows that a class that holds state power has at its disposal the repressive state

apparatus and exercises its hegemony over and in the ideological state apparatuses (Althusser 1971:139).

2.4 Power relations in South Africa

Applied to the South African political context, the Althusserian framework outlined above suggests that, since the ANC holds state power and therefore has at its disposal the repressive state apparatus and exercises its hegemony over and in the ideological state apparatuses, it is undoubtedly the “most powerful” political formation. Simply put, the ANC enjoys economic, political, social and ideological power, at least in the manner in which these forms of power have been described above. There is no doubt that the ANC is also the “most popular” party in South Africa as shown by the outcomes of the national general elections held in April 1994, June 1999, April 2004 and April 2009 (see Chapter 1). The ruling party, then, has a hold over state power and state apparatus – both the repressive state apparatus and the ideological state apparatuses. It seems plausible that it is the ruling party’s hold on state power and state apparatus (both the repressive state apparatus and the ideological state apparatuses) that ensures its continued ability to influence or control not only the means of production and the institutions through which laws are made and applied, but also to exercise influence or control over the majority of the population in South Africa.

It is also plausibly the hold that the ANC – as opposed to other political formations – has over state power and the two types of state apparatus, and what it is able to do because of this hold, that creates a situation of “systematic asymmetrical power relations” in South Africa. Relations of power are systematically asymmetrical “when particular agents or groups of agents are institutionally endowed with power in a way that excludes, and in some significant degree remains inaccessible to, other agents or groups of agents, irrespective of the basis upon which such exclusion is carried out” (Thompson 1984:130). The occurrence of systematic asymmetrical power is hardly surprising. Different ruling classes all over the world and throughout history have used their dominant position in society, established as a result of their hold over state power and state apparatus, to protect and advance their interests at the expense of the interests of others (Mbeki 2009:81). For instance, as pointed out by

Van der Westhuizen (2007:4), the National Party in capitalist apartheid South Africa “harnessed state resources to improve the socio-economic status of the Afrikaner” people. This was achieved through employment, training and capital disbursement whose total effect was the advancement of Afrikaners in particular and the further entrenchment of white privileges in general (Van der Westhuizen 2007:4). Similarly then, it is possible for the ANC (and the class or alliance between classes/class fractions whose objectives and interests it represents) to maintain its political dominance in the social formation in South Africa through the exercise of state power in both the repressive state apparatus and the ideological state apparatuses.

Mbeki (2009:73) argues that the ANC specifically represents, on the one hand, the interests of the black upper middle class who dominate South Africa’s political life but have no significant role in the ownership and control of the country’s productive economy, and on the other hand, those of the economic oligarchy who are the real owners and controllers of the Minerals-Energy Complex (MEC). This means that the ruling class in South Africa is constituted by a partnership between the politically dominant black upper middle class and the economic oligarchy who own the MEC (Mbeki 2009:74). According to Mbeki (2009:77) the MEC is constituted by such industries as –

- coal, gold, diamond, platinum and other mines;
- electricity generation and distribution;
- non-metallic mineral products;
- iron and steel basic industries;
- non-ferrous metals basic industries; and
- fertilizers, pesticides, synthetic resins, plastic, basic chemicals and petroleum

Gramsci (1971, cited in Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert and Leap 2000:319-320) states that power can be exercised in ways that are obvious or known (rule) and also in ways that are disguised (hegemony). It is through the exercise of power in ways that are disguised that those who hold power in society are able to rule with the consent of the governed.

Based on the preceding discussion, it could be claimed that power is a product of interactions between people and not the consequence of an individual's desire to wield influence over others. In other words, power is an attribute of a relationship rather than an individual (Berger 1994:454). Moreover, it is not a permanent attribute or feature of any one person or social group. According to Reid and Ng (1999) power is not always given; rather, it is the basis of arguments: "It is created, re-created, subverted and hidden using language" (Reid and Ng 1999:120). In slightly different terms, relations of power are always relations of struggle (Fairclough 2001:34), with different groups always involved in social struggle for power. Dominant social groups in any social formation are invariably involved in social struggle to maintain their dominant positions, and dominated social groups are likewise involved in struggle to challenge their domination. In short, power is relational and asymmetrical; indeed, social agents can only have power over others (Lukes 2005:73).

This brings us to the question of the relation between power and language. According to Fairclough (2001:35), language becomes both a site of social struggle and a stake in social struggle. Since language is the medium where power relations are exercised and enacted (Fairclough 2001:43), social groups that exercise power through language, among other means, must then constantly be involved in a struggle with others to defend their position of dominance. There is thus a dynamic and multifaceted relation between language and power. As stated by Reid and Ng (1999:119-139), for instance, language reflects, creates, depoliticizes and routinizes power. For the purpose of this study, language is taken to be crucial in articulating, maintaining and even subverting power relations at various levels of society. In the following sections, we consider the nature and defining features of language, and specifically the manner in which language is used to maintain systematically asymmetrical power relations.

2.5 Some definitions of language

As in the case of "power", there is no uniform definition of "language". As pointed out by Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1972:140), however, the absence of a uniform definition of language or the existence of a multiplicity of definitions of language does not mean that the concept of language should be taken for granted; neither is such a

concept made any less powerful by the existence of multiple criteria for defining it. Halliday et al. (1972:140) recommend that we “specify the nature of this category when we use it”.

Various definitions of language have been put forward in the literature. SACOD (2002: 651), for instance, defines language as “the method of human communication, either spoken or written, consisting of the use of words in a structured and conventional way.” Similarly, Fromkin and Rodman (1993:11) state that language consists of all the sounds, words and possible sentences resultant from the combination of words. Hence, to know a language means to know the sounds, the words and the rules that govern the combination of these words. In Cleary (2003:17) and Jandt (1995:93) language is taken to be a set of symbols shared by a community to communicate meaning and experience. Ting-Toomey (1999:85) likewise regards language as an “arbitrary symbolic system that names ideas, feelings, experience, events and other phenomena and that is governed by multi-layered rules developed by members of a particular speech community.” Hockett (1960, cited in Chilton 2004:18) maintains that the symbols provided by language are detached from their referents; because of this, language “makes it possible to communicate about things past, future, possible and impossible, permissible and impermissible.”

Cohen (1998:33) defines language broadly to include “all forms of expression that come to have shared meanings for groups of people.” These forms of expression include verbal forms of speech and writing, colours, film frames, images, objects, physical gestures, facial expressions, sounds, smells, textures and size (Cohen 1998:33). In accordance with Cohen’s definition, people do not just share meaning through spoken and written forms of speech; they also use non-linguistic forms such as colours, film frames, images, objects, physical gestures, facial expressions, sounds smells, etc. Still another view of language is expressed by Reid and Ng (1999:119): they regard language, as a medium of communication, as serving to turn a power base into influence. On this view, people use language to reveal the basis of their power and, on the basis of this, attempt to exercise influence over others.

The following general ideas about language can be identified in the definitions presented above:

- Language is a tool, method, medium or means of communication;
- It consists of a set of abstract and arbitrary symbols (words, sounds, sentences, etc.) shared by a community;
- The use of these symbols is governed by rules developed by humans;
- Among its communicative functions, language serves to communicate meaning and experience.
- Language is used to state ideas, feelings, events and other phenomena.

As is clear from these ideas, language can be viewed as exhibiting both “structure” and “function”. In other words, the ideas about language identified above form part of what is referred to as “structural *features/characteristics*” and “*functions/purposes*” of human languages, respectively. In line with this view, language has several distinctive features, to which we now turn.

2.6 Some distinctive features of language

Four distinctive features of human languages can be identified from the definitions of language presented above, namely its abstraction function, its arbitrariness, its multi-layered rules and its speech community.

2.6.1 Abstraction

Language is an abstract system of symbols which can be used to refer to tangible, existing things as well as to intangible, imaginary things (Cleary 2003; Severin and Tankard 1992). For instance, the term *Vanderbijlpark* on a map of the Vaal Triangle is not the town itself, but an abstract representation of the town. Friedlander (2009) and Severin and Tankard (1992:72) consider abstraction to be one of the most striking features of language: it allows humans not only to think in categories but also to make generalizations, which by their very nature are abstract representations of real or imaginary things. A potential problem associated with this cognitive function, however, is that it allows the possibility to over-generalize and over-simplify something that is in fact highly complex, for example some aspect of social reality.

Regardless of the different levels at which it occurs, abstraction moreover does not bring about a clear picture of something. As pointed out by Friedlander (2009:2), the meanings of abstract terms, which we use to talk about ideas and concepts, are usually imprecise and can easily be differently understood by different speakers.

2.6.2 Arbitrariness

Human languages are not only abstract systems of symbols; these symbols also have the feature of being arbitrary (Cohen 1998; Fromkin and Rodman 1993; Jandt 1995; Ting-Toomey 1999; Wilkinson 1975). This feature is clearly reflected in the relationship between the sounds of a word (its form) and the meaning (concept) that the particular sound sequence is used to express. The word *cat*, for instance, is used to refer to a small, domesticated carnivorous mammal with soft fur, a short snout and retractile claws. There is however no physical or natural resemblance between the word *cat* and the object to which it refers. In other words, there is no natural relationship between the words of a language and the objects to which these words refer. In Fromkin and Rodman's (1993:6) words, the relationship is arbitrary in the sense that "(n)either the shape nor the other physical attributes of objects determine their pronunciation in any language."⁶ A potential problem associated with the feature of arbitrariness is that language can be presented as independent from the social context in which it is used. This would fail to take into account the fact that language, regardless of how it is conceived, changes and adapts according to circumstances prevalent in society at a particular point.

2.6.3 Multi-layered rules

All human languages are structured in accordance with a set of rules without which communication would be impossible (Aitchison 1997; Fromkin and Rodman 1993; Ting-Toomey 1999). This set comprises phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic rules. Phonological rules have to do with the sound form and pronunciation of words. Morphological rules govern the combination of sounds to make up meaningful words or parts of words (morphemes). Syntactic rules specify how words are combined to form phrases and sentences. Semantic rules concern

⁶ It should however be noted that there are instances, particularly in works of fiction, where words stand in a relationship of *iconicity* to their meaning. In other words, these words are written in such a way that they physically reflect what they are used to refer to (see Botha 1995:34-35).

the meanings we attach to words. Lastly, pragmatic rules govern language usage in particular contexts (Aitchison 1997:5; Crystal 1987:120; Fromkin and Rodman 1993: 17; Ting-Toomey 1999:86-90; Wilkinson 1975:36). One should be careful, however, to distinguish between “real” rules or patterns of language and artificially imposed ones.⁷ In English, the latter include “rules” relating to , among others, restrictions on the use of double negatives⁸, the use of *different to* as opposed to *alike to* and *different from*, and mixing singular and plural pronouns (Aitchison 1997). Also, as regards language usage in the maintenance of patriarchal relations, objections are often raised against the use of the masculine pronoun *he* when the referent is unspecified or hypothetical or a representative of a set of humans, especially when the set is known to include female and males or when it is entirely female in composition.

Honey (1997, cited in Holborow 1999:175), makes the interesting claim that grammar rules are not “natural or given, inherent, intrinsic or even inevitable. They are a human invention and not the proof for the working of language to some prior design.” Since humans are fallible, it therefore follows that the rules (grammatical or otherwise) that they formulate may also be erroneous.

2.6.4 Speech community

A consideration of language usage in the context in which it occurs naturally invokes the notion of a speech community. According to Ting-Toomey (1999:90), a speech community is a group of people who share a common set of norms and rules regarding proper communicative practices. A speech community is, however, not coterminous with a single language or its dialects and styles. Gumperz (1975:463) has shown that there are no *a priori* grounds that compel us to define a speech community such that all the members speak the same language. It may instead be considered as “an organization of linguistic diversity with a repertoire of ways of speaking that are indexically associated with social groups, roles or activities” (Irvine 1996:263-4). This community may be either monolingual or multilingual. A definition of a speech community in terms of “norms” and “rules” is likewise not without

⁷ In the case of English, for example, such artificially imposed rules originated from prescriptive grammarians more concerned with logic, Latin, social class prejudice, etc. (Aitchison 1997).

⁸ According to Holborow (1999: 180) double negatives, such as ‘he never said nothing’, were widely used in earlier times (such as Chaucer’s and Shakespeare’s time) and conform to a practice established in Latin.

problems. This is so because linguistic norms themselves may vary greatly among sub-groups. For instance, Wardhaugh (2002:119) provides examples of speakers of Hindi who distinguish themselves entirely from speakers of Urdu, Ukrainians who separate themselves from most Russians, and Cantonese or Hokkien who, although they see themselves as members of the same community as other Chinese, might not be able to express that sense of community to a speaker of Mandarin or to each other except through their shared writing system. Wardhaugh (2002: 124) also raises the view that the concept of 'speech community' "is less useful than it might be" and advocates that we should rather return to the concept of 'group'.⁹

The definitions of language put forward by SACOD (2002), Cleary (2003), Fromkin and Rodman (1993), Jandt (1995), Ting-Toomey (1999) and Wilkinson (1975) (see section 2.5) can essentially be located within the generative approach to the study of language associated with the theorist Noam Chomsky. According to Brenners and Macaulay (1996:1), this approach is mainly concerned with "the characterization of the universal qualities or features of language necessary for the development of a knowledge of any human language." In terms of this approach, language is a cognitive system that is part of any normal human being's mental or psychological system (Radford, Atkinson, Britain, Clahsen and Spencer 1999:1). This view thus establishes a relationship between language and the mental processes of acquiring knowledge of a language, for example, knowledge of grammatical rules. Hence, to understand language requires one to understand the nature of such (grammatical) knowledge (Radford et al. 1999:3).¹⁰

Agha (2001) uses the expression "folk-views of language" to refer to the views associated with the generative approach and some of the other approaches mentioned in note 10. The approaches in question, according to Agha (2001:1), adopt the flawed view that language is "primarily a collection of words; that language

⁹ Wardhaugh (2002:124) defines a group as "any set of individuals united for a common end, that end being quite distinct from the end pursued by other groups"; this means that "a person may belong at any one time to many different groups depending on the particular ends in view".

¹⁰ There are numerous other (non-generative, non-grammatical) approaches to the study of language, including Pragmatics, Conversation Analysis, Narrative Analysis, Discourse Analysis, Discursive Psychology, Sociolinguistics, Ethnography of Communication, etc. Brenners and Macaulay (1996), Clyne (1994), Crystal (1987), Fairclough (2001), Holborow (1999), Jannedy, Poletto and Weldon (1994) and Jaworski and Coupland (1999) all provide useful discussions about these approaches to the study of language.

is abstract, mental, devoid of materiality; that it stands apart from the ‘things’ that it inertly represents”.

Contrary to what may be implied by the discussion in sections 2.6.1-2.6.3 above, there is more to the structural features of language than its abstraction function, its arbitrariness and its multi-layered system of rules. With regard to the relationship between language and power, for instance, Reid and Ng (1999:122) draw attention to research that identifies linguistic (specifically, stylistic) features such as the use of hedges (e.g. *sort of, maybe*), intensifiers (e.g. *so*), tag questions (e.g. *It is difficult, isn't it?*) and hesitations as indicators of and the basis for a “powerless” language, whereas the absence of such features serves as an indication and the basis for a “powerful” language. In other words, one is able to talk about a “powerless” or a “powerful” language depending on the absence/presence of such linguistic features.

A basic assumption of the present study is that views that (exclusively) focus on the formal properties of language (e.g. abstraction, arbitrariness, grammatical rules) do not facilitate a full understanding of, firstly, the social nature of language (Voloshinov 1973:12-13) and, secondly, the dynamic and dialectical nature of the relationship between language and society (Holborow 1999:18). Contrary to what is emphasized in the majority of the definitions of language considered above, language does not exist independent of society: it is a part of society (Fairclough 2001:23; Holborow 1999:191). This means, for instance, that language is part of the social relations of production which, together with forces of production, constitute the mode of production of material life dominant at a given stage in the development of society. Voloshinov (1973:12-13) explained the relationship between language and society in the following terms:

Every sign ... is a construct between socially organized persons in the process of their interaction. Therefore *the forms of signs are conditioned above all by the social organization of the participants involved and also by the immediate conditions of their interaction*. When these forms change, so does sign. And it should be one of the tasks of the study of ideologies to trace this social life of the verbal sign. Only so approached can the *problem of the relationship between signs and existence* find its concrete expression; only

then will the process of the causal shaping of the signs by existence stand out as a process of genuine existence-to-sign transit, of genuine dialectical refraction of existence in the sign” (emphasis in original).

According to Holborow (1999), language is also part of a social reality characterized by contradictions. It is in this context of social contradictions that language becomes a “site of social struggle and a stake in social struggle” (Holborow 1999:191). It is also in this context that language becomes a place where power relations, as Fairclough (2001:43) suggests, are exercised and enacted. And lastly, it is in this context of social contradictions that language acquires the multiplicity of functions that it performs. In other words, language is multifunctional (Irvine 1996) in the sense that it is used for more than simple naming or communication.

2.7 Functions of language

There is no field of activity in modern society in which language does not play a role (Bakhtin 1999:121; Brenners and Macaulay 1996:1; Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens 1972:153). As Voloshnirov (1973:10) puts it, “(t)he word is implicated in literally each and every act or contact between people – in collaboration on the job, in ideological exchanges, in the chance contacts of ordinary life, in political relationships, and so on.” It is in line with this view that politics, for instance, is seen as quintessentially “a linguistic activity, an activity in which language is employed to inform others about political issues and persuade them to adopt courses of action in regard to these issues” (Geis 1989:18).

This invokes Fairclough’s (2001) notion of “language as a form of social practice”. By this is meant, firstly, that language is a part of society and not external to it; secondly, language is a social process; and thirdly, language is a process that is socially conditioned by other non-linguistic parts of society (Fairclough 2001:22-23). When language is seen as part of society, it follows that linguistic phenomena become social phenomena, and conversely, social phenomena (such as politics) become linguistic phenomena. On the one hand then, according to Fairclough (2001:23), people say, listen to, or write or read about things in ways which are determined socially and have social effects. On the other hand, what people say, listen to, or

read or write about is actually part of processes and practices which are social in nature. For instance, through an examination of the communicative economy of the Wolof community in Senegal in West Africa – specifically the “noble speech” associated with higher castes and “griot speech” associated with low-ranking groups – Irvine (1996) demonstrates how language denotes political economy, indexes parts of it, depicts it and takes part in it as an object of exchange. This provides confirmation for Bourdieu’s (1999:512) claim that “it is rare indeed in everyday life for language to function as a pure instrument of communication.”

2.7.1 Language and thought

Geis (1989:3) contends that political language has “a substantive, unconscious influence on political thought.” This can be seen as a weaker version of the Orwellian thesis, as expressed in George Orwell’s novel *Nineteen Eighty Four*, that language can determine political thought. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis in linguistics and anthropology similarly claims that thought is dependent on language (Fowler 1991:4). Geis’ contention is grounded in a “cognitive-cum-linguistic approach” (Geis 1989) within which he demonstrates, through the analysis of political journalism, how politicians use language to evoke patterns of political beliefs to explain political issues and persuade others to adopt courses of action in connection with these issues. Geis (1989:37) claims that it is this language – the language that evokes a pattern of political beliefs or mythic political themes¹¹ – which can significantly influence political thought.

2.7.2 Language and the construction of reality

According to Chilton (2004), language has an important function in what may be termed the “representational dimension”. This concerns the role that language plays in constituting what people perceive as reality, gendered or otherwise (Fowler 1991; Kamler 1994; Talbot, Atkinson and Atkinson 2003). The media are considered to be particularly important with respect to this function of language, as is evident from many studies which focus on newspapers in analysing the various ways in which language functions in the social construction of reality (see e.g. Fowler 1991; Van

¹¹ These themes include the Conspiratorial Enemy, the Valiant Leader, the myth of a United People, Man is a Rational Animal, the Poor are Victims, The lazy Poor, the Noble Revolutionary, America the Peaceful, etc. (Geis 1989).

Dijk 1989). Similar studies include Kamler (1994), who demonstrates, through the analysis of lexical classification schemes, how lexical choices construct a gendered representation of reality. Another study, by Talbot, Atkinson and Atkinson (2003), addresses the dynamics of narrative activity at the family dinner table, focusing specifically on the social roles taken up by women and men, and girls and boys. Working in the genre of oral narrative, this study demonstrates how everyday storytelling at family dinner tables functions in the assertion and maintenance of the father's position of authority; specifically, storytelling serves to establish the reality of the father's position of dominance and the mother's position of "family judge" (Talbot et al. 2003:141).

Central to studies such as those just mentioned is the view that language possesses "reality-creating powers" in that it can be used to constitute social reality. Although this view recognizes the social nature of language, it still accords language a status independent of society. According to Holborow (1999:14), it does so by "holding that language is not just part of society, but is constitutive of it." It should also be noted that, although narratives are certainly never objective or impartial ways of representing events, they nevertheless also perform other functions (Jaworski and Coupland 1999:30).

2.7.3 Language and the production, reproduction and denial of prejudices

Based on a critical discourse analysis of news reports, Van Dijk (1989) demonstrates the complex ways in which language, discourse and communication function in the production and reproduction of ethnicism and racism. In a later study, Van Dijk (1999) shows how everyday conversation and institutional text and talk function to deny ethnic and racial prejudices prominently acquired and shared mainly within white dominant groups in Europe and North America. Van Dijk (1999:543) regards the social form of this denial, in contrast to its individual form characteristic of informal everyday conversations, to be "the most influential and most damaging". The social denial of discrimination, prejudice and racism occurs through such mechanisms as positive self-preservation, counter-attack, moral blackmail, subtle denials, mitigation, and defence and offence. Positive self-preservation presupposes the belief that it is the accused's own group or country that is tolerant towards

minorities or immigrants (Van Dijk 1999:549). The strategy of counter-attack involves attacks, which embody denials of racism, against those who hold a different view (Van Dijk 1999:550-1). Moral blackmail entails accusing the opponent of censorship or blackmail. According to Van Dijk (1999:552), the accused feel morally blackmailed because they are compelled to state what they consider to be “the truth” about minorities or immigrants, which may well be contrary to prevalent norms of tolerance and understanding.

Denials of discrimination, prejudice and racism are not always explicit. As Van Dijk (1999:553) shows, such denials may be subtly conveyed through discursive strategies such as quotation marks, and the use of words like *claim* or *allege*, which presuppose doubt or distance on the part of the accused. Such denials may also be implied in various forms of mitigation, for example the use of down-towning and euphemisms to minimize the act itself or the responsibility of the accused (Van Dijk 1999:554). Van Dijk (1999:555) furthermore provides several examples showing that the denials of discrimination, prejudice and racism are not just forms of self-defence or positive self-presentation, but elements of ideological attacks against the opponents of those who show racist attitudes.

2.7.4 Language and ideology

Many linguists and social theorists call attention to the connection between language and ideology (Fairclough 2001; Holborow 1999; Thompson 1984; 1990; Voloshinov 1973). Voloshinov (1973), for instance, emphasizes the ideological nature of all signs, including language. He (1973:2) defines a sign as something that “represents, depicts, or stands for something lying outside of itself”, stating that “(w)henever a sign is present, ideology is present too” and that “(e)verything ideological possesses semiotic value” (1973:3). According to Holborow (1999:8), ideology is the only way that one can fully understand the politics of language. Thompson (1990: 2) likewise contends that to study ideology, is to study language in the social world. In an earlier study, he (1984:2) states that to study ideology is to study “the ways in which language is used in everyday social life, from the most mundane encounters between friends and family members to the most privileged forums of political

debate. It is to study the ways in which the multifarious uses of language intersect with power, nourishing it, sustaining it, enacting it.”

