
An Exploration of the Contribution of
Critical Discourse Analysis
to Curriculum Development

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by

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the contribution of critical discourse analysis (CDA) using functional systemic grammar (FSG) to curriculum development in historical studies at university level. The study is premised on an acceptance of Habermas' (1972) theory of knowledge constitutive interests which claims that all knowledge is "interested" and which, on the basis of different interests, identifies three paradigms for knowledge construction. I make use of these paradigms to describe different approaches to curriculum development, to language teaching and to historical studies. I make the value judgement that curriculum development conducted within the hermeneutic and critical paradigms is educationally more valid than that conducted within the traditionalist paradigm; and that this is particularly so for disciplines such as historical studies, which involve the interpretation of texts. Furthermore, I suggest that the epistemological assumptions and the pedagogy of historical studies have developed within the traditionalist paradigm and that postmodernist perspectives pose a challenge to these epistemological foundations. In response, I suggest that the development of a "post-positivist" approach to historical studies within the hermeneutic and critical paradigms may provide a practically feasible and morally defensible strategy for the teaching of history. But this approach involves understanding history as discursive practice and therefore requires a method of discourse analysis in order to "do history". I therefore develop a method of critical discourse analysis for application to historical studies, which uses Halliday's functional systemic grammar (FSG) for the formal analysis of texts.

The applied aspect of this dissertation involves a small staff development project, in which I worked with a group of historians to explore the application of the method of CDA to four selected historical texts (using the post-positivist approach to historical studies). I also designed four critical language awareness exercises to demonstrate how the method might be adapted for student use.

The findings of my own explorations and of the staff development project are as follows: Firstly, I suggest that the staff development project was successful in that it provided a stimulating and dialogic context for the historians to reflect on their own theory and practice as researchers and teachers of history. Furthermore, I suggest that the method of CDA developed in this study provides a theoretically adequate and practically feasible methodology for post-positivist historical studies. This claim is in part confirmed by the historians' appreciation of the text analyses done using the method. However, the staff development project showed that the method is demanding for non-linguists, largely due to the effort and time required to master the terminology and techniques of FSG. In this sense the staff development project failed to achieve its full potential because it did not provide the historians with sufficient opportunities to learn and practice the techniques of FSG. The CLA materials prepared for students were positively evaluated by the historians, who felt that they demonstrate an accessible and feasible way of introducing CDA to history students. (However, these materials will only be properly evaluated when they are used in the classroom.)

Finally, I conclude that this application of CDA to historical studies meets the criteria for curriculum development within the hermeneutic paradigm and that it holds out possibilities for emancipatory practice within the critical paradigm. Secondly, I conclude that the application of CDA to the discourses of other academic disciplines holds enormous promise for work in staff and curriculum development. This study shows how CDA can be used to demonstrate how the epistemological assumptions of a discipline are encoded in the grammar and structure of its discourse. The insights provided by CDA used in this way could be invaluable for a “discourse-across-the-curriculum” approach to staff development at a university.

Declaration of Originality

This dissertation represents original work by the author. All sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my husband, Sid, in gratitude for his encouragement of and support for my studies over the years.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation falls within the sub-discipline of Applied Linguistics, an essentially inter-disciplinary field “that seek and accepts illumination from any and every source” (Strevens, 1977: 38). In fact, Halliday has apparently stated his belief that the educational linguistics which emerges as a result of functional linguists and educationists working together could become a transdisciplinary rather than an interdisciplinary field (Murphy, 1993: 231). Be that as it may, this study draws on educational theory, linguistic theory, and social theory and seeks to apply these theories to the discourse of academic history, to the products of historical knowledge and to the practice of history teaching.

The research project on which this dissertation is based arose in the following manner: I work at the Tertiary Education Studies Unit of the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, and have a particular responsibility for staff development and curriculum development. I run curriculum development workshops for lecturers which aim to introduce them to some basic curriculum theory and to assist them in consciously choosing a paradigm within which to work and to plan their courses accordingly. In the course of this work, I was approached by two historians, Prof. Wright and Dr. Nuttall, who saw themselves as developing a history honours course within the hermeneutic and critical paradigms (see below). Through their course, they saw themselves as introducing students to a “new way of seeing history” as socially constructed knowledge and as teaching students to recognise the workings of power and ideology in historical texts. On further investigation, I discovered that although the historians had made the paradigm shift from the traditionalist to hermeneutic or critical paradigms in their curriculum development, they did not have a rigorous and systematic method of text analysis which this “new way of seeing history” calls for. Further discussion revealed that they were committed to their new approach to historical studies and serious about wanting to acquire skills in text analysis. I agreed to work with them in order to introduce them to a method of critical discourse analysis and to demonstrate its application to four historical texts which they had selected as key texts from their history honours

course. Thus the research question which this dissertation seeks to answer can be phrased more explicitly than it is in the title as, “An exploration of the contribution of critical discourse analysis to curriculum development in historical studies at tertiary level within the hermeneutic and critical paradigms of curriculum theory and practice?” Before describing how I set about this research project, I need to explain the two key concepts, “critical discourse analysis” and “curriculum development” (within the hermeneutic and critical paradigms) and what I understand to be the relationship between them.

I understand critical discourse analysis (CDA) to be an approach to and a method of analysing texts which focuses on how language is used in situational contexts and on the relations between the linguistic choices in the text and the nature of those situational contexts. The approach assumes that the meanings of texts are always discursively produced, that is that a text is always a part of a process of social interaction and so is conditioned by its extra-linguistic situational context; that the meaning of a text is always socially and historically located in discourse.

What makes critical discourse analysis “critical”? According to Fairclough, the term “critical” is used in CDA “in the special sense of aiming to show up connections which may be hidden from people - such as the connections between language, power and ideology” (1989:5). Before going any further then, it is important to clarify my own understandings of the vexed concepts of power and ideology and to suggest how they are understood in CDA. Fairclough (1989), drawing on Foucault, suggests that in CDA, power should not be understood only as a relation of domination, that is as a negative force which operates oppressively on an individual, preventing him/ her from realising his/ her full human potential. Instead, Fairclough suggests that power should also be understood to work through the individual as well as on the individual. Foucault claims that this second form of power is more hidden and therefore more subtle. It works as follows: institutions have their own ways of using language, that is discourse, which creates certain subject positions, (positions from which the discourse seems natural and obvious). The individuals who are

“interpellated” by these subject positions, (that is who recognise them and take them up), are thus constituted by the institutional discourse to perform certain roles within the institution, and these subject positions and social roles in turn become part of their identities and subjectivities. In this way, individuals consent to and are constituted within the particular subjectivities dictated by the “power-knowledge formations” (the powerful institutions) in which they find themselves. This understanding of power as an enabling, constituting force which works through consent (rather than an oppressive force which works through coercion) has great explanatory power for understanding how power operates in a benign, liberal, institution such as a university. Universities deal with powerful forms of knowledge and accord power to those who control, teach and police the discourses of these knowledge forms. Students pay to learn how to become members of these discourse communities; and because of the power vested in these knowledge forms, most students, simply in the act of choosing to attend university, have already given their consent to the subject positions constructed in the discourses of the university. However, because university staff tend to exercise their power in ways which are hidden and implicit in culturally and historically specific discourses, not all students gain access to the powerful discourse communities. In a well-known quote, Foucault describes the education system as “a political way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, along with power and knowledge they carry” (quoted in Young, 1981: 49).

Secondly, I suggest that the contested concept of ideology be understood as follows: Fowler (1987: 490) suggests that ideology be defined as a society’s implicit theory of what types of objects exist in their world (categorisation); of the way in which the world works (causation); and of the values to be assigned to objects and processes (general propositions). These implicit ideas, beliefs, principles and values constitute the society or group’s “commonsense” which provides a normative base to discourse. What is noteworthy in Fowler’s definition is that ideology is not understood to be “false consciousness”, nor is it

entirely determined by the “material base”, as it is in the classical Marxist sense.¹ Rather, CDA’s understanding of ideology is that nobody has privileged access to pure description or truth, all interpretations of reality are mediated by theory or ideology (the issue is whether we are conscious of this mediation or not). This all-pervasive understanding of ideology suggests that there is a circular relation between ideology and social realities: a particular ideology gives rise to certain social actions (including discourse), which create social reality which in turn is explained by the social actors concerned in terms of texts (discursive practices) which are shaped and determined by the originating ideology (see Gee, 1990: 25).

Apart from these understandings of power and ideology, CDA is also informed by a number of assumptions about language and society which are consistent with the understandings of power and ideology explained above, (see Fairclough 1980, Fairclough (ed.), 1993: 8,9 and Gee, 1990:143): firstly, that discourse (language in use) is a mode of social action. Gee defines a discourse as,

“a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or ‘social network’, or to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful ‘role’.” (1990:143)

The use of a discourse is thus tied to a particular social identity or role within certain social settings and institutions. The subject (speaker or writer) of a discourse is “subjected” to the constraints set by the discourse, for discourses render our words and actions as recognisable and meaningful, but they also limit what counts as acceptable performance, (see the discussion on power as an enabling and constituting force, above). In the context of the research reported on in this thesis, this understanding of discourse is used to enhance the historians’ and my own understanding of the ways in which academic historical discourse has come to be regarded as authoritative, and of how it constitutes the social identities of professional historians and the objects of historical

¹ This is not to say that a person’s class position is not a key factor in determining which discourses s/he will have access to.

knowledge. In addition, my hope is that, given the historians' awareness of the power of their discourse and an understanding of its defining features, their ability to make it more explicit and accessible to their students might be enhanced. I also apply this understanding of discourse to my analysis of historical texts, where I aim to show how the texts are a product of the discursive processes which shape the writers' meanings, (see the second assumption of CDA which follows below).

A second assumption of CDA is that discourse shapes and is shaped by society; there is a dialectical relationship between the texts which are produced and consumed in society and the socio-historical structures which the writers and readers (or speakers and listeners) occupy. Discourse shapes society through its power to constitute (and change) knowledge and beliefs and their objects, social relations and social identities. In turn, society shapes discourse because discourses always have social, cultural and institutional bases. The ideologies evident in these social settings and institutions invariably shape and "invest" the discourses they produce through the linguistic choices made by the interlocutors who take up subject positions consistent with these ideologies. In CDA, a text is therefore viewed as both a product, an artefact of language, and as a (discursive) process. CDA claims that the relationship between language and ideology can only be ascertained within a discursive framework; that is, it is in the relationship between a text and its situational context that ideological significance is found (Eagleton, 1991). This means that the socially determined conditions of the text's production and interpretation processes are seen as crucial to uncovering its meanings and its political and ideological investments. The discourses which interlocutors use do not simply reflect the world: rather they refract a world, (which we can contest and change) (Fairclough, 1989: 25). For the purposes of this research project, I develop a method of CDA which aims to capture the socio-historical conditions of the texts' production processes and to relate these to the meanings which are realised in the wordings of the texts. One of my purposes in this project is to show how the writers draw on particular discourses from their socio-historical environment in their production of texts.

A third assumption of CDA is that the (re)definition and control of discourse is a stake in power struggles; discourses can be used as powerful tools of domination. This is particularly so because the political and ideological effects of discourse are often covert. Our use of discourse is usually unconscious, unreflective and uncritical; as subjects of discourses, we speak, act and think as if the meanings and values of the discourses which speak us are “natural”, “commonsense” and “obvious” (see Fowler’s understanding of “commonsense” in the discussion on ideology above). Our lack of awareness of the effects of discourse is largely due to the fact that we master discourses through a process of enculturation, apprenticeship or acquisition rather than through a conscious process of learning. CDA and more particularly, critical language awareness (CLA), a movement in language education closely associated with CDA, asserts the importance of educating readers to become more aware of the relationship between discourse, power and ideology. It claims that if readers are given access to meta-knowledge about language and discourse, such as the assumptions described above, and given a meta-language to talk about the use and abuse of language, that is, if they consciously learn about discourse, then their ability to analyse, manipulate and resist the power of language will be enhanced. In other words, the assumption of CLA is that the development of a critical consciousness can enhance language capability and lead to a change in linguistic and social behaviour, such that the learner may be “empowered” to resist discourse which is used to produce and sustain relations of domination and can avoid using discourse to disempower others. Advocates of the CLA movement, such as Fairclough are critical of traditional sociolinguistics,

“If power relations are indeed increasingly coming to be exercised implicitly in language, and if language practices are indeed coming to be consciously controlled and inculcated, then a linguistics which contents itself with describing language practices without trying to explain them, and relate them to the social and power relations which underlie them, seems to be missing an important point. And a language education focused on training in language skills, without a critical component, would seem to be failing in its responsibility to learners.” (1992 (ed.): 6).

For the staff development project reported on in this dissertation, I attempt to develop a set of critical language awareness exercises for students, based on my own text analyses, with the aim of inducting them into some of the insights of CDA so as to empower them to become more critical readers of history and possibly to become better researchers of history as well.²

I have explained above how CLA builds upon CDA and applies the insights of CDA to education about language. According to Fairclough, (1992), CLA is also built upon a critical approach to education and pedagogy. I will now turn to an explication of my understanding of curriculum theory and development and show how CLA is consistent with the critical paradigm of curriculum development. I examine curriculum theory with a view to understanding the values, interests and epistemological assumptions which lie behind the adoption of different models of curriculum development. Historically there have been three paradigms in curriculum theory. These have been labelled the traditionalist paradigm, the hermeneutic (or interpretative) paradigm and the critical paradigm (Hartman & Warren, 1994). These three approaches to curriculum theory and development coincide with Jurgen Habermas' theory of "knowledge-constitutive interests" (1972). Just as critical linguists understand all language (discourse) to be "ideologically invested", so Habermas understands all knowledge to be "interested", that is that all knowledge is produced (and taught and learnt) on the basis of certain values and assumptions. Habermas claims that all human rationality can be categorised into three distinct paradigms based on these underlying interests which constitute different forms of knowledge - the technical (empirical-analytic) interest, the practical (historical-hermeneutic) interest and the emancipatory (critical) interest. Habermas claims that these "knowledge-constitutive interests" constitute or shape what counts as knowledge in each of these paradigms. When undertaking a process of

² But this research project stops short of moving from consciousness raising to social action beyond the classroom, as is advocated in much of the CLA literature (for example, Janks & Ivancic in Fairclough (ed.) 1992). Its domain is limited to curriculum development and therefore to action in the history classroom; the focus of the project is not to change the research participants' behaviour beyond the history classroom - although this could arguably be a "spin-off" of the process.

curriculum development then, it is not a question of trying to weigh up empirically which paradigm of curriculum development works best. Rather the question should be understood as a matter of values and of ethical choice. One chooses which paradigm(s) to work within, and one does so on the basis of one's values. Habermas has been criticised for making the distinctions between the three paradigms of knowledge too hard and fast, but according to Grundy (1987), they do hold in realms of human interaction, for example when applied to education. My own understanding is that in terms of curriculum theory and practice, there is a clear distinction between the traditionalist and the other two paradigms, whilst there is a continuum, rather than a paradigmatic break between the hermeneutic and critical paradigms. I will briefly characterise the three paradigms below, drawing on Grundy's application of Habermas to curriculum theory (Grundy, 1987).

The traditionalist paradigm of curriculum theory understands the curriculum as a plan and/ or a product. It has been variously caricatured as "curriculum as prescription" (Goodson, 1994), the didactic model (Rowland, 1993), the instructional model (Jenkins & Walker, 1994) or as "curriculum as product" (Grundy, 1987). At the risk of over-stating the case, its main features can be described as follows: It is a "supply-led" curriculum in which the lecturer determines beforehand what the students need to learn. The lecturer then instructs the students and it is the students' responsibility to respond appropriately; the learning process is largely invisible. The lecturer then evaluates the students' responses according to pre-specified criteria (which sometimes exist only in the lecturer's head). In this paradigm knowledge is treated as an object, an external body of information, which the lecturer has and which s/he can pass on to the students. It assumes that the possession of such knowledge, taken on authority, is education in itself. In many cases the knowledge has become reified and ahistorical; its original human construction has been forgotten or concealed, (see my analysis of the development of history as an academic subject under 2.2 below). In this paradigm it is also assumed that knowledge can be broken down into discrete and disconnected subjects and units. Student progress is based upon narrow, ossified notions of achievement.

The recall of substantive disciplinary knowledge is credited rather than its application to real-life problems. General transferable skills such as critical reading are seldom explicitly taught or tested. The pedagogy typical of this paradigm preserves and reproduces the established power relations of the educational institution. This position presupposes that theory has "a prescriptive, not a propositional relationship to practice" (Grundy 1987:57); that is, it is assumed that the curriculum objectives stand in a deterministic relation to educational practice. According to Grundy (1987), this understanding of curriculum has developed within a "culture of positivism" and is based on what Habermas defined as the "technical interest". Grundy defines the technical interest as "a fundamental interest in controlling the environment through rule-following action based upon empirically grounded laws" (1987:12). This interest is concerned with the ability to predict and therefore to control and manipulate the environment, (here read educational environment), and it gives rise to instrumental action which is judged in terms of its efficiency and effectiveness.³

The hermeneutic paradigm has been described by Cornbleth (1990) as "contextualised social practice", by Grundy (1987) and Goodson (1994) as "curriculum as practice" and by Rowland (1993) as an "interpretative approach to teaching and learning". Hermeneutic (interpretative) inquiry involves a continuous, reflective interpretation of social interactions and the meanings and assumptions which underlie them. According to Grundy (ibid.) this paradigm is conceptualised within an epistemology which is grounded in Habermas' practical (historical-hermeneutic) "knowledge-constitutive interest". The basic orientation of the "practical interest" is towards understanding through

³ It is critical in this discussion that the reader does not confuse this critique of knowledge and action based on the technical interest as applied to curriculum development, with a critique of this form of knowledge in general. The technical interest, as employed by the experimental method in the natural sciences for example, is wholly appropriate. Habermas does not deny the validity of any of the three forms of knowledge; he acknowledges that each has salience in its appropriate domain. What he rejects is the application of one form of knowledge to an inappropriate domain and the claim of any one form to be the only acceptable form of knowledge. Thus the issue for critics of the traditionalist paradigm of curriculum, is the inappropriate application of this way of knowing and doing to the process of curriculum development and to all forms of teaching and learning. Arguably, there are some forms of learning, namely the memorisation of large bodies of "facts" which may quite appropriately be taught, learnt and tested by technical means.

interaction. Interpretative social science aims to contribute to social life through educating the consciousness of the individual. This kind of knowledge seeks to answer the question "What ought I to do?" and is therefore concerned with the individual's ability to make judgements about how to act morally and rationally within a specific social situation. It results in subjective knowledge (as opposed to rule-following knowledge) which is usually produced through meaning-making interaction with one's environment. Following Grundy (ibid.), the definitive features of curriculum development based on the practical interest would be the following. Firstly, curriculum construction is understood as

"an ongoing activity that is shaped by various contextual influences within and beyond the classroom and is accomplished interactively, primarily by teachers and students" (Cornbleth 1990:24).

Within this paradigm, knowledge is understood as a particular interpretation of reality; it is socially constructed, value-laden and provisional. The curriculum therefore promotes creativity and the development of personalised knowledge and shared meanings. It encourages critique, the reconstruction of knowledge and reflective thinking. It recognises that meaning-making is interpretative and therefore inescapably political, (the "emancipatory interest" below develops this aspect further). Clearly, the epistemological assumptions underlying CDA and CLA as described above, accord with this understanding of curriculum within the hermeneutic paradigm. The CLA awareness exercises which I develop for the staff development project are intended to help students understand the nature of historical knowledge to be socially constructed and value-laden and to develop further their ability to read historical texts critically.

Furthermore, within the hermeneutic paradigm, a prepared curriculum plan is understood to be no more than a hypothesis to be tested in practice or a proposal to inform a teacher's judgement about his/her own teaching practice. It was with this understanding that I presented my materials to the history lecturers. The assumption of this understanding of curriculum (and of my staff development project) is that it is the practitioner who should judge what is appropriate in practice and that the practitioner should exercise control over both theory and practice. Within this paradigm, the need for curriculum

development to be based on the reflective and responsible judgement of the teacher/ lecturer is emphasised. This underlines the importance of staff development and the professionalisation of the teaching-learning environment. In fact Grundy goes further and suggests that a commitment to reflection requires the transformation of the teacher's consciousness. One of the most important aspects of reflective practice as understood in this paradigm, is that it serves to bring to consciousness those assumptions and values which are taken-for-granted in everyday teaching practice. Grundy quotes Gadamer in support of this point:

"The real power of hermeneutic consciousness is our ability to see what is questionable Reflection on a given pre-understanding brings before me something that otherwise happens behind my back." (Gadamer 1977 in Grundy 1987:91).

This describes the process of staff development which I hoped to initiate in the research project undertaken for this dissertation. I began my series of seminars with the history staff by critically interrogating the assumptions, values and ideologies invested in academic historical discourse and I hoped that this would enhance the historians' "hermeneutic consciousness" and so confirm their commitment to undertaking curriculum development within the hermeneutic (and possibly critical) paradigms.

The critical paradigm is an extension of the hermeneutic/ practical paradigm. It has been developed by "reconceptualists" such as Cornbleth (1990) and Grundy (1987) who are critical of the hermeneutic paradigm for the following two reasons. Firstly because they claim that within the hermeneutic paradigm social contexts tend to be viewed as fixed and natural. This means that problems relating to inequalities of power, social conflict and change are inadequately dealt with (see for example the quotation from Fairclough (1992) above, in which he criticises traditional sociolinguistics for only describing language practices rather than explaining, contesting and changing them). Secondly, the reconceptualists suggest that the hermeneutic paradigm's emphasis on the importance of the interpretations of individuals ignores the way in which our interpretations are socially and historically conditioned and constrained by social structure (see for example the discussion on discourse and society above). The reconceptualists

favour curriculum development which is based on the third knowledge-constitutive interest identified by Habermas, the “emancipatory interest”. Following Grundy, the “emancipatory interest” is concerned with emancipation and empowerment and the ability to engage in autonomous social action as a result of authentic critical insights into the social construction of human society (1987:19). A key aspect of this notion of curriculum is that knowledge is socially constructed and thus contested. The everyday experiences of both learner and teacher should be subjected to “ideology critique” so that what was considered to be “natural” can be exposed as cultural. This paradigm provokes questions such as “whose interests are served by the curriculum, what curriculum would promote greater equity, emancipation and social justice; how is power distributed in the teaching learning process and how can it be more equitably distributed?” (Grundy 1987: 122). Not only are such questions asked, but action is planned which is intended to change the situation under critique. Grundy describes this process as “curriculum as praxis” because theory and social action in and beyond the classroom are brought together in a dialectical relation. Educational practice within this paradigm is underpinned by the values of justice, equality and empowerment and the knowledge in which it deals is claimed to be “emancipatory”. Furthermore, the educational researcher is considered to be involved in political and social action and is usually concerned to eliminate social injustice and inequality.

Clearly, the aims of CLA in language education are consistent with the critical paradigm of curriculum theory. CLA aims to raise learners’ awareness of the ideological effects of language use so as to empower them to resist and change those language practices which reproduce relations of domination. In this research project, I certainly aimed to raise to consciousness the ideological effects of the historical texts which we studied. However, because the project focused on the first phase of the curriculum development process, namely staff development (and some materials development), and has not yet been carried through to the implementation phase in the classroom, I was not in a position to investigate the impact of CLA on social action in and beyond the classroom. In this sense, I suggest that the research project described in this study falls

somewhere on the continuum between the hermeneutic paradigm and the critical paradigm. It starts off by working in the hermeneutic paradigm to change the consciousness of the teachers, but holds out the possibility for further development and implementation within the critical paradigm. One could argue that by raising the historians' awareness about the political and potentially exclusionary effects of academic historical discourse, this project "empowers" them to make their powerful discourse more accessible to their students. Secondly, the project encourages the historians to deliberately recognise other discourses outside the academy which can contribute to the making of history. Thirdly, the implementation of the CLA exercises will offer possibilities for lowering the power differential between lecturers and students in the history classroom, because in this pedagogical practice, the students' interpretations of texts are valued and taken seriously by the lecturer. In these ways the curriculum development process described here could be seen to be located in the critical paradigm and as a form of social action which has the potential to serve a wider range of interests than is presently served through the dominant traditional history curriculum.

I now provide an overview of the dissertation, indicating how I explore the contribution of CDA to curriculum development, and in particular to the development of historical studies at tertiary level, within the hermeneutic and critical paradigms of curriculum theory and practice. In Chapter 2, the literature survey, I provide an historical overview of the teaching of language and show how this can be interpreted through the meta-narrative of Habermas' theory of knowledge constitutive interests. I explain why Halliday's theory and model of language lends itself to application in educational practice within the critical paradigm of curriculum development. (The theory and analytical methodology of functional systemic grammar (FSG) are described in greater detail in Chapter 3). I then review some of the work which applies Halliday's functional linguistics to educational practice within the critical paradigm. I look briefly at critical linguistics, critical language awareness and genre theory. I suggest some of the short-comings in these fields and indicate how this study seeks to address them. I then look at particular studies which serve as prototypes for this

research project, in that they apply CDA using FSG to an analysis of specific academic discourses. In the second section of the literature survey, I turn to historical studies and try to trace its development as an academic discipline and discourse from a Foucauldian perspective. The purpose of this exercise is to understand how the socio-historical context of the discipline's development gave rise to a peculiar discourse based on historically-specific social institutions and on historically-determined epistemological assumptions. I then go on to explore how the latter are currently being challenged by postmodernist thinking, and I explore some of the responses to postmodernism in the literature on the theory and philosophy of history. In the light of this debate, I suggest a way forward for the teaching of historical studies, termed a "post-positivist" approach. I argue that this approach, whilst taking cognisance of some aspects of the postmodernist critique, allows historians to take an ethical position within the socio-political context of their own teaching environment and to commit themselves to social action in the form of an emancipatory pedagogy. This places the curriculum development process undertaken for this study firmly within the hermeneutic and critical paradigms.

In Chapter 3, "A Method of Critical Discourse Analysis", I explain how the two historians with whom I was working had already begun a process of curriculum development along the lines I have advocated above. I point out that their curriculum reform endeavours were limited by their lack of an adequate method of text analysis. I propose a method of CDA based on functional systemic grammar (FSG) which I see as particularly appropriate for the analysis of historical texts and I explain the analytical methodology of FSG and demonstrate its application to one historical text. In doing so, I grapple with the challenge of presenting an account of Halliday's grammar which is accessible to non-linguists, such as the historians, but which, at the same time, is sufficiently rigorous to do the job. Chapter 3 concludes with my characterisation of historical discourse based on insights gained from FSG and from the Foucauldian analysis of the discourse's historical development.

In Chapter 4, I present my analyses of the four historical texts from the historians' history honours course. Here, my aim is to demonstrate the application of the method presented in chapter 3. I try to show how CDA using FSG can provide a critical, socially and historically informed re-interpretation of a text, supported by an analysis of the lexicogrammatical choices made by the writer of the text.

In Chapter 5, I present the four CLA exercises which I designed for future students on the history honours course, on the basis of my own text analyses. This represents my response to the challenge of introducing potential students to the insights and techniques of CDA in an accessible way, despite the fact that they will be using the method for the first time and that the ideas underpinning CDA will probably be unfamiliar, if not a little disconcerting for them.

In the Conclusion, I sum up the results of the small staff development project which I conducted alongside this study (see below). I also try to evaluate more generally the potential of CDA using FSG as a tool for hermeneutic and critical curriculum development in a university context.

I now describe how the practical aspect of this study, the staff development project, was conducted. Having agreed to work with the two historians, as described above, I planned a process of staff development which took the form of a series of seven two hour seminars. Apart from Wright and Nuttall, two other historians attended most of the seminars out of interest. We circulated readings before each seminar as preparation for our discussions. I tape-recorded our discussions so as to be able to summarise and transcribe relevant sections for the purposes of this study. We began the series by exploring the historical and epistemological development of historical studies as an academic discipline within the traditionalist paradigm (see Chapter 2.2.1 for my own interpretation of the literature). In the second seminar we investigated the impact of post-modernism on historical studies and the challenges which it poses to the fundamental epistemological assumptions of the discipline within the traditionalist paradigm. On the basis on my input (see Chapter 2.2.2), we resolved to adopt a "post-positivist" approach to the teaching of historical

studies, within the hermeneutic and critical paradigms of curriculum development. For the third seminar, I provided background readings for the historians from Kress & Hodge (1979), Thompson (1990), Fairclough (1993 ed.), Bloor & Bloor (1995) and Butt, Farley, Spinks & Yallop (1995), as well as extracts from Chapter 3 of this dissertation. In the third seminar, I first pointed out the strengths and weaknesses of Nuttall and Wright's own "intuitive" method of discourse analysis and showed how their method could be developed further. In this context, I presented to the historians a summary of my method of CDA which uses Halliday's functional systemic grammar (FSG) for the formal analysis of texts. Figure 1 in Chapter 3 formed the basis of our discussion on method. I suggested that this method had the potential to take the historians' curriculum development process forward from the hermeneutic into the critical paradigm. (This was an enormous amount of material to cover in one seminar, and we had to run on into the next one). The remaining four seminars were used to discuss my analyses of the four historical texts which the historians had selected as key texts from their history honours course. In preparation for each of these four seminars, the history staff were given my text analysis and the accompanying CLA exercise to read beforehand. They were asked to do the CLA exercise first, before reading the text analysis. In the seminars we discussed the technicalities of applying the method, the extent to which the historians found my analyses plausible and also the extent to which they thought the CLA exercises would work in their own classrooms, (with particular focus on Nuttall and Wright's honours course). The discussions which occurred in seminars four to seven are summarised in Chapters 4.5 and 5.5. In the final seminar I asked the historians to complete a questionnaire (see Appendix 5) to enable me to evaluate the staff development project as a whole. Their responses are reported in Chapters 4.5 and 5.5 and in the Conclusion, 5.6.

Chapter 2: Literature Survey

2.1 The Application of Critical Linguistics and Functional Linguistics to Curriculum Development

In this first section of the literature survey, I explore via the literature, some of the ways in which critical and functional linguistics have been applied to educational practice. In so doing, I indicate how I have drawn on these fields in conceptualising and implementing the research project described in this dissertation. I begin by giving a brief outline of the historical development of the teaching of language to show that Halliday's functional linguistics lends itself to application in educational practice within the critical paradigm of curriculum theory and development. I employ Habermas' theory of knowledge-constitutive interests and its application to curriculum theory as a framing meta-narrative for the discussion. Clearly, the grand scale of this sort of framing involves some rather sweeping generalisations and omissions. The account of language teaching given here focuses primarily on mother tongue language instruction and on the theories of language and knowledge underlying the different pedagogies, rather than on giving a detailed account of the various methods of language teaching. The purpose of this introductory section is simply to locate historically, and in terms of epistemology and Habermas' knowledge constitutive interest, where Halliday's functional systemic grammar sits in relation to other approaches to the teaching of language.

2.1.1 Language Teaching Constituted by the Technical Interest

Within the traditionalist paradigm, language teaching is informed by a notion of language constituted by the technical interest. In terms of this notion, language is a given, transparent, innocent and neutral medium which unproblematically reflects external, pre-existing realities. It assumes that there is a simple, fixed relationship between things in the world, words in language and concepts in people's minds. So word meaning is understood as fixed, static and definitive. This allows for an "objective" language curriculum to be prescribed and taught

authoritatively to passive students. According to Cope and Kalantzis this understanding of language is based on “a uniquely modern logicoscientific culture and epistemology” (1993: 3) in which it is assumed that the world can be described in terms of “facts”, rules and regularities. They assert that this way of describing reality also inducts learners into a culture of order and discipline. Within this understanding of language, the language syllabus is based on a formal account of the rules of the language, which are often presented in two-dimensional tables. The focus of the language curriculum is on the form and structure of language rather than on meaning, and learners are typically required to do decontextualised grammatical exercises and to learn the rules by rote and by drill. This tradition of grammar study is based on the study of classical Greek and Latin grammars, (but has subsequently been separated from the study of rhetoric, which originally placed grammar learning in a context of use and social purpose, (Martin & Rothery, 1993: 138)). During the Renaissance, this approach to language teaching was applied to the European vernaculars and it continued to be the dominant approach until the 1950s. Over time the approach became increasingly trivialised as it became further separated from real language contexts and many of the rules seemed to be made to be broken. The naming of the parts of speech was always limited to the level of the sentence and increasingly during the 1960s, it began to be perceived as unable to give a full account of language.

2.1.2 Language Teaching Constituted by the Practical Interest

It was the progressivist approach of the 1970s which most vociferously opposed the traditional approach to language teaching. This educational movement was based on Dewey’s progressivism of the 1920s which aimed to restore the connections between school knowledge and the child’s own life and experience. It asserted the principle of learning-by-doing based on notions of the “active learner” and student motivation. In the 1970s, this approach to language teaching advocated the importance of students finding their “own voices”, discovering themselves and “owning” their writing. In the language classroom two off-shoots of this philosophy were the “process approach” to writing and

the “whole language” approach in primary schooling. This approach tended to reject the teaching of grammar completely; it assumed that learners would naturally acquire the grammar they needed to express themselves, and it rejected the imposition of standardised grammar in an authoritarian manner. In its desire to relate to the subjectivities of the learners, to promote individual creativity and personalised knowledge, this approach to language teaching falls within the hermeneutic paradigm of curriculum development, based on Habermas’ practical interest. But in its more extreme forms, progressivist pedagogy moves into the postmodern paradigm (if there is one). Here, influenced by postmodernism’s rejection of any universalising culture or narrative, progressivism has embraced a radical individualism based on a relativistic theory of cultural and linguistic pluralism, in which the goal of the curriculum is primarily to be relevant and to provide space for individual students to express their “difference”.

However, this form of progressivism has recently been criticised by educationists such as Delpit (1988) in the USA and by the genre theorists in Australia, (for example Cope and Kalantzis (eds.) (1993)). Delpit criticises the process approach to the teaching of writing for not making explicit to minority students the rules of the game.

“If you are not already a participant in the culture of power, being told explicitly the rules of that culture makes acquiring power easier” (Delpit, 1988: 282).

But she adds,

“While students are assisted in learning the culture of power, they must also be helped to learn the arbitrariness of those codes and about the power relationships that they represent” (1988: 296).

She claims that the anti-authoritarianism of the progressivists is a “cultural hoax” by white liberals who try to deny the reality of unequal power relations in society. Cope & Kalantzis (1993: 57) suggest that the cultural bias of progressivism unconsciously favours certain (white middle class) students who are at ease with “finding themselves” and with gaining a sense of “ownership” and so it serves to reproduce educational inequalities. They argue that the

process approach to language teaching is based on the incorrect assumption that orality and literacy are the same phenomenon. Instead they suggest that the most powerful discourses are furthest from orality and require explicit teaching, especially to those students who find them culturally unfamiliar. It is arguments such as these which led me to try to analyse and make explicit the features of academic historical discourse, in the hope that the historians with whom I worked on the staff development project would be in a position to teach it more explicitly to their students in the future.

2.1.3 Language Teaching Constituted by the Emancipatory Interest

A third approach to the teaching and learning of language has developed in the 1980s and 1990s, particularly in Britain and Australia, which is concerned to attend to the issues of power involved in language use, such as those raised by Delpit and Cope and Kalantzis quoted above. This approach bases its understanding of language on Halliday's functional linguistics. Halliday began, in the 1970s, to develop a linguistics which could give a social account of language and which could address practical concerns. His theory of language claims that the language system and the forms which it takes are determined by the uses which they serve, in other words, we use language to make meanings, and language is structured and organised according to these meanings. The study of grammar is therefore the study of how meanings are built up through the choice and use of words. Linguistic forms are understood to be socially constituted and contextually determined; language is a "social-semiotic". Halliday also suggests that language is a coding system, organised as sets of choices. Each choice in the system is meaningful against the background of other choices which could have been made. The choices which are made are realisations of meanings derived from the context of situation of the text. He views language as a resource which we use by choosing to make meanings in specific contexts (Eggins, 1994: 2). The product of a sequence of choices is a text. (A fuller account of Halliday's theory of language and of functional systemic grammar (FSG) as an analytic methodology for formal text analysis is provided in Chapter 3.2.2 and 3.3.)

Halliday's functional linguistics has been used by those working from an emancipatory knowledge-constitutive interest and within the critical paradigm of curriculum, because his theory of language provides the means for relating forms of language in use to their social purpose and so provides the potential for a critical interpretation of text understood as a discursive process (this will be explained further below). Halliday's work has inspired two closely related language in education movements, critical linguistics and its off-shoot critical language awareness (CLA) which originated in Britain, and the genre theory movement which originated under Halliday's influence in Australia. I shall deal with each in turn.

Critical Linguistics

The school of critical linguistics emerged after the publication of Fowler, Hodge and Trew's, "Language and Control" (1979) and Kress and Hodge's "Language as Ideology" (1979). According to Fowler,

"functional linguistics not only provides the theoretical underpinning for critical linguistics, it also offers a supportive intellectual and political climate for this work" (1987: 483).

The aim of critical linguistics (or critical discourse analysis, as its practice is often referred to) is to analyse public discourse in order to reveal the ideology encoded implicitly in discourse and to examine the ideology so revealed in the context of the social formation in which the text was produced (Fowler, 1987: 482).⁴ So critical linguistics takes Halliday's theory of language and applies it within the critical paradigm of social science to uncover the relations between language and ideology. In so doing it draws on two other traditions: Marxist, post-structuralist and deconstructionist literary criticism, for example the work of Belsey (1980) and Eagleton (1991); and secondly on critical theory as developed by the Frankfurt School, and by Habermas in particular. From critical theory, critical linguistics accepts the following premises: that all knowledge must be seen in the context of its constitution (see Habermas' theory of knowledge-constitutive interests discussed in the Introduction above) and

⁴ The domain of critical linguistics is therefore far broader than its application to the education system. I trace its development here to indicate how it has led to the critical language awareness movement in language in education.

secondly that ideology and language are socially determined (see discussion in Chapter 1 above). A third premise asserted by critical theory is that all representation is mediated, it is impossible to ever give a “true” description of reality, for there is no escape from “a priori” theory, which has its origins in social structure and is mediated through language (see my understanding of ideology explained in the Introduction above). A fourth premise is that the aims, values and interests of the researcher should be made explicit. Based on these assumptions, critical linguistics aims to reveal the “concealments” of discourse by analysing the socio-historical contexts of discourses and the lexicogrammatical choices made by writers in their construction of texts. In so doing they aim to initiate a process of defamiliarisation, consciousness-raising and self-reflection which can lead to “emancipation” from the constraints of the past (Fowler, 1987: 483).

Critical linguistics has since been further developed by Hodge and Kress to include an analysis of both the writer and the reader in discourse (for example, Kress (1985)). These critical linguists suggest that a writer can only produce a text by drawing on the discourses available to him/ her and that texts construct “reading positions” for readers, that is they cue the reader as to what ideological formations are appropriate to bring to the interpretation of the text (see 3.2.2 for further discussion). But, they also assert that the reader can become equipped to resist the positioning of the text. It is this aspect of the theory of critical linguistics which has lent itself so readily to educational practice and which has led to the development of the critical language awareness movement as described in the Introduction above. Language educators such as Fairclough, (1992 ed.) have used critical linguistics to develop a pedagogy in which “communicative competence” (that is the attempt to teach learners to communicate appropriately), is rejected as the ultimate goal of language education. Instead, learners are encouraged to question what is appropriate and conventional, and to become critically aware of the ideological structuring of

texts so as to be able to consciously resist ideological reproduction and relations of domination that are implicit in conventional ways of communicating.⁵

Critical Language Awareness

In Chapter 1 above, we noted that critical language awareness (CLA) (or critical literacy as it is sometimes called) is an approach to language teaching based on critical linguistics and on critical pedagogy. It has mostly been developed in the work of Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1992 ed.) and is based on the belief that an understanding of the social order can be achieved through a critical awareness of the power of language. CLA sets out to explain rather than simply describe for learners how discourse works in society. It is also based on the belief that access to and participation in the power structures of society is dependent upon one's knowledge of the discourses of those forums. In its more radical form, CLA asserts that awareness of the power of language is not liberatory enough; "(a)wareness needs to be turned into action" (Janks, H. & Ivanic, R. 1992: 307). They continue,

"CLA can help learners recognise the power vested in the speaker or writer, but mere awareness is not enough. Learners need also to find for themselves ways of speaking and writing which impose less on the people they are speaking to, and to practice them in their everyday use" (ibid.: 314).