Against this background, it should be clear that language can also serve a distinct ideological function: it is not only a means of communication, entertainment or conveying knowledge, but also represents a principal medium of ideology. This is so precisely because, through language, “meaning is mobilized in the interests of particular individuals and groups” (Thompson 1984:73, 146). In pursuit of its ideological function, language accordingly plays a fundamental role in the establishment and maintenance of power relations which are systematically asymmetrical in nature.

2.8 Language and the maintenance of relations of domination

Thompson (1984:130; 1990:60) distinguishes five ways in which meaning serves to maintain relations of domination. These include legitimation, dissimulation, unification, fragmentation and reification. *Legitimation* means that unequal power relations in society are legitimized; they may be presented as legitimate, just and worthy of support (Thompson 1984:131; 1990:61). Weber (1978, cited in Thompson 1990:61) distinguishes three grounds on which claims to legitimacy may be based, namely rational, traditional and charismatic grounds. Unequal power relations are presented as legitimate on rational grounds when there is an appeal to the legality of enacted laws. An appeal to the sanctity of age-old traditions is made when unequal power relations are based on traditional grounds. Lastly, when relations of domination are based on charismatic grounds, an appeal is made to the exceptional character of an individual person who exercises authority (Thompson 1990:61). By *dissimulation* is meant that systematically asymmetrical power relations may be maintained by being concealed, denied or obscured (Thompson 1984:131; 1990:62). *Unification* is found when a form of unity which embraces individuals in a collective identity, regardless of differences and divisions that may separate them, is constructed to sustain unequal power relations (Thompson 1990:64). *Fragmentation* refers to a process where an individual or groups of people, who are likely to challenge the individual or groups of people that enjoy political dominance, may be divided or portrayed as evil, harmful or threatening, thus ensuring the maintenance of unequal power relations (Thompson 1990:65). Finally, relations of domination may be *reified*. This means that relations of domination may be sustained through the presentation of a transitory, historical state

of affairs as permanent, natural and timeless (Thompson 1984:131; 1990:65). Although Thompson has been criticized for failing to provide categories for “oppositional discursive strategies” (see Janks 1996), his proposals do provide valuable insight into the ways that language functions in society.

It should be noted at this point that it is especially communicative strategies and linguistic devices, found in linguistic or symbolic constructions, which are in fact used in the maintenance of systematically asymmetrical power relations. These strategies and devices abound in almost all spoken and many written texts. The literature on communicative strategies and linguistic devices furthermore reveals that there is, in fact, more to these strategies and devices than meets the eye. Talbot et al. (2003: 188) argue that these “extra features” of language can have more than a peripheral, and sometimes a central, function in the effectiveness of communication. A brief discussion of such communicative strategies and linguistic devices follows below.

2.9 Linguistic devices, techniques and strategies

Mesthrie et al. (2000:319) identify pronouns, names, titles and address forms as particularly clear and well-defined subsystems of language that reveal asymmetries of power or solidarity between individuals and the institutions they might represent. Pronouns, for example, do not simply replace nouns or operate in any clear deictic fashion. They are complex elements of language that can rarely stand in a simple relationship to something else. Pennycook (1993) states that because pronouns are embedded in naming people and groups of people, they are always “political” as they always imply power relations. For example, the personal pronoun *we* is always simultaneously inclusive and exclusive. It is a pronoun of solidarity and of rejection, of inclusion and of exclusion; it defines a “we” on the one hand and a “you” or “they” on the other hand (Pennycook 1973). This is essential in the construction of “them” (the “other”) as opposed to “us” and all the negative things that this process may entail.

Thompson (1984:136-7; 1990:61-65) identifies rationalization, universalization and narrativization as communicative or linguistic strategies of symbolic construction that are typical of the process of legitimation. In rationalization arguments are organized and initiated to justify dominant power relations. Universalization involves a process

where a set of institutional arrangements which privilege only the dominant groups are presented as serving the interests of all. In narrativization stories are used to present unequal power relations as natural (Thompson 1990:61). Other devices which can also serve to facilitate the dissimulation of unequal power relations are displacement, euphemism and trope (e.g. synecdoche, metonymy and metaphor) (Thompson 1990:62-63). Displacement concerns situations where a term, usually used to refer to one thing, is used to refer to another thing so as to transfer either positive or negative attributes from one to the other. Euphemism is a substitution of a milder or less direct expression for one that is harsh, blunt or offensive. It disguises unpleasant actions, events or even relations of domination and presents them in positive terms. Trope allows parts to stand for wholes and wholes to stand for parts (Thompson 1990:62-63). Furthermore, standardization and symbolization of unity can serve to express the process of unification; this is in contrast to differentiation and the expurgation of unity, which express fragmentation. Language standardization relates to processes used to construct a national language and collective unity, similar to the use of symbols such as flags, national anthems and slogans in the construction of a collective identity (Thompson 1990:64). The process of reification (see section 2.8) can be expressed by the strategies of naturalization and externalization and also by grammatical and syntactic devices such as nominalization and passivization (Thompson 1984:136-137; 1990:61-66). Naturalization entails that socially constructed realities are presented as natural and unavoidable. Externalization involves the process whereby social rituals, customs, traditions and institutions become fixed and unchanging, external to the socio-economic and political conditions of their production. Passivization is a linguistic process used to change active voice to passive voice, while nominalization is a process where a verb is turned into a noun. In this process an action is turned into a thing or a state (Thompson 1990:65-66).

Other communicative strategies and linguistic devices include allusions, understatement, hyperbole, ethos, logos, pathos and analogy (see Harris 2008). Allusion is a short, informal reference to a famous person or event. Understatement deliberately expresses an idea as less important than it actually is; this is done either for ironic emphasis or for politeness and tact. Litotes, one particular form of understatement, is achieved by denying the opposite or contrary of a word. Hyperbole is the counterpart

of understatement: it deliberately exaggerates conditions for emphasis or effect. Sometimes symbolic constructions make use of persuasive language that contains an appeal based on the writer's reputation or authority (ethos), on emotions (pathos) or on logic (logos). Analogy involves comparing two things which are alike in several respects. This is done to clarify some unfamiliar or difficult idea or object by showing how the idea or object is similar to some other familiar one. It includes such devices as simile and metaphor. In simile a comparison is made between two different things that resemble each other in at least one way. The simile is usually introduced by the elements *like* and *as*. Metaphor compares two different things by speaking of one in terms of the other. Unlike a simile, a metaphor asserts that one thing *is* another thing (Harris 2008:1-42).

2.10 Conclusion

The literature surveyed in the preceding sections reveal that language is not an autonomous phenomenon, but is a part of society. As a part of a society that is characterized by unequal power relations, language becomes both a site of social struggle and a stake in social struggle. In other words, there is more to language function than its communicative or naming function. The literature review also showed up the ideological nature of language. It is precisely when language performs its ideological function that it becomes a crucial factor in the maintenance of systematically asymmetrical power relations in society. These power relations may be between various ethnic, racial, gender, age, and dominating and dominated groupings in social institutions and society as a whole. In efforts to maintain asymmetrical power relations, the linguistic devices, techniques and communicative strategies found in symbolic construction or discursive resources play a particularly vital role. It is against this general background of the relationship between language and power and the various ways in which language can be used to maintain asymmetrical power relations that the ANC's use of language in its national election manifestos is investigated in this study.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH STRATEGY AND METHODOLOGY

Those who conduct research belong to a community of scholars, each of whom has journeyed into the unknown to bring back an insight, a truth, a point of light.

(Leedy and Ormrod 2010)

3.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the research strategy and methodology used in this study. The discussion is organised around two main topics, namely research strategies (section 3.2) and research methods (section 3.3). Section 3.3.1 deals with the sources used for the collection of the data for the study, and section 3.3.2 with the method used for the analysis of the data. As noted in the preceding chapters, the data collected for this study is analysed within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis. As part of the methodological background, section 3.3.2 accordingly provides a brief description of the basic premises of this method of data analysis. The ethical aspects of the study are briefly addressed in section 3.4, and a concise summary is provided in section 3.5, the concluding section.

3.2. Research strategies

The research question for this study was formulated as follows in section 1.4:

- How does the ANC use language in its 1999, 2004 and 2009 national election manifestos to position itself as more fit to govern than other political parties in South Africa?

To be able to answer this question, a specific research strategy is required (Bryman 2004; Brannen 2008). Here, “strategy” refers to a “general orientation to the conduct of social research” (Bryman 2004:19; Brannen 2008:53). To put it more informally, a research strategy can be seen as a roadmap, a plan for undertaking a systematic exploration of a particular phenomenon (Marshall and Rossman 2006:56). By way of background, a brief description is given below of the three main research strategies that are used in scientific investigation.

3.2.1. Quantitative research strategies

According to Leedy and Ormrod (2010:94), quantitative research involves looking at amounts or quantities of one or more variables of interest. A quantitative researcher, in other words, tries to measure one or more variables in some or other way. There is, however, more to the quantitative research strategy than the element of quantification. Bryman (2004) states that the quantitative research strategy's orientation to the role of theory in relation to research, epistemological and ontological considerations¹² actually makes it a cluster of research strategies distinct from a qualitative research strategy. The initial emphasis of quantitative research is on quantification in the collection and analysis of data. This entails a deductive approach to the relationship between theory and research, in which emphasis is placed on the testing of theories as opposed to an inductive approach where emphasis is placed on the generation of theories. The quantitative research strategy also incorporates practices and norms of the natural scientific model and positivism in particular. It furthermore embodies an objective view of social reality, something distinct and independent of human intervention (Bryman 2004:19). According to Leedy and Ormrod (2010:95), the purpose of quantitative research is to seek explanations and predictions that can be generalized to other entities and phenomena; its aim is to "establish, confirm or validate relationships and to develop generalizations that contribute to existing theories."

3.2.2. Qualitative research strategies

A qualitative research strategy represents a type of inquiry in which "qualities, characteristics or the properties of a phenomenon are examined for better understanding and explanation" (Henning et al. 2004:5). According to Leedy and Ormrod (2010:135), all qualitative approaches have two things in common. Firstly, they focus on phenomena that occur in natural settings, in the real world and,

¹² Epistemological issues relate to what is or should be regarded as acceptable knowledge in a discipline. Positivism, which advocates the use of methods of natural sciences to the study of social reality, and Interpretivism, according to which the subject matter of social sciences (people and institutions) is fundamentally different from that of natural sciences and, consequently, requires methods different than those used in the natural sciences, are examples of two diametrically opposed epistemological positions. Ontological questions concern the social nature of entities. Objectivism, which suggests that social phenomena confront us as external entities beyond our reach or influence, and its alternative Constructionism, which suggests that social phenomena and their meanings are not only a product of social interaction but are in a constant state of revision, are examples of two contrasting ontological positions (see Bryman 2004:11- 19).

secondly, they study these phenomena in all their complexity. Peshkin (1993, cited in Leedy and Ormord 2010) contends that qualitative research studies serve one or more of four purposes, namely to describe, to interpret, to verify and to evaluate. Description reveals the nature of particular situations, settings, processes, relationships, systems or people. Interpretation allows the researcher to gain new insights about a particular phenomenon, to develop new concepts or theoretical perspectives and/or to discover the problems that exist within the phenomenon. Verification makes it possible for the researcher to test the validity of certain assumptions, claims, theories or generalizations within real world contexts. Lastly, evaluation provides means through which a researcher can judge the effectiveness of particular policies, practices or innovations (Peshkin 1993, cited in Leedy and Ormord 2010: 136-137). To understand, describe and explain social phenomena the researcher, according to Flick (2007), should analyse:

- experiences of individuals or groups based on biographical life histories or practices or everyday knowledge;
- accounts or stories, interactions and communications in the making by observing or recording practices of interacting and communicating;
- documents, in the form of texts, images, film or music, or similar traces of experiences or interactions.

3.2.3. Mixed methods research strategies

Mixed methods research involves the adoption of a research strategy that uses more than one type of research method. It may be a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods, a mix of different quantitative methods, or a mix of different qualitative methods (Brannen 2008:53). Bergman (2008:1) is of the view that mixed methods research combines at least one qualitative and at least one quantitative component in a single research project. In short, mixed methods research cuts across the quantitative-qualitative divide. However, it is not clear at which exact stage in the research process the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods should occur. To Brannen (2008: 54), mixed methods research is “a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods within a single research project *in the collection of data*” (my italics – TB). In Brannen’s definition the combination occurs at a specific

stage in the research process, specifically in the collection of data. Bryman (2008) holds a different view, stating that qualitative and quantitative methods can be combined at different stages of the research process. More specifically, mixed methods research can be a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods in the formulation of research questions, sampling, data collection and data analysis (Bryman 2008:90).

There are always potential dangers in the combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods. It is in light of this that Bergman (2008:2) cautions against what he refers to as “quasi-mixed studies”, that is, studies that use “a simplistic approach to mixed methods designs”. Such an approach to mixed methods design consists of “a qualitative and a dominant quantitative component without a proper connection in their conceptualization and their implications” (Bergman 2008:2). Related to this is Bryman’s (2008:87) concern about “an insufficient justification” of the use of the strategy of mixed methods research. In other words, what is actually involved in combining qualitative and quantitative research methods is, to Bryman (2008), under-explained. There are at least three reasons for the insufficient justification of mixed methods research. The first has to do with failure by researchers to work out from mixed methods study which components of quantitative and qualitative methods were combined and how these components were combined (Maxwell and Loomis 2003, cited in Bryman 2008:88). The second reason, which follows from the first, has to do with the absence of a “common language” for discussing mixed methods studies. Thirdly, there is no clarity on exactly what it means to integrate, mix, combine and mesh quantitative and qualitative research methods (Bryman 2008:88). Hammersley (2008:32) argues that the very notion of “mixed methods research” preserves the qualitative-quantitative division even though it seeks to bridge it. However, Hammersley (2008:32) does express himself in favour of an approach that seeks to undermine the tendency to assume that there are impermeable boundaries between the qualitative and the quantitative strategies. The aim of mixed methods research is mainly to take the best of qualitative and quantitative methods and to combine them (Bergman 2008:11). According to Bergman (2008:19), the appeal of this type of research lies in its ability to provide an alternative to mono-method designs.

The present study makes use of a qualitative research strategy in an attempt to gain a sound understanding of the various ways in which language functions to position the ANC as more fit to govern than other political parties in South Africa. This is in spite of (and in a sense an attempt to respond to) the so-called “offensive failings” and “defensive failings” (Hammersley 2008) which qualitative research methods have been criticized for. “Offensive failings” refer to the failure to live up to what Hammersley (2008:25) regards as “a radical methodological principle” of early qualitative research. This involved two commitments: the commitment to understand or appreciate other people’s points of view, and the commitment to an emphasis on process. Hammersley (2008) maintains that qualitative researchers have been very selective in their attempts to understand the perspective of the people they study. Much effort has been made to understand, for instance, the views of the “marginalized, subordinated, devalued, discriminated against or oppressed groups”; however, there has been less commitment to understand or appreciate the views of those regarded as playing a more central or dominant role in society (Hammersley 2008:25).

In short, there has been little commitment to understanding or appreciating the views of those in positions of power or privilege, or those who maintain the *status quo*. This is what Hammersley (2008) refers to by “offensive failings” – failure to fully grasp the nature of a commitment to understanding or appreciation. Related to this, is failure on the commitment on process. The commitment on process involves an emphasis of “the need for people’s actions, and what they say about themselves and the world, to be observed *in situ*, across different contexts and over long periods of time” (Hammersley 2008:29). Instead, qualitative researchers continue to rely exclusively on, for example, interview data to understand people’s stable perspectives or conduct in other contexts in the same way that quantitative researchers rely on attitude inventories in survey research. What is problematic here is that both mechanisms (interviews and attitude inventories), contrary to what the commitment to an emphasis on process requires, rest on the assumption that conduct is largely a function of some stable orientation that expresses itself in the same way in different contexts (Hammersley 2008:30). This *offensive* failure, in Hammersley’s (2008:31) view, results in qualitative research taking on a form that is not “far from being old-style quantitative research without the numbers”. “Defensive failure”, on the other

hand, refers to failure by qualitative researchers to defend their work effectively against criticisms from quantitative researchers (Hammersley 2008: 32). Qualitative researchers have been criticized for three things: firstly, the failure to operationalize concepts and thereby document measurable differences; secondly, an inability to rule out rival explanations through physical or statistical control; and lastly, failure to produce generalizable findings (Hammersley 2008:32). Defences that qualitative researchers have made against these criticisms have not been properly developed (Hammersley 2008:37).

Denscombe (2003:131) states that certain research strategies tend to be associated with certain research methods. In contrast, Henning et al. (2004:1) contend that it is in fact what a social researcher would like to find out in a particular study that will direct him/her to the use of certain research methods, techniques and tools. In other words, it is the purpose of the research that determines the methods of data collection, data analysis and the dissemination of the findings of the study.

3.3. Research methods

It was informally stated in section 3.2 that a research strategy is a roadmap, a plan for undertaking a systematic exploration of a particular phenomenon. Research methods, in contrast, represent the specific tools for conducting such an exploration (Marshall and Rossman 2006:56). Research methodology directs and controls the whole research project, including the interpretation of the data and the findings of the investigation. As Leedy and Ormrod (2010:6) put it, research methodology

dictates how the data are acquired, arranges them in logical relationships, sets up an approach for refining and synthesizing them, suggests a manner in which the meanings that lie below the surface of the data manifest, and finally yields one or more conclusions that lead to an expansion of knowledge.

3.3.1. Data analyzed in the study

Henning et al. (2004: 5-6) contend that observation, artefact and document studies, and interviewing are the three main categories of data collection used in qualitative

research. In contrast, Leedy and Ormrod (2010:145) maintain that the potential sources of data in qualitative research “are limited only by the researcher’s open-mindedness and creativity”. The current study relies on documentary sources as its main method of data collection. This is in line with Denscombe’s (2003:212) claim that “documents can be seen as a source of data *in their own right*” (emphasis in original). Documentary-based sources are sources that already exist in published form. These include books and journals, newspapers and magazines, government publications and official statistics, letters and memos, memoirs and diaries, biographies and reports, press releases and leaflets, and website pages and other resources on the internet (Denscombe 2003:212-218; Rapley 2007:17). Since its formation on 8 January 1912 in Bloemfontein (ANC 2010:1; McKinley 1997: 6), the ANC has generated and assembled a large body of documentary sources. Some of these sources have been produced by the ANC, and deal with the history of the ANC and the role of the ANC and its allies in the struggle for national liberation in South Africa; other sources are specifically concerned with the ANC as the ruling party in South Africa since 1994. These documentary sources are categorized under the following headings on the official website of the ANC:

- Biographies of ANC leaders
- Books written by or about ANC members
- ANC Campaign Documents
- ANC Conference Documents
- Discussion Documents
- Election Manifestos
- Historical Documents
- National General Council Documents
- National Executive Committee (NEC) Bulletin
- Miscellaneous Documents
- ANC Policy Documents
- January 8 Statements
- Press Statements, etc.

All these documents, as Denscombe (2003:219) puts it, are “conveniently available [on the ANC’s website – TB] without much costs, without much delay, without prior

appointment, without the need for authorization and without any likelihood of ethical problems". For the purpose of data collection, the present study relies specifically on the ANC's 1999, 2004 and 2009 national election manifestos. These manifestos contain a presentation of both the strategic direction and outlines of prospective legislation should the organization win sufficient support in elections to serve in government (Scruton 1982:358). The study focuses on the ANC's 1999, 2004 and 2009 election manifestos as these sources allow also for an investigation of possible changes, development and continuity in the manner in which the ANC has used and continues to use language to position itself as more fit to govern than other political parties in South Africa.

3.3.2. Data analysis and the CDA framework

The current study adopts Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as framework for the analysis of the collected data. There are many characterizations of this approach to, and method of data analysis in the literature. For instance, Fairclough (1993:135) characterises CDA as "discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between discursive practices, events and texts, and wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes". In a later work, he (1999:135) states that CDA is also concerned with "the investigation of how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggle over power and how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony". Wodak (1995:204), in turn, provides the following characterisation of the basic interests and aims of CDA: "CDA is fundamentally interested in analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language"; in other words, CDA aims "to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signalled, constituted, legitimized, etc. by language use (or in discourse)."

The roots of CDA as a discipline can be traced back to the Voloshinov/Bakhtin circle and the more recent work of Michel Pecheux, Jacob Mey and others (Luke 2002:97). Blackledge (2005:2) contends that "there is no single theory or method which is uniform and consistent throughout CDA." Rather, it is an approach to the study of

language, one which is influenced by diverse fields such as sociolinguistics, formal linguistics, social psychology and literary studies (Wodak 1995:205). As a result, the stances, positions and techniques encountered in CDA vary in significant ways (Luke 2002:98). Even the textual analytical approaches found in CDA draw from diverse areas such as systematic linguistics, sociolinguistics, ethnography of communication, ethnomethodology, pragmatics and speech act analysis, and narrative text grammar analysis (Luke 2002:98). The textual analytical approaches found in CDA also incorporate concepts from the critical theory associated with the so-called Frankfurt School, neo-Marxist, poststructuralist and feminist cultural studies, Bourdieuan sociology and, more recently, postcolonial and multiculturalist theory (Luke 2002: 98). In short, as noted by Van Dijk (1993:279), there are many ways to do critical discourse analysis.

Studies in the broad CDA approach do not focus exclusively on spoken and written texts. According to Wodak (1995:204), there is also a “theorization and description of both the social processes and structures which give rise to the production of a text, and of social structures and processes within which individuals or groups as social-historical subjects create meanings in their interaction with texts.” Within an organization – defined by Mumby and Clair (1997:181) as a social collective produced, reproduced and transformed through the ongoing, interdependent and goal-oriented communication practices of its members – CDA focuses more closely on the question of power and control (Mumby and Clair 1997:182). According to Van Dijk (1993:253), CDA requires “true multidisciplinary, an amount of intricate relationship between text, talk, social cognition, power, society and culture.”

Wodak (1995:205) identifies the following seven basic questions that inform CDA research:

- How does the naturalization of ideology come about?
- Which discursive strategies legitimate, control or naturalize the social order?
- How is power linguistically expressed?
- How are consensus, acceptance and legitimacy of domination manufactured?
- Who has access to which instrument of power and control?

- Who is discriminated against in what way?
- Who understands a certain discourse in what way with what results?

Clearly, there is a very close affinity between the research question of the current study (see Chapter 1) and the seven questions presented above. It is precisely for this reason that the CDA framework is regarded as providing a particularly appropriate method for the analysis of the data collected for this study, and for such an analysis to be guided by the above questions. The CDA method of analysis is furthermore also highly appropriate in view of the underlying assumptions of the study. The first assumption is that there are unequal or systematically asymmetrical power relations between the ruling party (the ANC) and other political formations in South Africa. Secondly, the study assumes the dominance of the ANC over other political formations. And thirdly, it assumes that the ANC uses language in multiple ways to maintain its political dominance in South Africa.