Whilst this strongly emancipatory form of CLA meets the ideals of critical pedagogy within the critical paradigm of curriculum development, it is not directly relevant to this study because it addresses a different pedagogic context. CLA practitioners working in language classrooms in schools have greater freedom to use their classes for a CLA which will lead to changed social behaviour in the everyday lives of the learners. More relevant to the context of this dissertation namely, curriculum development at a university, are those studies which use CLA to demystify the discourses of power, and academic discourses in particular, with a view to making them more accessible to students.

⁵ Note that this approach to language teaching re-instates the study of rhetoric, that is, the study of language use for particular purposes in specific social contexts.)

Wallace's work (1992) on critical reading for adult EFL learners offers some useful ideas for a CLA approach at tertiary level. She is of the view that schools tend to encourage a submissive and over-deferential attitude towards the teacher and the text. (If this is the case in Britain, then it is only more so in South Africa). She suggests a procedure for critical reading which enables readers to challenge not only the propositional assertions of the text, but also its ideological assumptions. She does this by getting learners to look at the process of production and the intertextuality of the text. They then reconstruct the ideal reading position created by the text and the discourses upon which the writer of the text draws. I drew upon some of these ideas in my design of the CLA exercises for history students, (see especially the global questions asked in Section C of the CLA exercises in chapter 5).

Clark's work (1992) is also of relevance to this study. She works in a study skills context at a British university and is concerned to teach writing at university as a social activity which takes place in a specific socio-political context, namely an academic discourse community. Clark suggests that this implies that there is "a set of shared values and beliefs, of discursal conventions" which are used

"to establish what is legitimate knowledge, what are appropriate ways of learning and writing about that knowledge and what are the legitimate roles and behaviours of the members of that community. These discourse communities are organised around the production and legitimation of particular forms of knowledge and are not ideologically innocent" (1992; 118).

Clark introduces this understanding of a discourse community to her classes and requires her students to explore critically how these forms of knowledge and discourse have evolved. She claims that this process enhances her students' awareness of the conventions of the discourse community for whom they are trying to write, and so empowers them to become better writers and to have the confidence to challenge or flout those conventions, if they so wish. In this study, I approach the issue of academic discourse communities from the other end, that is from the perspective of the staff who are already members of a particular discourse community. For example, the seminar which I gave on the evolution

of academic historical discourse was intended to raise to consciousness the epistemic assumptions underlying the discourse and to show how historically and culturally specific its conventions and assumptions are. My hope was that this awareness would “empower” the staff to become better teachers of their discourse. A further point which Clark’s article raises is the recognition that the learning of reading and writing at university makes far more sense within the context of a specific discourse than in a generalist language classroom. It is specific academic discourses which students have to learn to control and manipulate and so their reading and writing skills are likely to be best learnt within a purposeful, discourse specific context.

Discussion

I now note four problematic areas in critical linguistics, CDA and CLA which this dissertation seeks to either address or avoid. Firstly, there is the problem of a lack of a rigorous analytical methodology for text analysis in some of the work mentioned above. There is a danger that CDA could come to mean any political analytical work on language and ideology. Here are some examples of the eclectic and rather vague approach to formal text analysis in some of the CLA work mentioned. In her study, Wallace writes,

“Critical analysis ... involves some explicit understanding of language as a formal system ... through an analysis of language itself, from an examination, for instance, of certain kinds of collocation, inclusive and exclusive pronouns and whether nouns function in sentences as agents or patients” (1992: 69).

In their study, Janks and Ivanic write,

“It is possible to de-construct something that someone has constructed. It is difficult at first to know what to focus on in a text without guidance: we suggest that it is part of the responsibility of the critical educator to offer this guidance to learners” (1992: 328).

But the guidance which they do in fact go on to offer is very general, it is mostly to do with the ways in which the participants in the text are named and with the sequencing of information. In their defence, Janks and Ivanic do go to say,

“We could no doubt take the analysis of the language of the article further, but we feel that enough has been said to give a

sense of the kinds of insights a critical examination of the language can reveal” (1992: 328).

Even Fairclough’s more detailed account of formal text analysis in his book (1992: 75-78) is too vague to be useful. I suggest that this rather vague, opportunistic method of text analysis is a weakness in much of the work on CLA as applied to curriculum development. In this study, I have tried to implement Halliday’s FSG in a more systematic, albeit simplified form. Again, this issue may be largely a matter of context. In this study, my intention is to present a rigorous and theoretically adequate method of text analysis to highly educated members of staff, whilst much of the CLA work which I have criticised has been developed for teenagers and young adults in the education system. A further context-related difference is that my concern is with prescribed texts which are mostly instantiations of an academic discourse, whereas CLA practitioners are free to select ideologically laden texts which impinge on the students’ social and political lives and which may therefore be easier to deconstruct in an opportunistic manner.

This raises a second problematic area for CDA in education, and that is the issue of accessibility. Is it possible to make CDA simultaneously theoretically and methodologically rigorous and also accessible to non-linguists? I have suggested that most CLA practitioners err on the side of accessibility, and perhaps for good reason. Wallace seems to be aware of the problem when she writes, “(w)ork on ways of systematising a simple linguistic description for critical literacy purposes remains to be done” (1992: 90). The challenge which I have sought to address in this study is to try to hold both concerns together. Halliday’s “An Introduction to Functional Grammar” (1985) is very detailed and not very accessible to non-linguists. However, my own position is that whilst Halliday’s fundamental concepts (for example an understanding of the multifunctional nature of language and the meaning of the concepts field, tenor and mode) are abstract and difficult to grasp, I consider them to be essential for undertaking a systematic text analysis. In my chapter on method, I have therefore tried to hold onto the conceptual rigour of Halliday’s method without getting too lost in the detail. I found more recent functional grammars based on

his work such as Eggins (1994), Bloor & Bloor (1995) and Butt, Fahey, Spinks & Yallop (1995) much more accessible and very useful for my purposes. More work remains to be done to adapt and apply works like these to classroom practice. In my own attempt at classroom application, (see the CLA exercises in chapter 5), I set out the exercises in terms of field, tenor and mode, without actually using the terms. I do not expect the learners to identify the pertinent linguistic items from the text, but rather provide these from my own analysis and then ask the learners to think about the effects of these selections (see Chapter 5.5 for further discussion).

A third problem area in CDA is raised by Fowler (1987). He criticises critical discourse analysts for failing to adequately provide the historical contexts of the texts which they analyse. He asserts the principle that linguistic theory cannot on its own work as a “discovery technique”, and that a text can only be analysed successfully in relation to its socio-historical context (see also Thompson’s (1990) “fallacy of internalism” discussed in chapter 3.2.1). Fowler suggests that, “like the historian, the critical linguist aims to understand the values which underpin social, economic and political formations, and, diachronically, changes in values and changes in formations” (1987: 489). Fowler claims that in his experience,

“Teachers often make the mistake of overestimating the discursive experience of young students, who turn out to have no intuitions about a particular text, and therefore cannot get started on the analysis” (1987: 488).

He therefore suggests that,

“A healthy and provocative way of generalising about these problems would be to assert that critical linguistics is a form of history-writing or historiography. This characterisation would suitably reflect the central interest of the subject which is not language as traditionally understood by linguists” (1987: 489).

Fowler’s point underlines the importance of the interdisciplinary nature of this study, for he is suggesting, not only that CDA might have something to offer historical studies (as I do in the title of this dissertation), but that historical studies has something to offer critical linguistics, which, in his opinion, sits somewhere at the interface between the two disciplines. In this study I take

account of this criticism firstly by making a socio-historical analysis of the context of the text's production a separate moment in my method of CDA (see Chapter 3.2.1). Secondly, in my own text analyses in chapter 4, I have tried to demonstrate how a thorough socio-historical analysis contributes to the overall (re)interpretation of a text. Furthermore, given that I was working with historians, it was particularly important for me to show competence in this area and for them to see the contribution of historical studies to CDA in this way.

Finally, Fowler (1987) and Kress (1993) both raise the issue of the reader in CDA. They suggest that more work needs to be done to bring the insights of cognitive psychology (for example, the schemata theory of reading) to bear on the methodology of CDA. Whilst I did not address this issue directly in this study, it was raised in one of our seminars, where we realised how crucial it was to possess particular "members resources" (Fairclough's term for an individual's socio-cognitive resources used in interpreting a text) in order to adequately interpret a certain writer's meaning (see discussion in Chapter 4.5).

The Genre Approach to Literacy

A third example of the application of Halliday's functional linguistics to educational practice within the critical paradigm is the genre school of literacy teaching which has developed under Halliday's influence in Australia in recent years. This approach seeks to apply FSG and genre theory to the teaching of writing in schools. It is also based on Halliday's work on the difference between spoken and written text. Halliday claims that learning to read and write requires a more conscious, deliberate and analytic effort than does speaking and listening. Genre theory aims to make what is conventional about the language of texts explicit. It is also based on Hasan's work in which the purpose of a text is understood to be the key variable in determining a text's register and in understanding the ways in which the field, tenor and mode of the register combine. Functional linguists such as Martin, Rothery and Christie (see Cope & Kalantzis, (1993 ed.)) have developed a language pedagogy in which genre theory can be applied to the teaching of writing in the primary classroom. A simple account of their method follows: The teacher starts by making the

purpose of a text explicit to the learners. This leads to the identification of its genre. Children are then explicitly taught the structure or stages of the genre and then the linguistic features of the particular genre in terms of field, tenor and mode. Learners use this modelling of genre to guide their own writing. Through their research in the Literacy and Education Research Network (LERN) project, genre theorists have identified six key genres for language teaching in schools, the report, the explanation, the discussion, the recount, the narrative and the procedure. Martin writes that “knowledge of how language is used to mean in different genres is particularly important when it comes to giving students positive assistance with their writing” (1993: 153). Through this form of language teaching, based on FSG, genre theorists claim to be able to provide the kind of assistance which the process approach to writing lacks. In fact, the genre approach objects to both the traditionalist and the progressivist approach to teaching (or not teaching) grammar and takes the progressivist critique of traditionalism as given. The genre approach to literacy is clearly based on the emancipatory knowledge-constitutive interest, that is, it is aware of the way in which power works through language and seeks to work towards a more egalitarian society, as shown by the following quotations:

“So if we redefine literacy here as the ability to read and write powerful texts, ... it may well be that a large majority of students are functionally illiterate.... It follows that they cannot participate in decision-making processes ... They are excluded, on grammatical grounds; they have not learned to read and write” (Martin, 1993: 130).

“Learning new genres gives one the linguistic potential to join new realms of social activity and social power” (Cope & Kalantzis, 1993: 7).

“Genre theory developed to provide greater access to the resources and technology of literacy to create the conditions for the redistribution of power in society” (Kress, 1993: 31).

Despite its obvious success in primary school literacy teaching in New South Wales in particular, this form of language teaching is not directly relevant to this study, which involves the CDA of texts as a means of curriculum development with an emphasis on the teaching of critical reading at tertiary level rather than on writing at primary level. However, I do find it applicable in two respects.

Firstly, I make use of the characterisations of the different genres in my text analyses in Chapter 4. However, the texts which I deal with are more complex than those used in primary schools and I found that they tend to be constituted by a blend of different, although by no means arbitrary, combinations of discourses and genres. It is interesting that only one text, (the New Nation text, which was deliberately written for an uneducated audience), could be analysed in terms of a straightforward generic structure. Secondly, the idea of explicitly teaching the features of a specific genre, suggests that this might be done in the case of an academic discourse as well. In Chapter 3.4 I try to make the linguistic features of academic historical discourse explicit and to relate these features to the genres commonly used in the discourse and to the underlying epistemic purposes of the discourse, in the hope that this might enhance the historians' ability to make the demands of their discourse explicit and therefore more accessible to their students.

Discussion

The Martin and Rothery approach to genre theory (described above) has been criticised by critical linguists such as Kress (in Cope & Kalantzis, 1993) for over-emphasising the role of genre in determining all aspects of a text and for teaching generic structures in an uncritical way. Clearly, there is a tension between on the one hand wanting to make the genres of power accessible, and on the other of wanting to critique and challenge the way in which power is invested in these forms. Kress argues that the genre literacy approach tends to give a reified view of generic structure which is taught and modelled simply as an inventory of generic stages. There is a danger that this could lead to an authoritarian transmission type of pedagogy, which could take the teaching of grammar back into the traditionalist paradigm. Kress argues that many texts are multi-generic and inter-generic and do not have the relative stability of thoroughly conventional texts. It is therefore important for teachers and students to understand that, whilst the generic form of a text will always constrain it in certain ways, these forms are never fixed and are always in a process of change. In order to keep the project firmly within the critical paradigm, Kress suggests that students should be encouraged to deliberately

violate generic conventions in their writing. Furthermore, he emphasises the importance of understanding the ways in which power difference enters into the production and maintenance of generic forms. He argues that the task which the text is performing (its genre) should not be understood to account for all aspects of the text's social and political context: for the social structures within which it is produced and for the power relations between the participants which it realises. He suggests that the starting point for analysis should rather be a full social, historical and cultural analysis of the text's situational context (1993: 25).⁶ Kress goes on to suggest that the genre literacy work should broaden its focus from the textual form to other forms of "cultural capital" such as lay-out, text design, images, film and also spoken forms of text. He is concerned that the powerful genres of dominant groups (such as academic genres) will be taught in a prescriptive and unreflecting manner which loses the critical dimension of CDA. He suggests that there may well be other generic forms which a multicultural society should value. This last point had already been addressed in the History Honours course to which this study is applied; Wright and Nuttall were particularly concerned in the design of the course to include texts "from below" and from beyond the academy. Two of the texts which I analyse in Chapter 4 were produced from outside the academy and all four were written for audiences wider than that of the academic discourse community. However, this study does not address Kress's point about other forms of semiotics as it confines itself to the printed word.

Genre Theory and Functional Grammar Applied to Academic Discourses

Since the mid-1980s there has been a further development in genre theory which is of greater relevance to this study, namely the use of functional grammar to analyse and deconstruct the distinctive discourses and genres of academic disciplines as they are taught and learnt in secondary and tertiary education. This has been done by Halliday and his colleagues with a view to demystifying

⁶ This point is similar to that of Fowler's above, and I have already explained how, in my own discourse analyses, I have tried to address this issue of the importance of a socio-historical analysis of the situational context of the text with a view to understanding how social structure and unequal power relations affect the text's production.

the discourses of power and enabling teachers and students to gain more self-conscious control over the special linguistic features of the discourses so that they can become more accessible to all learners. Cope & Kalantzis (1993) explain that this is not simply a linguistic process, but that in their view, it is also an epistemological process which moves students increasingly away from the world and the grammar of speech to the abstract, constructed world of academic knowledge in writing,

“as students are inducted into the discourse and field of knowledge (content) of school subjects, they move from common-sense to a kind of uncommon-sense - the uncommon-sense that carries technical and specialist knowledges which have their own peculiar ways of making meaning in the world” (1993: 11-12).

They go on to argue that subject experts need to understand the grammar of their disciplines in order to show their students how text form and structure serves the particular epistemic and social purposes of the discipline.

This work on academic discourse is based on Halliday’s pioneering study on the development of scientific writing (see Halliday (1988) below). Wignell, Martin and Eggins took this work further and began to look at the genre of explanation in the sciences (see Wignell et al (1989) below). Martin and Wignell have extended this work to the humanities and social sciences respectively (see Martin (1993) below). In so doing, these functional linguists have explored the notion of “technicality” (under **field**)⁷ and what it means to move from common sense to the uncommon sense of the sciences. Under **tenor** they have discovered, that whilst interpersonal meanings are important in the narrative genres of creative writing, (and are therefore emphasised in primary schooling), they are largely considered dysfunctional in technical and abstract writing and so learners often experience discontinuity when they move from primary to secondary schooling. Under **mode**, Martin unpacks the notion of “abstraction” and shows how in the humanities, grammatical metaphor is mobilised to produce a condensed form of argumentation.

⁷ In this section I have been obliged to use some of the terms of functional systemic grammar before explaining them to the reader. The fundamental terms relation to FSG are explained in Chapter 3.

In his paper, "On the language of physical science", Halliday shows how grammatical structure is related to the methodology and epistemology of the discipline. He claims,

"Systemic grammar enables us to ask why scientific English evolved the way it did, and how it was able to provide the semiotic base for the emergence of physical science" (1988: 161).

In his account of the historical development of written scientific English, Halliday explains precisely this and through his analysis of historical scientific texts he shows the "prototypical syndrome of features that characterises scientific English" (1988: 163). He shows how scientific discourse has brought together the 'doing' and the 'thinking' of science and how this is enacted in the forms of language. Halliday argues that the early scientists took the resources of the grammar and used them to "create discourse which moves forward by logical and coherent steps, each building on what has gone before" (1988: 172). He suggests that the experimental method demands this type of argumentation. He claims that nominalisation is an essential resource for constructing scientific arguments. He sees nominalisation as a grammatical resource in which events which occur in time (for example an historical action or a scientific experiment) are subjected to meaning-making processes which name them, classify them, "bring them onto order" and then explain them. Halliday identifies the emergence of a pattern in scientific writing in which a process (transformed into a nominal group) relates (via a verbal group) to another process (again usually a nominal group). Later, in the evolution of the discourse even the relational process becomes nominalised, (for example, happening *a* is the cause of happening *x*, or happening *b* is the proof of happening *y*). It is interesting to note in the light of Kress' criticisms of the genre theorists above, that Halliday appears to adopt a more flexible approach to the issue of genre structure and discourse, he writes of scientific discourse,

"it is the combined effect of a number of such related features, and the relations they contract throughout the text as a whole, rather than the obligatory presence of any particular ones, that tell us that what is being constructed is the discourse of science" (1988: 164).

As explained above, Halliday's underlying interest in this work is an emancipatory one. He is concerned to understand exactly what in the grammar makes the discourse so difficult for novices and how it can be better taught. In a later paper, "Some grammatical problems in scientific English", he suggests that subject teachers may find it interesting and rewarding to explore the language of their own disciplines (1993: 85). He suggests that in the case of scientific discourse, it is not in the vocabulary or terminology that the difficulty for students lies, but rather in the grammar which expresses the complex relationships between the technical terms. Halliday identifies seven difficulties which are characteristic of scientific English: interlocking definitions, technical taxonomies, special expressions, lexical density, syntactic ambiguity, semantic discontinuity and grammatical metaphor. I cannot give a full explanation of these here, but simply mention that according to Halliday, one of the effects of these features is that the language of science tends to leave implicit precisely those experiential meanings and processes which novices need to understand in order to construct a new world of meaning. The crux of his argument is that these characteristics of traditional scientific discourse are not arbitrary; they have evolved to meet the demands of scientific method and argument. He argues that in this respect, "learning science is the same thing as learning the language of science, students have to master these difficulties; but in so doing they are also mastering scientific concepts and principles" (1993: 84).

In their analysis of the discourse of geography, Wignell, Martin and Eggins (1989) claim that the features are similar to those of science except for the absence of experiments. They show how the discourse of geography is used to observe the experiential world through the creation of technical terms, to order the world by setting up field-specific taxonomies and to explain the world by setting up "uncommon-sense" implication sequences between the things constructed by the terms and taxonomies. The genre typically used for ordering the world is the report whilst that typically used for explaining the world is explanation. These functional linguists insist that technicality plays an important function in constructing the discipline,

“Technical jargon cannot simply be dismissed as jargon, because alongside a renaming, there is also a reordering of things” (1989: 367).

They explain that one cannot simply translate from common-sense into uncommon-sense because technicalisation sets up different oppositions based on its own definitions,

“It is not that in geography, one is necessarily creating new things, but that one is setting up field-specific oppositions between things” (1989: 388).