3.4. Ethical aspects

Rapley (2007:23) argues that the research process can have a negative effect on those who participate in it. Social research, therefore, should be done in an ethical manner (Babbie and Mouton 2001:240; Denscombe 2003:134). This means that ethical principles should guide the collection of data, the process of analyzing data and the dissemination of the findings of the study. These principles include:

- respecting the rights and dignity of participants in the research project;
- not compelling anyone to participate in the research project, that is, participation should be voluntary;
- avoiding any harm (personal, physical, psychological and otherwise) to participants as a result of their involvement in the research project; and
- operating with honesty and integrity

(Babbie and Mouton 2001:521, 526; Denscombe 2003:134; Rapley 2007:24).

The current research project is conducted in full accordance with these ethical principles, and with utmost honesty and integrity. It should be noted, though, that the research focuses exclusively on documents that are freely available on the ANC's

official website; in other words, no data was elicited from specific individuals or groups by means of questionnaires, interviews, etc. Therefore no special permissions from institutions or individual participants were required.

3.5. Conclusion

This chapter outlined the research strategy and methodology used in the current study. It was argued that a qualitative research strategy is the most appropriate one for gaining a sound understanding of the role that language plays in positioning the ANC as more fit to govern than other political formations in South Africa. The data for the study was collected from documents that were produced by the ANC and that are available on its official website. The specific sources of data are the ANC's 1999, 2004 and 2009 national election manifestos. In order to answer the research question posed in Chapter 1, these documents have been subjected to a critical discourse analysis, the conduct and findings of which form the topic of Chapter 4. In view of the general objective of the present chapter, namely to explicate the research strategy and methodology used in this study, a brief description was provided in section 3.3.2 of the basic premises of Critical Discourse Analysis, the framework within which the data is analysed.

CHAPTER 4

THE ANC'S 1999, 2004 AND 2009 ELECTION MANIFESTOS: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

*Worry about words ... for whatever else you may do,
you will be using words always. All day and every
day, words matter.*

(A.P. Herbert)

4.1. Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to provide a critical discourse analysis of the discourses constructed in the ANC's 1999, 2004 and 2009 election manifestos. The chapter begins with a brief discussion in section 4.2 of some of the salient features of the social, economic and political context which framed these election manifestos. Sections 4.3-4.5 are devoted to a critical discourse analysis of the three texts. In this, the focus will be on what Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999:21) refer to as the "shifting articulations of symbolic/discursive resources" in terms of genre, the use of pronouns, intertextuality, contrasting expressions, grounding and elisions, statistics and figures, and the discourse of total freedom.

Five main claims are put forward in the course of the discussion in sections 4.3-4.5. Firstly, it is claimed that the three texts draw from the resources of the genre of manifesto, and more specifically the sub-genre of party election manifesto, and that they accordingly share certain structural features. Secondly, it is argued that all three texts use pronouns ambiguously in an attempt to create an affinity between the ANC and the target audience with respect to the achievements of an ANC-led government, what work still needs to be done, and the idea of the ANC's vision as a shared vision. Thirdly, contrasting expressions are used in all the texts to denigrate the apartheid system and to laud the post-1994 democratic system. The fourth claim, related to the previous one, is that the ANC is fore-grounded in all three texts as the organization which brought freedom to South Africa and led the struggle for change, without saying anything about other political organizations and their contribution to the struggle for freedom. Finally, the three election manifestos are not only constituted by elements of other texts such as the Freedom Charter (FC, 1955), the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP, 1994) and The Constitution of

the Republic of South Africa (1996), but also use statistics and figures to lend a systematic and scientific gravitas to the ANC.

The main findings of the analysis are summarised in section 4.6. Based on these findings, it is concluded in that section that the three manifestos construct a discourse of “total freedom” which is actually an integral part of the liberal discourse of politics in South Africa. Moreover, the central contention of this chapter is that the use of the various symbolic/discursive resources in the election manifestos is closely linked to establishing and maintaining power relations (Pennycook 2003). The manifestos reveal asymmetries of power between the ANC and other political formations in South Africa (Mesthrie et al. 2000), and also serve to position the ANC as more fit to govern than other political formations in South Africa.

4.2. Social, economic and political context

In the *Preface* of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP 1994) document, the then State President Nelson Mandela contends that “democracy will have little content, and indeed, will be short lived if we cannot address our socio-economic problems within an expanding and growing economy.” These socio-economic problems, rooted in the country’s history of colonialism, racism, apartheid, sexism and repressive labour policies (RDP 1994: 2), have been addressed by many writers from a variety of perspectives. For instance, it is generally accepted that the fundamental economic problem which South Africa needs to solve involves meeting the basic needs of the majority of its people. Harris (1997:91) summarizes these needs as “raising the majority’s standard of living by investing in housing, education and health”. In this respect, the RDP (1994:7) lists issues such as jobs, water, electricity, telecommunication, transport, a clean and healthy environment, nutrition and social welfare. Tackling these issues, together with South Africa’s large scale unemployment, would constitute significant progress in overcoming the legacy of apartheid (Michie 1997:155). Poverty, which is viewed by Frye (2006) as “a basic state of existence for millions of South Africans”, and unequal patterns of income and wealth distribution, are considered in the current study to be fundamental to any understanding of socio-economic problems which beset South Africa before the 1999 national democratic election. This should not come as a surprise because

centuries of colonial and apartheid policies had ensured that the majority of people in South Africa continue to live in poverty and oppressive conditions (Frye 2006). It is this context defined by the social, economic and political problems mentioned above which frames the ANC's 1999, 2004 and 2009 election manifestos.

4.3. The ANC'S national election manifestos

There are divergent views about the value of party election manifestos, with many people holding negative views about such manifestos (see Lemon 2009; Maluleke 2009; McKinley 2009; Petlane 2009).¹³ According to Lemon (2009:9), few people actually read party election manifestos in most democracies; what matters instead is popular perception of a party's identity and what it stands for. Maluleke (2009) contends that party election manifestos are over-rated, claiming the ANC 2009 election manifesto, for instance, to be particularly long and complex. He (2009:1) furthermore states, somewhat cynically, that party election manifestos seldom persuade voters and should be seen as only one of several factors, including beer and braai, which influence people's voting choices. To McKinley (2009), such manifestos are essentially "propaganda tools containing very broad visions of the respective political parties, thinly sketched frameworks for societal development and a host of promises around more specific policy problems and challenges". In the same vein Petlane (2009:1), a researcher in the Governance and African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) in the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), contends that party election manifestos, hardly read by anyone, range from "mere sloganeering to monumental tomes packed with dry bureaucratic-academic-political-speak." Petlane's alternative to party election manifestos in their current form are "demand-driven manifestos". He would rather see individual and collective voters present parties and their candidates with lists of demands and enter into an agreement with prospective representatives to deliver on those demands (Petlane 2009:1).

For the purpose of the present study, the ANC 1999, 2004 and 2009 national election manifestos can be seen, following Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999:21), as "shifting articulations of symbolic/discursive resources (such as genre, discourse,

¹³ Trapido (2009) is one of the few commentators who hold positive views about party election manifestos.

voices) which themselves come to be articulated into relative permanence as moments of discourse, and transformed in that process.” The 1999, 2004 and 2009 manifestos formed part of the ANC’s campaign for the respective general elections. Like other manifestos, they present the “strategic direction and outlines of prospective legislation” (Scruton 1982:358) to be expected in the event the organization receives enough votes from the electorate to serve in government.

An obvious question at this point concerns the author(s) of the respective ANC election manifestos. Goffman (1981, cited in Fairclough 2003:12) draws a distinction between the “principal”, “author” and “animator” of a text. The principal is the one whose position is put in the text; the author is the one who puts words together and is responsible for the formulation; and the animator is the person who makes the sound of the marks on the paper. Fairclough (2003:12) points out that a single person may occupy all these positions: he/she may be the principal, author and animator of the text. In this study, the ANC as an organisation is taken to be both the principal whose position is expressed in the 1999, 2004 and 2009 national election manifestos and “the person” who has authored these texts; in other words, as far as authorship is concerned, we will abstract away from particular people/groups who may have been involved.

To end this section, let us briefly consider the formal structure of the three texts examined in this study. The ANC’s 1999 national election manifesto, entitled *Change Must Go on at a Faster Pace!* is divided into seven main sections, namely:

- Message from the President
- Why Vote ANC?
- Five Years of ANC Government
- Together, in Every Sector, Fighting for Change
- The Next Five Years – Our Vision
- The Next Five Years – Our Programme
- Many Things to Do

The 2004 manifesto, entitled *A People’s Contract to Create Work and Fight Poverty*, is divided into ten main sections:

- Message from the President
- Celebrating Freedom
- Celebrating South Africa
- Actual Progress Gives Us Real Hope for the Future
- Learning from Experience: We Can Do More, Better
- Why a People's Contract?
- Vision 2014 – Forward to the Second Decade of Freedom
- The Next Five Years: The Practical Steps
- The Next Five Years: How Will This Be Done?
- Confidence in the Future

Lastly, the ANC's 2009 national election manifesto, entitled *Working Together, We Can Do More*, has only six main sections:

- Message from the President
- Proud of our Past, Confident of the Future;
- Our Manifest Is Clear and Achievable
- Together We Have Achieved Much
- Our Plan for the Next Five Years
- Conclusion.

We turn now to an analysis of the three election manifestos within the CDA framework.

4.4. Genre and sequential structure

The ANC manifestos for the general elections of 1999, 2004 and 2009 can be said to draw upon socially available resources of the genre of manifesto, and in particular the sub-genre of party election manifesto. In line with the view taken by Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), it should however be noted that the actual labels that are used to denote the texts are not of critical importance. This is so largely because “there is no closed ‘list’ of genres or discourses and few that have stable names” (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999:56).

For the purpose of this study, we will adopt the definitions of genre put forward by Fairclough (1999) and Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999). Fairclough (1999:126) characterizes genre as “a relatively stable set of conventions that is associated with, and partly enacts, a socially ratified type of activity”. In slightly simpler terms, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 63), state that “genre” refers to “a sort of language (and other semiosis) tied to a particular social activity, such as interview.” Following Fairclough (1992:126), genre is furthermore taken to imply not only “a particular type of text, but also a particular process of producing, distributing and consuming texts.”

The language used in the ANC’s 1999, 2004 and 2009 manifestos can be described as having an “electioneering” or “election campaigning” nature, a particular social activity that is characteristic especially of a liberal democratic system. Being representative of a particular type of genre, these manifestos reflect a specific sequential structure. It is also evident that they share certain structural features which, in the sequence in which they appear, distinguish the (party) electioneering or election campaigning activity with which they are associated from other activities such as job interviews, television documentaries, poems, scientific articles, etc. These common structural features include the message of the president; a statement of achievements, challenges and justification; vision; plans, programmes and implementation measures; and concluding remarks. The following sections are devoted to an analysis of these features.

4.4.1. Message from the President

The ANC election manifestos of 1999, 2004 and 2009 all begin with a message from the President: former ANC and State President Thabo Mbeki for the 1999 and 2004 manifestos and current ANC and State President Jacob Zuma for the 2009 manifesto. In each case the central thesis of the message from the President is captured in the title of the manifesto. Also, in all three manifestos the electorate is urged in the message from the President to vote for the ANC because it is the only political formation (i) “that can speed up the journey to a better life” (ANC 1999: 2) or make change go on at a faster pace; (ii) that is bound, together with the people of South Africa, in “a people’s contract to create work and fight poverty” (ANC 2004:2);

and (iii), because of its mass appeal and widespread reach and capacity, that “can get all of society working together to make change happen faster” (ANC 2009:1).

4.4.2. Achievements, challenges and justification

The section following the message from the President contains a general discussion of the ruling party’s record of achievements, challenges and some kind of justification for the challenges experienced. In the 1999 manifesto, the ANC cites the implementation of non-racial education as but one of its achievements. In this respect, it is stated that “the majority of children enjoy better access to education, 10,000 new classrooms were built or upgraded and 1,5 million more children were brought into the education system” (ANC 1999:5). The same achievement is repeated in the 2004 manifesto with the statement that “more than 95% [of children – TB] were enrolled in primary schools, with feeding schemes in poor areas, financial assistance to those in need in universities, technikons, thousands of new classes built and new syllabus content introduced” (ANC 2004:3). In its 2009 manifesto, the ANC states with a measure of pride that it is just a few years away from achieving 100% participation by all children in schooling, with the participation of girls among the highest in the world. It also maintains that more than 600,000 children attend crèches and pre-school facilities (ANC 2009:5). Other achievements pertaining to education include:

- the rise in the matriculation pass rate from 58% in 1994 to 65% in 2007;
- the reduction of overcrowding in classrooms: in 1996 there was one teacher for every 43 learners, whereas by 2006 there was one teacher for every 32 learners;
- the spread of mass literacy campaigns to more than 500,000 people who could not read and write;
- support for 140,000 students in higher education through the national financial scheme, to improve participation of the poor in higher education (ANC 2009:5).

The 1999 election manifesto is particularly detailed in its presentation of what has been achieved by the ANC and the ANC-led government and of the various sectors of society that were presented with rights, opportunities and possibilities. These

sectors include women, youth, workers, business people, rural people, traditional leaders, the aged, professionals and the disabled (ANC 1999:7-11). In its discussion of the achievements of the ANC-led government, the manifestos rely on what Zheng (2000:4) calls the “testimony” technique of listing a series of achievements or deeds.

All three manifestos contain a clear acknowledgment, however, that there are still many challenges and that there is a lot that needs to be done. In the 1999 manifesto the ANC specifically mentions “inequality, lack of jobs, crime and corruption, poverty and the HIV/AIDS problem” as challenges that have to be addressed (ANC 1999:3). The same challenges are identified in the 2004 election manifesto where it is stated that “despite the fact that 2 million net new jobs were created since 1995, the number of people seeking work has sharply increased; many workers have lost their jobs and many have been negatively affected by casualization and outsourcing” (ANC 2004: 5). It is also stated that poverty is still a reality for millions and, despite changes to the police, justice and other security structures and how they conduct their operations, “too many attacks occur against citizens, the abuse of women and children is too high and violence against individuals remains a problem” (ANC 2004:5). These challenges had not disappeared in the five years after the 2004 elections. In the 2009 election manifesto the ANC acknowledges that unemployment is unacceptably high, especially amongst African women, rural people and young people (ANC 2009:5). Even though poverty is not identified as a specific challenge, inequality is highlighted as a problem which has persisted and increased in South Africa. Crime and corruption are also presented as major national challenges that require greater action (ANC 2009:5).

4.4.3. Vision

In the sequential structure of all three election manifestos, the third section outlines the vision of the ANC. This vision, which has remained unchanged in the period of 1999-2009, involves eradicating apartheid and “building a truly united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa” (ANC 1999:16; 2004:6; 2009:3). This vision is evidently guided by, amongst other documents, the Freedom Charter, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa and, at least initially, the ANC’s socio-economic and policy framework, the Reconstruction and Development Programme

(RDP). The Freedom Charter, which was adopted at Kliptown in June 1955, set out a list of demands grouped under the following headings:

- The people shall govern
- All national groups shall have equal rights
- The people shall share in country's wealth
- The land shall be shared amongst those who work it
- All shall be equal before the law
- All shall enjoy equal human rights
- There shall be work and security
- The doors of learning and culture shall be opened
- There shall be houses, security and comfort
- There shall be peace and friendship

(ANC 1955:1-2; McKinley 1997:20)

It is generally acknowledged that the Freedom Charter was a fundamental rallying point for the congress alliance engaged in the struggle against racial political oppression and economic imperialism. However, some of its clauses (e.g. the economic clause) have always been amenable to divergent and sometimes controversial interpretations (McKinley 1997; Turok 2003). The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), on the other hand, continues to be a mechanism by which South Africans undertake, amongst other goals, to “build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations” (1996:1). Non-racialism and non-sexism count among the Constitution's fundamental founding values. As regards the RDP, this programme was adopted by the ANC to realize its vision of eradicating apartheid and building a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa. Mbeki (2006) is of the opinion that the document that set out the RDP constituted the core of the ANC's election manifesto in South Africa's first democratic election in 1994. Hirsch (2005:59), in contrast, maintains that the RDP was in fact published as the ANC manifesto before the elections and, in a modified form, as a government white paper later in 1994. The RDP is essentially an integrated programme: it is people-centred and aims to provide peace and security for all, build the nation, link reconstruction

and development and deepen democracy (ANC 1994:7). More specifically, its economic and political philosophy is based on the following six principles:

- An integrated and sustainable programme
- A people-driven process
- Peace and security for all
- Nation-building
- Linking reconstruction and development
- Democratisation of South Africa

(ANC 1994:4-7)

4.4.4. Plans, programmes and implementation measures

The section on the Vision of the ANC is immediately followed by the party's plans and programmes and the practical measures or steps it wishes to implement to realize its vision. In the 1999 manifesto the programme to accelerate change focuses on five areas, namely:

- Speeding up delivery of basic needs and developing human resources
- Building the economy and creating jobs
- Combating crime and corruption
- Transforming the state
- Building a better Africa and a better world

(ANC 1999:14)

In the 2004 manifesto, the ANC's programme focuses on the following areas:

- A growing economy
- Sustainable livelihoods
- Access to services
- Comprehensive social security
- Crime and corruption
- Constitutional rights and governance
- Africa and the world

(ANC 2004:7-9)

Lastly, in its 2009 manifesto, the ANC states its commitment to address the following five priority areas:

- Creation of decent work and sustainable livelihoods
- Education
- Health
- Rural development, food security and land reform
- The fight against crime and corruption

(ANC 2009:6).

4.4.5. Concluding remarks

The last section in each of the manifestos contains concluding remarks. In this section the ANC is presented as the only organization that is leading national efforts to change socio-economic and political conditions of South Africans for the better. Furthermore, it is stated in each case that South Africans should vote for the ANC since it is the only organization, working together with the people, that can provide a better future for the country and its citizens.

4.5. Other linguistic devices, techniques and strategies

From a marketing perspective, it could be claimed that the ANC is a “brand”; and, like any brand, it has to keep its support base while also trying to attract new “customers”. This would explain why the ANC continues to present itself as a revolutionary organization. From a CDA perspective, the important question is how this is achieved. The economic policy document that was adopted at the party’s July 2007 Policy Conference, for instance, contains several references to the National Democratic Revolution (Mangcu 2008:126). In line with the marketing perspective, one way to keep ANC brand loyalty is through the language used. As Mangcu (2008:126) puts it, “a revolutionary party must speak to people in the language they understand even if it does exactly the opposite.” As will be shown below, the language used in the ANC’s election manifestos is shaped by several symbolic/discursive resources or devices, techniques and strategies. It is argued that the use of such language forms part of an attempt by the ANC to maintain its political dominance in South Africa.

4.5.1. Pronouns

The three manifestos are characterized by the ambiguity in the use of pronouns. Firstly, there is an attempt to build up an affinity between the author (here, taken to be the ANC as a collective; see section 4.3) and the audience (that is, the reader(s) or listener(s)) pertaining to what has been achieved by the ANC-led government. Consider in this regard the inclusive use of the first person plural pronouns *we*, *our* and *us* in the following extracts from the ANC's 1999 national election manifesto (ANC 1999:1, emphasis added here and in similar extracts below):

The days of darkness are over: together *we* have ended apartheid rule.

Our central challenge for the next five years is to use the experience *we* have gained, the policies *we* have put in place and the institutions of democracy *we* have created, to bring about even greater change than *we* have achieved in the first five years of democratic government.

We must act together, in conditions of social discipline, further to give birth to a South Africa of freedom, prosperity and security for all, committed to act together to solve the national problems that confront all of *us*, including the advancement of national unity and reconciliation.

The same use of these pronouns is found in the 2004 manifesto, as illustrated in the following extracts (ANC 2004:1):

Our first ten years of freedom have been ten years of growing unity in action; ten years of peace and stability; ten years of increasingly making resources in the hands of the state available to uplift disadvantaged South Africans; ten years of expanding opportunities to build a better life for all.

But *we* still have to reach the ideal of a society that truly cares.

We have, in the ten years, brought water and electricity to millions of households.

The journey that *we* have thus far travelled gives *us* confidence that *we* shall reach *our* goal of a society that cares.

Secondly, the first person plural pronouns are used in the same inclusive manner to establish an affinity between the ANC and the audience with respect to the work which still needs to be done to better the lives of South Africans. Consider in this regard the following statements from the 2004 manifesto (ANC 2004:2):

We will intensify *our* efforts to provide services and opportunities such as water and sanitation, health, electricity, housing and education to those South Africans who still do not have them.

While expanding *our* economic base, *we* must ensure that the country's wealth, business opportunities, skills training and other opportunities are more equitably shared by all *our* people, irrespective of race, gender, disability and age differences.

We must radically reduce the levels of unemployment and poverty, by combining the resources of the public and private sectors and built an economy that benefits all.

Thirdly, there is also an attempt, again through the inclusive use of pronouns, to build up an affinity or an identity of purpose between the ANC and the audience to position the vision of this party as a shared vision. This is shown by the following statements in the 2004 manifesto (ANC 2004:1):

Non-racialism, non-sexism and programmes to prevent other forms of discrimination are at the centre of *our* values and our practical actions.

But *we* still have to reach the ideal of a society that truly cares.

The journey that *we* have thus far travelled gives *us* confidence that *we* shall reach *our* goal of a society that cares.

Similar statements are found in the 2009 manifesto (ANC 2009:1):

We aspire to the creation of a nation united in diversity. It is a goal to which we all aspire and it is the path to achieving *our* shared goal for a better life for all.

We have to work together to weave the threads that will see *us* celebrating a nation which is non-racial, non-sexist and democratic – a nation that is dedicated to pushing the frontiers of poverty.

The inclusive use of the pronouns *we*, *us* and *our* has the effect of blurring the distinction between the ANC and the audience. The audience “becomes one” with the ANC and accordingly shares its achievements and failures. The use of these inclusive pronouns is consistent with the inclusive or “plain-folk” technique which, according to Zheng (2000:2), functions to assimilate the speaker into a particular group and then to win the support of the members of this group. In the case of the manifestos, the technique functions to portray the ANC as a member or an integral part of all South Africans whose votes it is targeting. In addition, the use of inclusive pronouns has the effect of bestowing the ANC with the authority to speak not only as the ruling party in South Africa, but also as a party of all South Africans – ruling on behalf of and together with all South Africans. A further effect is that the manifestos themselves acquire the authority to speak not only as manifestos of the ANC, but also as documents which belong to all South Africans, regardless of their differences in terms of race, gender, class, etc.

Edward and Nicoll (2001) draw attention to a certain level of “authoritarianism” that is characteristic of such attempts to bring about the feeling or impression of inclusiveness. In the case at hand, the manifestos present to the audience the ANC’s views of certain issues –its record of achievements and failures, what work still needs to be done to better the lives of South Africans, what the vision of a South African society should be – but does so in such a manner that the impression is created that these views are actually shared by all. One of the effects of this “authoritarianism” in the presentation of views is that spaces available for dissent and criticism of the ruling party, its vision, etc. are closed off.

Note, however, that the connection or identification between the ANC and the audience – established through the use of the inclusive pronouns *we*, *us* and *our* – sometimes severed through the use of the exclusive pronoun *you*. This occurs specifically in the identification of the people who are responsible for the election of the ruling party in South Africa. For instance, it is stated in the 1999 manifesto that “five years ago, *you* elected a government of the people to begin removing the terrible system of apartheid” (ANC 1999:1). In short, there are skilful shifts in the manifestos’ use of pronouns, from pronouns of inclusion to pronouns of exclusion: from *we* (the ANC), *we* (the ruling party in government) and *we* (South Africans as a whole, including the ANC), to *you* (the voters).

4.5.2. Contrasting expressions

The ANC’s 1999, 2004 and 2009 national election manifestos draw a very sharp contrast between the pre-1994 apartheid system and the post-1994 democratic system. Specific contrasting expressions are used to portray the apartheid system as diametrically opposed to the democratic system. The apartheid system is described with expressions such as *darkness*, *oppression*, *exploitation*, *despair* and *evil*, whereas expressions such as *light*, *the light of freedom*, *hope* and *good* are used in the description of the post-1994 system. This is illustrated by the following extract from the 1999 manifesto:

The days of darkness are over: together we have ended apartheid minority rule. The rays of dawn have begun to light up our horizon: the light of freedom is challenging the departing darkness of apartheid. The dark days of despair have given way to the season of hope (ANC 1999:1).

Various other contrasting expressions are used in the manifestos to describe the periods associated with the two political systems. These include, for the the pre-1994 period on the one hand, expressions such as *neglect*, *violence and indignity*, *relations of hatred/enmity*, *not exemplary to the world*, *disrespect* and *depravity*; and for the post-1994 period on the other hand, *better quality of life*, *peace and dignity*, *united nation*, *exemplary to the world*, *respect* and *fulfilment* (ANC 1999:1). The stark contrast in these expressions compels the audience to identify with the post-1994

democratic system as well as with the ANC and the ANC-led government which ushered in the new democratic political system and all the achievements that are claimed to follow from it (see section 4.4.2 above). By implication, any opposition to the ANC is therefore tantamount to (i) expressing nostalgia for the pre-1994 period, (ii) identifying with the latter period and the system of apartheid associated with it, and (iii) being in opposition to the post-1994 period of democracy.

The apartheid system is generally regarded as an immoral and inhuman system. In fact, it was described as “a crime against humanity” in resolution 2202 A (16 December 1966) of the United Nations General Assembly (Dugard 2008:1). Still, there are commentators who take the contentious view that apartheid has merely been replaced by an equally unacceptable politico-economic system (Terreblanche 2012). This view is based on the claim that the post-1994 democratic system has failed in, amongst others, its attempts to:

- properly address the apartheid legacy of abject poverty, high unemployment and growing inequality;
 - put a moral and human system in place of the immoral and inhuman system of apartheid;
 - create the “people-centred society” envisaged by President Nelson Mandela in May 1994 or the “rainbow nation” envisaged by Archbishop Desmond Tutu;
 - replace the deeply divided South African society of the apartheid period with a society of social solidarity and proud South Africanism.
- (Terreblanche 2012:124-126).

4.5.3. Grounding and elisions

The ANC is foregrounded in various ways in the election manifestos. For instance, it is foregrounded as the organization which not only brought freedom to South Africa, but which in fact led the struggle for change. The 2004 manifesto states the following in this regard:

The change that happened 10 years ago was a result of struggle and sacrifice. Led by the African National Congress (ANC), it was change that created an opportunity for us to chart our future together” (ANC 2004:3).

The ANC is also foregrounded as the organization with the right and proper vision of a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa; an organization which has accumulated the relevant experience to realize this vision and which has the capacity and resources to speed up “the journey to a better life” (ANC 1999:2). Moreover, through foregrounding, the ANC is positioned as an organization which has improved the quality of life of all South Africans. According to the 1999 manifesto, it accomplished this by:

bringing water to 3 million people; housing nearly 3 million people; connecting 2 million households to electricity; improving health-care for the poor; transferring land to communities; implementing non-racial education and connecting telephone lines for 3 million people” (ANC 1999:4-5).

In more general terms, the 2004 manifesto states that:

Throughout its 92 years of existence, the African National Congress has put the interests of all the people of South Africa at the top of its agenda (ANC 2004:1).

What is striking in all three election manifestos is the fact that no mention at all is made of the many other political parties challenging the political dominance of the ANC in South Africa. Their elision can be equated to their backgrounding. There is thus a foregrounding of the ANC and what it has done and a backgrounding, through elision, of other political parties in contention with the ANC for political hegemony in South Africa. The audience is furthermore made to believe, through foregrounding and elision, that it is the ANC and not any other political party or grouping which laid the foundation for a democratic South Africa and a better future for all. According to the 1999 manifesto, the ANC was able to do this by:

putting in place one of the best Constitutions in the world; sweeping away racist and oppressive laws; introducing laws which provide for change; bringing equality of treatment of all and entrenching worker rights” (ANC 1999:4).

The 2004 election manifesto concludes by reassuring the audience that “the ANC speaks with confidence because it has been at the head of this national effort to change our country for the better” (ANC 2004:10). In the same vein, the 2009 manifesto states that it is the ANC, not any other contending political party, which “has introduced laws to protect workers; created machinery to negotiate wages and working conditions; set minimum wages for domestic workers, farm workers, hospitality, taxi workers and security sectors and established maximum hours of work for all ... [and which has – TB] introduced affirmative action laws and legislation to promote skills” (ANC 2009:3). The 2009 manifesto also states:

The *ANC-led government* [and not a government led by any other party – TB] has made much progress in the past 15 years, in the provision of housing, water and electricity to millions of homes” (ANC 2009:1, emphasis added).

In sum, according to the 2009 manifesto, the ANC is “best placed to lead our country in the right direction, ensuring growth that is equitable and sustainable, as well as prosperity for all our citizens” (ANC 2009:2).

4.5.4. Intertextuality

Fairclough (1992:102; 1993:137) contends that texts are inherently “inter-textual”, by which is meant that they are constituted by elements of other texts. In a later work, he (2003:61) identifies a number of orientations which intertextuality can have with regard to the notion of difference. These orientations form the basis for assessing the relative degree of “dialogicality” of a text, that is, the dialogue between the voice of the author of the text and other voices. According to Fairclough (2003:42), intertextuality orientates a text to the following:

- an openness to, acceptance of, recognition of difference: an exploration of difference, as in dialogue, in the richest sense of the term;
- an accentuation of difference, conflict, polemic, struggle over meaning, norms, power;
- an attempt to resolve or overcome difference;
- a bracketing of difference, a focus on commonality, solidarity;
- consensus, a normalization and acceptance of difference of power which bracket or suppress differences of meaning and norms.

As will be shown below, there are several texts and voices embedded within the ANC's 1999, 2004 and 2009 election manifestos. It is claimed that these texts and voices are reproduced and invoked at the appropriate places in order to lend credence and an authoritative voice to the ANC. At the same time, it should be kept in mind that some texts and voices are "censored, some opinions are not heard and some perspectives are ignored" (Van Dijk 1993:260).

The texts and voices which are reproduced and invoked in the election manifestos include the Freedom Charter (1955), the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP, 1994), the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (2006), and other ANC resolutions, policies and discussion documents such as those concerning the Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM) and the appeal for a "Reconstruction and Development Programme of the Soul". The focus of this section is on the reproduction and invocation of the RDP, the Freedom Charter and, to a lesser extent, the Constitution (ANC 2009b).

The RDP is invoked as an authoritative document whose principles and policies continue to guide the ANC in its struggle to change the social, economic and political conditions of South Africans for the better. This is illustrated by the following extract from the 2009 manifesto:

Guided by the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), we have brought water, electricity and telephone lines to millions of South Africa. Houses are being built. Health and education are being made available to all. (ANC 1999:4).

According to the 1999 manifesto, the RDP “remains the only relevant detailed programme to carry South Africa to freedom and social justice” (ANC 1999:22). Even Vision 2014, which is an integral part of the ANC’s 2004 election manifesto, takes the RDP as its guiding document: the 2014 vision is presented as the same vision associated with the RDP and which aimed to “build a society that is truly united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic” (ANC 2004:6). What these manifestos do not reveal, though, is that the progressive goals of the RDP were in fact “abandoned one by one and new priorities were formulated in the government’s macro-economic policy framework, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (Gear)” (Kagarlitsky 1999). The RDP was in fact replaced by Gear in 1996 (EISA 2011; Harris 1997).

In this regard, Michie and Padayachee (1997) maintain that the shift from the integrated development strategy of the RDP to the more orthodox Gear model was already anticipated by President Nelson Mandela’s pronouncement in July 1995 that “government must abandon its obsession with grand plans and make economic growth its top priority” (*Sunday Times* 30.07.95, cited in Michie and Padayachee 1997:21). In this regard, Calland (2006:4-5) hints at the important role played by Alec Erwin¹⁴ (amongst others) in the controversial and fundamental shift from the RDP to Gear in 1996.

Unlike its 1999 and 2004 election manifestos, the ANC’s 2009 manifesto invokes the vision of the Freedom Charter as the guiding principle which underpins the ANC’s programme to transform South Africa. The vision of the Freedom Charter to unite a nation of many languages, cultural, religious and socio-economic diversity is also presented in the 2009 manifesto as the inspiration of the country’s Constitution which was adopted in 1996 (ANC 2009:1). In fact, the elaboration of each of the five priority areas identified in the ANC’s Plan for the period from 2009 to 2014 (see section 4.4.4 above) is actually preceded by a clause or heading from the Freedom Charter that is directly related to the particular priority area. In other words, intertextuality in the ANC’s 2009 election manifesto takes the form of quotations (but without quotation marks) of clauses or headings from the Freedom Charter. As stated above,

¹⁴ Alec Erwin was the Minister of Trade and Industry during the Presidency of Thabo Mbeki and serves as Minister of Public Enterprise under the Presidency of Jacob Zuma.

these priority areas are targeted at the youth, women, workers, the rural poor, the elderly and people with disabilities (ANC 2009:6).

In the presentation of the ANC's Plan for 2009-2014 in its 2009 manifesto, the discussion of the first priority area relating to the creation of decent work and sustainable livelihoods (ANC 2009:6) is preceded by the third clause or heading of the Freedom Charter, namely "the people shall share in the country's wealth" (ANC 1955:1; McKinley 1997:20). The ninth clause of the Freedom Charter states that "there shall be houses, security and comfort" (ANC 1955:2; McKinley 1999:20). An integral part of this clause is a proposition to the effect that "rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry" (ANC 1955:2). This proposition precedes the presentation of the priority area on food security in the 2009 manifesto (ANC 2009:8). The same practice of invoking relevant clauses in the Freedom Charter is followed in those sections in the 2009 manifesto detailing the ANC's Plan and the practical steps to be followed to realize it in the 2009-2014 period (ANC 2009:9-14).

Note that, in contrast to the Freedom Charter, the Constitution is seen as providing the broad framework within which the ANC will carry out its programme of change (ANC 1999:22).

What is of interest is that all three the election manifestos anticipate criticism of, and opposition to, the work which the ANC and the ANC-led government had done since it assumed power in 1994. Consequently, there is an engagement of such critical and oppositional voices. The engagement takes the form of an acknowledgement of the many problems which beset South Africa and the work which still needs to be done. This represents what McKinley (2009:2) refers to as "the necessity to provide a degree of truthfulness when it comes to the realities and inheritances of the ANC's 14-year rule". This approach is clearly different from the one referred to by Hamill (2004:703-4) as a "steady pattern of attacks" by the ANC on its critics in the opposition parties, the media and sections of the civil service, which involves portraying such critics as negative, unpatriotic, racist and anti-revolutionary.

The 1999 manifesto identifies specific problems facing the country and that must be addressed, namely “inequality, lack of jobs, crime and corruption, poverty and the HIV/Aids problem” (ANC 1999:3). According to the 2004 manifesto “the economy has created 2-million net jobs since 1995” (ANC 2004:5). At the same time, however, the manifesto anticipates criticism and opposition to the number of jobs created by acknowledging that:

The number of people seeking work has sharply increased; many workers have lost their jobs; and many have been negatively affected by casualization and outsourcing. As a result many, many South Africans do not have jobs or decent self-employment; poverty is still a reality for millions as many do not have appropriate skills, while many cannot get credit to start or improve their own businesses (ANC 2004:5).

In the same vein, the 2009 manifesto acknowledges that:

Unemployment is unacceptably high among our people [especially amongst – TB] African women, rural persons and young people. There has been a growth of casualized, low wage and outsourced jobs, contributing to the rise of the working poor (ANC 2009 5).

By identifying the growth in the number of job-seekers, casualization and outsourcing as factors which undermine progress in the creation of jobs or decent self-employment, the ANC actually displaces blame and criticism of its efforts at job creation and locates it elsewhere. In effect, growth in the number of job-seekers, casualization and outsourcing become examples of ontological metaphors, that is, ways of viewing events, activities, etc. as entities (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:25). As ontological metaphors, the growth in the number of job-seekers, casualization and outsourcing function as indices by which, in the context of South Africa, we refer, quantify, identify aspects and identify causes of unemployment (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 26-27).

The construction and presentation of the above-mentioned processes and activities as ontological metaphors is consistent with the avoidance strategy (Zheng 2000), which entails denying the existence of any flaws or negative aspects of the ANC's

policies. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claim that conceptual metaphors, as exemplified by ontological metaphors, have a dual role. They not only allow us to focus on the causes of some phenomenon (such as the causes of unemployment in the examples of ontological metaphors mentioned above), but also function to hide those causes which are in fact inconsistent with the conceptual metaphors. What is not directly spelled out in the discussion of unemployment in the 1999, 2004 and 2009 manifestos is that the growing number of job-seekers, casualization and outsourcing are actually features characteristic of the capitalist mode of production, an economic system which the ANC-led government had chosen to operate in when it adopted the Gear framework in 1996. The three manifestos are also silent about the fact that casualization and outsourcing are a result of other policy choices and practices pursued by the ANC-led government.

The space for alternative explanations of unemployment in South Africa, such as those grounded within the Marxist framework, is likewise closed. Mandel (1980), for instance, puts forward an argument to the effect that capitalism has an in-built mechanism which it uses to prevent wages from rising above a level that would endanger the valorization of capital. This mechanism takes the form of the expansion of the reserve army of labour, which is located mainly in the “second economy” in South Africa, in reaction to a decline in the accumulation of capital (Mandel 1980:4). In accordance with this view, unemployment is a structural feature inherent in the capitalist mode of production and can be explained in terms of the laws of operation of this mode of production. In other words, the capitalist mode of production in effect “creates unemployment”. Such an explanation is not considered in the manifestos, most likely because it would be incompatible with the ANC’s commitment to the Gear framework.

As regards the achievements of an ANC-led government, the ANC’s 2004 election manifesto states that:

Young people have benefited from the environment and programmes of freedom: from the improvements in the education system; from the outlawing of discrimination in access to profession; from the opening up of opportunities

in sport and culture and from the provision of electricity, water and other services to millions of households (ANC 2004:5).

At the same time, the manifesto anticipates criticism of these achievements by acknowledging that “too many young people are unemployed, and millions of them come from poor households” (ANC 2004:5). What is hidden from the audience, however, is that among the major causes of youth unemployment is the pursuit by the ANC-led government of a macro-economic policy framework (Gear) where the focus is on growth which often comes at the expense of job creation. In short, the election manifestos do not provide the space for alternative explanations of causes of unemployment in societies characterized by a capitalist mode of production.

In addition to the acknowledgement and identification of the socio-economic and political problems which beset South Africa, the ANC election manifestos provide a rationale or some form of justification for the continued existence of these problems. This justification involves factors such as the following (ANC 1999:5):

- A budget – inherited from the old order – which cannot be increased overnight;
- The legacy of the apartheid system which will take time to overcome;
- The time needed to change apartheid policies; as well as
- Powerful forces which continue to block change.

Still, as mentioned above, the ANC is positioned as the only party which has “the vision and determination to attack the root causes of these and other problems” (ANC 1999:3), the only party with policies in place to build a better life (ANC 1999:7). This “reassuring” view is also clearly expressed in the following statement which presents the ANC as:

the principled force in South Africa with experience of democratic government and detailed plans for the transformation of South Africa into a non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous democracy (ANC 1999:22).

In sum, it should be clear from the preceding discussion that intertextuality is inevitably “selective with respect to what is included and what is excluded from events and texts represented” (Fairclough 2003:55).

4.5.5. Statistics and figures

Both the 2004 and 2009 election manifestos appeal to the authority of figures and statistics – that is, numerical facts (data) collected and classified in systematic ways (McGraw-Taylor 2007:3) – especially in sections which present quantitative data pertaining to progress made in various spheres to better the lives of South Africans. The 2004 manifesto provides the following statistics regarding social services extended to the people:

Today more than 70% of households have access to electricity, compared to 30% in 1996. From 60% in 1996, today more than 80% of households have access to clean running water (ANC 2004:4).

In the same vein, the 2009 national election manifesto reveals that:

In 1996, 58% of the population gained access to electricity. Today 80% do. In 1996, 62% of the population had access to running water. Today 88% do”.

“3 million subsidized houses were built, including 2,7 million free houses for the poor, giving shelter to an additional 14 million people” (ANC 2009:4).

With respect to the economy and its management, the 2004 manifesto states that:

Before 1994, economic growth had ground to a halt. Since then, our economy has grown by 2,8% a year. It has become more competitive, with increasing volume diversity and destination of exports, and it has created 2 million net new jobs between 1996 and 2003 (ANC 2004:4).

Similarly, the 2009 manifesto maintains that:

In recent years the economy has for the first time been creating jobs faster than the rate at which new people have entered the job market. On average half a million new jobs have been added to the economy every year since 2004, reducing unemployment from 31% in 2003 to 23% in 2007” (ANC 2009: 4).

To signal the success of the ANC-led government in its efforts to deal with crime and corruption, the 2004 manifesto states that:

Since 1994 the rate of murder has been reduced by 30%, vehicle hijacking by 33% and since 1996 bank related robbery has been reduced by 52% (ANC 2004:4).

Systems have been put in place to expose and punish corruption both in government and in the private sector: 80% of corruption cases in government reported in the media are actually first uncovered by government itself (ANC 2004:4).

Statistics, as a discipline which deals with the collection, arrangement, analysis, etc. of numerical data, suggests a scientific and systematic approach which underpins the collection, analysis and presentation of numerical information. In light of this, the use of descriptive statistics in the 2004 and 2009 manifestos – that is, statistics which merely describe numerical data, as opposed to inferential statistics which allows the researcher to infer properties about a large group from a smaller group of people (Ternes 1995:1-2) – invests the ANC with a scientific and systematic gravitas. In other words, the use of descriptive statistics convinces the audience that the ANC’s approach is scientific and systematic and certainly not one which is merely based on intuition or emotion. The audience is thus compelled to believe the ANC with respect to what it reports as its achievements.

4.5.6. Discourse

Similar to concepts such as ‘power’ (see section 2.2) and ‘language’ (section 2.5), the concept ‘discourse’ is difficult to define. Fairclough (1992:3-4) attributes this

difficulty to the “many conflicting and overlapping definitions formulated from various theoretical and disciplinary standpoints”. McCann and Minichiello (2010:221), for instance, define discourse as “commonly held beliefs that underpin a topic, the authorized accounts about it”, where these beliefs “contain indicators of power that shape how we interact with concepts such as gender and sexuality”. According to Fairclough (1992:128), discourse represents a particular way of constructing a subject matter; it is that “sort of language used to construct some aspect of reality from a particular perspective, for example the liberal discourse of politics” (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999:63).

In a later work, Fairclough (2003:124) provides a revised definition according to which discourses are “ways of representing aspects of the world – the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the mental world of thoughts, feelings, beliefs and so forth, and the social world”. The value of this revised definition lies, firstly, in its recognition of the plurality of discourse. Secondly, it expresses the fact that the subject matter or an aspect of reality that is constructed or presented can take on many forms, specifically, the form of processes, relations and structures. And thirdly, the revised definition incorporates the idea that the world to which these processes, relations and structures belong may be material, mental and social. Fairclough (2003:124) furthermore claims that discourses do not only represent the world as it is or as it is seen to be, but that they may also be “projective, imaginaries, representing possible worlds which are different from the actual world, and tied in to projects to change the world in particular directions.”

All three of the ANC’s 1999, 2004 and 2009 national election manifestos reflect a “discourse of freedom”. More specifically, all three texts contain a particular construction or presentation of freedom, a subject matter or an aspect of the social, economic and political reality of the country. In this discourse, “freedom” is constructed/presented as “complete” or “total” freedom in the sense that it includes social, economic and political aspects or elements of the reality of the lives of the majority of South Africans. As was already shown in section 4.5.3 above, the ANC is foregrounded in the three manifestos as the organization which not only brought freedom to South Africa, but which also led the struggle for change. In accordance with the discourse of freedom, the “freedom” referred to in this context is complete or

total freedom; in other words, the ANC is portrayed as an organization which brought about social, economic and political freedom in South Africa.

The seventh paragraph of the Message of the President of the ANC in the 2004 manifesto and the third paragraph of the Message in the 2009 manifesto both provide a clear indication of the construction/presentation of freedom as “complete” or “total” in the sense described above. Consider in this regard the following statement in the 2004 manifesto:

We have, in these ten years, brought water and electricity to millions of households; built houses accommodating millions of South Africans; opened up access to quality education; removed discrimination in access to professions; turned the economy around to become more productive and globally competitive; and placed South Africa in a strategic position to deal with international affairs (ANC 2004:1).

A similar statement is found in the 2009 manifesto:

The ANC-led government has made much progress in the past 15 years, in the provision of housing, water and electricity to millions of homes. Our economy has grown, more jobs have been created than in any other time in our history and we have deepened our democracy. We have extended social protection to millions of South Africans through the provision of social grants (ANC 2009:1).

In the two statements cited above, housing, water, electricity, education and social grants constitute the social aspect of total freedom. The growth of the economy, the creation of more jobs and the establishment of a productive and globally competitive economy constitute the economic aspect, whereas the removal of discrimination and the deepening of democracy relate to the political aspect of total freedom. Even the discussion of the various programmes, together with the associated practical steps or measures, which the ANC promises to undertake to realize its vision of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa (ANC 1999:14-21; ANC 2004:7-10; ANC 2009:6-15) include the social, economic and political aspects of the

discourse of total freedom. This discourse is not only an integral part of the discourse of politics in South Africa, but actually of the global neo-liberal discourse of politics.

The ANC's discourse of total/complete freedom is however seriously challenged and in some respects seemingly negated by alternative oppositional and academic discourses about what was really achieved with the first democratic elections in 1994. Webster and Adler (2001:121) cite Saul (1996) who maintains that the transition in South Africa "left intact the pillars of the capitalist market economy: it was a transition in the political system, not in the political economy". In other words, what was achieved by the ANC in 1994 was political freedom, but not social and economic freedom. Webster and Adler (2001) provide additional pointers to the discourse of an "incomplete freedom", that is, a freedom which includes only the political aspects of the reality of the majority of South Africans. According to them (2001:121), the economic policies adopted by the ANC-led government demonstrate considerable continuity with those used by the apartheid regime. The ANC is also shown to have once embraced privatization as a "fundamental principle", together with the gradual elimination of exchange controls and the reduction of tariffs to encourage export-led growth (Webster and Adler 2001:121). It should be noted, though, that the ANC does not seem to be averse to the discourse of an incomplete freedom as characterized above. In *The Second Transition? Building a national democratic society and the balance of forces in 2012*, a document prepared for discussion at its 2012 National Policy Conference, the ANC puts forward a vision which is suggestive of the view that the first transition was actually a political transition as it only focused on democratization. In this discussion document the ANC in fact states "the need for a vision for a second transition that must focus on the social and economic transformation of South Africa over the next 30 to 50 years" (ANC 2012:4).