The function of technicality is therefore to set up field-specific taxonomies, it is a “field-creating process”, and secondly to distil and compress meanings through the resources of the grammar implication sequences which would otherwise take a long time to explain in full. They suggest that “the more a field is concerned with explaining phenomena - rather than just ordering them - the greater the distillation offered by technicality” (1989: 390). In their paper, they explain exactly how the grammar caters for technicality by turning phenomena into things. This is achieved through turning a process into an epithet and a thing, or into a classifier and a thing. Nominalisation, (a form of grammatical metaphor), is used to transform an implication sequence (a medium and a process) into a nominal group. Wignell et al argue that this grammatical process occurs because English grammar has extensive resources within the clause and nominal group structure for organising things, but very limited resources for organising processes (1989: 370). Once processes have been turned into things, relations between the things can be set up via intensive attributive relational clauses to assign a sub-class to a superordinate class (for example, a is a b), or via possessive relational clauses to decompose wholes into parts, (for example, x, y and z are a part of w). They conclude,

science cannot be understood in ‘your own words’ - scientific disciplines have evolved specific discourses to interpret the world in its own uncommon-sense terms... Science is unthinkable without the technical language science has developed to construct its alternative world view” (1989: 390).

Love (1993)⁸ has undertaken a similar study on the discourse of geology. She attempts to relate the lexicogrammatical features of the clause to the schematic structure of the discourse. Love, like Wignell et al above, notes that processes in geology are frequently realised by nominalisations which appear as participants in relational processes of identity or attribution or which act as subjects of existential processes such as ‘occur’ or ‘take place’, or as the subjects of processes expressing circumstantial or causal relations such as ‘causes’ or ‘produces’ (1993: 200). She sums this up,

“Geological processes appear most commonly as nominalisations, acting as participants in sentences which deal with the relationship between processes and products, or other processes, or simply stated as ‘taking place’. They also appear in participial phrases, where they have become attributes of geological products, often acting as classifying criteria. The most common transitivity types are relational, characterising things as they are, and causative, indicating the relationship between processes and observations” (1993: 210).

Love also looks at the degree of specificity in nominal groups and relates this to patterns of thematization in the discourse. She concludes that the linguistic features of the discourse assist in constructing the epistemology of the subject (1993: 214).

To conclude this section, I look briefly at Martin’s work (1993) on abstraction in the humanities. He compares the process of technicality in the sciences with that of abstraction in the humanities. Whilst scientists re-classify the world and organise all phenomena as if they were things, translating common-sense understandings into specialised ones, through technicality, Martin claims that the humanities do not function to re-classify the experiential world. However, this does not mean that their discourses are any easier for novices to interpret and understand. Martin suggests that the humanities also use writing to analyse the world as if it were a collection of things with various relations between them, but he claims that they do not reconstruct the world through renaming and reclassifying it, as does science, instead, they re-interpret the world “from a

⁸ Love works at the University of Zimbabwe and is therefore not one of Halliday’s associates, however, she draws extensively on their work for her own research.

nominal point of view” coding the reinterpretations in the discourse patterns of texts (1993: 220). He suggests that whilst science pulls the world apart (through analysis), history puts the past together (through synthesis and abstraction in the construction of historical texts). He describes abstraction as follows:

“It is a grammar that organises text, that summarises and abstracts, that encapsulates ‘big’ meanings for us elsewhere - a grammar for writing that nominalises rampantly and turns the universe into a set of interrelated things: a grammar that counts” (1993: 135).

Martin goes on to claim that the discourse of history tends to use nominalisation as its main interpretative tool in abstraction, and that this grammatical resource is used to facilitate the move from the recount genre to that of exposition and analysis. He suggests that the recount genre is used in history to make generalisations about generic classes of participants whilst the expository genre is used for interpretation and explanation. Martin explains that in historical discourse, abstraction is realised through primarily in exposition through nominalisation. Through this use of grammatical metaphor, “the text itself codes reality as a set of relationships between things” (1993: 219). This means that nominal groups in relational clauses are foregrounded at the expense of material processes in clause complexes with explicit logical relations between them, realised through conjunctions. Instead history relies on attributive and identifying relational processes to assign nominalised participants to familiar classes of things (again expressed through nominal groups). Martin explains that in this way, through nominalisation, historical discourse realises events as participants and buries the reasoning (logical connections between the events) inside clause, instead of using conjunctions between clauses in clause complexes (1993: 266). Nominalisation is also used to scaffold the thematic and information structure of the text. Martin concludes that it is important for teachers of the humanities to recognise the role of abstraction via nominalisation in the grammar of their discourses because students need to learn to read and write abstract discourse if they are to become functionally literate and able to interpret the world in a critical way (1993: 218).

Discussion

The work of Halliday and his associates on the discourses of academic disciplines offers a prototype for my approach to analysing the discourse of academic history in this study (see Chapter 3.4 below). What I find particularly insightful is their ability to use FSG to unpack the grammar of the discourse in such a way that they show how the epistemological and methodological assumptions of the discipline come to be encoded in the grammar. However, most of this work does not directly challenge the nature of the discipline itself. This is because, as Halliday argues (1988: 177), scientific discourse is still functional in its context, it is necessary for the effective construction of scientific reality, and therefore has acquired value. (He does go on to argue that when scientific discourse is used unnecessarily “as a language of prestige and power” in other contexts where its special features are not functional, then this usage should be challenged.) Halliday also suggests that scientific discourse, like all discourses, is neither stable nor fixed,

“To label (scientific English) in this way is not to imply that it is either stationary or homogeneous. The term can be taken to denote a semiotic space within which there is a great deal of variability at any one time, as well as continuing diachronic evolution” (1998: 162).

In fact, developments in modern physics in particular, mean that the traditional discourse of the classical sciences is beginning to be challenged; for example the questioning of the strict separation between researcher and researched is leading some scientists to also question the impersonal and “objective” way of reporting science. The point to note here is that, if the epistemological assumptions underpinning a discipline’s methodology change, this will inevitably come to be reflected in the discourse. Whilst the work on scientific discourse reviewed above focuses largely on unpacking the grammar, in order to better understand the nature of the discipline and to make the discourse more accessible, this study on curriculum development in historical studies is concerned to use FSG, not only to unpack the discourse of academic history, but also to offer CDA and FSG as a new methodology for doing history, and in this sense, to introduce historians to a new discourse.

In the next section of this survey, 2.2.1, I give a brief overview of the historical development of historical studies and its discourse and try to show how it was professionalised and institutionalised within the traditionalist paradigm of curriculum (that is constituted by the technical interest), largely because of the dominance of the ideology of science at the time. However, as the characterisation of the discourse in Chapter 3.4 shows, historical studies is essentially an interpretative rather than a scientific discipline; that is, history is a text-creating rather than a field-creating knowledge form. (Martin argues that in historical discourse, it is the **mode** rather than the **field** which is foregrounded.) I therefore argue that historical knowledge is best constituted by the practical (hermeneutic-historical) and emancipatory interests. In the last section of the literature survey, 2.2.2, I look briefly at the challenge to historical studies posed by postmodernism; a challenge which rocks the epistemological foundations of the discipline. I suggest that doing history using CDA and FSG as a new methodology, within the hermeneutic and critical paradigms of curriculum, may be a theoretically rigorous and an ethically defensible way forward.

In this study, I am therefore proposing that CDA and FSG be used, not only to understand the discourse of the discipline better, but that these tools of analysis could in fact serve as a new methodology for the discipline, provided one makes the paradigm shift that I am suggesting. And if one changes the methodological and epistemological assumptions of a discipline, this will inevitably be reflected in its discourse. This means that, if historians begin to adopt this “new way of doing history”, that is if they begin to understand history as a social and textual practice, or as a “social semiotic”, then they will need new methodological and discursive tools. In particular, they will require new tools for the analysis of language. Here, FSG can do for the study of texts what technicality does for the study of the sciences; that is, it can provide a terminology and a taxonomy for (re)naming elements of language, for (re)classifying them and for explaining their relations. In this sense, this study uses FSG, not only as a tool for unpacking the discourse of an academic discipline, but it proposes that FSG become a part of a new functional terminology, and part of the historians’ “tool kit” in order to do history in a new way. That this is an ambitious project is

reflected in the historians' responses when confronted with having to learn "a whole new set of jargon" (see the Conclusion), and all the more so for professionals of a discipline which claims to be "jargon- and theory-free".

2.2 A Context for Curriculum Development in Historical Studies

2.2.1 The Development of Historical Studies as an Academic Discipline: a Foucauldian Perspective

In his work, "Discourse and Social Change" (1992), a key reference for this dissertation, Fairclough devotes a whole chapter to the work of Michel Foucault. His reason for doing so is that Fairclough is seeking to develop "an approach to discourse analysis which is theoretically adequate as well as practically usable" and which therefore "requires a synthesis of linguistically-orientated discourse analysis and the insights of recent social theory on language and discourse." (1992:37). It is for the latter purpose that he draws on Foucault's work. In this study, I have followed Fairclough in trying to hold together both a linguistic analysis and an analysis of discourse from a Foucauldian perspective. In this section, I use Foucault's insights into the workings of discourse and discursive practice, (as interpreted by Fairclough (1992), and Young (1981)), to understand the origins and development of academic historical discourse, which remains dominant in the History Departments of most Western universities today.

Below, I summarise the readings which I prepared for the first seminar of the research project described in the introduction above. At the same time, I use insights from the work of Foucault to illustrate how history developed as an academic discourse, which defined the objects of its knowledge, its means of making truth claims and established an institutional role for its subjects. I use Foucault to try to understand how the professionalisation and institutionalisation of history was possible within particular historical and epistemological contexts.

Foucault's central concern is with "systems of thought", that is with modern forms of rationality and with the rules which govern the emergence and reproduction of such systems. He researched the histories of discourses, an endeavour which he called "archaeology". In his "archaeological" work, Foucault analyses the external conditions of possibility for a discourse, and investigates what gives rise to its appearance and how its limits are fixed. He then tries to uncover the discursive rules and categories which are assumed as a formative and constituent part of discourse and therefore of knowledge, and yet are so fundamental to its existence that they remain unvoiced and unthought (Young, 1981: 10). In "The Order of Discourse" (1970), Foucault defines an order of discourse as "a conceptual terrain in which knowledge is formed and produced" (quoted in Young, 1981:48). In this section, I try to delineate the "order of discourse" of academic history. Foucault explains how a discourse is far more than a set of "true" statements, it also provides the means for the statements to be assessed as true, that is, the reasoning and the methodology which enables truth-claims to be made and validated. He also claims that it is discourse which constitutes and defines the objects of knowledge, its conceptual frameworks, social subjects and social relations (Fairclough, 1992: 39). He defines discursive practices as characterised by "a delimitation of a field of objects, the definition of a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge, and the fixing of norms for the elaboration of concepts and theories" (Foucault 1970 quoted in Young, 1981: 48). Foucault therefore understands a discourse to determine what can be said and thought, and also who can speak it, when and where and with what authority.

In considering the development of history as an academic discourse, I investigate the external conditions which made its appearance possible and which fixed its limits. During the classical period, the Greeks and Romans viewed history as preparation for life (for ruling class males). It therefore consisted of stories of memorable events in political and military life. In the Middle Ages history was written only by Christian monks in Latin, usually in the form of chronicles which told of human events as the unfolding of the divine will. The Renaissance saw a return to secular history written in the European

vernaculars. But history was not taught as an intellectual discipline and still remained a branch of literature; it had not yet developed a method for adequately analysing historical documents and artefacts within their own times and cultures. Enlightenment historians such as Voltaire and Gibbon deliberately set out to write grand historical narratives which showed that human progress was based on human reason unimpeded by religion. The scientific revolution of the Enlightenment gradually permeated the “arts and letters”. The rise of history as a self-proclaimed “science” should be understood as part of the general project of modernisation which took place in the nineteenth century. This included the following philosophical assumptions: firstly that human events were secular and could be explained by natural causation. Secondly there was a desire by the ruling middle classes to emphasise the forces of continuity and constitutional evolution in the aftermath of the French Revolution. The writing of history in the nineteenth century was thus underpinned by the philosophy of political liberalism. Thirdly the rise of the European bourgeois nation states meant that the idea of the nation state came to be seen as the vehicle for historical development. The formation of the new nation states meant that for the first time administrative centralisation and state-controlled education were introduced. The former made possible access to centralised, government-controlled archives and the latter meant that the schools could be used to promote national identity, political integration and loyalty to the state. History was thus perceived by the new middle class rulers to have a key role in nation-building. The writing of history in the nineteenth century came to be predominantly constructed within the discourses of rationalism, liberalism and nationalism and often included a moral lesson for its readers.

Education had been re-structured in Napoleonic Europe and by the 1850s history was beginning to be taught in the universities as an autonomous discipline. It was often taught together with geography as “practical knowledge” (Gilbert, 1965). National European governments began to sponsor chairs for history professors who were commissioned to research, write and teach national histories. It was also common practice to appoint the new history professors as directors of the national archives, and so from the beginning of its

professionalisation, research, training in research methods and the teaching of history went hand in hand. The professionalisation of history not only entailed the establishment of institutional structures for its production and reproduction, it also required the establishment of journals, associations and certification procedures which would control access to its practice. If this was to be done by objective and fair criteria, then examinations, publications, appointments and promotions had to be based on a standardised training and on a universally recognised method. This meant that gradually an academic discourse community established itself around the production and reproduction of “objective” historical knowledge (that is, academic historical discourse), based on an authoritative historical method (to be discussed further below). This new focus on technique and method meant that the audience for which historical discourse was produced began to shift from the general public to a community of scholars.

I now examine the methodology which was established as part of the professionalisation of history, which, in Foucauldian terms, sets up the conceptual and epistemological frameworks and limits that enable truth-claims to be made and validated within academic historical discourse and its discourse community. In the 1820s, at Berlin university, Leopold von Ranke led a revolution in historical method. He emphasised the diversity of human experience and the importance of trying to understand the period under investigation from the perspective of the historical actors. This approach came to be referred to as historicism. But more importantly, he insisted that history be based on “scientific evidence”, the precise and critical use of primary sources and documentation gleaned from archival research. He taught that “the strict presentation of facts is the supreme law of historical writing” (Marwick, 1970: 35). Furthermore, historical judgements should always be unbiased and detached; historians should be able to relate history “as it really was”. Thus, following the model of the natural sciences, historians in Germany began to assert that their “craft” had become a “science”. History came to be understood as an inductive science based on the empirical method in which the human subject rationally and critically observes the objects of history (documents,

artefacts from the past) and uses these as evidence for the description of what happened in the past (history). The positivist epistemological assumption of empiricism is that through their sensory experience, human beings have immediate and complete access to the world “as it really is”. This position is blind to the mediating and distorting effect of the human subject’s own language and cognitive structure. Instead, the empirical position assumes that the evidence or the “facts” can be accessed and left to speak for themselves, uncontaminated by human language, philosophy, opinion, belief, and so on. In other words, history came to be understood as “pure” description or representation, and the “purer” the more truthful it was considered to be. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the new historical method slowly spread to other European universities and history began to establish itself as an autonomous academic discipline.

A reading of the prefaces of the first three historical journals to be founded in Germany, France and Britain respectively, indicates the contemporary understandings of the new historical method, and shows how concerned the early professional historians were to keep historical knowledge untainted by “human interference” and issues of power. (I also include an account of how these journals defined the objects of their discourse). The first historical journal was established in Germany and its first preface states,

“This periodical should, above all, be a scientific one. Its first task should therefore be to represent the true method of historical research and to point out the deviations therefrom.”
(*Historische Zeitschrift*, 1859 quoted in Stern, 1956: 172).

The editor describes the journal’s areas of interest as modern German history, political history and to a lesser extent, legal, constitutional, literary and church history. The “*Revue Historique*” published in France, called for contributions which were impartial and did not use history as a weapon in defence of religious and political ideas. It stated that its contributors should avoid contemporary controversies and “treat the subjects they are working on with the methodological rigidity and absence of partisanship which science demands”. Strictly scientific methods of exposition were to be followed “with each assertion accompanied by source references and quotations.” (Stern, 1956:

173). The “Revue Historique” stated its interests as Medieval history and French history. The “Prefatory Note” in the first edition of the “English Historical Review” published in 1876 in Britain, stated that it was interested in publishing “the record of human action and thought only in its direct influence upon the action of states and politics”. It stated categorically that “the object of history is to discover and set forth facts”. It claimed that it would “avoid the suspicion of partisanship ... by refusing contributions which argue such questions with reference to present controversy. Some topics it will be safer to eschew altogether... But our main reliance will be on the scientific spirit.” (Stern, 1956: 176). This “scientific spirit ” claimed that historical facts were analogous to scientific facts - discrete, atomistic and indifferent to the position of the observer. According to Stedman Jones, this positivist epistemology was closely related to nineteenth century liberalism,

“(t)he positivistic adherence to the visible and immediately verifiable ‘facts’ of the past was reinforced by an almost unquestionable acceptance of the basic tents of nineteenth century English liberalism. Individuals were discrete, autonomous and thus morally accountable for their actions”. (1972: 99).

Furthermore, the fact that “scientific history” had to be based on sound documentary evidence (and the pressure from nineteenth century governments to write national histories) biased the early professional historians towards writing only those histories for which there was adequate evidence, namely political, constitutional and diplomatic histories about the activities of ruling male elites and the rise of the nation state. Many of these histories were also written to provide moral lessons for their readers. By the turn of the century the belief still prevailed that the “painstaking accumulation of facts by empirical means would ultimately produce a scientifically accurate representation of the past” (Marwick, 1970: 52). But the positivist hope that the collection of facts by induction would eventually lead to the discernment of general laws was abandoned at an early stage. However, the scientific study of evidence has remained the central feature of historical methodology today and historians of the academy still tend to ask only those questions to which the evidence provides the answers.

It may be useful to pause at this point, and to relate the epistemological assumptions of the historical method to Habermas' knowledge-constitutive interests and to the paradigms of curriculum knowledge discussed in Chapter 1. We have seen how historical studies developed as an academic discipline in the "Age of Reason and Science" in which its founders felt obliged to present historical interpretation as objective, factual knowledge based on empirical observation. These assumptions about the nature of historical knowledge as an objective, external body of information, "discovered" by historians through their research, suggests that traditionally, academic historical studies falls within Habermas' technical knowledge-constitutive interest and therefore in its educational practice, tends to operate in the traditionalist paradigm of curriculum theory. In terms of pedagogy, this has meant that since the nineteenth century, history has tended to be taught didactically, in which bundles of given historical knowledge are transmitted to students as "truth" and as "fact". The role of the student has traditionally been to simply consume, synthesise and reproduce the given knowledge.

Foucault's archaeological work suggests that "truth is to be understood as a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of statements" (quoted in Fairclough, 1992: 49). This brief account of the development of history as an academic discipline also shows how the subjects of the discourse (academic historians) came to occupy social positions of power and influence in the universities through their production of "objective" and therefore authoritative historical knowledge. Foucault also suggests that orders of discourse are both constituted by, and ensure the reproduction of, the social system through forms of selection, exclusion and domination. Thus, according to Foucault, discourses are also exclusionary in that they function to silence other voices. Here, he points out the role of the education system in particular as "a political way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, along with the power and knowledge they carry" and of marginalising and silencing those discourses which are produced from without the walls of the power-knowledge formations or institutions (quoted in Young, 1981: 49).

In his “genealogical” work, Foucault looks at the relation between knowledge and power and at how the organisation of discourse, its social practices within institutional apparatuses, is related to the exercise of power. For Foucault, a discourse is the point of juncture between knowledge and power and the form through which “power-knowledge” operates. He suggests that the separation of knowledge and power is a crucial part of the grand narrative of the Enlightenment. Within this world-view or ideology, truth can be seen as a basis for emancipation and progress because of this separation. And so, in this tradition, modernity’s liberal-humanist paradigm has accustomed us to thinking of knowledge as the disinterested pursuit of truth which is quite distinct from the exercise of power. Knowledge is considered to be powerful when it faithfully represents the world as it really is. Research discovers truth which is faithfully imparted through the education system. (We saw above how this is an assumption of the traditionalist paradigm and of academic history as taught and learnt within this paradigm.) Within this paradigm, power is understood to bias, distort and corrupt knowledge; whilst knowledge is understood as a disinterested search for truth. Forms of knowing which are openly related to power and social position are marginalised and suppressed because they are seen to be “subjective”, “interested” and “ideological” and so fail to qualify for the status of truth. Because of their ability to conceal their power as the “disinterested pursuit of truth”, Foucault refers to powerful discourses as “regimes of truth”.