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated that the 1999, 2004 and 2009 ANC election manifestos are framed by a context defined by social, economic and political problems such as poverty, unemployment and inequality, rooted in South Africa's history of colonialism, racism, apartheid, sexism and oppressive labour policies. The subsequent critical

analysis of the discourses constructed in these three texts identified the presence of symbolic/discursive devices and resources such as genre, ambiguous pronouns, intertextuality, contrasting expressions, grounding and elisions, statistics and figures, and the discourse of total freedom, and showed how these devices and resources are used to achieve a number of objectives. Briefly, it was shown that ambiguous pronouns are used to ensure an affinity between the ANC and the audience with respect to the achievements of the ANC-led government, what work still needs to be done and to position the ANC's vision as a shared vision. Contrasting expressions are used to disparage the apartheid system and to extol the post-1994 democratic system. In all three texts the ANC is foregrounded as the organization which not only brought freedom to South Africa, but which in fact led the struggle for change. At the same time, there is an elision of other political organizations and the role they played in the struggle for the national democratic revolution in South Africa. It was also demonstrated that the three texts, constituted by elements of other texts such as the Freedom Charter, the RDP and the Constitution, use statistics and figures to bestow the ANC with a systematic and scientific gravitas. Lastly, the three manifestos reflect a discourse of complete/total freedom, which forms an integral part of the discourse of politics in South Africa. It was argued that all these linguistic devices, techniques and strategies, located in symbolic constructions or discursive resources such as the ANC's national election manifestos, are specifically used to position the ANC as more fit to govern South Africa than other political parties which are competing for political hegemony.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Has not the practice of revolutionary discourse and scientific discourse over the past two hundred years freed you from this idea that words are wind, an external whisper, a beating of wings that one has difficulty in hearing in the serious matter of history?

(Michel Foucault 1972).

5.1. Introduction

This chapter is organized into three main sections. The first, section 5.2, provides a summary of the topic, aim and main areas of investigation of the study. Section 5.3 presents a summary of the most important findings of the critical analysis of the discourse constructed in the ANC's 1999, 2004 and 2009 national election manifestos. The final concluding remarks are presented in section 5.4.

5.2. Summary

The overall aim of this study was to determine the ways in which language is used by the ANC to position itself as more fit to govern than other political parties in South Africa. In order to achieve this aim, the study firstly examined the relationship between language and power. This was followed by an investigation of the linguistic devices, techniques and strategies that are used in the maintenance of systematically asymmetrical power relations. Lastly, a critical analysis was made of the ANC's 1999, 2004 and 2009 national election manifestos to determine the manner in which the ANC uses these devices, techniques and strategies to position itself in the South African political context.

Chapter 1 presented the results of the South African National Assembly elections of 1994, 1999, 2004 and 2009 as testimony of the reality of the political dominance of the ANC. This is in spite of, on the one hand, the challenges to the ANC's hegemony in South Africa from numerous political parties such as the ACDP, Cope, DA, IFP and UDM and, on the other hand, the gradual decrease in the voting turnout since 1994 despite a substantial growth in the country's population. It was also pointed out in Chapter 1 that theories about the dominant socio-political power relations in South

Africa are devoid of any language-based account. This is somewhat surprising since, as noted by Halliday and Martin (1993:10), human history is as much a history of semiotic activity as it is a history of socio-economic activity.

Chapter 2 comprised two main parts. The first provided an overview of the relevant literature on power and power relations. The second main part dealt with several aspects of language, including its features and the various functions it performs in society. Specific attention was also given to the linguistic devices, techniques and strategies which are found in symbolic constructions or discursive resources, and which feature in the maintenance of systematically asymmetrical power relations. It was pointed out that power – taken to be the capacity of social agents to influence the behaviour of others, emotions or the course of events (SACOD 2002:916; Scruton 1982:366; Vincent 1978:179) – can occur in many forms (Fairclough 2001:3). These include economic, political and personal forms, as well as the ideological form which complements economic and political forms of power (Fairclough 2001:33). Based on Althusser's (1971) claim that state apparatuses function predominantly by ideology, it was argued that the ANC's hold over state power and state apparatus (both the Repressive State Apparatus and the Ideological State Apparatuses, see sections 2.3 and 2.4) ensures its continued capacity not only to influence or control the means of production and the institutions through which laws are made and applied, but also to exercise influence or control over the majority of the population in South Africa. It is this hold over state power and state apparatus and what the ANC is able to do because of this hold that creates a situation of systematic asymmetrical power relations.

Based on the relevant literature, it was also established in Chapter 2 that views on language which focus on its formal properties (e.g. its abstraction function, arbitrariness, and rule-governed nature) do not facilitate a full understanding of the social nature of language and its dynamic and dialectical relationship with society. A basic assumption of this study is that language is part of society. This implies that language is part of the social relations of production which, together with the forces of production, constitute the mode of production of material life at a given stage in the development of a society. In view of the fact that it is part of a social reality characterized by contradictions, language is both a "site of social struggle" and a

“stake in social struggle”, that is, it becomes a place where power relations are exercised and enacted (Fairclough 2001:43). It is in the context of social contradictions or conflict that language performs a multiplicity of functions; for instance, it influences thought processes (Geis 1989), constitutes what people perceive as reality (Chilton 2004), and produces, reproduces and denies prejudice (Van Dijk 1989, 1999). Of particular importance for the present study, it was established that it is in pursuit of its ideological function that language plays a fundamental role in the establishment and maintenance of systematically asymmetrical power relations in society. Linguistic devices, techniques and strategies found in symbolic constructions or discursive resources play an essential role in this regard.

Chapter 3 outlined the research strategy and methodology used in the study. A qualitative research strategy was used in an attempt to gain an understanding of the ways in which language functions to position this party as more fit to govern than other political formations in South Africa. As regards the method of data collection, the study relied on documentary-based sources, mainly the ANC’s 1999, 2004 and 2009 national election manifestos.

The three election manifestos, considered to be shifting articulations of symbolic constructions or discursive resources (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999:21), were systematically analysed in Chapter 4 within the methodological framework of Critical Discourse Analysis. The analysis was organised around the use of linguistic devices, techniques and strategies such as genre and its sequential structure, pronouns, intertextuality, contrasting expressions, grounding and elision, statistics and figures, and discourse.

5.3. Findings

It was established in Chapter 4 that a particular social, economic and political context – characterized by poverty, unemployment and inequality, amongst other social ills, and rooted in South Africa’s history of colonial and racial capitalism – framed the ANC’s 1999, 2004 and 2009 national election manifestos. The texts, authored by the ANC, draw upon socially available resources of the genre of manifesto, and more specifically the sub-genre of party election manifesto. They accordingly have certain

structural sequential features in common, namely the message from the ANC President; achievements, challenges and justification; vision; plans, programmes and implementation measures; and concluding remarks.

The three manifestos are characterized by the ambiguous use of the first person plural pronouns *we*, *us* and *our*. The inclusive use of these pronouns serves to bring about an affinity between the ANC and the audience pertaining to the ANC's record of achievements, the work that still needs to be done to better the lives of South Africans, and also to position the vision of the ANC as a shared vision. The use of inclusive pronouns has the effect of blurring the distinction between the ANC and the audience. It also serves to bestow the ANC with the authority to speak not only as the ruling party, but also as a party of all South Africans, ruling on behalf of and together with all South Africans. The manifestos themselves are bestowed with the authority to speak not only as manifestos of the ANC, but also as documents which belong to all South Africans.

Contrasting expressions are used to disparage the apartheid system and to extol the post-1994 democratic system. By implication, then, any opposition to the ANC or the ANC-led government is tantamount to (i) expressing nostalgia for the pre-1994 period, (ii) identifying with the latter period and the system of apartheid associated with it, and (iii) being in opposition to the post-1994 period of democracy ushered in by the ANC, together with the achievements and successes brought about the ANC-led government.

The ANC is foregrounded in the manifestos as the organization which did not just bring about freedom, but which led the struggle for change in South Africa. It is also positioned as the only organization with the right and proper vision of a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa, and the only organization with the relevant experience to realize this vision. The corollary of this is the backgrounding, through elision, of other political parties. The impression is thus created that other political organizations did not play any significant role in the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

In line with the CDA method of data analysis, it was furthermore found that there are several other texts and voices embedded within the ANC's 1999, 2004 and 2009 election manifestos. Some of these texts and voices – like the Freedom Charter, the Reconstruction and Development Programme, and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa – are reproduced and invoked at the appropriate places, whereas others are censured or ignored. The texts and voices which are reproduced and invoked, such as the three mentioned above, function to lend credence and an authoritative voice to the ANC.

Statistics and figures, presented especially in the 2004 and 2009 manifestos, are used to invest the ANC with a scientific and systematic gravitas. The impression is created that the ANC's approach is scientific and systematic and not one based on mere intuition or emotion. Consequently, there is a "suspension of disbelief" of what the ANC reports as its achievements or even its failures.

Lastly, all three of the manifestos are discourses of freedom. More specifically, each text contains a construction or presentation of freedom as "complete" or "total" in the sense that it encompasses social, economic and political aspects of the reality of the lives of the majority of South Africans. In accordance with this discourse, the ANC is constructed as an organization which brought about complete/total freedom: social, economic and political. This is in contrast to alternative discourses (silenced, not heard or ignored in the manifestos) which contend that what was achieved in 1994 was actually an "incomplete" freedom, concerned only with political liberty.

5.4. Conclusion

The critical discourse analysis of the ANC's 1999, 2004 and 2009 national election manifestos presented in this study demonstrated that the ANC in fact uses linguistic devices, techniques and strategies such as genre and its sequential structure, ambiguous pronouns, contrasting expressions, grounding and elision, intertextuality, statistics and figures, and the discourse of complete/total freedom to position itself as more fit to govern than other political formations in South Africa.

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APPENDIX A: ELECTIONS 1999 ANC MANIFESTO

CHANGE MUST GO ON AT A FASTER PACE!

Message from the President

Fellow South Africans,

Together, through struggle we won our **freedom**.

The **days of darkness** are over: together we have ended apartheid minority rule. The rays of dawn have begun to light up our horizon: the light of freedom is challenging the departing darkness of apartheid. The days of despair have given way to the **season of hope**.

Five years ago, you elected a government of the people to begin removing the terrible system of apartheid. In these short five years, your Government led by the ANC has created a new legacy of freedom and democracy.

Our central challenge for the next five years is to **use the experience we have gained**, the policies we have put in place and the institutions of democracy we have created, to **bring about even greater change** than we have achieved in the first five years of democratic government.

We must act together, in conditions of **social discipline**, further to give birth to a South Africa of freedom, prosperity and security for all, committed to act together to solve the national problems that confront all of us, including the **advancement of national unity and reconciliation**.

TODAY:

South Africans enjoy better conditions of **peace and dignity**. We have started to build a united nation: joining hands without regard to race, colour and gender. Each of our communities is at last to express its **linguistic and cultural identity** in conditions of diversity, with each free to assume its equal place within our new nation, without discrimination. Inspired by a new patriotism, we can truly say: **South Africa belongs to all** who live in it.

The majority of South Africans who were victims of apartheid neglect enjoy a **better quality of life**. Women, workers, rural communities and people with disabilities are for the first time receiving focused attention in government programmes.

Every South African enjoys the right to **speak freely, to organise freely**, to criticise without fear of arrest, prosecution or torture.

Our country enjoys the respect of all nations of the world. We have, as a country, built relations of friendship with the international community, in search of a better world.

Should these changes go on? Should the efforts to build a country of our dreams on the southern tip of Africa continue?

This is the central question that each of us will have to answer on the 2nd June 1999. We are certain that you will answer YES! We urge you to do so, and thus **join the national partnership to build a winning nation** through an intensified offensive for transformation, reconstruction and development.

Change must go on at a faster pace! Vote ANC so together we can speed up the journey to a better life!

Thabo Mbeki
President

WHY VOTE ANC?

Because ...

... the ANC, together with the people, brought freedom

The ANC led the fight for freedom, acting together with its alliance partners and the great majority of South Africans. With the overwhelming support of the people, the ANC defeated apartheid in April 1994, so together we could build a better life for all. A nation of equals, of proud citizens with a restored dignity, is emerging.

... the ANC has led five years of struggle for change

Since 1994, the ANC has been leading a vast process of change. Against the odds, faced with challenges and resistance, the ANC has remained resolute in the struggle to remove the apartheid system and what remains of its practices. Guided by the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), we have brought water, electricity and telephone lines to millions of South Africans. Houses are being built. Health and education are being made available to all.

... there is more to be done

It is not enough for us to have the vote. It is not enough for equality to be written in the constitution and laws. The fight for change has to continue, and it must be speeded up to ensure a better life for all. There are huge difficulties that we must address: inequality, lack of jobs, crime and corruption, poverty and the HIV/AIDS problem. Only the ANC has the vision and determination to attack the root causes of these and other problems.

Only the ANC, working together with the people, can unite the nation in the joint effort to improve the lives of all South Africans.

FIVE YEARS OF ANC GOVERNMENT

BUILDING THE FOUNDATION

Over the past five years the ANC has laid the foundation for a better future. Together with the people of South Africa, the ANC has:

Put in place one of the best constitutions in the world

the rights of all citizens are enshrined in the constitution which guides us in building a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society.

Swept away racist and oppressive laws

Today, nobody is legally discriminated against because of race, or because they are women, or disabled, or because of some other difference.

Introduced laws which provide for change

Since 1994 more than 100 laws have been passed each year to ensure equality and to improve the lives of all.

Brought equality in the treatment of all

The ANC has changed the structures of the public service and championed the cause of affirmative action in all important social areas.

Entrenched worker rights

Through the Constitution and many laws, we have ensured rights for all workers, including farm-workers and domestic workers.

Today, South Africa is seen, in many respects, as an example to the world. Our country is respected on all continents; and we have built relations with almost all nations.

IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIFE

Guided by the RDP, we are steadily but surely starting to dent the massive inequalities and poverty created by apartheid. Since 1994, the ANC has:

Brought water to 3 million people

Housed nearly 3 million people

with 750 000 houses built or under construction

Connected 2 million households to electricity

Improved health-care for the poor

with over 500 new clinics built or upgraded, and free medical care for children under six and pregnant women.

Transferred land to communities

with 220 000 hectares of land transferred to 68 000 households.

Implemented non-racial education

with the majority of children enjoying better access to education; 10 000 new classrooms built or upgraded, and 1.5-million more children brought into the education system.

Connected telephone lines for 3 million people

These are just some of the massive changes the ANC has brought about, in partnership with the people. In all these efforts, we have targeted the poor and the most vulnerable: those who suffer the most from the ravages of apartheid. It is only by overcoming the huge inequalities in our society that we should be able to build a truly non-racial democracy.

**Yes, all these things have been done,
but is it enough? ...**

There's unemployment, communities are still plagued by crime, many of us still live in poverty, and Local Government still has to improve service to the people.

The ANC agrees:

**We are not complacent as a result of the changes that have taken place.
We share your impatience to overcome the decades-old crisis of
unemployment,
crime and poverty.**

Why are things still like this?

- Because we inherited a **budget that cannot be increased overnight**, and which must now be **shared by all our people** instead of a small minority during the days of apartheid
- Because the apartheid system left us with a legacy of **massive poverty and underdevelopment** for the majority of our people which will take time to overcome
- Because we require time to **change all the apartheid policies** we inherited, introduce the necessary legislation and establish a new public administration to implement the new policies
- Because there are still powerful **forces blocking change**

- And, yes, we have required time to **inspire the public service** to accept the new value system of batho pele and act in a more determined manner to serve the people of South Africa.

We will build on the foundations that have been laid, which were not there when we took over, to achieve faster progress towards a better life for all.

**The ANC will be decisive in dealing with those who fail the people.
We must also continue to learn together from our advances, problems and mistakes, and together, to find the right solutions.**

**TOGETHER,
IN EVERY SECTOR,
FIGHTING FOR CHANGE**

Five years of freedom have brought new rights, new possibilities and new opportunities for every sector of our society – for the young and the aged, for professionals and rural people, for workers and employers. The ANC has the policies in place for us to build a better life together. We remain committed to the policies which are contained in the Reconstruction and Development Programme. The next 5 years will therefore reflect continuity in our policy direction.

But the Government and each sector of our population have to do more and do it better so that we can all quicken the pace of change. How do we consolidate these policies, and what challenges face each of the sectors?

A Better Life For Women

For the first time ever, the rights of women have been guaranteed by law. Government institutions such as the Gender Commission have been established to continue the fight for the all-round emancipation of women. Our programmes have resulted in a sharp increase in the numbers of women who occupy decision-making positions in all spheres of society.

- Pregnant mothers have been given access to free health services

- **Rural infrastructure** is being improved to free women from back-breaking chores
- The **public housing** programme and the **transformation of hostels** into family dwellings are beginning to foster safe environments in which to bring up families.

Increasingly, women themselves are playing a leading role in their own liberation as part of the overall transformation of our country.

A Better Life For The Youth

- Government institutions such as the Youth Commission have been established for advancing youth interests, with youth themselves serving on them
- The transformation of **education** includes: youth participation in the governance of educational institutions, and funding programmes to ensure opportunities for youth disadvantaged by poverty
- **Job creation** programmes, including public works initiatives and the Umsobomvu Fund, focus on youth
- Special measures have been introduced to rescue young offenders, **caught up in crime** in early years, from becoming habitual criminals
- More than any other sector, the youth of our country are threatened by the spread of **HIV/AIDS**. We have introduced a major campaign focused on youth to increase awareness and to foster responsible and informed life-styles among the young people of our country.

Together, let us advance the National Youth Service programme, and let us build a vibrant youth culture of solidarity, service and patriotism.

A Better Life For Workers

The ANC believes workers are entitled to a fair share of the wealth they produce. No longer should they be treated as objects of exploitation, to be discarded when years of labour have sapped their strength.

Over the last 5 years, in the face of opposition, the ANC has among other things ensured:

- Through the Constitution and such laws as the Labour Relations, Basic Conditions of Employment, Employment Equity and Skills Development Acts, that workers have been guaranteed **constitutional and legal rights** to organize and defend their interests; to strike; to acquire skills and to take part in decision-making at the work-place
- Organized workers are able to take part in the **formulation of national policy** through the National Economic, Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) and other forums
- New laws have been introduced to guarantee **decent working conditions**, the prohibition of child labour, and an end to all kinds of discrimination at the workplace
- Measures have been introduced to assist workers when they lose their jobs and to protect them against exploitation as casual or temporary workers; and, even more critically, new programmes have been put in place to urgently and radically **reduce unemployment and retrenchments**
- Steps have been taken to put in place greater **control by workers over their savings** accumulated in pension and provident funds
- In the public sector, radical measures have been adopted to **reduce the apartheid wage gap**.

To strengthen their voice, workers need to join and consolidate their trade unions, and unite across race and other barriers. Their organizations must improve the capacity to formulate and influence policy. More of the savings that workers command should be invested in job-creation projects and in the improvement of social services. In their mobilizing activity, workers should maintain the tradition of disciplined struggle.

A Better Life For Business People

The ANC recognizes that South Africa's business people are critical partners in the development of our country. Over the last 5 years we have, amongst many things:

- **Removed apartheid barriers** hampering economic growth and development, and introduced **better conditions for investment**
- Given organized business the possibility to **co-determine socio-economic policies**, by participating in the National Economic Development and Labour Council, and numerous other sectoral forums
- Reduced conflict in the work-place by implementing an **effective labour relations system**
- Increased government assistance to business people to **participate in the African and world economy**
- Created conditions for the **participation of black people** and women in the economy as entrepreneurs and owners of wealth, and encouraged the growth of small and medium business.

But sustained economic growth and opportunity require commitment from the business community as well. They need to **invest more in productive and job-creating enterprises**; and the financial sector should extend **more credit to small and medium enterprises**. This requires a **commitment to the RDP vision** that sustainable growth, productivity and competitiveness are inextricably linked to infrastructural development, job creation and the advance of skills and training. Business-people also need to actively **counter negative tendencies** – corruption, tax evasion, and anti-South African pessimism.

A Better Life For Rural People

The ANC has ended the practice of using the countryside as a dumping ground where rural people are subjected to poverty and abuse, denied their citizenship and dignity.

- The ANC has made great strides in providing clean **water, electricity, telephones, better rural roads, new classrooms and sports and recreation facilities**. In this process, **thousands of jobs** were created, including for women and young people
- We have changed radically the **legal conditions of farm-workers**, including working conditions and security of tenure

- Progress has been made in changing the imbalance in the **ownership of land**, through land restitution and redistribution, schemes of co-ownership of farms, right of ownership of communal land, and opening doors for black commercial farmers
- Opportunities have been increased for white **commercial farmers** to become more efficient and to enter international markets

The challenge is to speed up these programmes. And this requires, among others, that rural communities **work together to utilize new opportunities**, to protect projects and new facilities, to call their Councillors and other representatives to account, and to join local government in identifying priorities in our communities.

A Better Life For Traditional Leaders

- Liberation has established the possibility to **restore the dignity** of traditional leaders, to give meaning to the principle that they are **leaders because of the people**
- New **national and provincial houses of traditional leaders** make it possible for traditional leaders to help **determine provincial and national policy**.

The challenge before all of us is to continue redefining the role of traditional leaders in a democratic and developing society, to ensure that they play their role in **partnership with elected institutions**, for the development of communities. We call on traditional leaders, our indigenous symbols of continuity, to be **active participants** in the fostering of the progressive and humanist elements of African culture and traditions.

A Better Life For Children

- For the first time, the **rights of all our children** have been guaranteed by law
- **Free access to health facilities** for the very young have been provided, and infant mortality has been reduced
- A comprehensive **immunization programme**, and a **feeding scheme** to counter malnutrition in schools have been introduced
- The **child grant** has been extended to African children
- **Special attention** is being given to the problem of **street children**.

Today, all of our children can grow up together, no longer separated by apartheid's walls. Together, let us ensure that these advances are consolidated.

A Better Life For The Aged

Freedom has restored the dignity of senior citizens, and accorded them the respect they deserve. No longer should they be humiliated in the land of their birth. The ANC is implementing programmes which address the plight of the aged, particularly in poor communities:

- The extension of **equal old aged pension** grants to all old people, removing the racial discrimination of the past, and improvements in the **system of payment** have been introduced
- **Public health care** has massively improved the lives of the aged – through the building of clinics in remote areas and special health care projects like free cataract operations and distribution of wheelchairs.
- Programmes have been introduced to **de-racialize old age homes**, and to **reintegrate care of old people into communities**.

With the special focus in this **International Year of the Aged** and into the future, we all need to pay increased attention to how the aged can play an even greater role in the life of the nation. It is critical that the aged themselves form, and improve the operations of, their organizations to **give guidance** on this and other matters.

A Better Life For Professionals

Freedom has opened up many opportunities for South Africa's professionals, NGO's, cultural workers and sports-people. Through policies of empowerment and consistent non-racialism, the ANC has:

- Made it possible for every professionally qualified person to **rise to higher levels**, to exercise their creativity, and to contribute to the development of the country; **access to universities and technikons** has improved, and a **new qualifications framework** has been introduced

- Ensured that all professionals without discrimination are able to participate in the **formulation of government policy**, and in working with their peers to **build a better world**
- Made sure that **sports-people have access to improved amenities** and to opportunities previously denied the majority. Today they can compete with the best in the world
- **Opened up the world to our artists**, and broadened access to opportunities which allow creativity free reign
- **Opened up the airwaves** and created conditions for **media workers** to undertake their work without restrictions.

But it is critical for professionals to **continually improve their work**, to systematically contribute to the programmes aimed at uplifting conditions of the poor, and to join hands with their **peers in Africa to assist in the continent's renewal**. Students face the challenge to use the new opportunities with responsibility. In the professions, in sport, in the arts and music, we should **improve our organizations**, ensure better management of resources; and ensure that we reflect, in its rich diversity, our nation's effort to build a better life.