For Foucault, truth is always already power, the two are inseparable because each is a condition of possibility for the other, (see my definition of power given in Chapter1). Power requires knowledge over the objects over which it is to be exercised effectively, (in the case of history, the academy’s control over the past), and likewise, forms of knowledge and their truth-claims are only realised through the exercise of power (in the case of academic history realised through social practices of control such as privileged access to publishing, peer review and examinations). Truth and power are thus linked in a circular relation - systems of power produce and sustain truth and those systems which produce truth have their power reinforced and extended. This is achieved through a

“scientific” or academic discourse which is produced and transmitted under the control of a few powerful political and economic apparatuses, for example, universities, publishing houses etc. What is accepted as rational and truthful is constituted on the basis of these pre-existing power-knowledge formations. As discursive knowledge develops so does an accompanying set of material practices which control the behaviour of those who become positioned as subjects of the discourse. “Disciplines as systematic bodies of knowledge are also regulatory regimes of ‘knowledgeable’ practice through which power is exercised.” (Foucault quoted in Usher and Edwards, 1994: 93). Esland and Dale (1973), describe how these “regimes of truth” are reproduced by the practices of professional groups within the education system,

“Teachers, as spokesmen (sic) for discipline communities are involved in an elaborate organisation of knowledge. The community has a history, and, through it, a body of respected knowledge. It has rules for recognising “unwelcome” or “spurious” matter, and ways of avoiding cognitive contamination. It will have a philosophy and a set of authorities, all of which give strong legitimation to the activities which are acceptable to the community. Some members are accredited with the power to make “official statements” - for instance, editors of journals, presidents, chief examiners and inspectors. These are important as “significant others” who provide models to new or wavering members of appropriate belief and conduct.” (quoted in Goodson, 1995: 127).

What is striking about British historiography in particular, (the tradition on which South African English-speaking university history departments are based) is how little it has changed since the discourse’s original formation in the nineteenth century. Stedman Jones describes British historiography over the last century as a “spectacular case of arrested intellectual development and conceptual poverty” (1972: 96). He claims that World War 1 wrecked the myth of liberal progress and its positivist trappings, but that this did not affect the methodological assumption of historicism, that the historical “facts” would speak for themselves. Instead, only “a polite veil was drawn over the suggestion of a final and definitive factual history” (1972: 105). The works of Marx, Freud, Durkhiem, and Weber caused an intellectual revolution in Europe in the 1890s - 1920s, which challenged nineteenth century positivism and led to developments

in historiography such as the Annales school of social and environmental history in France. But, according to Stedman Jones (1972), neither the work of the *Annalistes* nor those of the social theorists mentioned above were translated into English until the 1950s and 1960s, and English historiography remained largely unaffected. Instead, any attempts at innovation, such as Tawney's economic history were relegated to the margins of the dominant discourse and the discipline was split into specialisations such as economic history, social history, labour history, archaeology, colonial history and pre-colonial history to avoid the challenges that these new developments posed for mainstream constitutional and political history. The power of the dominant discourse has been so tenacious, that Stedman Jones laments that even progressive British social historians such as Hill, Trevor-Roper and Carr, writing in the 1970s, continue to work within the liberal positivist framework.

Since the 1970s however, there have been some radical developments in historiography in Britain (and more so in the USA). Many historians are now informed by sociology and economics, and a structuralist Neo-Marxist school of history has developed which is more expository than narrative in its generic form. And many more different kinds of histories are being written by a far more diverse group of people for many and varied audiences. This has caused the "objects" and "subjects" of historical knowledge to change, so that history today is characterised mostly by particularity and specialisms. As we noted under 2.1 above, discourses should not be regarded as homogeneous, and this is certainly true of contemporary historical discourse. In the discussion on postmodernism in 2.2.2 below, we shall see that conflict and contestation are increasingly being articulated within the discourse. This is happening as the grand meta-narratives of progress, liberty and morality begin to collapse under the post-modernist critique. But what has still not been challenged definitively is the empiricist method of uncovering 'facts' from the evidence which, according to the dominant power-knowledge formations, are "objective" and therefore true. The discursive structuring of positivism which assumes that the sensory experience of human beings enables them to have immediate and complete access to the world "as it really is" has still not been recognised. Many academic

historians today (especially those trained in the old universities in Britain) would still insist on their own “impartiality” and deny that they employ any “theory” in their historical work. This account of the development (or lack of development) of academic historical discourse over time confirms Foucault’s point about the ability of discourses to conceal their own invention (see Young, 1981: 65). This may particularly be so in the case of academic historical discourse because its use of language is deceptively similar to our everyday ways of speaking about our experience. Historical accounts appear so “natural” that they not only go unchallenged, but have become unchallengeable.

A gap in the literature on professionalisation and institutionalisation of history is that it fails to discuss or analyse the features of the discourse itself. Perhaps this is because traditional historical discourse is based on the assumption that language is transparent and innocent, a neutral medium which simply reflects an external and pre-existing reality. This suspicion is confirmed by Hayden White,

“Most historians are not only incapable of analysing the discursive dimensions of their writing, they positively repress the idea that there might be such a dimension. In the professional training of historians, there is much talk of the ‘historical method’ (although this remains a largely untheorised concept), but not even talk of how to *write* a historical work, whether of a narrative or an argumentative kind. That is to say, historians as a discipline have not theorized the *form* of their own discourse in such a way as to be able to teach it, other than by a trial and error method.” (1995: 245)

Furthermore, although Foucault was one of the first social theorists to emphasise and research the workings of discourse, Fairclough (1992) criticises Foucault because his arguments about discourse remain theoretical and are not proven in the analysis of particular instances of discourse. In this dissertation, I attempt to fill these gaps; I formulate a description of the features of academic historical discourse in terms of Halliday’s functional systemic grammar (FSG) in Chapter 3.4 below. In Chapter 4, I demonstrate how instances of historical discourse might be analysed using critical discourse analysis and FSG. But before moving on to a linguistic analysis of the discourse, I give a brief account of the post-modern challenge to historical studies and suggest a possible response.

2.2.2 A Response to the Postmodernist Challenge

In my second seminar with the historians we discussed the postmodern challenge to historical studies and tried to develop an appropriate response. What follows is a summary of my reading for the seminar and an elaboration of my input at the seminar.

A challenge which traditional academic history has not been able to accommodate within its discourse is the postmodernist critique, (which claims Foucault as one of its founding fathers). Postmodernism is by no means a coherent set of ideas and postmodernists reject any notion of theory or paradigm. Some writers suggest that it is better understood as a cultural condition or state of mind which embraces life without truths, standards and ideals. But for the purposes of this discussion, I treat it as a single perspective and present a rather crude characterisation of the “condition” from the more extreme end of the postmodernist spectrum of ideas. I do this in order to highlight the way in which this intellectual movement is perceived as a threat by many traditional professional historians. This is so because postmodernism challenges the fundamental epistemic premises upon which traditional academic historical discourse is based. Historicism, the idea that the meaning of events and ideas is firmly located in their historical context, is a central principle not only of traditional history, but of modernity itself. Postmodernists challenge this assumption and deny the possibility of both historical and suprahistorical truth (Himmelfarb, 1995: 131). They reject all grand and meta-narratives which purport to give over-arching meaning to history. In rejecting the possibility of absolute and total truth, they seem also to reject contingent and partial truths. In fact, postmodernism challenges the whole edifice of the Enlightenment, which is based on the principles of reason, truth, reality, justice and morality, of which the traditional historical enterprise, as described in Chapter 2.2.1 above, is a part.

Furthermore, postmodernist thought has re-shaped the ways in which language and meaning are conceptualised. The previously fixed relationship between the signifier and the signified has been severed (or deferred), that is the

correspondence between language and reality is brought into question and so the fixity of language is denied. Indeed, in its extreme forms, postmodernism denies that there is any “essential” reality behind language at all.⁹ In historical studies, this means that postmodernism denies the reality and the authority of the past, that is the reality of the signified, the past, behind the signifier, the historical text. It questions the existence of the past as anything coherent and meaningful at all and views history as no more than the historical text constructed by the historian.

“Postmodernist history ... recognises no reality principle; only the pleasure principle - history at the pleasure of the historian.”
(Himmelfarb, 1995: 133).

In sum, postmodernism is cynical about all traditional history, its assumptions, intentions, methods and conclusions. It rejects key historical concepts such as reality, truth, causality, chronology and collectivity (for example, notions of class, nation and gender). This means that the distinction between history and literature, between history and fiction becomes elided. Himmelfarb predicts that “postmodernist history may well take the form of fictional history” (Himmelfarb, 1995:146).

Within the traditionalist, modernist paradigm, historical imagination is understood to mean the ability to transcend the concerns of the present and to immerse oneself in the past. Whilst one might question this assumption, the postmodernist perspective turns this idea on its head. For postmodernists, historical imagination means the ability to create a past in the image of the present. This means that the writing of history becomes completely relativised, it can be written from any point of view and endlessly pluralised and particularised, with no need to be accountable to the available “evidence” from the “past”. In fact postmodernists celebrate the difference, discontinuity, irony, paradox and chaos which is the result. Himmelfarb sums up the tension between the modernist and postmodernist perspectives thus,

⁹ Compare this with Halliday’s view that the context of culture shapes the context of situation, which in turn shapes the meanings which are systematically realised in the lexicogrammatical choices which the speaker/ writer makes.

“The modernist accuses the postmodernist of bringing mankind to the abyss of nihilism. The postmodernist proudly, happily accepts that charge.” (1995: 155).

In recent literature on meta-history or the theory of history there is, understandably, a plethora of responses to the postmodern challenge. For the purposes of this dissertation, I discuss only two, which I term the traditionalist response and the post-positivist response. I first describe the traditionalist response as articulated by Marwick, as an illustration of the “poverty of empiricism” and to show how impenetrable and lacking in reflexivity the world-view or discursive practices of traditional academic/ professional history have become. Marwick (1995) begins his defensive article by asserting that “the presumptuous and ill-informed criticisms” which postmodernists make of history, are “best rebutted through a careful restatement of what it is historians actually do, and why they do it” (1995:5). He continues, “history is about finding things out, and solving problems ... in accordance with strict methods and principles” (1995: 12). Throughout the article, he makes favourable comparisons between historians and scientists, as illustrated by the following quotations:

“working historians, like working scientists, concentrate on limited, manageable (but difficult enough!) topics; history, like science, is a cumulative subject” (1995: 11).

“Just, then, as the natural sciences are the systematic studies through experimentation, observation, etc. of the natural world, and the bodies of knowledge which arise from these studies ... are known from the work of scientists (we have no other way of knowing them), so history is the study of the human past, through the systematic analysis of the primary sources, and the bodies of knowledge arising from this study ... is the human past, as it is known from the work of historians” (1995: 12). (Here Marwick seems to be suggesting that professional historians have privileged access to the past).

“Historians do not claim to present a ‘neutral record’: to the best of their abilities they present an account based on the sources, and account which automatically adds to, or qualifies existing knowledge ... Here historians are operating analogously to the scientist who adds to (or challenges) existing knowledge” (1995: 24).

Marwick sets up his understanding of history as “fact” (that is, “true”, until proven otherwise) in opposition to history as “text”. This suggests that his understanding of history is based on Habermas’ “technical interest”.

With respect to the language issue, Marwick shows a complete misunderstanding of the notion of discourse and insists that it is the historian who controls language and not the reverse. He understands language to be an innocent tool:

“It takes experience and it takes effort, but it is perfectly possible in historical writing to be both precise and explicit (provided, of course, that as a result of one’s researches, one has something precise and explicit to communicate)” (1995: 7).

“Language is important: it is the only tool with which historians can write up and communicate their results. But given the experience and the discipline, historians can ensure that language does indeed remain a tool” (1995: 29).

These statements suggest that he holds to a naive, correspondence theory of language which assumes that an object in the world is represented by a word, which in turn represents a single, agreed upon concept in people’s minds; it is only a matter of precision to get an accurate representation.

In the rest of the article, Marwick is adamant about what counts as history and about what can be said and thought about the discipline. In fact, he is a good example of how a subject becomes defined by his/ her discourse. His own limits on the discourse are set by its professional and institutional conventions. In conclusion, I suggest that Marwick’s response to postmodernism confirms Hayden White’s lament that,

“Historians have systematically built into their notion of their discipline hostility or at least a blindness to theory, and to the kind of issues the philosophers have raised about the kind of knowledge they have produced since Hegel” (1995: 244).

I now describe a “post-positivist approach” to historical studies in order to present the position which I advocated in the second seminar of the research project. In the seminar the historians and I were generally agreed that we should work with postmodernist ideas, but not adopt the full implications of the position. We wanted to take what was instructive from the postmodern critique,

but reject its nihilistic and relativistic implications. We felt that rather than end the “Enlightenment project”, we would rather aim to continue to develop it, critically. The historians wanted still to believe in the making of history as a meaningful enterprise and they wanted to work out alternative principles of good practice. They expressed their doubt in the possibility of teaching historical studies from a postmodernist perspective without confusing their students and losing a sense of purpose in their work. I pointed out that education itself is a thoroughly modernist project and that the extreme postmodern perspective does make the whole educational endeavour questionable.

Other concerns of the historians were as follows: Firstly they wanted to hold on to the reality of the past, whilst accepting that it is always mediated through discourse, through the discourses of the primary sources and then again through the discourses of the secondary texts. We were all agreed on the primacy of the textuality of history. Secondly, the historians wanted to preserve the distinction between fiction and history. They wanted to pull back from accepting the total relativisation of history, and to believe that the writing of history was still constrained by the writer’s interpretation of the available evidence from the past. Thirdly, they wanted to be in a position to make judgements about historical writing and also about people’s actions in the past. We agreed with social theorists like Habermas, who criticises postmodernism for its inability to provide any basis for making moral or ethical judgements, in this case about the past; or to provide any programme of social action for the future. (Here, I note that this criticism holds true for Foucault, who fails to offer any strategy for the transformation of the unequal power relations which his work so eloquently exposes.) Whilst not so sure about wanting to commit ourselves to a blue-print for social action, we did agree in the seminar that we wanted to hold on to the possibility of taking an ethical or political stand (albeit in our own contexts of particularity and partiality). And we felt that we should encourage our students to do the same. In this sense, we seemed to want to return to the old modernist values of justice and democracy and to allow these values to underpin our teaching practices. We felt particularly strongly about this given our current

teaching context in post-apartheid South Africa, where we believe that, although we now have a democratic constitution and a democratic government, that South African society still has a long way to go in building a culture of democratic practice. Given these concerns, I suggested that we borrow the term from Brickley (1994) and adopt a “post-positivist” approach to the teaching of history.

As I understand it, following Brickley (1994), Hayden White (1995) and Etherington (1995), a “post-positivist” approach is based on the following assumptions and principles: Firstly, it is helpful to remember (as both Brickley (1994) and Etherington (1995) point out), that prior to the nineteenth century there was a long tradition of historiography in which the constructed nature of the writing of history was foregrounded. It is only since the rise of the empirical tradition in the nineteenth century that this has been suppressed and concealed in historical discourse.

Secondly, events in the past have to be taken as given (and not as constructed by the historian). It is historical “facts”, not historical events which are constructed by the historian on the basis of his/ her research. The debate should be over the reality or truth of historical “facts”, not over the existence or reality of past events themselves. The post-positivist approach questions the permanency and stability of historical “facts” and insists that they should always be open to further interpretation and revision. It is the relation between the events of the past and the “facts” constructed by historians which should always be open to negotiation and revision.

Thirdly, any historical account should be viewed as discursive practice, that is, it is constrained and partially determined by the conventions, genres, meta-narratives and ideologies of its discourse. Meanings about the past always require the imposition of some sort of conceptual framework or meta-narrative to make the history meaningful. Brickley explains the point eloquently,

“The existence of the historian (however broadly defined), just like that of the literary critic or the cultural setting of the geographer, stands between us and the past and must be taken into account in any historical explanation. Of course, the past itself exists, and exists independently of the historian, but the

meanings made of the past do not. They are bound up inextricably with the 'position' - the time, the place, the approach, methods, views and values of the historian" (1994: 19).

This means that all historical "facts", representations and explanations should be considered relative to the socio-historical and discursive conditions of their production. With respect to the discursive structuring of history, Hayden White asserts that

"it is important to be able to identify the ways in which the historian's language transforms the 'object' of study into a 'subject' of a specifically historical discourse. This means that any discussion of its form or content must begin with some characterisation of it in linguistic and discursive terms" (Hayden White, 1995: 243).

For the teaching of history, the implication is that we need to heighten students' awareness of this discursive structuring in the production of historical texts and teach them how to expose the discourse(s) to which the history owes its validity. We need to teach them to ask whose voice is being heard in the construction of historical knowledge and whose interests are being served by this interpretation.

Fourthly, whilst acknowledging that history is constructed by historians, the "post-positivist" approach insists that the basis of the construction should still be the data or "evidence" contained in primary sources. An historian cannot say whatever he/ she wants about the past; the historian's text must be seen to be constrained by the historian's interpretation of the available evidence, which is itself an interpretation, (see Thompson's notion of "pre-interpretation" in Chapter 3.2.1). Therefore, a history text is understood not to be totally determined by its discursive practices; it is also to some extent determined by the historian's interpretation of the available "evidence". CDA can help reveal how that evidence, that is, the primary sources, are themselves discursively produced and therefore help to show how the historian arrived at his/ her conclusions.

Finally, this approach is premised on an open-ended view of knowledge, which is understood to always be particular, contingent and partial. Notions of "truth"

and accuracy” are dropped as criteria for judging “good” history. Instead, “good” history is judged by its reflexivity; by the extent to which it acknowledges and foregrounds for its readers the meta-narratives and discourses to which it owes its validity. “Good” history should try to provide its readers with the resources to make critical judgements about its own conclusions by showing how they were arrived at. It is these criteria, self-awareness and self-reflexivity which mark “good” history from “bad”. A further implication of this open-ended view of knowledge for the teaching of history is that one should allow into the curriculum the marginal and “other” voices which speak about history from outside of the academy and the profession. From the post-positivist position, it is considered instructive for students to be exposed to a wide variety of different and contending interpretations of the past.

In our second seminar, I suggested to the historians that critical discourse analysis (CDA) could provide an ideal method to begin to implement a post-positivist approach to historical studies. By examining specific historical texts as exemplars of specific discourses, CDA could provide a method to expose the concealed, but contingent and historically-specific rules of formation - the conceptual frameworks and meta-narratives - which historians impose on the “evidence” in order to make sense of the past. Furthermore, CDA could also be used in the historians’ research on primary texts to reveal the discursive structuring of their sources or “evidence” as well. For as explained in Chapter 1, CDA assumes that all texts are discursively produced and provides a systematic method for demonstrating the dialectical relationship between texts and the socio-historical context in which they are produced and for revealing the position and positioning of the writer from the lexicogrammatical choices made in the text. Furthermore, when linked to a critical language awareness (CLA) approach to teaching, this method can serve to raise students’ awareness about the ways in which ideologies and power relations are reproduced through the discursive practices of texts.

It remains for me to show that a post-positivist approach to historical studies, which employs CDA for analysing historical texts is a form of curriculum

practice which falls firmly within the hermeneutic paradigm, and has possibilities for moving into the critical paradigm. Firstly, with respect to the hermeneutic paradigm, this approach can be described as “contextualised social practice”, for, as discussed above, one of the historians’ considerations in agreeing to adopt this approach was their assessment of the current South African socio-political context in which they teach. Secondly, it is based on the reflective and responsible judgement of the lecturers, as they grappled with the postmodern challenge and the need to move beyond the traditionalist paradigm. Thirdly, it is based on an understanding of the nature of knowledge as socially constructed and provisional. Finally, it places the learners’ understandings at the heart of the curriculum and seeks to facilitate their capacity for meaning-making, critique, reflexive thinking and the reconstruction of knowledge.