A Better Life for the Disabled

- For the first time ever, the **rights of the disabled** have been guaranteed by law
- A comprehensive government programme has been adopted for the empowerment of the disabled; and legislation now **prohibits discrimination** at the workplace
- Today, the disabled themselves **serve actively on government bodies** to promote the interests of the disabled. The ANC has made provision on our **election candidates** lists for representation of the disabled in our country's legislative bodies.

Together, let us continue to fight for a life of dignity and fulfilment for all.

With Communities Of Faith –

For A Better Life For All

- For the first time ever, all faiths receive **equal recognition and treatment**. The new South Africa that we are building is founded upon the **moral principles** of equality, solidarity and the right to dignity for all
- The ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme represents a fundamental policy **choice for the poor** and historically downtrodden, a choice that most communities of faith have themselves made.

The struggle to build a better future for all requires, not just material transformation, but an **RDP of the Soul**. The ANC calls upon all communities of faith, to be active **partners in shaping our moral vision**, and in fostering the moral renewal of our society.

To protect the freedoms that we have won, and to make progress in the fight for a better life requires that all sectors join hands behind a common national vision for the coming years.

What is this vision?

THE NEXT FIVE YEARS – OUR VISION

The goal of the ANC remains the building of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa. This goal guides our day-to-day actions. We are ready and determined to move with greater speed towards this goal. The next 5 years will be:

5 Years of Accelerated Change

Now is the time to speed up provision of services; to build on what we have achieved; to make a bigger impact on the daily lives of the people.

Where there are blockages to change, we shall remove them. Where there is laziness, wastage and lack of focus, we will intervene with determination.

Building on 5 years of experience, the ANC will ensure that government becomes more effective, more focused on spearheading development and delivery, and more user-friendly.

5 Years of Partnership with the People

But we cannot meet the challenges of our country with the resources of government alone. Our country needs the mobilized energies and experience of millions of South Africans.

To fight crime, we need to stand together. We must build partnerships to create more jobs. Parents, teachers and students together must help to improve our schools.

5 Years of building a New Patriotism

The partnership between government and the people must be based on a common commitment to building a better life for all. Today, it is not just the old racial divisions of the past that pose a danger. Selfishness, the weakening of social discipline among some who want rights without responsibilities, and disregard for the interests of the broader community are threatening our hard-won freedom.

The spirit of Masakhane and an RDP of the Soul are an essential part of the struggle for change. Together with all who share this vision, including communities of faith, the ANC will foster the moral renewal of our society.

5 Years of Working for a Better Africa and a Better World

Our success in SA depends on the success of our neighbours and progress on our continent. Today, a new generation of leaders is emerging across the continent, which recognizes the need to unite our efforts for rapid development.

The ANC will work together with nations of Africa to realize democracy and rapid social and economic development. We shall work with forces across the globe who share this vision, who seek a better world of solidarity and caring.

THE NEXT 5 YEARS – OUR PROGRAMME

The ANC's programme to accelerate change focuses on five main areas:

- A. Speeding up delivery of basic needs and developing human resources**
- B. Building the economy and creating jobs**
- C. Combating crime and corruption**
- D. Transforming the state**
- E. Building a better Africa and a better world**

A. SPEEDING-UP DELIVERY OF BASIC NEEDS

The ANC will speed up the programme to improve the quality of life of the people. The fight against poverty requires a co-ordinated strategy that cuts across all sectors and pays particular attention to rural and disadvantaged areas. The ANC will ensure all government programmes work together.

HOUSING

In the next 5 years we will:

- Seek an honest agreement with the private sector and work with trade unions to channel investments into people's housing
- Focus on developing housing on well-located land, with access to amenities, and overcoming the apartheid human settlement patterns based on Group Areas and isolation of the majority from centres of economic activity
- Improve and speed up the subsidy programme, including comprehensive programmes to uplift conditions of the urban poor in informal settlements
- Use other affordable ways of financing houses – like micro loans
- Build rental stock
- Support the People's Housing Process, setting up Housing Support Centres to help poor people build their own houses, share resources, and purchase affordable materials

Reduction of the number of homeless poor must become a practical measure of our success.

SOCIAL SECURITY

The ANC remains committed to ensuring that everyone in our country is able to live above the minimum living standard. Our social security net must target the most vulnerable – the poor, the aged, the landless, the disabled, the young. In the next 5 years we will:

- Continue to improve the management of social grants
- Put systems in place to eliminate fraud and corruption
- Improve access to grants through, among others, using the post office infrastructure

As part of a comprehensive social security system we will introduce a new **Social Health Insurance** programme.

TRANSPORT

- The ANC will develop and promote an integrated public transport system, which will include special assistance to the disabled
- We will build and rehabilitate public transport infrastructure
- Our programme includes empowering historically disadvantaged operations and ensuring order in this sector.

HEALTH CARE

Over the next 5 years the ANC will develop a comprehensive, affordable and accessible **National Public Health System**, financed in part by a Social Health Insurance programme.

We will improve health care by:

- Improving the availability of doctors and nurses, especially in clinics and the rural areas

- Ensuring availability of affordable medicines in line with our national drugs policy
- Improving the management of hospitals and clinics – with community participation
- Act decisively to attack preventable illnesses through, amongst others, our immunization programme, and measures to combat TB
- Developing campaigns against drug, tobacco and alcohol abuse.

In partnership with all sectors of society, we will continue to give absolute priority to HIV/AIDS programmes. The ANC will:

- Increase efforts to mobilize popular awareness of the seriousness of the epidemic
- Continue to fund research to find a cure for AIDS
- Review existing laws to ensure people who are HIV positive are not discriminated against.

EDUCATION

Education is not a privilege – it is a right. The ANC is committed to moving as rapidly as possible to free, dynamic and compulsory education. As we move towards this vision, the ANC will continue to ensure:

- That we foster a culture of learning, teaching and service
- No learner is excluded from a public school because a family cannot afford to pay
- Public schools remain viable, and that resources for learning are more equitably spread
- National standards increasingly lower class sizes to more manageable levels
- We press ahead with the National Schools Building Programme, with specific focus on improving infrastructure in rural areas and townships.

Our objective is to ensure that all schools have adequate buildings, electricity, water and sewerage.

To improve the **quality of education**, the ANC will focus on:

- Raising the quality of school leadership teams, strengthening administrative capacity, and ensuring parental involvement
- Integrating Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) with skills development to improve access to educational and employment opportunities, within the National Qualifications Framework
- Prioritizing the development of a national plan and funding system for higher education and eliminating wastage in this sector.

In speeding up the delivery of basic needs, the ANC will accelerate and improve the delivery of many other programmes, including water and electricity, rural development, youth development, and rolling out telecommunications infrastructure and postal services.

B. BUILDING THE ECONOMY AND CREATING JOBS

The ANC remains staunchly committed to the RDP vision that growth and development are thoroughly inter-connected. Without development (meeting basic needs, creating jobs, overcoming poverty) growth will mean nothing for the majority of our people. But without growth, development will not be sustainable.

To ensure both growth and development, and to weave them together the ANC is committed to:

Achieving growth with equity

The ANC will continue to expand economic opportunities by speeding up job creating, increasing possibilities for self-employment, entrenching worker rights, advancing work-place equity programmes, and developing skills training.

We seek to broaden the base of our economy, and distribute economic power more widely, including through building a co-operative and social sector. Regulation of the financial sector will ensure greater access to affordable finance, together with the extension of public sector financial institutions. The public sector will play a key developmental and enabling role.

Advancing Worker Rights

We will continue to take forward the programme of labour market transformation to protect the rights of working people. We shall also expand opportunities for the unemployed, within an economy characterized by growth and development. This includes consolidation of legislation to protect worker rights, and measures to ensure effective implementation. Special attention will be given to the position of farm and domestic workers, as well as workers in small towns and small enterprises. Legislative amendments will be introduced to ensure negotiation in cases of intended retrenchments.

Improving The Tax System

The ANC will build on our success in broadening the tax base, cutting down on tax evasion. At the same time we are committed to progressive taxation that lightens the tax burden on most middle income and poor families. There will be special tax exemptions on those basic goods which poor families rely upon for survival. Productive, job-creating investment will be encouraged and speculative investment discouraged.

Budgeting

We will ensure transparent budgeting through detailed medium term budget planning. We will continue to give priority to social spending and ensure the resources reach those they are aimed at. At the same time we will continue to improve revenue collection, manage national debt at an appropriate level and ensure that we increase investment in social and economic infrastructure. We will make sure elected representatives in national, provincial and local spheres have the appropriate powers to shape budgets and are accountable for using public money as intended.

Monetary Policy – Interest Rates and Inflation

Monetary policy must advance our development objectives, and promote productive investment by both large and small enterprises. We will discuss and adopt options for the setting of realistic inflation targets, work towards reducing interest rates to stimulate economic activity, and help create conditions for a competitive exchange

rate. In this regard, consultation and co-ordination between government and monetary authorities will continue.

Promoting Investment

The ANC will speed up public sector investment through increased capital expenditure and through co-ordinated investment plans of parastatals (like Eskom). The main aims of such investment will be:

- Job creation
- Increasing the rate of growth of our economy
- Meeting basic infrastructure needs
- Promoting development in regions where it is most needed

Effective **private sector investment** will be promoted through:

- Working together with the private sector to mobilize greater volumes of investment by this sector
- Measures to mobilize investment from the private sector
- Improved education standards for the work-force, skills promotion and better telecommunications, transport and other infrastructure
- Incentives to encourage increased foreign and domestic investment in real, job-creating activities
- Measures to discourage over-dependence on short-term capital flows and speculative investment

At the same time we will boost certain key sectors and industries to promote South Africa's competitive advantage world-wide. Exports will be promoted, at the same time as ensuring the development of our domestic market, to maintain a sound balance of payments.

... and JOBS?

Can we really make a dent in the unemployment crises?

It won't be easy. This is a very, very serious problem. What are the roots of the problem?

- We inherited a stagnant and mismanaged economy which has been destroying jobs for over 25 years.
- Economic development has been too capital intensive – machinery and technologies replace people.
- Insufficient investment in new factories, plant, equipment and people, and too much investment in financial speculation, instead of productive investment.
- High interest rates and global economic problems deter investment.

In this environment, even while creating new jobs, our economy cannot create enough jobs for the 350 000 work-seekers each year, let alone absorbing the current unemployed.

But there are grounds for hope.

Both public sector investment and private sector expansion have in certain sectors begun to show results. In the past 5 years we have been able to create many new jobs – including in tourism and in infrastructure development. Investment by the parastatals, and the creation of employment through public works programmes have also made an important contribution.

What can we learn from this? At least two things:

- We need to support labour intensive investment throughout our economy, as well as promoting sectors which have large employment potential such as tourism, manufacturing, small and large-scale agriculture and labour intensive beneficiation of raw materials.
- Infrastructure development programmes (like housing) meet basic needs but they can also create jobs and teach skills. Our public sector and parastatals need to continue to play a key role in this regard.

How do we go forward?

The ANC realizes that much more must be done. A major national offensive will be launched against the scourge of unemployment, poverty and inequality. We are determined to align all government policies and programmes to achieve our objective of sustainable jobs for all at a living wage.

An important key to unlocking the jobs crisis lies in implementing the resolutions of the Presidential Jobs Summit, including:

- Measures to stem retrenchments
- Summits in all sectors of industry to develop jobs strategies
- Mass public works programmes and Youth Brigades
- Tax incentives, procurement, and monetary policy for job creation
- Integrated regional development
- Active labour market measures – including training and retraining
- Increased opportunities for self-employment, co-operatives and small businesses.

C. COMBATING CRIME AND CORRUPTION

The dark days of apartheid bestowed on us a legacy of crime and corruption. We inherited a criminal justice system which itself was pervaded with the lawlessness and criminality of that era.

The ANC's approach to combating crime and corruption is in line with our overall vision for our country. We must be

- **Tough on the underlying causes of crime such as poverty and inequality and**
- **Tough on crime and corruption themselves.**

The Keys To Dealing with Crime

In the next 5 years the ANC will:

- Drastically reduce the number of guns in circulation, and introduce tougher gun controls
- Introduce harsher sentences for serious crimes, but alternative sentences for petty crimes, including electronic monitoring systems for some categories of those on parole and probation
- Improving conditions within the police service – reviewing working conditions, on-going training, and emphasis on upgrading investigative capacities
- Greatly improve co-operative between all elements of the criminal justice system – the police, the courts, the prisons, and a transformed prosecution system
- Continue to take decisive action against organized gangs, both local and international
- Strengthen the role of the new Directorate of Public Prosecutions, with special integrated units to deal with serious crimes
- Pay special attention to serious and violent crimes, including abuse of women and children

But all of this needs your help

The ANC is committed to accelerating the pace of change, to dealing decisively with crime, but this also requires popular support. The ANC will, therefore:

- Strengthen community-police partnerships, encouraging Community Policing Forums, and volunteers to assist in police stations
- Develop laws allowing for community courts to administer court sentences

What about victims of crime?

Dealing with violent crimes against women and children is priority number one. The ANC will establish more Special Courts where cases of abuse against children and women will be heard. As much as possible, victims will receive shelter and counselling from trained personnel.

Through the Victims Empowerment Programme, the rights of survivors of crime, traumatic incidents, abuse and disasters will be safeguarded and support provided through a range of special programmes.

What about corruption?

We will enforce strict measures, without fear or favour, to root out corruption in the public and private sectors, in our own organization, and in society as a whole.

We have introduced special measures, including:

- The setting up of dedicated anti-corruption units
- The office of the Public Protector
- Increased effectiveness of the South African Revenue Service in combating tax evasion and fraud,
- Measures to expedite disciplinary action against those guilty of corruption in the public service
- More effective policing of international ports of entry to prevent smuggling of goods and people
- Other legal measures to combat corruption in the private sector.

We will strengthen all of these programmes.

Because of the seriousness with which we view corruption, we have initiated a major campaign against this scourge in line with government's call for an RDP of the Soul. We are also working together with the religious communities and other sectors to strengthen the moral fibre of our society.

Together, let us root out corruption, nepotism and bribery – regardless of who is involved.

D. TRANSFORMING THE STATE

The apartheid state was oppressive, unrepresentative, fragmented and unaccountable. Over the past 5 years we have grappled with transforming the state. We have made progress, but there is still a long way to go.

Our aim is to build a state that plays an active role in the development and transformation of our society. The state must play a leading role in addressing the

huge backlogs left by apartheid. It must harness the resources of the public sector and work in partnership with all sectors of our society.

The ANC will:

- Develop efficient, user-friendly and accountable governance at national, provincial and local level
- Use the next 5 years to transform local government. All municipalities must become centres of local democracy and participation, economic development, and service delivery
- Reorganize the public service to more effectively meet the priorities of social delivery. We will foster within the public service the ethic of Batho Pele
- Support the on-going transformation of public institutions like the Land Bank, Industrial Development Corporation and the Development Bank of SA, to ensure their resources and skills contribute to accelerated change
- Ensure the viability and independence of the SABC as a public broadcaster, playing its part in reconstruction and development
- Rigorously root out corruption, nepotism and bribery in all state institutions (and broader society as a whole). We will remove those who seek to enrich themselves by corrupt means, at the expense of the people.

Transforming Local Government

The new transitional local governments have faced many difficulties: the backlog of municipal services and infrastructure; transforming racially divided local government; the culture of non-payment; and resistance of ratepayers in some former white areas.

The ANC will:

- Restructure local government boundaries to make them financially viable
- Continue with the RDP municipal infrastructure programme
- Establish statutory ward committees so that councillors are more responsive to their constituencies
- Ensure that with fresh elections for local government in the year 2000 democratic majority rule also becomes a local reality

- Ensure that our ANC candidates for local government are empowered and responsive to their constituencies.

E. BUILDING A BETTER AFRICA AND A BETTER WORLD

The time has come for Africa's Renaissance. Our challenge as Africans is to promote peace and development, to foster democratic systems of government, respect for human rights, and an end to corruption throughout our continent.

In the last 5 years SA has become active in a wide range of leading international forums and initiatives. We have taken a lead in nuclear disarmament, outlawing landmines, and in the struggle for a more just world economic order.

In the next 5 years we will:

- Act more decisively to promote peace in the sub-continent and Africa as a whole
- Campaign for a better managed global economy, including the restructuring of international financial and trade institutions – to make them more sensitive to the needs of developing countries, especially those in Africa
- Advocate strongly for the relieving of the debt burden on the poorest countries of the world – many of them within our own sub-region
- Promote equitable trade, investment and development plans for the Southern African region – at the same time promoting a common set of democratic values, including fair labour and environmental standards.

In pursuing these goals we will strengthen our ties with all those who strive for peace, development and equity. We will strengthen our ties with our own continent, we will build stronger relations with Latin America and Asia, and we will consolidate our relations with the developed countries.

Is that all?

MANY THINGS TO DO

This Manifesto covers many things the ANC will do in the next 5 years.

But there are many more things that do not appear here. Why?

- Because the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) outlines our broad programme for changing South African society. It remains the only relevant detailed programme to carry SA to freedom and social justice.
- Because the South African Constitution provides the broad framework within which we will carry out this programme of change. There is no need to change this basic framework. If improvements are needed, we shall co-operate with others to make them.
- Because at this very moment, each aspect of this Manifesto is being elaborated into concrete steps. We are consulting with our allies, communities, social movements, role-players and experts to ensure we begin to implement our programme from Day One of the new government.

The great progress we have made in the last 5 years gives us the base from which, together, we will be able to change our society and improve the lives of our people faster than ever before.

The ANC is the principal political force in South Africa with experience of democratic government and detailed plans for the transformation of our country into a non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous democracy. These plans have been spelt out in detail and tested in practice.

MANY THINGS TO DO

To carry out all these measures requires a committed ANC and a determined government. But our programme also requires millions of South Africans mobilized and united in our common resolve to deal with even the most difficult problems.

We need a new patriotism. This requires communities that unite, forging partnerships to address their problems, without waiting for orders or hand-outs from elsewhere. It requires citizens who love their country and are determined to see it succeed. A commitment to invest in our people and in our country.

It demands discipline and a better work ethic from all of us; morality in the handling of public resources; humanity in relating with one another even in the private domain; responsibility in exercising our freedoms.

The ANC, led by a new generation of leaders, will strive with all its strength to ensure that these programmes are realized. We will ensure that all of us enjoy the freedoms for which many generations sacrificed so much. But we will, in these 5 years, also seek to provide the kind of firm leadership that is necessary for us to meet our objectives as a nation.

Together with you, we shall continue the fight for change.

Together with you, we shall ensure that the journey to a better South Africa is carried out with speed.

Our guiding light remains:

A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL

APPENDIX B: ELECTIONS 2004 ANC MANIFESTO

A PEOPLE'S CONTRACT TO CREATE WORK AND FIGHT POVERTY

Message from the President

Throughout its 92 years of existence, the African National Congress has put the interests of all the people of South Africa at the top of its agenda.

Having united the overwhelming majority of South Africans in struggle, the possibility was created in 1994 for us to work together practically to construct a society that cares.

Democracy and equality before the law are entrenched in our constitution. Women, workers, youth, professionals, people with disabilities, traditional leaders, religious communities, business people and rural communities, all have the right to utilise opportunities that have come with freedom.

Our First Ten Years of Freedom have been ten years of growing unity in action; ten years of peace and stability; ten years of increasingly making resources in the of the state available to uplift disadvantaged South Africans; ten years of expanding opportunities to build a better life for all.

Non-racialism, non-sexism and programmes to prevent other forms of discrimination are at the centre of our values and practical actions.

But we still have to reach the ideal of a society that truly cares.

We have, in these ten years, brought water and electricity to millions of households; built houses accommodating millions of South Africans; opened up access to quality education; removed discrimination in access to professions; turned the economy around to become more productive and globally competitive; and placed South Africa in a strategic position to deal with international affairs: with the globe now open to sports-persons, businesspeople, musicians, academics as well as political and social activists to partner humanity in building a better South Africa, a better Africa and a better world.

The journey that we have thus far travelled gives us confidence that we shall reach our goal of a society that cares.

What should we work to achieve in the Second Decade of our Freedom?

We will intensify our efforts to provide services and opportunities such as water and sanitation, health, electricity, housing and education to those South Africans who still do not have them.

While expanding our economic base, we must ensure that the country's wealth, business opportunities, skills training and other opportunities are more equitably shared by all our people, irrespective of race, gender, disability and age differences.

We must radically reduce the levels of unemployment and poverty, by combining the resources of the public and private sectors and build an economy that benefits all.

We must improve the security of all South Africans, and make life more and more difficult for criminals as well as crooks in private companies and government structures who steal and cheat.

We must build a healthier nation with programmes to defeat malnutrition, TB, malaria and other diseases and turn the tide against HIV and AIDS.

We must intensify our efforts, hand-in-hand with our brothers and sisters on the continent, to consolidate peace, security and development in Southern Africa, in Africa, in countries of the South and across the globe.

We must broaden access to the rights contained in our constitution, so that more and more South Africans – especially the poor, women, youth, children and persons with disabilities – can enjoy all the benefits of freedom.

Each one of us has a role to play in the fight to achieve a better life for all.

We have as South Africans made progress in building a caring society; and a caring society we have to become, by working together to turn our ideals into practical reality.

This we can and shall do, as a united nation, bound together in a People's Contract to Create Work and Fight Poverty.

In this Manifesto, the African National Congress presents the plans that will take us to our shared goals.

I call on you to vote for the ANC, so that together we can do more to achieve a Better Life for All.

Thabo Mbeki
President

Celebrating Freedom

On 27 April 2004 we celebrate Ten Years of Freedom and Democracy, Ten Years of Peace and Progress. We celebrate a South Africa that belongs to all who live in it. In this regard, we shall go out as citizens to elect government at national and provincial levels. For the third time as free South Africans, we shall cast our votes as equals – conforming our freedom and giving it meaning.

The change that happened 10 years ago was a result of struggle and sacrifice. Led by the African National Congress (ANC), it was change that created an opportunity for us to chart our future together.

Over the past ten years, after centuries of colonialism and apartheid, a new era has dawned for South Africa.

It is an era in which we have together laid the foundation for a better life. It is an era in which we have started implementing programmes to secure a better life for all. As we gained experience and strengthened our country's unity, this has become an era in which we have started speeding up change.

The foundation is solid. Many experiences have been gained and many lessons learnt. We can now do more, united in A People's Contract to Create Work and Fight Poverty.

Celebrating South Africa

Today, South Africa is a democratic country with a government based on the will of all the people. It has among the best Constitutions in the world, ensuring human rights and dignity to all, irrespective of race, gender, religion and language. All are equal before the law; the rights of women are recognized and are increasingly finding expression in real life; and the same applies to the rights of persons with disabilities.

Today, South Africa has a growing economy, managed with skill by the **ANC** government. We have economic links with almost all countries across the globe, and there are no apartheid restrictions on professions, the right to do business or the right to education and skills.

Today, South Africa has a caring government, with housing programmes for the poor; with social security grants for pensioners, young children, people with disabilities and other vulnerable groups; with programmes to redistribute land; with quality education open to all and other new opportunities for the youth; with clinics being built close to where people live; with households being connected to water and electricity; with more people having access to telecommunications; and with laws to deal with the cancer of racism.