Knowledge which is based on Habermas’ “emancipatory interest” is concerned to uncover and critique inequality and injustice. The post-positivist approach using CDA begins to move into this critical paradigm when it encourages students to ask questions about the interests that are served and the power relations that are reproduced through the writing and reading of particular historical texts. A second requirement of the critical paradigm is that the curriculum includes the development of self-awareness and reflexivity (the ability of one’s thinking to “bend back on itself”, and to apply its critique to itself). In other words, teachers and learners should understand that we are inevitably playing political and social roles in our teaching and learning contexts, and so we should turn the critical gaze upon ourselves and upon our own linguistic and social practices in the classroom and beyond, and where necessary, be prepared to declare and substantiate our own interests. In this respect, I was concerned in the seminar to point out to the historians that by adopting the post-positivist approach to history and by locating it within Habermas’ practical and emancipatory knowledge-constitutive interests, we were subscribing to his meta-narrative about the nature of knowledge, (which incidentally, ignores the postmodernist perspective). Secondly, by linking the post-positivist approach to CLA, which moves into the critical paradigm of curriculum theory and practice, we were accepting critical theory’s’ meta-

narrative of emancipation. This meta-narrative assumes that justice, equality and democracy are laudable values to guide social action (including educational practice) and it assumes that the practice of these values will result in the “emancipation” of both the individual and of society. Furthermore, it is based on a belief in human rationality, that is, that once the individual is “empowered” with insights about the workings of power and ideology, s/he will take deliberate and rational action to challenge and change these social practices in order to free him/ herself (and others) from the oppressive effects of power. Whilst agreeing that postmodernists would probably find these “modernist” assumptions naive, the historians and I expressed our belief that it is these values which in our current socio-political context make the educational enterprise meaningful. Finally, we agreed that, whatever its short-comings, the post-positivist approach linked to CDA and CLA could be used creatively to critique and transform the teaching and learning of history within the traditionalist paradigm and its empiricist assumptions about the nature of language and historical knowledge.

Chapter 3: A Method of Critical Discourse Analysis

In this chapter I explain the method which I employed to carry out critical discourse analyses of specific texts (which are presented in Chapter 4). Wherever necessary, I provide illustrations of the method by drawing on the first text, the Jones text, analysed in Chapter 4.1. This chapter on method also formed the basis of my presentation of a method of critical discourse analysis to the historians involved in the staff development project described in Chapter 1 (see also Chapters 4.5, 5.5 and 5.6 for further discussion on the outcomes of the seminars with History staff).

In setting out a method for critical discourse analysis, I have allowed the staff development context in which I was working to determine the design of my method of CDA. In other words, I have deliberately tailored the method presented here to be applicable to historical texts and accessible to historians who wish to apply it to their own research and teaching practices.¹⁰ I need not have fused my own method with the needs of its context of application; I could have used one method for my own analyses and simply presented the results of these to the historians and suggested another, more simplified, method for application in the history classroom. However, given that one of aims of this study is to provide a methodology for doing “post-positivist” history, I consider it essential that the method should be spelt out in such a way as to be accessible to historians and also appropriate to the context of their discipline, without losing the rigour of the Hallidayan model. In view of the enthusiasm of the history staff and their desire to learn an “academically respectable” and rigorous method of textual analysis, I decided to be as transparent as possible and to present to them a full description of the method used. I suggest that the approach adopted here is consistent with my own philosophy of curriculum development (see discussion in Chapter 1 on the hermeneutic/ critical paradigms

¹⁰ Had I been working in a student as opposed to a staff development context, I would not have followed this route, but, as indicated by the simplified application of the method in the CLA exercises prepared for students in Chapter 5, I would have presented an adapted version of the method for students

of curriculum theory) in which the teacher is empowered to make judgements about what is the most appropriate action to take in his/ her own classroom. (The Conclusion under 5.6 below, discusses the extent to which the historians feel they are able to appropriate and apply this method.) Furthermore, if Fowler (1989) and Kress (1993) are correct in asserting that a text can only be analysed successfully in relation to its socio-historical context, and that CDA is enriched by a rigorous and full socio-historical analysis of the text's situational context, (see 2.1 above), then the method presented here may begin to realise that possibility.

3.1 Staff Development Context

Before giving an account of a method for critical discourse analysis, I will outline the staff development context in which I was working. The History Honours course entitled "Texts, Contexts, Conflicts: Struggles for Pasts in South Africa from the 1830s to the Present" has been run for six years by Professor John Wright and Dr. Tim Nuttall, two staff members from the Department of Historical Studies, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg. The aims of the course are to enable students to understand history as different forms of constructed histories and as different social memories. The course aims to demonstrate this point by showing students the close links between contemporary politics (the context of production of an historical text) and the meanings which a particular historical text gives to the past. The staff also ask students to explore the varieties of histories available in South African historiography, both within and without the academy.¹¹ Thirdly, the two history lecturers concerned are interested in exploring history as text. As they state in a course hand-out,

"We are interested in the texts as texts, as constructions of meanings and representations, using words. We also wish to explore the variety of texts (in the academy and beyond), and to situate the production of these texts in multiple and dynamic struggles for pasts." (emphases in the original, "Plots and

¹¹ Although the recent shift to an in-depth analysis of history texts means that the staff concerned have had to cut down considerably on the number and therefore range of texts which can be studied in detail in a one semester course.

Products: Analysing Historical Texts” Seminar Four hand-out, 1995).

So the two central themes of the course are an understanding of the politics of history and an understanding of history as text. In the early years of the course’s development it was the first theme which predominated. The course was originally conceived in the late 1980s and early 1990s from within a modernist “class struggle” paradigm. Wright and Nuttall were guided largely by the notion of the politics of the production of history and the political uses to which history is put. In a paper describing the development of the course, they acknowledge that they “read the texts largely for the political positions and projections conveyed by the histories contained in them” (1995: 6). The two lecturers also acknowledge that they were influenced at the time by the “people’s history” movement which sought to produce a history “from below” which could serve as a “useable past” for ordinary people from the oppressed classes. Consistent with this goal, they deliberately brought into the course, texts which were produced outside the academy, written by a range of people such as politicians, journalists, trade-unionists, missionaries, etc (usually from dominated groups). In so doing they sought “to explore first-hand the multiple ways in which history is constructed, both within and outside the academy” (Nuttall and Wright, 1995: 4). Further on they give their rationale,

“We wanted, in this context, to assert and substantiate the view that academic history-making, intended for academic audiences, was a subset of a far wider theatre of construction of pasts, all jostling for influence in a turbulent society. We sought to examine how academic historical texts related to other kinds of texts, asking questions about their political assumptions and objectives” (1995: 5).

The course was originally constructed around a “transition narrative” based on a periodisation of the South African political-economy from 1830 to the present. Texts for the course were selected according to their ability to represent a history which reflected some of the key organising themes in that transition narrative (Nuttall and Wright, 1995: 11).

However, after 1993, Nuttall and Wright found that, as the South African ruling class became reconstituted and a new black middle class emerged, the

“struggle” framework was increasingly inappropriate. They also became interested in and were challenged by post-modernist criticisms of orthodox, foundational history and began to move towards an understanding of history as representation and as text. They began to question the legitimacy of imposing their “transition narrative” on the texts. As they explain:

“Our search for variety, and our realisation of the constraints on projecting this variety, sharpened our consciousness of just how selective, and even accidental, the making of history and historical consciousness is” (1995:11).

The historians’ uncertainty was in part a result of the clash they perceived between the modernist and post-modernist paradigms (for further discussion, see Chapter 2.2 above).

So, in 1995, Nuttall and Wright altered their course by dropping the transition narrative and chronological ordering of the course and, instead, devoted more time to discussing with students the nature of historical knowledge and the textuality of history. As they put it:

“If ‘the text’ is the only medium by which a society’s past can be known, then exploration of textuality becomes also an exploration of the nature of history” (1995: 19).

They currently begin the course with three seminars on historiography and debate around the nature of historical knowledge. For the remaining three seminars that focus on the analysis of historical text, they have concentrated on just two periods for study, the 1880s - 1930s and the 1970s to the present. (The texts analysed in Chapter 4 are used on the course and were selected as representative of these two periods, the Jones and Seme texts of the first period and the New Nation and Walker texts of the second). The selected texts are now used on the course to demonstrate the variety of historical production, the politics of the production of history (that is, that all history, including academic history, is a product of political and social “struggle”) and also to introduce students to a critical reading of history and to demonstrate to them the method of textual analysis which the two historians have developed.

Through their teaching of this course, Nuttall and Wright have developed their own “intuitive” method of text analysis. They now recognise that “the character

of the text is created both through its internal structures and content, and by the specific context in which it is produced” (1995: 19). They describe their method to students in a hand-out for Seminar Four of the course as follows: the first step is “to identify the historical plot or plots (the basic narrative structure)” and the second is “to relate that text, as a product, to its context”. In the first step of text analysis they ask students to distinguish between “the plot which structures the story or stories about the past” and “the imaginative and poetic devices which the author uses in the text to embellish the basic narrative”. With some insight into the **multifunctional** nature of language, they add,

“It is not always easy to make this distinction. Sometimes the same word contributes to the plot and to the poetic embellishment. But for our purposes, we wish to try to make this distinction.” (ibid.)

They describe the plot as “the structure of the ‘bare bones’ story” with a narrative form and chronological structure which makes up a sequence of events and periods.¹² With respect to analysing the plot of a text they ask students to consider “What actors, events and processes do different plots emphasise?”. They also note that a plot is more than a mere chronicle, they describe it as being “sewn together with cause and effect, creating a narrative with a chronological sequence” (1995: 16).¹³ As a means of uncovering the underlying plot, they urge students to “dig under the surface of the text” and to push away the “poetic details” and look out for the use of the past tense. In many ways, they have developed a good grasp of the common characteristics of historical discourse (discussed at the end of this Chapter, see 3.4). They are also aware of the ideological effects of texts, for they encourage students to look for the “loudnesses” and “silences” in the narrative by noting how “the language of the text emphasises or downplays certain processes, events and actors.” (ibid.). However, with no background in text linguistics, it is not surprising that their method of textual analysis is rather vague and that the terms which they use are imprecise.

¹² It could be argued that here they are beginning to ask students to look for the representation of **ideational meanings** or content of the text and possibly also for the expression of **textual meanings**, that is, the structural features or genre, of the text.

¹³ Here they seem to be reaching towards Halliday’s distinction between the **experiential** and **logical** functions in the **field of discourse** or again towards a genre analysis of the texts.

In discussing the second part of their method of textual analysis, “poetic embellishment” they describe the function of embellishment as “the use of linguistic and literary devices to exaggerate a point, to provide ‘spice’ in the tale, to surprise the reader, to create a mood, to introduce values and morality, and to project imagery and symbolism.” (ibid.). They also encourage students to note the writer’s use of metaphor and imagery. Again, displaying good insight into the nature of academic historical discourse, they add,

“Flourishes of embellishment are not highly regarded in academic historical method in the empiricist tradition, for such devices are commonly regarded as belonging to the terrain of literature. But close scrutiny of even the driest academic text will reveal embellishment, in the wider sense in which we are using the word.” (ibid.).

This second part of their method of text analysis could be understood to be an attempt on their part to understand the **interpersonal** and some of the **textual metafunctions** of language.

The second step in the historians’ method involves “putting the text in its context” and understanding its “historical environment”. This aspect of the historians’ method is much stronger because it does not require linguistic skills, it is concerned with analysing the extra-linguistic aspects of a text, the socio-historical context of its production, which historians are competent at doing. At this stage, Wright and Nuttall ask students to consider the biographical details of the author, his or her preoccupations, and the author’s membership of social groups, institutions and organisations. They mention the need to consider the precise historical circumstances in which the text was produced, as well as its production, distribution and circulation history. They advise students to look for clues in the cover details, title, content pages and prefaces of books. They also ask students to research the “broader socio-political setting in which the author lived and wrote” (ibid.).

Thus the two historians with whom I was working, are well aware that all texts are constructed and political in nature and that this characteristic is revealed when the text is related to the context of its production. They also seem to

have understood the dialectic interaction between text and context, noting that the analysis of one throws light on the other. They write,

“Using the internal structures and features of the text to gain insights into the historical context of that text is a relatively new method for us. Far better established in our honours course was the practice of examining the historical environment in which a text was produced” (1995; 17).

In the same paper, they continue,

“We have read and explored a wide variety of texts (...), not so much with an academic eye as to how convincing they are - how ‘good’ or how ‘bad’ they are, but with the aim of seeing how they inculcate particular kinds of historical consciousness which link up with political and social discourses. We have been concerned more with variety and representation than with claims to ‘truth’” (1995: 20).

The historians are thus intuitively aware of many of the understandings that critical discourse analysis supplies and they have developed, on their own, a method for a formal analysis of texts and for relating them to their contexts of production and possibly also to their discursive practices.

In my own presentation of a method of critical discourse analysis to the historians, I deliberately tried to build on what they had already achieved with a view to suggesting how to take it further. I tried not to negate their own “intuitive” approach, but rather to show how critical discourse analysis might provide a post-positivist approach to history with the necessary methodological tools required to perform a plausible analysis and re-interpretation of a text. The challenge in this attempt was to present the method in such a way as to enable historians, without any language training, to appropriate it and to find it useful for their own purposes in the post-graduate history classroom. It was for this reason, that in presenting the critical discourse analysis method, I decided to begin with the establishment of the socio-historical context of the text (that is, the historians’ strong point).

3.2 A Method for Critical Discourse Analysis

The method which I used to analyse the historical texts presented in Chapter 4 is summarised in the diagram below (see Figure 1.). The diagram is an

amalgamation of the methods of discourse analysis outlined by Thompson (1990), Fairclough (1992) and Halliday and Martin (1993). The dimensions of discourse are represented by the five embedded ovals: the text, the register (which is divided into three components, the field, the tenor and the mode), the genre, the discourse practice (which determines the processes of production and interpretation) and the sociocultural practice (which determines the conditions of production and interpretation). The dimensions of discourse are represented as being embedded in each other to show that in each case, the inner dimension is a particular realisation of its outer dimension. The outermost dimension, sociocultural practice is an extra-linguistic dimension, discourse practice, genre and register function at the level of semantic potential (meanings), whilst the text is an instance of their linguistic realisation (wordings). Each of these dimensions of discourse will be explained further under 3.2.2 below.

The method of critical discourse analysis (CDA) consists of the three moments which are listed under the right-hand column headed 'Moments of Discourse Analysis'.¹⁴ The three moments are firstly, a socio-historical analysis which includes the determination of the pre-interpretation (or "positioned", everyday, reading of the text), secondly a formal and discursive analysis of the text and thirdly a re-interpretation of the text.

In his presentation of a method of discourse analysis, Fairclough conflates what I have termed the "dimensions" and the "moments" of discourse analysis into "a three-dimensional conception of discourse analysis" (1992: 73). These involve three analytical traditions which Fairclough claims are indispensable for discourse analysis: firstly, description, which is a close textual analysis, drawing on the tradition of linguistics; secondly, interpretation, which is an analysis of discourse as discursive practice, drawing on the interpretivist or micro-sociological tradition, which understands people to actively produce and

¹⁴ I have chosen to use the term "moment" to refer simply to an analytically separate stage or step in the analysis process; the three moments are all an integral part of a larger whole and they are not necessarily sequential. Janks points out that these different moments of analysis are mutually dependent and so "it is possible to use any one as an entry point to CDA and problematic to use one in isolation from the others" (Janks, 1996: 3).

interpret texts on the basis of shared common sense procedures¹⁵ and thirdly, explanation,¹⁶ which is an analysis of discourse as social practice in relation to social structure, drawing on the macro-sociological tradition. In defining my three moments of discourse analysis, I have also drawn on these three traditions, but with the following modifications:

Firstly, I decided to integrate Fairclough's dimensions one and two, description and interpretation, into the second moment of my method of CDA. This is because in the actual practice of analysing texts I found it difficult to keep the two processes distinct. Fairclough himself acknowledges that the division between the two is not that sharp,

“Description is not as separate from interpretation as it is often assumed to be. As an analyst (and as an ordinary interpreter), one is inevitably interpreting all the time, and there is no phase of analysis which is pure description. Consequently, one's analysis of the text is shaped and coloured by one's interpretation of its relationship to discourse processes and wider social processes.”
(1992: 199)

Secondly, I have inserted socio-historical analysis and the determination of the pre-interpretation as a first moment of analysis, prior to the formal and discursive analysis. Fairclough deals with this under his third moment, explanation. However, Thompson (1990), in his framework for analysing symbolic forms, which he calls “depth hermeneutics”, stresses the fact that all symbolic forms are embedded in social and historical contexts and that all social subjects are embedded in “invented historical traditions” by means of which we assimilate new experiences into the residues of what is past (Thompson, 1990: 276). Furthermore, Thompson (1990: 290) considers the “interpretation of doxa” (the everyday pre-interpretation of the text) to be an “indispensable preliminary” to text analysis. I suggest that this determination of the ordinary reader's meaning-making of the text is best done in conjunction with the socio-historical analysis. This is particularly so in the case of historical texts, where the original socio-historical context of the text may be far removed from the analyst's present context, and where background historical research is often

¹⁵ or in Fairclough's terms “members' resources”

¹⁶ In his more recent work Fairclough prefers to call this the second level of interpretation.

required in order to provide sufficient data for imagining what the original interpretations may have been. When working with historical texts, this reconstruction of the extra-linguistic conditions of production and interpretation is a crucial aspect of what it means to exercise an historical imagination; one of the aims of which is to be able to understand the words and actions of people in the past within their own socio-historical context. A further reason for starting the analysis with this moment is that, because it deals with the extra-linguistic context of the text's production and interpretation, this was the strong point in the historians' 'intuitive' method described in 3.1 above. The socio-historical analysis serves as a means of framing the overall analysis and it provides the necessary data for determining what the original, everyday, "pre-interpretation" of the text might have been. Following Thompson, this "pre-interpretation" can be returned to in the third moment of the analysis.

I have kept Fairclough's notion of explanation as the third moment of analysis, but following Thompson, I have termed it "re-interpretation". This is to indicate that one is offering a re-interpretation of "a pre-interpreted domain", in other words, that the analyst re-visits the everyday "positioned" reading of the text, suggested in moment one, and attempts to offer a more systematic, rigorous and critical re-interpretation of the text. Each of these moments of discourse analysis is explained in more detail under 3.2.1 below.