Today, South Africa is a country with a justice system that serves the people, guided by the Constitution and laws which are intended to prevent abuse. Police and other agencies, working with communities, are able to prevent or stop any political violence, taxi violence and terrorism. More and more, we are turning the tide against crime and corruption.

Today, South Africa is a partner among countries of Africa, working together to bring peace and development to our continent. With other countries and people of the world, we pursue peace, development and international relations that benefit all.

Actual progress gives us real hope for the future

Social services to the people have improved

- Children in all parts of the country have access to better education with more than 95% enrolled in primary schools, with school feeding schemes in poor areas, financial assistance to those in need in universities and technikons, thousands of new classes built and new syllabus content introduced.
- In 1994, social grants totalling R10-billion were distributed to 2,6-million recipients and they were based on race. Today government equitably distributes R34-billion in social grants to more than 7-million beneficiaries: the aged, young children in poor households, people with disabilities and others.
- Since 1994, R50-billion has been transferred to the poor: through subsidized new houses accommodating 6-million people; through transfer of deeds in houses that people have occupied in townships; and through land reform and restitution.
- Today more than 70% of households have access to electricity, compared to 30% in 1996. From 60% in 1996, today more than 80% of households have access to clean running water.
- Hundreds of clinics have been constructed closer to where people live, providing primary health care; together we are fighting TB, HIV and AIDS, malaria and other chronic illnesses such as diabetes and hypertension and with HIV and AIDS in particular, government expenditure has increased a hundred-times, from R34-million to over R3,6-billion, to implement a comprehensive and holistic strategy.

The economy has never been better managed

- Government is running a low debt and is therefore able to introduce real increases in spending on health, housing, social grants and other services.
- Before 1994, economic growth had ground to a halt. Since then, our economy has grown by 2,8% a year. It has become more competitive, with increasing volume, diversity and destinations of exports, and it has created 2 million net new jobs between 1996 and 2003.

- Workers' rights are protected, the trade union movement is playing an important role in society, and employers and workers are increasingly finding better ways of resolving problems as industrial relations improve. Vulnerable workers such as domestic workers and farm workers have been given greater protection.
- More and more black people are becoming professionals, managers and technicians; laws have been put in place and funds made available for black people to own businesses as one aspect of Black Economic Empowerment.

More and more success in dealing with crime and corruption

- The police, prosecution, the intelligence services and the justice system have been transformed to represent and to serve society as a whole; and they are increasingly working in partnership with communities in carrying out their duties.
- Since 1994 the rate of murder has been reduced by 30%; vehicle hijacking by 33%; and since 1996 bank-related robbery has been reduced by 52%. With the improvement in visible policing, it is becoming clearer to criminals and their syndicates that there is no place to hide.
- Efforts to improve the functioning of the justice system, including transformation of the judiciary, improvement of management of the courts and the setting up of a new prosecution system, have seen improvements in the conviction rate, case preparation time and a lower number of cases on the court rolls ready for prosecution.
- Special courts have been set up to deal with cases of women and child abuse and with white-collar crime; Saturday courts and measures have been introduced to speed up the justice system.
- Systems have been put in place to expose and punish corruption both in government and in the private sector; 80% of corruption cases in government reported in the media are actually first uncovered by government itself. In the private sector, laws have been introduced to prevent corruption being swept under the carpet.

Learning from experience: We can do more, better

Our Constitution and laws guarantee equal rights for all South Africans. But discrimination and abuse continue – and they need to be firmly dealt with – in some workplaces including farms, in some schools and in social activities; and the dignity of sustainable livelihoods eludes many families

The economy has created 2-million net new jobs since 1995. But the number of people seeking work has sharply increased; many workers have lost their jobs; and many have been negatively affected by casualization and outsourcing. As a result many, many South Africans do not have jobs or decent self-empowerment; poverty is still a reality for millions as many do not have appropriate skills, while many cannot get credit to start or improve their own businesses.

The programme to provide housing, electricity, water and health care has been expanded to more South Africans. Free basic services like water and electricity are starting to be provided. Free health care is provided to mothers, children under 6 years of age and people with disabilities. But the quality of these services needs to be improved; and we need to create more jobs so that people can use these services more effectively and in a sustainable manner.

The police, justice and other security agencies have been changed to serve all South Africans, and they are making progress against crime. But too many attacks occur against citizens; abuse of women and children is too high; and violence against individuals remains a problem.

Women have attained the right to equality, and more and more women are found in leadership structures; land, health and housing programmes have favoured female-headed households. But discrimination and abuse still take place, and women are found in very large numbers among the poorest sections in our society.

Young people have benefited from the environment and programmes of freedom: from the improvements in the education system; from the outlawing of discrimination in access to professions; from the opening up of opportunities in sport and culture and from the provision of electricity, water and other services to millions of

households. But too many young people are unemployed, and millions of them come from poor households.

South Africa has become a full and active member of the global family of nations. We have built relations with most countries and our voice is heard across the globe. But Africa remains the least developed and most marginalized continent.

Yes, we have made massive progress. However much, much more still needs to be done. At the heart of our challenges are two linked concerns – we must create work and roll back poverty. These two core objectives are the major focus of our programmes for the Second Decade of Freedom. To achieve this we need stringer partnerships among all South Africans, A People's Contract for a Better South Africa.

Why a people's contract?

Many of the things that need to be done, such as:

- Job-creation and increased investment, broad-based Black Economic Empowerment and skills development;
- The fight against HIV and AIDS, TB, malaria, diabetes, hypertension, malnutrition and other illnesses;
- The fight against crime and corruption;
- The promotion of our country abroad, cannot be carried out by government acting alone.

Government can promote the values of the Constitution and create laws to protect citizens' rights. It can call for respect and better treatment of the people by civil servants. But individual citizens, communities, trade unions and other organizations need to help monitor and report violations of rights. We need as citizens to claim our rights and demand better treatment in government offices.

Government can create an environment for higher rates of investment. It can create some employment in the public service and public works programmes; and it can encourage labour-intensive methods in parts of the economy. But long-term employment depends largely on higher rates of private investment; it depends on

strategies for growth in key sectors of the economy; it depends on joint skills development and learnerships in both the public and private sectors to provide work experience.

Government can provide more households with electricity and water; it can provide resources and introduce quality health care as well as comprehensive plans for fight HIV and AIDS; improve school infrastructure and put aside money for social grants. But for all these programmes to succeed requires public servants who serve the people with respect and efficiency, and active citizenship and a spirit of responsibility and volunteerism amongst all of us.

Government can change the structures and culture of the police, intelligence agencies, prosecution authorities and the judiciary. It can improve visible policing, conduct raids to ferret out criminals, and deal with corruption in government and businesses. But for police to know who the criminals are and where they hide, for the police to know about women and child abuse which takes place in homes and communities, for police to make crime unprofitable – for all this and more, we need community participation, as citizens to co-operate with the police, provide information and refuse to buy stolen goods.

Government can build diplomatic relations and sign trade and investment agreements with other countries. It can do all that is possible to attract investment and promote the image of the country. But it requires the co-operation of business, workers and all South Africans to take advantage of these opportunities, to promote the country's image, and to provide good service to investors, tourists and others.

This is the contract that we should all enter into as South Africans – each of us with one another; government and each citizen, community and sector of society – together to build a better South Africa.

The **ANC** commits itself, working within communities and within government, to play its part in forging this People's Contract for Better South Africa, inspired by its commitment to democratic consultation, mass participation and volunteerism, Moral Regeneration as well as people-centred and people-driven development.

Vision 2014 – Forward to the second decade of freedom

Guided by the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), our vision is to build a society that is truly united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic. Central to this is a single and integrated economy that benefits all.

The combination of some of the most important targets and objectives making up Vision 2014 are as follows:

- Reduce unemployment by half through new jobs, skills development, assistance to small businesses, opportunities for self-employment and sustainable community livelihoods.
- Reduce poverty by half through economic development, comprehensive social security, land reform and improved household and community assets.
- Provide the skills required by the economy, build capacity and provide resources across society to encourage self-employment with an education system that is geared for productive work, good citizenship and a caring society.
- Ensure that all South Africans, including especially the poor and those at risk – children, youth, women, the aged, and people with disabilities – are fully able to exercise their constitutional rights and enjoy the full dignity of freedom.
- Compassionate government service to the people; national, provincial and local public representatives who are accessible; and citizens who know their rights and insist on fair treatment and efficient service.
- Massively reduce cases of TB, diabetes, malnutrition and maternal deaths, and turn the tide against HIV and AIDS, and, working with the rest of Southern Africa, strive to eliminate malaria, and improve services to achieve a better national health profile and reduction of preventable causes of death, including violent crime and road accidents.
- Significantly reduce the number of serious and priority crimes as well as cases awaiting trial, with a society that actively challenges crime and corruption, and with programmes that also address the social roots of criminality.

- Position South Africa strategically as an effective force in global relations, with vibrant and balanced trade and other relations with countries of the South and the North, and in an Africa that is growing, prospering and benefiting all Africans, especially the poor.

The next five years: The practical steps

What should we do, together, in the next five years, practically to meet these objectives of creating work, fighting poverty and promoting equality? The **ANC** government will pay particular attention to the following programmes:

A Growing Economy

- Ensure low interest and inflation rates, as well as low government debt so that more resources are spent on attacking poverty, building economic infrastructure and creating work opportunities.
- Through government and state-owned enterprises, invest more than R100-billion in improving roads, rail and air transport as well as telecommunications and energy; encourage more investment in key economic sectors such as manufacturing, information and communications technology, mining, and business services – this will further enhance our economy's competitiveness.
- Spend over R15-billion to facilitate broad-based Black Economic Empowerment which also benefits communities – including youth, women and people with disabilities – as well as workers and small businesses.
- Take more and more young people through learnerships so they can gain skills and work experience in order for them to access jobs; and intervene to ensure proper functioning of skills development authorities.
- Encourage the use of labour-intensive methods in sectors of the economy which lend themselves to this form of operation, including through the government procurement system.
- Conduct research into the full impact of casualization and outsourcing, and devise ways of dealing with their negative impact on workers and the economy as a whole.

Sustainable Livelihoods

- Create 1 million job opportunities through the Expanded Public Works Programme.
- Ensure that those who wish to start and sustain their small businesses, including youth and women, have access to credit, through dedicated funding to support micro-loan financing, through further reform to existing support agencies and through changes being introduced in the financial system and institutions.
- Intensify assistance to youth agencies such as Umsobomvu Youth Fund to provide skills training for employment and self-employment, ensure implementation of the National Youth Service and help unemployed graduates to get work skills.
- Complete the land restitution programme and speed up land reform, with 30% of agricultural land redistributed by 2014, combined with comprehensive assistance to emergent farmers.
- Ensure involvement of communities in local economic development initiatives to provide work, build community infrastructure and ensure access to local opportunities, and encourage the emergence of co-operatives.
- Intensify efforts aimed at building a spirit of community, good citizenship, social activism, moral regeneration and solidarity at the local level.

Access to services

- Speed up programmes to provide water and sanitation, electricity and telephone services to those who are not yet connected.
- Build more subsidized housing and introduce medium density housing closer to places of work; and provide those who have as yet not received such housing with serviced stands for more decent living.
- Improve services in health facilities staffed by adequate well-trained and caring staff, with new funds added to the budget to recruit and retain health personnel, improve infrastructure, enhance health promotion and nutrition, promote awareness on, and provide comprehensive care, management and treatment of HIV and AIDS.

- Ensure that all children have decent classrooms, further reduce the teacher/pupil ration, improve spending in favour of children and students from poor households, and expand the school nutrition programme.
- Realize Batho Pele principles and improve services in government offices, through electronic means and by working with citizens to monitor those who work in these offices.

Comprehensive Social Security

- Ensure that all who are eligible for social grants, including poor children up to 14 years of age, receive these grants with increase at least at the rate of inflation.
- Improve the functioning of the Unemployment Insurance Fund and ensure that it covers as many workers as practicable.
- Introduce a national health insurance system so that all citizens are covered by both the public and private health system which they can afford.
- Speed up the programme to provide free basic water and electricity so that each family is ensured a basic minimum of these services.
- Speed up the extension of free health services to persons with disabilities.

Crime and Corruption

- Deploy more than 150 000 police in active duty, with more visible policing, better training, better management as well as community liaison at police station level.
- Strengthen the prosecution system and the Scorpions, improve co-ordination among all law-enforcement and intelligence agencies and set up additional special courts especially to deal with abuse of women and children and commercial crimes.
- Improve protection of borders to stem illegal migration, massively reduce cross-border crime, including meeting our obligation to South Africans and humanity in the fight against terrorism and to protect our marine resources.
- Ensure efficient functioning of all anti-corruption structures and systems including whistle-blowing, blacklisting of corrupt companies, implementation of

laws to ensure exposure of, and action against, private sector corruption, and quicker processes to deal with any corrupt civil servants and public officials.

Constitutional rights and governance

- Improve interaction between government and the people through accountable public representatives, one-stop government centres, izimbizo and the use of electronic government services.
- Ensure better co-operation among national, provincial and local governments with integrated planning and monitoring of implementation, and a common system of public service.
- Ensure quicker and more effective intervention in local government and other spheres of government where there are problems in implementing programmes agreed upon.
- Fully integrate the institution of traditional leadership into democratic governance and development.
- Improve access to government information so that citizens are aware of their rights and take advantage of opportunities provided by democracy, and ensure progressive realization of rights of persons with disabilities.
- Strengthen all institutions of democracy, including the legislatures and bodies such as the Constitutional Court, Human Rights Commission, Auditor-General and the Public Protector so as to improve citizens' exercise of their rights.

Africa and the world

- Working together with others, speed up economic integration in Southern Africa and strengthen democracy, peace, stability as well as economic growth and development; and in particular, devote time and resources to assist in social normalization and economic reconstruction in Zimbabwe, Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola and Swaziland.
- Ensure realization of the Constitutive Act of the African Union and the implementation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), including the setting up of the Pan Africa Parliament and other institutions and systems, as well as co-operation with civil society, to promote

development, prevent conflicts and ensure the rapid resolution of such conflicts when they occur.

- Improve co-operation among countries of the South, in terms of economic relations, socio-political programmes and efforts to ensure peace and equitable global relations.
- Strengthen economic and other relations with industrialized countries, including inward investment and tourism, trade and transfer of skills and technology.
- Promote a collective multilateral approach to global challenges, and work for the democratization of the United Nations, International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and other global institutions, and ensure that development and environmental goals of humanity are pursued and met.

The next five years: How will this be done?

Vision 2014, and the practical steps over the next five years to see to its realization, are the measures that can and will set our country on the road to faster realization of the ideals of our Constitution – a free South Africa that truly belongs to all who live in it, a South Africa whose wealth is used to improve the quality of life of all citizens and a South Africa that works with humanity to build a better Africa and a better world.

But how will this be done? How do we ensure that these objectives are met?

- We will strengthen co-operation among economic partners – government, business, trade unions and community organizations – to implement agreements of the Growth and Development Summit which are aimed at creating work and fighting poverty.
- We will forge stronger partnerships across all sectors to deal with the challenges of distributing social grants, fighting crime and corruption, improving our common efforts against TB, malaria, HIV and AIDS as well as other diseases.
- We will improve the system of monitoring and evaluation to improve implementation of all these programmes, through stronger monitoring and

evaluation units at national, provincial and local levels, and we will ensure that municipal councils – which are closer to communities – meet their mandates.

- We will speed up economic development in rural and urban areas with economic potential, improve skills and access to services especially among women and youth in all parts of the country and intensify the rural development and urban renewal programmes.
- We will recruit more police and provide them with skills to more than match the criminals and their syndicates, and we will make life more and more difficult for those who amass wealth through corrupt means.
- We will strengthen South Africa's Early Warning Mechanism on Africa and dedicate more resources to ensure that we contribute more effectively to the efforts on our continent to prevent and urgently resolve conflict.

Confidence in the future

Over the past ten years, working together, we have built South Africa into a land of peace and harmony, a land of expanding opportunities. We have built a stable and growing economy. We have created the possibility to realize more and more resources for social and economic services, while building a modern and competitive economy.

As we enter the Second Decade of Freedom, at the core of the challenges we face is the task to speed up the creation of work and further to strengthen the fight against poverty.

Our goal is to create a South Africa in which all can experience an improving quality of life, enjoying equal human rights, with access to opportunities that freedom has brought us, and bound together as a nation by our humanity.

The **ANC** speaks with confidence because it has been at the head of this national effort to change our country for the better. We know that together with you we can do more, better. We commit ourselves to do everything that is necessary and possible to meet these objectives.

Working with you in a People's Contract to Create Work and Fight Poverty, we are confident of success.

Together we can and we will do more, better!

A better life for all!

APPENDIX C: ELECTIONS 2009 ANC MANIFESTO

WORKING TOGETHER WE CAN DO MORE

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

Our guiding principle is to live by the motto of our country's coat of arms. We aspire to the creation of a nation united in diversity. It is our goal to which we all aspire and it is the path to achieving our shared goal of a better life for all.

Our constitution, inspired by the vision of the Freedom Charter unites a nation of many languages and significant cultural, religious and socio-economic diversity. We have to work together to weave the threads that will see us celebrating a nation which is non-racial, non-sexist and democratic – a nation that is dedicated to pushing back the frontiers of poverty.

The ANC led government has made much progress in the past 15 years, the provision of housing, water and electricity to millions of homes. Our economy has grown, more jobs have been created than in any other time in our history and we have deepened democracy. We have extended social protection to millions of South Africans through the provision of social grants.

There is still much to do to reach our goals and new challenges have arisen. We have to ensure that we grow the economy to meet the needs of our people squarely. Lasting victory over poverty and hunger requires the creation of decent work opportunities and sustainable livelihoods. Education must be at the centre of our efforts to improve the potential of every citizen and enable each one of us to play a productive role in building our nation. The quality of services the government will provide must be improved.

A vote for the ANC is a vote for a better life for all.

As a mass based organisation that is rooted amongst the people, reaching into every sector of society and every corner of the land, the ANC has the capacity to get all of society working together to make change happen faster.

Building upon our achievements and learning from our experience in government since 1994, we are committed to improving the quality of education, health care, sanitation, and to accelerate the delivery of houses to millions of our people and achieve a better life for all.

Our fight against crime will be a key priority to ensure safer and more secure communities.

Rural infrastructure development and agricultural reforms are at the heart of our plan to improve our country's food security.

The ANC is best placed to lead our country in the right direction, ensuring growth that is equitable and sustainable, as well as prosperity for all citizens.

The ANC thanks all the citizens of our country for their input into the development of this Manifesto and we look forward to continuing our dialogue with you in the next five years.

Working together we can do more.

Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma

PROUD OF OUR PAST, CONFIDENT OF THE FUTURE

For over 97 years, the ANC has led the struggle to bring about a South Africa that belongs to all our people, black and white. From the beginning, we held together the unity of the African people in their struggle for freedom and dignity. We moved on to embrace the unity of all South Africans irrespective of their race, culture and religion. It is this unity that is a source of our strength and has inspired many who sacrificed their lives so that we can attain our freedom.

On the 27 April 1994, we opened a new chapter in the history of our struggle, to build a common citizenship and equal rights for all South Africans.

The ANC has always stood for basic democratic principles that include:

- A constitution which guarantees human rights for all, the right to a minimum standard of life, including the right to access health, education, social security, food and water;
- The right for all people to elect a government of their choice in regular, free and fair elections in a multi-party democracy;
- Mobilization of our people to actively take part in decision-making processes that affect their lives;
- An independent judiciary;
- Equality and freedom from discrimination on racial, gender or any other ground;
- Workers rights, collective bargaining, freedom of association; and
- Freedom of religion.

South Africa's democratic elections from 1994 to 2004 were about the aspirations and collective desire for a better South Africa and a better life for all. They were about a journey to bring an end to the legacy of apartheid and to build a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa.

Fifteen years into our democracy, together we have achieved much in building a new society, uniting all of our people, expanding opportunities that the new freedom brought to our people, reducing poverty and improving the quality of life of millions of South Africans. Much of the economic and social devastation of apartheid and its scars are still with us. Our common struggle to build a better South Africa continues. In December 2007, the ANC met in Polokwane, and delegates brought messages from South Africans, from different cities, towns and rural areas about the problems of our people: high unemployment, poverty, deepening inequality and challenges of service delivery. We heard and shared experiences about many municipalities, schools, hospitals and government offices not functioning properly. The ANC agreed on major measures to overcome these challenges.

In the period ahead South Africa will need a government with both experience and political will, a government that fully understands what needs to be done to address our apartheid past, a government that puts people first (*batho pele*) and builds a

participatory democracy. The ANC, working together with the people, can form such government.

OUR MANIFESTO IS CLEAR AND ACHIEVABLE

Our programme is based on clear objectives and achievable plans. It requires:

- Continued democratization of our society based on equality, non-racialism and non-sexism;
- National unity in diversity which is the source of our strength;
- Building on the achievements and the experience since 1994;
- An equitable, sustainable and inclusive growth path that brings decent work and sustainable livelihoods; education; health; safe and secure communities; and rural development;
- Targeted programmes for the youth, women, workers, rural masses and people with disabilities; and
- A better Africa and a better world.

These principles will guide us for the next five years, based on the vision of our people – the Freedom Charter, adopted at the Congress of the People in 1955.

The ANC government, together with our people, will implement this programme; it will continue to listen and to consult widely.

We have followed the tradition of popular participation in putting together this Manifesto, through an extensive consultative process involving the Alliance Partners, the mass democratic movement and key sectors of our society. Members of the public have made direct contribution to this Manifesto by sending in thousands of suggestions. Others have expressed their views at public meeting, door-to-door visits, izimbizo and interaction with ANC leaders across the country. The ANC can thus proudly say that this Manifesto has been drawn up together with our people of South Africa. If we all work together, we can achieve even more.

TOGETHER WE HAVE ACHIEVED MUCH

Working together, South Africans have achieved much in the first 15 years of democracy. We brought apartheid to an end. We set out to re-build and develop our country.

It has been 15 years of nation building, reconciliation and democratization. We have built the foundation of a new society by enshrining the basic human and democratic rights of all in the country's constitution; building the institutions of our democracy and ensured citizen's participation in decision-making processes that affected their lives.

It has been 15 years of advancing workers' rights. The workers have benefited from the passing of progressive labour legislation and introduction of social security benefits. An ANC government has introduced laws to protect workers, create machinery to negotiate wages and working conditions, set minimum wages for domestic workers, farm workers, hospitality, taxi workers and security sectors and established maximum hours of work for all. We introduced affirmative action laws and legislation to promote skills.

It has been 15 years of struggle for gender-equality. 30% of all our parliamentarians, provincial legislature members and councillors are women and 43% in cabinet. ANC policies will further increase women representation in parliament and government to 50% by 2009. A number of laws and policies were passed to empower women, to improve the quality of their lives and opened up space for their voices to be heard on matters concerning their lives. More importantly, opportunities for women to access basic services and social, economic and political opportunities have been actively promoted.

It has been 15 years of peace and stability, which brought to an end the decades of political violence under apartheid.

It has been 15 years of re-building the economy; pushing back the frontiers of poverty; and improving the quality of life for millions.

Our country has become more cohesive and we collectively celebrated achievements in sport, arts and culture. We have been awarded to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup. We became the Rugby World Champions twice, African Soccer Champions in 1996, the Angling World Champions and world class Paralympians in 2008.