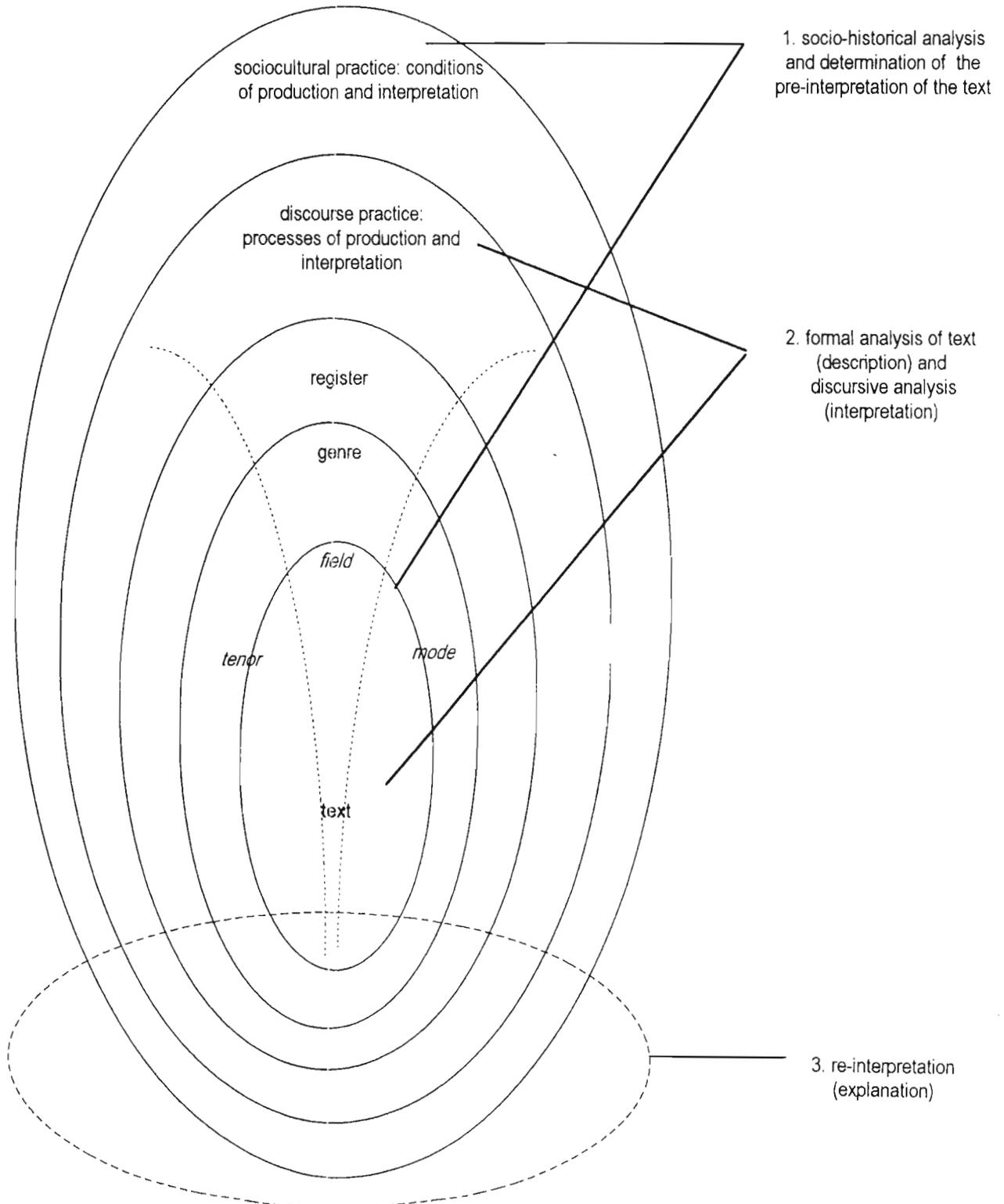


Figure 1: Diagram illustrating the method of Critical Discourse Analysis

3.2.1 The Moments of Discourse Analysis

3.2.1.1 Moment 1: Socio-Historical Analysis

The aim of the socio-historical analysis is to reconstruct the social and historical conditions of the text's production and interpretation. In my presentation of this method of CDA to the historians, I suggested that one should begin with the research referred to in the historians' intuitive method as "putting the text in its historical context" (see 3.1 above). For this stage of the analysis, one needs to establish the biographical details of the writer and the time, place, institutional and socio-political context of the text's production. One also needs to infer what the writer's purpose may have been in producing the text. Where appropriate, I also note the historiographical context of the text, that is, what other kinds of histories might the writer have had access to and what schools of history s/he might represent. This involves an understanding of the intertextuality of the text, that is, the influence of other texts on the text's construction. One also needs to ask what was the production, distribution, circulation and publication history of the text. For the purposes of trying to discern the workings of ideology in the text, one needs also to note the power relations within which the text was produced, that is, what the writer's position was in terms of social structure, for example what was his/ her institutional, class, race, gender and ethnic affiliation, and what was that of his/ her intended audience, and how asymmetrical relations of power might have affected the production and reception of the text. On the basis of this socio-historical analysis, one can begin to formulate hypotheses about what the text is going to be about, about the writer's position and attitudes towards the participants of the text and about the reader and subject positions likely to be constructed. One can also try to anticipate what discourses and genres the writer is likely to have drawn upon in the production process of the text. As Halliday (Halliday & Hasan, 1985) points out, this is precisely how we operate in everyday communicative contexts when we use our knowledge about the "context of situation" of a text to anticipate what is going to be said.

When the historians with whom I was working first developed their Honours course, they stopped their analysis at this point and then simply tried to relate

the context of the text's production to the text as a product, in order to show students that historical texts are shaped by their contemporary political contexts. Thompson criticises this position as falling into the "fallacy of reductionism", that is, the fallacy of assuming that texts (or any symbolic form) can be analysed exhaustively in terms of the socio-historical conditions of their production and interpretation. In my seminar presentation to the historians, I pointed out to the historians how important it is that they are seeking to move on from this position and to embark on the second moment, a formal and discursive analysis of the text, as well.

Having established the socio-historical conditions of production of the text, one still needs to infer from this the conditions of reception or interpretation of the text, that is, to determine what an everyday understanding or interpretation of the text might have been when read or heard in its original and specific socio-historical context. In other words, our first reading of the text should be to get a feel of its meaning from the perspective of the intended, or "positioned" readership. In his methodological framework for depth hermeneutics, Thompson places this as the first moment in his method. However, in the case of historical texts, where it is not normally possible to get access to the original interpreters, it seems to be more logical to place this move after the socio-historical analysis of the process of production and to use the latter information as the basis for inference about the text's original interpretation. Thompson explains that the determination of the everyday reception of the text is important, because in social inquiry "the object of our investigations is itself a pre-interpreted domain" (1990: 275), which has already been interpreted by the subjects who make (or made) up the social-historical world. What we are trying to do is re-interpret a pre-interpreted domain. The meaning of our re-interpretation is only significant in relation to the pre-interpretation (or in Kress's terms, to the uncritical reading position which the text constructs). Thompson suggests that this everyday, common sense reading, or the "interpretation of doxa" (1990: 279), might be constructed by using ethnographic methods such as interviews, participant observation, and so on. But of course this is not possible with the analysis of historical texts which were

produced in the often distant past. However, historians are supposed to be trained in the exercise of empathy, and given a well-informed understanding of the socio-historical context of the text, an historian should be able to imagine in an informed way, what an original, everyday appropriation of the text in its time might have been, and what its author intended it to be. These hypotheses need to be returned to and re-examined in the third moment of the analysis.

In my critical language awareness exercises, (see Chapter 5), I present this first moment as a separate section headed “Socio-historical Analysis”, which the students are asked to do before moving on to a formal and discursive analysis of the text. In this first section or moment I include a question which asks students to imagine how the text may have been understood by its original or intended readership or audience.

When dealing with texts written for past readerships which are being studied by historians in the present, the situation is complicated by the fact that there are potentially two everyday interpretations of the text, that of its original, intended audience as discussed above, and that of present day ordinary readers, (although in practice, particularly in the case of academic historical texts, there may be little difference between the two interpretations). In line with our earlier discussion on the development of historical discourse within the traditionalist, empiricist paradigm (see 2.2.1 above), I would assume that the ordinary reader of historical texts today is operating within that traditionalist paradigm, for, as undergraduates, history students are usually inducted into this way of reading and writing history. This means that the positioned reader, particularly of academic histories, assumes that the historian is offering a “true” account of the past based on the historical “facts” which s/he has “discovered” through research. The ordinary reader of history typically assumes that the historian is, as far as possible, “neutral” and “objective” and does not allow his/ her own opinions and positions to interfere with a “true” rendition of the “facts”. In the History Honours course to which my research was applied, students are introduced to historical texts written outside the academy and often written outside of the conventions of traditional historical discourse. This offers greater

possibilities for alerting students to the positions and positionings of the writers, because these texts are often more transparent than those of academic historical discourse. However, it is very important that students be encouraged to apply the criticality so developed to the more opaque texts of academic historical discourse. One of my intentions in writing the re-interpretations of my text analyses presented in Chapter 4 is to challenge the pre-interpretations of ordinary readers (such as students on the course) who may still be reading history as fact, from within the traditionalist paradigm.

3.2.1.2 Moment 2: Formal and Discursive Analysis

In this moment, one is concerned with the internal organisation of the text, its systemic form, its structural relations and its lexico-grammatical patterns of choice and with how these choices are shaped and to a large extent determined by the context of the text, that is, by its register, genre and discourse practice(s). Thompson emphasises that this moment is truly analytical in that the text is broken down by “objectifying techniques”. In my case, I chose to use the techniques of Halliday’s “functional systemic grammar” (FSG), albeit in a simplified form. (The techniques of this grammar will be explained in greater detail under 3.3 below). Halliday would entirely agree with Thompson on the need for objectifying techniques. He writes,

“A discourse analysis that is not based on a grammar is not an analysis at all, but simply a running commentary on a text: either an appeal has to be made to some set of non-linguistic conventions, or to some linguistic features which are trivial enough to be accessible without a grammar, ... or else the exercise remains a private one in which one explanation is as good or bad as another” (1985: xvii).

Halliday understands text analysis as a mode of action, and as a means of getting things done which has political effects. He suggests that the purposes of text analysis should be to understand the quality of a text, why and how it means what it does and why it is valued as it is. This includes relating the lexicogrammar of the text all the way back to its sociocultural practice. A second purpose for analysing a text is to evaluate the text and to see how effective it is (or isn’t) for its own purposes.

Following Halliday, I understand that a close analysis of the lexico-grammar of a text cannot be undertaken in isolation from its context of situation, because the different components of the context of situation (field, tenor and mode) are realised in the meanings of texts and these, in turn, are realised as lexicogrammatical choices made within the text. In my method of analysis, I follow Halliday's sub-division of the context of situation into the field of discourse, the tenor of discourse and the mode of discourse (these are defined below under 3.2.2). When analysing the field of discourse I ask myself "what is the text saying, and how is it saying this?", "what is being talked or written about and what are the long and short term goals of the writer or speaker?" (Butt et al 1995: 13). I try to describe the experiential domain of the text and relate this to the writer's short and long term goals which arise from the context of situation/ production. When analysing the tenor of discourse I ask myself "what is the text doing as a form of social interaction, and how is it doing this?", "how does the writer indicate identities, relations and attitudes?" In so doing I aim to relate the interpersonal meanings realised by the patterns of lexicogrammatical choice in the text to the societal roles, relative status, social distance and power relationships between the writer of the text and his/ her audience and between the participants in the text. In so doing, I move from a description of the interpersonal meanings to an interpretation of the text as discursive practice. When analysing the mode of discourse I asked myself "how is the language functioning to create a text?" "how are the meanings and wordings of the field and tenor organised into a linear and coherent text?" I then relate this description to the register and genre of the text which shape the type of interaction, its medium, channel and rhetorical thrust.

➤ Thus, in this second moment, there is a to-and-fro movement between a description of the lexico-grammar of the text on the one hand and an interpretation of its discursive practices on the other. The discursive analysis is built up as the formal analysis takes place, so that the process is diachronic rather than synchronic. Thompson warns that many methods of discourse analysis deal only with the formal aspect of textual analysis and so fall into the "fallacy of internalism" (that is, the assumption that one can read off from the

signs a text the full consequences of its discursive and ideological meanings without reference to its everyday conditions of production and reception.) However, in FSG, the lexicogrammar is interpreted as a particular realisation of the dimensions of discourse and so this fallacy is avoided. Furthermore, by linking the formal and discursive analysis to the socio-historical analysis in the third moment of re-interpretation, I hope to show that this fallacy is overcome in the method adopted here.

3.2.1.3 Moment 3: Re-interpretation

The third moment in the CDA method employed in this study, is an attempt to relate the detailed properties of the text to the social, political and ideological effects of the text as a discursive event. At this moment I asked myself, “why and with what effects is the text saying and doing what it is?” This last moment requires a creative reconstruction by the analyst. It is a new movement of thought which proceeds by synthesis based on the two previous moments. Thompson claims that

“However rigorous and systematic the methods of formal/discursive analysis may be, they cannot abolish the need for a creative (re)construction of meaning, that is for an interpretative explication of what is represented and what is said, and what the social effects of this action may be” (1990: 289).

Therefore, the aim of the analyst at this stage, should be to synthesise the socio-historical and the formal and discursive analyses in order to take the analysis to a higher level and to understand the text as a discursive event and as a form of sociocultural practice. Here one should re-visit the original hypotheses predicted in moment one, on the basis of the socio-historical analysis, and ascertain the extent to which they have been confirmed by the formal and discursive analysis. If the formal/discursive analysis has thrown up any surprises, these need to be examined and explained. It is at this stage that one also needs to inquire about how ideology is working through the text, that is, what relations of power and domination is it establishing or reproducing? What discourses and particular configurations of discourses are being articulated and in whose interests are they being employed?

In re-visiting the “interpretative doxa”, Thompson reminds us that here we are “re-interpreting a pre-interpreted domain”,

“We are projecting a possible meaning which may diverge from the meaning constructed by subjects who make (or in the case of history, made) up the socio-historical world” (1990:290).

This means that re-interpretation is always a risky and conflict-laden and political exercise. However, as the analyst, it is important to stress that one is only presenting one particular interpretation amongst a number of possibilities. What is crucial is that one’s interpretation is plausible to its readers and that it can be justified on the basis of the evidence provided in moments one and two. In the process, one may also provide one’s readers with the resources to resist the positioned reading of the text, or in Thompson’s terms, the “interpretative doxa”.

In many ways this third moment in the CDA method is analogous to our normal processes of communicating as explained by Halliday (Halliday & Hasan, 1985). The socio-historical analysis is a top-down form of processing, on the basis of which the interpreter makes predictions about the meaning of the text. The formal text analysis is the bottom-up processing, which is used to confirm or modify the interpreter’s original hypotheses. The micro-analysis provides evidence for the macro-analysis and a synthesising process takes place in which both forms of processing interact and mesh to make new meaning for the listener or reader.

3.2.2 The Dimensions of Discourse Analysis

I will now explain my representation of the dimensions of discourse analysis in Figure 1. by drawing mainly on the works of Kress (1989), Fairclough (1990, 1992), Halliday and Hasan (1985), Halliday (1985), Halliday and Martin (1993), Bloor and Bloor (1995) and Butt, Fahey, Spinks and Yallop (1995). A fundamental premise to my thinking behind the diagram is that it should be based on theories of language and society which attempt to hold the two

together in a dialectical relationship (see Chapter 1).¹⁷ One of my assumptions is that ways of speaking and writing, listening and reading, as well as the topics about which we communicate, are socially constructed and so language, society, culture and politics are all interconnected issues. Accordingly, I will not be viewing the individual writers of the texts I analyse, as isolated, autonomous agents, but rather as social agents located in networks of social relations and in specific positions within the social structure. This means that, as members of particular speech or discourse communities, they also share membership of particular social institutions, and share in its practices, values and meanings (see Chapter 1 above). For example, in Chapter 2.2, we saw how the institutionalisation and professionalisation of history has produced an historical discourse which privileges certain values and meanings over others. So that a professional historian writing academic historical discourse, will inevitably display evidence as proof of the “truth” of his/ her conclusions, emphasise causation and chronology and be constrained by the discourse to background his/ her own political and ideological position.

I therefore consider the production of texts by individuals to be a social practice which is partly determined by their social positions within institutions and society and also by their places in intersecting sets of discourses (see below). According to Fairclough (1992), this means that we all have differential access to sets of “members resources” with which to produce, interpret and appropriate texts (see discussion on the pre-interpretation of texts under 3.2.1.1 above). Fairclough defines “members’ resources” as socio-cognitive processes which are based on internalised social structures and conventions. This definition helps to explain the dialectic workings of language and society; we are agents of the discourses we speak and we are also constituted by them. According to Kress (1989), texts always arise out of difference, as we try to negotiate the differences and contradictions between the different discourses of which we are a part. In this sense, we can use language either to reproduce the

¹⁷ This is why I suggest that one should begin with an analysis of social structure in Moment 1, understand how it shapes meanings and their linguistic realisation in Moment 2 and then return to an understanding of how the text functions as social practice in Moment 3.

discourses (and their invested ideologies) or to challenge and transform them.

“No text is ever the text of a single speaker or writer. All texts show traces of differing discourses, contending and struggling for dominance. Texts are sites of struggle, texts are the sites of linguistic and cultural change. Individuals, as social agents and constructed in discourse, are the bearers and the agents of that struggle.” (Kress 1989: 32).

The ways in which different discourses are articulated in a particular text, is, according to Kress, the function of ideology (1989: 83). Society and culture are always in a state of flux and change, and ideologies try to control these changes by trying to classify, describe (and therefore control) new social practices in terms of the old ways of thinking. This is done through the construction of plausible and common sense texts. Fairclough’s definition of ideology helps to explain the relation between ideology, discourse and power. He defines ideology as,

“the significations or constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations and social identities), which are built into various dimensions of the forms or meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination.” (1992:87)

Thus in CDA, ideology and power are understood to work in the dimensions of socio-cultural practice and of discourse practice, and it is here that one seeks to understand their influence on the production and interpretation of texts. Fairclough makes a point similar to that of Thompson’s, regarding the “fallacy of internalism” (see 3.2.3.2 above), when he states that one cannot simply read ideology directly off from the signs of a text, but rather that texts bear the traces of the ideological processes and structures which constituted the production process of the text. He claims,

“One can neither reconstruct the production process nor account for the interpretation process purely by reference to texts: they are respectively traces of and cues to these processes, and can be neither produced nor interpreted without members’ resources.” (1992:72)

So ideology and power work through texts via the productive and interpretative activities of their writers and readers whose socio-cognitive capacities are largely socially and culturally determined.

The discussion thus far, forms an important backdrop to understanding the first dimension of discourse as sociocultural practice. I have sought to explain how the social, institutional and political position of the individual shapes his/ her “members’ resources” and therefore his/ her capacity to produce and interpret texts in particular ways. In the socio-historical analyses of historical texts in Chapter 4, I attempt to understand the social and historical conditions which would have formed the “members’ resources” of each of the individual writers of the texts.

I now move on to the second dimension of discourse and look at discourse as discursive practice. Fairclough suggests that a discourse is an instance of social practice which is realised or manifested in linguistic form, that is as text. He emphasises the constitutive nature of discourse,

“Discourse is a practice not only of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning” (1992: 64).

Social institutions articulate their particular meanings and values by using language in particular and specialised ways which are called discourses (see also Chapter 1 above). Discourses are not simply texts, they are rather sets of institutional meanings and values which are expressed or realised through conventionalised texts. Discourses thus define, describe and limit what is possible and not possible to say about areas of concern to a particular institution (Kress, 1989: 7). However, a most useful definition of discourse for the purposes of this dissertation, which focuses on an academic discourse, is given by Halliday and Martin, who define the discourses of academic disciplines as

“linguistic or semiotic practices which have evolved functionally to do specialised kinds of theoretical and practical work in social institutions” (1993: x),

(see discussion on the development of historical discourse in Chapter 2.2.1 above).

So what is the relationship between discourses and texts? Texts realise, that is, give material form to, discourses, and the meanings of texts are always in part the meanings of discourses; texts are never the unique creations of individuals.

In my own text analyses, I was concerned to show how the individual writers produced texts within particular discourses which in turn defined and constrained their meanings. Furthermore, Fairclough, drawing on Bakhtin, emphasises the importance of understanding the intertextuality and historicity of a text; the fact that it is always a response to previous texts and full of “snatches of other texts” (1992: 85).

But discourses do not only define the central areas of concern of an institution, and constitute social subjects, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief; in a manner similar to that of ideology, as noted above, they also develop and change as problems and disputes arise and they try to settle these from within the meanings and values of the discourse. Kress describes the process thus,

“A discourse colonises the social world imperialistically, from the point of view of one institution” (1989: 7) “In the colonisation of areas of social life, discourses attempt to reconcile contradictions, mismatches, disjunctions and discontinuities within the domain by making that which is social seem natural and that which problematic seem obvious.” (1989: 10).

To understand Kress we need to refer back to his claim that texts always arise out of difference, and understand how texts often arise to settle differences from the point of view of a particular ideology and institution.

Fairclough’s explanation of the formation and use members’ resources in the production and interpretation of texts helps us to understand how writers and readers with similar social backgrounds and histories tend to share everyday “common sense” understandings which they use to produce and interpret texts. This process of meaning making (which is socially constructed) seems natural to the ideal reader, who fails to question or challenge the assumptions on which the text is based. So, given that texts are produced within particular configurations of discourses, which are to a greater or lesser extent ideologically invested, a text will tend to construct an ideal or intended reading (or listening) position, which is ideologically consistent with the writer (or speaker)’s position and from which the text seems natural and uncontentious. If

a reader accepts this position, then he/ she will appropriate the text uncritically and the discourse and its attendant ideologies and power relations will be reproduced. The acceptance of a reading position is closely related to the acceptance of a subject position, that is, the reader is “interpellated” by the subjectivities constructed by the text and makes them his/ her own. This process not only tells the reader how to read the text, but also prescribes for the individual reader a subject position, or modes of thinking and acting, which are compatible with the discourse.