Our international responsibilities and recognition have also grown. The ANC government has strengthened the country's role in peace, reconstruction, development and integration, especially in Southern Africa and the African continent. Our membership of the United Nations Security Council provided opportunities to promote peace. Strategic partnerships with major countries of the South (China, India and Brazil) were strengthened.

Pushed back the frontiers of poverty

ANC policies have pushed back the frontiers of poverty. In 1996, only 3 million people had access to social grants. Today 12.5 million receive social grants. In 1996, only 34,000 children had access to social grants. Today nearly 8 million children younger than 14 years, receive social grants.

In 1996, 58% of the population gained access to electricity. Today, 80% do. In 1996, 62% of the population had access to running water. Today, 88% do.

3.1 million subsidized houses were built, including 2.7 million free houses for the poor, giving shelter to an additional 14 million people.

Created jobs at a faster rate and provided more economic opportunities

Sound management of the economy and better use of national resources has seen the economy grow every year since 1994. Investment has increased as a share of Gross Domestic Product from 15% in 2002 to 22% in 2008.

In recent years the economy has for the first time been creating jobs faster than the rate at which new people have entered the job market. On average half a million new jobs have been added to the economy every year since 2004, reducing unemployment from 31% in 2003 to 23% in 2007.

The Expanded Public Works Programme created a million work opportunities a year ahead of its target.

ANC government policies such as black economic empowerment and affirmative action have contributed to the growth of South Africa's black middle class by 2.6 million in 2007 and small business support has been streamlined and expanded.

Access to education and health care for millions more

In our primary and secondary schooling we are just a few years away from achieving 100% participation by all our children. The participation of girls is one of the highest in the world. About 600,000 children attend crèches and pre-schools.

The matriculation pass rate has risen from 58% in 1994 to 65% in 2007.

Overcrowding in classrooms has been reduced – by 2006 there was one teacher for every 32 learners, an improvement from one teacher for 43 learners that we inherited in 1996.

The mass literacy campaign is now reaching more than 500,000 people who could not read and write. We are well within target to ensure South Africa is free of illiteracy by 2014.

In higher education, 140,000 students have been supported through our national financial scheme, which is helping to improve participation of the poor in higher education.

Our free primary health care has expanded and 1,600 more clinics have been built. About 248 out of 400 public hospitals have been revitalized and refurbished.

The public anti-retroviral therapy programme has enrolled more than 480,000 people living with HIV and AIDS, making our programme amongst the best and most comprehensive in the world.

These achievements, and many more, were possible because all of South Africa worked together to overcome the challenges facing the country. Together we

pressed forward to our shared vision of a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa.

MUCH MORE NEEDS TO BE DONE

We have set ourselves key targets to reach by the end of the second decade of freedom, including halving the levels of poverty and unemployment by 2014. Much still needs to be done to reach these goals. Many households and communities, especially single-headed and child-headed households – remain trapped in poverty. With changing conditions, new challenges have arisen.

Unemployment is unacceptably high among our people. There is a special challenge amongst African women, rural persons and young people. There has been a growth of casualized, low wage and outsourced jobs, contributing to the rise of the working poor.

Inequality has persisted and increased in our society. Workers' share of national income has continued to decline. The rural areas remain divided between well-developed commercial farming areas, per-urban and impoverished communal areas. The benefits of economic growth have not been broadly and equitably shared.

Much needs to be done to improve the quality of health care and education as well as improving service delivery, especially at local government level.

Crime is a major national challenge and the fight against crime and corruption needs to be stepped up. We have much work to do to strengthen and increase access to the institutions of democracy, especially parliament, legislatures and the judiciary, so that they serve ordinary South Africans better.

Part of the nation-building process is the struggle against all forms of racism, sexism, tribalism – including xenophobia, which has raised its ugly head in recent years. We also need to fight racially motivated violence and hate speech.

The recent turmoil in world markets, and before that, sharp rises in the cost of fuel and food, has impacted on the South African economy and the lives of our people.

The cost of living has increased painfully and we can expect economic growth to slow resulting in job losses. Therefore the ANC will intervene to ensure that Government, together with labour, business and other sectors work together to develop practical solutions that will ensure that in the short, medium and long term South Africa's economic prospects continue to improve and that job losses are avoided or minimized.

Together we can do more to deal with these challenges and bring about faster change.

An ANC government, with the support of all South Africans and with the policies in this Manifesto can take our country forward.

OUR PLAN FOR THE NEXT FIVE YEARS

The ANC had identified five priority areas for the next five years:

- Creation of decent work and sustainable livelihoods
- Education
- Health
- Rural development, food security and land reform
- The fight against crime and corruption.

These priorities will be tackled with all our means at our disposal – the resources of government, the vision of the Freedom Charter and the energy and commitment of our people. Our priorities will specifically target the needs of the youth, women, workers, the rural poor, the elderly, and people with disabilities.

Building on the economic achievements of the last 15 years, we will use various measures to build and accelerate a sustainable, equitable and inclusive economic growth path to address these five priorities. Our economic and social programmes will work together to ensure they support each other.

The developmental state will play a central and strategic role in the economy. We will ensure a more effective government; improve the coordination and planning efforts of the developmental state by means of a planning entity to ensure faster change. A review of the structure of government will be undertaken, to ensure effective service delivery.

An important aspect of a successful developmental state is investment in public sector workers and in turn our people expect that they execute the tasks with which they have been entrusted. This means that the right and adequate numbers of personnel should be placed in the correct positions, and where this is not the case, government should have the capacity to implement corrective measures, either through training or redeployment where warranted.

MORE JOBS, DECENT WORK AND SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS

The people shall share in the country's wealth!

Despite significant progress in changing our economy to benefit our people; unemployment, poverty and inequality remain serious challenges. Decent work is the foundation of the fight against poverty and inequality and its promotion should be the cornerstone of all our efforts. Decent work embraces both the need for more jobs and for better quality jobs. The creation of decent work and sustainable livelihoods will be central to the ANC government's agenda.

The ANC government will:

- Make the creation of decent work opportunities and sustainable livelihoods, the primary focus of our economic policies. We will make maximum use of all the means at the disposal of the ANC government, to achieve this. This objective should be reflected in the orientation and programme of development finance institutions and regulatory bodies, through government procurement and public incentive rules, in industrial, trade, competition, labour market and other policies.

- Ensure that macro-economic policy is informed by the priorities that have been set out in this Manifesto. Fiscal and monetary policy mandates including management of interest rates and exchange rates, need to actively promote creation of decent employment, economic growth, broad-based industrialization, reduced income inequality and other developmental imperatives. Economic policy will include measures to decisively address obstacles that limit the pace of employment creation and poverty eradication, and will intervene in favour of more sustainable and inclusive growth for all South Africans.
- Ensure that state-led industrial policy leads to the transformation of the economy. Adequate resources will be provided to strengthen the state-led industrial policy programme, which directs public and private investment to support decent work outcomes, including employment creation and broad economic transformation. The programme will target labour-intensive production sectors and encourage activities that have high employment effects. It will include systematic support for co-operatives by way of a dedicated support institution and small business development; supporting investment in productive sectors; and working together with our partners in Southern Africa to invest in our regional economy.
- Implementing special sector programmes embracing industrial, trade and other measures backed by adequate resources. This will include the strengthening of the manufacturing, mining and other vulnerable sectors, and tide them through the period of the global economic crisis, saving and growing jobs in the clothing and textile sector, strengthening the automobile and components sector, expanding the food industry and other sectors.
- Ensure that a comprehensive package of measures is introduced to promote beneficiation programmes, to ensure that the natural wealth of the country is shared, and developed locally, and accelerates the creation of decent work opportunities in manufacturing and services.
- Engage the private financial sector in order to facilitate its transformation and diversification including the development of the co-operative financial institutions as well as ensuring that the sector contributes to investment and developmental priorities of the country.

- Develop programmes to promote the important role of mining and agriculture in employment, meeting basic needs and community development, and commit to continued transformation of these sectors to achieve national goals. Furthermore, government will ensure meaningful benefits for communities who gave up their land for mining activities.
- Tourism and other services will be supported to expand work for our rural people.
- Develop and invest in a programme to create large numbers of 'green jobs', namely employment in industries and facilities that are designed to mitigate the effects of climate change.
- Ensure that the mandates of development finance institutions are clear and truly developmental and that their programmes contribute to decent work outcomes, achievement of our developmental needs and sustainable livelihoods.
- Lead a massive public investment programme for growth and employment creation. In the period ahead, government will accelerate and expand its investment in public infrastructure. This will include expanding and improving the rail networks, public transport, and port operations, dams, housing construction, information and communications technology and energy generation capacity as well as education and health infrastructure, and in the process create additional decent work opportunities whilst meeting the basic needs of the society.
- Step up a massive programme on expanded public works linked to infrastructure and meeting social needs with home-based care, crèches, school cleaning and renovation, community gardens, removal of alien vegetation, tree planting and school feeding.
- In order to avoid exploitation of workers and ensure decent work for all workers as well as to protect the employment relationship, introduce laws to regulate contract work, subcontracting and out-sourcing, address the problem of labour broking and prohibit certain abusive practices. Provisions will be introduced to facilitate unionization of workers and conclusion of sectoral collective agreements to cover vulnerable workers in these different legal relationships and ensure the right to permanent employment for affected

workers. Procurement policies and public incentives will include requirements to promote decent work.

- Create an environment for more labour-intensive production methods, procurement policies that support local jobs and building public-private partnerships.
- Vigorously implement broad-based economic empowerment and affirmative action policies and adjust them to ensure that they benefit more broad sections of our people, especially the workers, youth, women and people with disabilities. Policies will, in addition, actively promote skills development and equity at the workplace.
- Launch a much larger national youth service programme and a new national youth development agency, focusing on access to funding and employment creation, which will be linked to skills development opportunities and build decent work opportunities for young people.

The above-mentioned practical steps of the ANC government will enable us to decisively defend our economy in the present global and domestic economic climate and take measures to advance our own developmental agenda. This will include an economic stimulus package, which will assemble various policy instruments to stimulate the economy to avert massive slowdown in the economy. In addition, government will take active measures through an appropriate social package to avert or minimize job losses, protect vulnerable sectors and cushion the poor from the economic down turn.

FOOD SECURITY – ENSURING NO ONE GOES HUNGRY

The Freedom Charter says: Rent and prices shall be lowered; food plentiful and no one shall go hungry.

The ANC is committed to creating an environment that ensures that there is adequate food available to all, that we grow our own food and protect the poor communities from the rising prices of food and eradicate hunger.

The ANC government will take the following practical steps:

- Promote food security as a way to lessen our dependence on food imports.
- Introduce a food for all programme to procure and distribute basic foods at affordable prices to poor households and communities. Government will develop an appropriate institutional approach for the implementation of this programme.
- Introduce measures to improve the logistics of food distribution such as transportation, warehousing, procurement and outsourcing in order to reduce food prices in the long term. Continued enforcement of stronger competition measures will be used to act against food cartels and collusion, which inflate food prices.
- Expand access to food production schemes in rural and peri-urban areas to grow their own food with implements, tractors, fertilizers and pesticides. Other government measures will support existing community schemes, which utilize land for food production in schools, health facilities, churches and urban and traditional authority areas.
- Ensure an emergency food relief programme, on a mass-scale, in the form of food assistance projects to the poorest households and communities including through partnerships with religious and other community organizations.

RURAL AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND LAND REFORM

The land shall be shared amongst those who work it!

Despite significant progress made over the last 15 years, people living in rural areas continue to face the harshest conditions of poverty, lack of access to land and basic services. The ANC is committed to a comprehensive and clear rural development strategy linked to land and agrarian reform, improvement of the conditions of farm workers and farm-dwellers and builds the potential for rural sustainable livelihoods.

The ANC government will:

- Intensify the land reform programme to ensure that more land is in the hands of the rural poor and will provide them with technical skills and financial

resources to productively use the land to create sustainable livelihoods and decent work in rural areas.

- Review the appropriateness of the existing land redistribution programme, introduce measures aimed at speeding up the pace of land reform and redistribution and promote land ownership by South Africans.
- Expand agrarian reform programme, which will focus on the systematic promotion of agricultural co-operatives throughout the value chain, including agro-processing in the agricultural areas. Government will develop support measures to ensure more access to markets and finance by small farmers, including fencing and irrigation systems.
- Ensure a much stronger link between land and agrarian reform programmes and water resource allocation and ensure that the best quality of water resources reach all our people, especially the poor.
- Ensure that all schools and health facilities have access to basic infrastructure such as water and electricity by 2014.
- Introduce the provision of proper sanitation systems in the rural areas.
- Strengthen partnership between government and the institution of traditional leadership to focus on rural development and fighting poverty.
- Work together with the farming community to improve the living conditions of farm dwellers, including the provision of subsidized houses and other basic services.
- Provide support for organized labour to organize and unionize farm workers and increase the capacity of the Department of Labour to enforce labour legislation.

EDUCATION IS AT THE CENTRE OF OUR EFFORTS

The doors of learning and cultures shall be opened!

Education is a means of promoting good citizenship as well as preparing our people for the needs of a modern economy and a democratic society. Building on the achievements in education, the ANC government will aim to ensure progressive realization of universal schooling, improving quality education and eliminating disparities. This requires a major renewal of our schooling and education system.

The ANC government will:

- Work together with educators, learners, parents, school governing bodies and other stakeholders, to make education the priority for all.
- Work towards a free and compulsory education for all children. As the immediate step it will ensure that at least 60% of schools are no-fee schools.
- Ensuring that South Africa is completely liberated from illiteracy by 2014 through our mass literacy campaign – Kha ri Gude.
- Introduce a sustainable Early Childhood Education system that spans both public and private sectors and gives children a head start on numeracy and literacy. The ANC government will also train and employ 15,000 trainers per annum and strengthen support for crèches and pre-schools in rural villages and urban centres.
- Improve the quality of schooling, particularly performance in mathematics, science, technology and language development. Measures will include provision of incentives for mathematics and sciences teachers.
- Promote the status of teachers, ensuring the employment of adequate numbers, and improving their remuneration and training, as an important part of our drive to ensure that quality teaching becomes the norm, rather than the exception. Together with the trade unions, we need to ensure that teachers are in schools, in class, on time, teaching, that there is no abuse of learners and no neglect of duty.
- Increase graduate output in areas of skills shortages. This will include measures to streamline Sector Education and Training Authorities (SETAS) and other institutions to addressing existing and forecast skills shortages.
- Embarking on the re-opening of teacher training colleges where appropriate.
- Revive the role of state owned enterprises in skills development and training.
- Place Further Education and Training colleges at the centre of a popular drive to develop skills development for the economy.
- Encourage students from working class and poor communities to go to tertiary institutions by reviewing and improving the National Student Financial Aid Scheme.

- Extending schools feeding schemes to all deserving high schools and improving the implementation of the feeding scheme in all deserving primary schools.

FORWARD TO ACHIEVING HEALTHCARE FOR ALL

The Freedom Charter commits us to a preventive health scheme run by the state; Free medical care and hospitalization provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children.

There have been many achievements in improving access to health care, however much more still needs to be done in terms of quality of care, making services available to all South Africans and ensuring better health outcomes. The ANC government will aim to reduce inequalities in our health system, improve quality care and public facilities, and boost our human resources and step up the fight against HIV and AIDS and other diseases. Health reforms will involve mobilization of available resources in both private and public health sectors to ensure improved health outcomes for all South Africans.

In practical terms, the ANC government will:

- Work together with all key sectors in our society through a social compact to continue to transform the health care.
- Introduce the National Health Insurance System (NHI), which will be phased in over the next five years. NHI will be publicly funded and publicly administered and will provide the right of all to access quality health care, which will be free at the point of service. People will have a choice of which service provider to use within a district. In the implementation of the NHI there will be an engagement with the private sector in general, including private doctors working in group practices and hospitals, to encourage them to participate in the NHI system.
- Improve quality standards for both public and private sectors, which will include specific targets for the provision of adequate numbers of workers at all levels of the health care system, including recruitment, training and filling

vacant posts. There will also be a focus on increasing health worker training output in the public sector – including through re-opening of nursing training colleges. There will also be improvements in the working conditions and provision of decent wages for workers.

- Improve management and leadership skills at all levels of the health system, as well as meeting the national standards of quality care and ensuring an explicit accountability framework.
- Upgrade and improve public hospitals and clinics, as well as the administrative systems and buildings so that long queues and waiting times are reduced and improved quality care is available.
- Reduce the rate of new HIV infections by 50% through aggressive prevention campaign and expand access to appropriate treatment, care and support to at least 80% of all HIV positive people and their families. More resources will be devoted to strengthening the implementation of the national plan on HIV and AIDS and STI. Partnerships will be built with labour, business and community organizations to step-up the national fight against HIV and AIDS.
- Improve the health status of the population and achieve the health-related Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This will include measures to scale up HIV prevention, address the challenge of TB and reduce child HIV infection rates through up-scaling Prevention for Mother-To-Child Transmission of HIV to 95% in all districts.
- Accelerate the campaigns on health promotion and disease-prevention by changing social values and norms through common community action. Furthermore, communities will be encouraged to adopt healthy diets and to exercise and to take part in campaigns against drug and substance abuse.
- Continue to raise awareness about addressing sexual and reproductive health rights of women and strengthen of these rights, as well as ensuring that they are incorporated in the HIV and AIDS programmes.
- Review existing drug policy and strategy to support effective implementation of the NHI and strengthen the managerial and technical capacity of government. Government will also conduct a feasibility study for the establishment of a state-owned pharmaceutical company.

- Invest in research and development in the health sector, including infant mortality research, HIV prevention technologies, health status surveys, development of new medicines, and indigenous knowledge systems.

TOGETHER INTENSIFY THE FIGHT AGAINST CRIME AND CORRUPTION

Fighting crime and fighting the causes of crime will be a priority of the ANC government in the next five years and there is a need to overhaul the criminal justice system to ensure that the levels of crime are drastically reduced. Corruption must be stamped out.

The ANC government will:

- Establish a new modernized, efficient and transformed criminal justice system to develop the capacity for fighting and reducing crime in real terms. Government will review the functioning of the police, the judiciary and the correctional services to achieve integration and coordination.
- Actively combat serious and violent crime by being tougher on criminals and organized syndicates. In this respect, we will increase the capacity of the SAPS through recruitment, rigorous training, better remuneration, equipping and increasing the capacity of especially the Detective Services, forensics, prosecution, judicial services and crime intelligence.
- Establish and strengthen the new unit to fight organized crime.
- Provide greater support for the SAPS, especially to combat the attacks on the members of the SAPS including through introducing legislative measures to protect law-enforcement officials in the execution of their duties.
- Combat violence and crimes against women and children by increasing the capacity of the criminal justice system to deal with such violence.
- Mobilize communities to participate in combating crime through establishing street committees and community courts, amongst others.
- Step up measures in the fight against corruption within society, the state and private sector, including measures to ensure politicians do not tamper with the adjudication of tenders. Measures will also be taken to ensure

transparent process of the tendering system as well as ensuring much stronger accountability of the public servants involved in tendering process.

BUILDING COHESIVE AND SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES

There shall be houses, security and comfort for all!

The ANC will continue to protect and strengthen the gains we made over (sic) the last 15 years. Through our programmes for housing, social security, sport and recreation, we aim to continue to build a better life for all. Housing is not just about building houses. It is also about transforming our cities and towns and building cohesive, sustainable and caring communities with closer access to work, social amenities, including sports and recreation facilities. Our social security system, such as the provision of social grants, is aimed at empowering our people to take active part in the social and economic life of our country. In addition, ANC policies will continue to promote the role of inter-faith organizations in promoting cohesive, caring and sustainable communities.

In the next five years, the ANC plans to:

- Expand the provision of the child support grant to children aged 15 to 18. This will be implemented in a phased manner and will be linked to compulsory schooling requirement. Legislative measures will be taken to ensure that we realize this requirement.
- Work towards bolder expansion of unemployment insurance.
- Introduce a contributory social security system to provide for guaranteed retirement, disability and survivor's benefit, while streamlining the road accident, occupational injuries and the unemployment benefits. The ANC government will consult closely with trade unions on any changes to the pensions system.
- Establish consensus on our future social security system to make it comprehensive and inclusive.
- Increase access to secure and decent housing for all through government's newly adopted housing programme, including continued conversion of hostels

into family housing units, strengthening partnerships with the private sector and the banks to increase access to decent housing. Other plans include acceleration of public rental and social housing by ensuring more provincial and local government is earmarked for this purpose, support for community self-building efforts and housing co-operatives, and ensuring that land close to urban centres is made available for low cost and public housing.

- Ensure that all qualifying military veterans will receive subsidized housing.
- Speed up the revival of school sport and ensure that it forms part of the school curriculum. In addition, the ANC government will ensure that the provision of sport facilities in poorer communities receives priority.
- To create further opportunities for the training of sports administrators, referees and coaches so as to improve standards in sport.
- Promote partnerships with interfaith forums to promote social education for moral regeneration, religious tolerance, social cohesion and development.
- Ensure that the 2010 FIFA World Cup leaves a proud legacy that our children and communities will enjoy for many years to come, and contributes to the long-term development of the country. The ANC government will work with all stakeholders to ensure that this world event contributes to create decent work opportunities, particularly for the youth, women and street traders; promotes procurement of local goods, services and products; and that housing units and sports facilities developed for the event are made available to local communities after the event is over.

A BETTER AFRICA AND A BETTER WORLD

There shall be peace and friendship!

The ANC believes that economic and political cooperation with other countries can improve the lives of our own people and will continue to work towards a better life for all, a better Africa and a better world, without hunger, disease, conflict and underdevelopment.

The ANC government will:

- Work together with people of our continent and its Diaspora for cohesion, unity, democracy and prosperity of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and African Union and strengthening our capabilities to respond to the challenges we face.
- Continue to work towards regional economic integration in Southern Africa on a fair, equitable and developmental basis, promoting SADC integration based on a developmental model that includes infrastructure development, cooperation in the real economy and development of regional supply chains. The ANC government will ensure that trade unions and representatives of the business community are represented in SADC.
- Spare no energy in our efforts to find urgent, democratic and lasting solutions to the situation in Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Sudan, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Western Sahara, Somalis and other countries.
- Continue to support the global campaign to achieve the Millennium Development Goals by 2015.
- Conduct awareness campaigns among our people to prevent incidents of xenophobia, and work for the integration into our communities of all who reside in our country, acknowledging the contribution that foreign nationals make to our economy.
- Work together with the countries of the South to continue to promote south-south relations and agitate for a fairer and more human international trade and financial system and a just world order.
- Commit to the peaceful resolution of all conflict in Africa, the Middle East and rest of the world. We support a two state solution as a model of peace between Israel and Palestine, recognizing the right of Israel to exist as a sovereign state and support the establishment of a strong and sovereign Palestinian state based on the 1967 borders.
- House the Pan Africanist Women Organization (PAWO) following the outcomes of the historic conference of PAWO held in South Africa in 2008.

CONCLUSION

Our country does need change in the way government relates to our people and in the delivery of services.

We are committed to a service delivery culture that will put every elected official and public servant to work for our people, and ensure accountability to our people. We will continue to develop social partnerships and work with every citizen. We will manage our economy in a manner that ensures that South Africa continues to grow, that all our people benefit from that growth and that we create decent work for the unemployed, for workers, for young persons, for women and for the rural poor.

We will remain in touch with our people and listen to their needs. We respect the rule of law, human rights and we will defend the Constitution and uphold our multi-party democracy.

We have achieved much in the last 15 years, but we are committed to do more. Working together we can do more! A vote for the ANC is a vote for a better life for all.