However, discourses and ideologies are unstable and often work in contradictory ways which cause uncertainty and confusion. Thus a key thrust in critical discourse analysis (CDA) is to assert that readers and listeners can refuse to comply with the reading and subject positions which a text constructs. CDA aims to train readers to be aware of and to resist the power of texts to position them in certain ways, especially when this contributes to relations of domination. One of the aims of the History Honours course for which the text analyses in this dissertation were prepared, is to enable students to become critical and resistant readers, able to see the constructedness of historical texts and so to embark on more critical re-interpretations of them.

We have looked at the relations between social and institutional structure, discourse, ideology and the individual producers and interpreters of texts. I will now move from this rather general discussion at the level of sociocultural and discursive practice to a more precise definition of the three remaining dimensions of discourse - register, genre and text and to an explanation of how each of these dimensions relates to the next one and is in part shaped by the dimension which precedes it.

We have noted above that texts always arise in specific historical, cultural, social and institutional contexts and in situations which are always, to a greater or lesser extent conventional. Halliday claims that “there is no situation in which the meanings are not to a certain extent prescribed for us” (Halliday & Hasan, 1985: 40). These conventions which are defined by particular social contexts have a determining effect on the production and formation of texts. Halliday and

his followers approach the analysis of the context of a text from a more functional perspective than do Kress and Fairclough. By this I mean that their focus in analysing the context is more on what the text is being used to do in its social context, than on the ways in which the text is constituted by ideologies and discourses. But the two approaches are by no means contradictory, in fact I would argue that they are complementary.

Borrowing from the social anthropologist, Malinowski, Halliday divides the extra-linguistic context of a text into two categories, an outer one called the “context of culture” and an inner one called the “context of situation”. The context of culture is broadly defined by Butt et al as “the sum of the meanings it is possible to mean in that particular culture” (1995:11). Contexts of situation always occur within contexts of culture. This inner extra-linguistic context is the more specific context in which the text occurs. Halliday describes the context of situation as a “package” of meanings and values which is defined by the wider “context of culture” (Halliday & Hasan, 1985: 49). Butt et al define it as “an abstraction which is the sum of the motivating features of the text’s construction which make it what it is” (1995: 125). The context of situation is therefore the specific extra-linguistic features of the text which are realised in the wording, (lexicogrammatical patterns) and which speakers and writers use to produce different kinds of texts and which listeners and readers use to interpret those texts (Butt et al, 1995: 12). Halliday claims that the functional organisation of language and its social environment are systematically related (Halliday & Hasan, 1985: 11). This means that the linguistic choices made in a text will always reflect and be consistent with the context of situation of the text. Halliday suggests that it is this close relationship between the text and its situation which enables members of a certain culture to successfully predict what is going to be said on a particular occasion. We constantly make inferences about meaning from the context of situation to the text and from the text back to the context.

For the purposes of analysis, Halliday organises the context of situation according to his three meta-functions of language, the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual meta-functions (these will be discussed in more

detail below). By metafunction, Halliday means the three superordinate functional categories, which he claims characterise all language. The three metafunctions co-exist in all texts. Martin refers to these three components, which operate at the semantic level, combined as the “level of register” (Halliday and Martin, 1993: 33). Halliday suggests that a register is a variety of language which is defined according to its use or purpose; and he understands registers to differ from each other at the level of their meanings or “semantic potential” (Halliday & Hasan, 1985: 41); so that register is the determining factor for textual variation. He defines a register as “the semantic configurations that are typically associated with particular social contexts” and which are realised through the lexicogrammatical (or phonological) features of the text (Halliday & Hasan, 1985: 42). Butt et al explain register as “the way language varies consistently with the context of situation, or according to use” (1995: 141). In other words, the choices of wordings in texts vary according to the different meanings realised by the field, tenor and mode of the text’s context. Texts which share the same context of situation tend to share the same meanings and will share similar features of field, tenor and mode; they are said to belong to the same register. When we interpret a particular text, we tend (consciously or unconsciously) to assign it to a particular class of texts (that is, to a register) and to see it as an exemplar or instance of that particular register. Depending on the social and institutional context, and on the degree of its conventionality, a register will be open or closed, with a casual conversation between equals at the most open end of the continuum and ritually formulaic language at the other.

The difference between a register and a genre is a fine one. (Kress (1989) does not make a distinction and refers only to genres, (with a meaning similar to Halliday’s understanding of register). Hasan (Halliday & Hasan, 1985), states that genre is language doing the job appropriate to a certain class of social happenings. This sounds very similar to register, but she explains that whilst like a register, a genre is not a text, but operates at the level of “semantic potential”, a genre is the semantic structure which gives texts their structure. It is the identity and sequencing of the obligatory elements of the text’s structure which

are determined by genre (or in Hasan's terminology by the "generic structure potential"). Hasan notes that some of the elements in the structural sequence are obligatory and others are optional; it is the set of obligatory elements which define the genre. In sum this means that a genre is a set of texts that share obligatory (and often optional) structural elements. Butt et al suggest that when a set of texts share the same purpose, they tend to share the same obligatory and optional structural elements (1995: 17). This linking of purpose and generic structure is also emphasised by Martin, Christie and Rothery, who define genre as a "staged, goal-orientated, social process" that is a purposeful activity, which speakers or writers engage in as members of a particular culture, and which gives rise to a particular textual structure (quoted in Eggins, 1994: 26). Thus we can see that the context of situation of a text gives rise to its register which in turn realises the genre(s) appropriate to that context. A register appears to be a more inclusive category which may have more than one genre associated with it. Together, the register and genre realise the lexicogrammatical patterns and structure of the text. Kress (1989) makes the point that discourses, genres (and here we can also include registers) are not unrelated; certain discourses will have preferred (registers and) genres and will be incompatible with others.

It is because of this systematic relation between the context of situation (the field, tenor and mode) in which the text is produced (and interpreted) and the realisation of its meanings in the wordings of a text, that one can move one and two dimensions back and claim that the discursive, institutional, cultural, political, and ideological background of a text also shape its meanings and values and constrain its interpretation. This is the meaning I tried to capture in Figure 1. above, by embedding the text, genre and register dimensions of discourse within those of the discursive and sociocultural practice.

In order to explain exactly how the context of situation (or register) of a text is realised in its wordings, or lexicogrammar, I will need to contextualise the discussion by outlining Halliday's general approach to language, his understanding of text, grammar and the metafunctions of language.

Halliday's theory of language is called functional systemic grammar (FSG) (also referred to as functional systemic linguistics). It is a social-functional approach to language based on a theory of language as a semiotic performance and choice. This means that Halliday understands language as a resource system of ways of encoding meaning through choosing from a finite system of grammatical forms. He understands language to be network of interlocking options through which meaning is made by choosing particular semantically-driven lexicogrammatical options. He contrasts this with the more traditional understanding of language as a system of rules for constructing the syntactic forms of language:

“A language is interpreted as a system of meanings, accompanied by forms through which the meanings can be realised” (Halliday 1985: xiv).

Halliday suggests that the best way to understand language is to study texts, that is, actual instances of spoken or written language in use, instances of social meaning in a particular context. In FSG, a text is therefore a semantic unit and consists of more than one sentence. Halliday defines text simply as “language that is functional, doing some job in some context” (Halliday & Hasan, 1985: 5). Butt et al claim that a text is “a harmonious collection of meanings appropriate to its context” (1995: 11). Halliday's central concern is to explain how a text functions in its context and we have already noted his claim that there is a systematic relationship between the social environment or context of situation of a text and its functional organisation. In this sense, Halliday understands text as both process and product. The former he describes as

“a continuous process of semantic choice, a movement through the network of meaning potential, with each set of choices constituting the environment for a further set” (Halliday & Hasan, 1985: 10).

He also describes text as

“a product of its environment, a product of the continuous process of choices in meaning that we can represent as multiple paths or passes through the networks that constitute the linguistic system” (Halliday & Hasan, 1985: 11).

If we understand grammar as the way in which language is organised, rather than a system of classes of words and rules of use, then we can accept Halliday's definition of the study of grammar as the study of how meanings are built up through the choice and use of wordings. This is a functional definition of grammar, in which the functions of words is prioritised over the classification of "parts of speech". Words are classified according to the use or function that they are performing in the clause, rather than according to the class to which they belong. In FSG, the system is paradigmatic (rather than syntagmatic) in its organisation and one looks for patterns of paradigmatic selections rather than for rules of syntagmatic construction. . Halliday describes FSG as

"a system which moves all the way from the meaning to the wording (that is, through each rank in the grammar) in which every set of options in the grammar system makes some form of contribution to the wording" (1985: xx).

The grammatical categories are thus understood as the realisations of semantic patterns and are determined according to their function. Halliday insists that the relationship between the meaning and the wording is a natural one (not arbitrary as de Saussure is said to have claimed).¹⁸ In FSG, there is no clear line between grammar and semantics, as both are natural, abstract systems of coding and in theory, Halliday claims that using a computer, one can account for all the steps from the meaning to the grammar, or from the grammar to the meaning of a text. He suggests further that within the system of FSG, lexicogrammatical choice can be traced back systematically to social and ideological function in the context of the text's production.

In FSG, the notion of rank scale and the principle of constituency are used to form the basic analytical categories of the text. Language is broken down into a series of ranks in hierarchical sequence from morpheme to word to group or phrase to clause to clause complex (sentence in written text). Each rank has a different function and each rank is constituted by one or more elements of the rank below it in the hierarchy. In the grammar, FSG works in the terrain between the sentence and the word, although, in text analysis, one needs to

¹⁸ According to Halliday, it is only the relationship between the wordings and the sound/writing system which is arbitrary.

move beyond this and look at the functioning of the text as a whole and at its structure and patterns of cohesion and coherence. However, in FSG, one aims to consider how the semantics are realised in the grammar, and so the clause, which is constituted by word groups and must contain a verbal group (or process), is taken as the fundamental meaning making structure in our communication system; and so is the fundamental unit of analysis. Within the clause, the words are grouped according the function that they play in the construction of the meaning of the clause.

Thus far, I have emphasised the systemic nature of FSG. I now explore further its understanding of the functional nature of language. Halliday claims that, like any tool, language has been shaped, throughout its evolutionary process, by the functions which it serves. He interprets function as “a fundamental property of language itself, something that is basic to the evolution of the semantic system” (Halliday & Hasan, 1985: 17). He suggests there are three fundamental functional components of meaning which he terms the metafunctions of language. He argues that these metafunctions have shaped the evolutionary course of language and that they are universal components. Halliday argues that through the three metafunctions, language is used to encode three kinds of meaning: **ideational**, **interpersonal** and **textual meanings**. I will describe each of these in turn and explain their relationship to the **field**, **tenor** and **mode** of the context of situation.

Firstly, language which is used to talk or write about what is happening is performing the **ideational metafunction** and is used by the speaker or writer to encode **ideational meanings**. Secondly, language which is used to interact with or act on others, and/ or to express attitudes and take up positions, is performing the **interpersonal metafunction** and is used by the speaker or writer to encode **interpersonal meanings**. Thirdly, language which is used to turn the output of the two other metafunctions, (**ideational** and **interpersonal meanings**) into a linear, coherent whole, is performing the **textual metafunction** and is used by the speaker or writer to encode **textual meanings**.

We have already noted Halliday's claim that the three components of the context of situation or register, the **field**, **tenor** and **mode**, constrain the choices writers and speakers make from the repertoire of options available in the lexicogrammar of the language. He claims that this is because these three components of the context of a text reflect the three **metafunctions** of language, **the ideational**, **interpersonal** and the **textual**. Accordingly, in a CDA based on FSG, the analyst focuses in turn on the lexicogrammatical choices made in a text relevant to the three different aspects of the context of situation and on how these choices encode the three different kinds of meaning. Thus, when undertaking the second moment of CDA, the formal and discursive analysis, I analyse the texts from each of the three perspectives:

Firstly, I analyse the **field of discourse**, where my concern is with how **ideational**, propositional or representational **meanings** are expressed, that is, with how the writer describes what is going on. Halliday divides this component of the context into two aspects, the **experiential** function which classifies reality, content and ideas and the **logical** function which expresses the relations between ideas and between the parts the whole. Under **field**, I analyse the experiential domain of the text and relate this to the long and short term goals of the text (Butt et al 1995: 13). Secondly, I analyse the **tenor of discourse** where I am concerned with how **interpersonal** and interactional **meanings** are expressed, that is with how the writer or speaker indicates attitude towards self, **ideational** content and towards the reader or listener. Here the focus is on how the writer uses language to take on roles, to express feelings, attitudes and judgements and to express how defensible or binding he or she finds her propositions or proposals (Bloor & Bloor, 1995: 9) and (Butt et al 1995: 13). Thirdly, I analyse the **mode of discourse** where my concern is with how organisational or **textual meanings** are expressed, that is, with how the content of the text is organised to form a coherent, linear text. Here the focus is on language which is used as a resource to ensure that what is said in the text is relevant and relates to its co-text and to its context. One can also look at the role that language is playing in the event and the status and function of the language in the context of situation. For example, the language may be

“constitutive” (that is, it is the only activity that is being carried out) or it may be “ancillary” (that is, it is complementing some other activity). Under **mode** one can also note the “type of interaction” (for example, monologic or dialogic), the “medium” of the text (for example, written or spoken), the “channel” of the text (for example, phonic or graphic) and the “rhetorical mode” (for example, expository, hortatory, pedagogic, etc.- this is closely related to the genre of the text).

A critical point to note in Halliday’s theory of the metafunctions of language is that they all operate simultaneously in the expression of meaning. Halliday insists that every clause in a text is multifunctional, that is, it is saying something, doing something and functioning as text, all at once. Halliday suggests that it is the grammar which enables language to say and do more than one thing at once,

“The grammar is the central processing unit of the language, where meanings are accepted from different metafunctional inputs and spliced together to form integrated outputs, or wordings” (1985: xxxv).

This means that for analytical purposes, a text should be analysed from each of these three perspectives, but for the purposes of (re-)interpretation, they all need to be considered together.

3.3 A Simplified Application of Functional Systemic Grammar

This section provides an elaboration of moment 2, the formal and discursive analysis, outlined briefly in section 3.2.1 above. In this section I provide a minimal and simplified description of Halliday’s functional systemic grammar and demonstrate how I used its “objectifying techniques” to undertake a formal analysis of an historical text. As I go through the elements of the grammar, I also take particular note of those aspects which are characteristic of historical discourse. These are summarised at the end of this section, in order to set up an “unmarked” (normative) model of historical discourse. This model enables me, in the analysis of historical texts in Chapter 4, to pay particular attention to those features of the texts which were “marked” (unusual).

The description of the grammar which follows, is based on Halliday's "An Introduction to Functional Grammar" (1985) and on Butt et al's summary of FSG in "Using Functional Grammar: an Explorer's Guide" (1995). The characterisation of historical discourse is based on Martin, Chapter 11 in Halliday and Martin, (1993). Terms which are specific to FSG are indicated in **bold** type. All examples are taken from the Jones text, analysed in Chapter 4.1.

3.3.1 The Field of Discourse: the Clause as Representation

As explained in Chapter 3.2.2 above, the **field of discourse** is that aspect of the context of situation which shapes the **ideational meaning** of texts. Halliday distinguishes two sub-categories of **ideational meaning**, namely **experiential** meanings and **logical** meanings. I deal with each in turn.

3.3.1.1 Experiential Meaning

Experiential meanings (our experience of the world) are encoded in the system of **transitivity** in the text, that is, in that part of the grammar used for expressing who is doing what to whom under what circumstances. This means that one looks at the way in which events, things (including people, places and abstract things) and circumstances which surround the events are represented in the text, and more specifically, in the clauses that constitute that text. A clause has to include a **process** (verb), and so the **process** is an obligatory element in the **transitivity** system. In terms of the transitivity system, a clause has three functional constituents, **processes** (verbal groups), **participants** (nominal groups) in the processes and **circumstances** (prepositional phrases, adverbial groups and some nominal groups) surrounding the event. All clauses are combinations of **participants** and **circumstances** revolving around obligatory **processes**. For example, the clauses in 1.13-14 of the Jones text would be analysed as follows:

<i>In 1917,</i>	<i>Comrade Bunting and other members of the ISL</i>	<i>made</i>	<i>an attempt//</i>
circumstance	actors	process	(range)
<i>to form a native workers' union.///</i>			
process	goal		

Processes

In FSG, three main types of **processes** are distinguished: **material** processes, **relational** processes and **projecting** processes (which are in turn divided into **verbal** and **mental** processes). **Material processes** are usually verbs of doing and describe what is being done in the external, material world. The **participant** which does the doing is called the **actor** and the object or complement of the doing is called the **goal** (see the example above). But if the material process is expressed in the passive voice, then the **actor** is called the **agent**. If the agent is deleted, this is referred to as an agentless passive, or a **deleted agent**. Here are examples from l.33 and l.39-40 in the Jones text:

<i>Gatherings of native men and women</i>	<i>were clubbed down</i>	<i>by the mounted police.</i>
goal	material process	agent

<i>(where) a more permanent movement of native organisation</i>	<i>has (since) been formed.</i>	-
goal	material process	deleted agent

In my analysis of the Jones text, I note that the majority of clauses are material process clauses, and this is what one would expect in a piece of historical discourse, in which events in the past are being recounted.

Relational processes are verbs that relate a **participant** to its identity, attribute, circumstance or possession. These **processes** are typically realised by the verb *to be*, but verbs such as *seem*, *appear*, *look*, *become*, *remain*, *feel*, *have*, *own* also perform the same function. **Relational processes** can be expressed in **attributive** clauses, **identifying** clauses, **circumstantial** clauses or **possessive** clauses. Here are some examples from l. 42-43, 12-13 and 82 in the Jones text:

<i>In the Cape Province,</i>	<i>the natives</i>	<i>are</i>	<i>more advanced politically,</i>
circumstance of location	carrier	attributive relational process	attribute
<i>(and) more permanently</i>	<i>settled</i>	<i>in the European areas.</i>	
circumstance of manner	circumstantial relational process	circumstance of location	

<i>(that) the native</i>	<i>was (really)</i>	<i>a kind of workmate.</i>
identified	identifying relational process	identifier

<i>they</i>	<i>have</i>	<i>a special claim</i>
carrier	possessive relational process	attribute

A subset of **relational** processes are **existential** processes which assert the existence of a **participant**. There is an example in l.73:

<i>There</i>	<i>exists</i>	<i>a body</i>
-	existential process	existent

According to Martin (1993), **relational processes** are a common feature of historical discourse, because they are used to relate classes of things to each other or to relate a particular case to a general class of things. Historical discourse is typically concerned with the particular and the specific, but it explains these in terms of the general. In the Jones text, the majority of **relational processes** are used by the writer to describe social and political conditions (see l.42-3 above) and to relate particular cases to general classes (see l.12-13 above).

Projecting processes project the inner world by speech or by thought and feelings. The former are referred to as **verbal processes**, and the latter as **mental processes**. The subject of verbal processes is called the **sayer**, and the subject of mental processes is called the **senser**. The speech or thought that projecting processes project (that is, the complement) can be direct or indirect speech or thought which takes the form of a **projected clause** or **message**, or it can take the form of a nominal group, which is called the **verbiage** or **phenomenon**. Here are examples from l.60-2 and l.28-9 in the text:

<i>The ISL</i>	<i>came out with</i>	<i>an appeal</i>	<i>(...)</i>	<i>"Don't Scab"</i>
sayer	verbal process	verbiage	verbal process	projected clause

<i>calling upon</i>	<i>the white workers //</i>	<i>to play</i>	<i>the game</i>	<i>towards the native strikers.///</i>
verbal process	receiver	projected clause	(range)	(beneficiary)

<i>The power of the machine</i>	<i>dawned upon</i>	<i>him.</i>
phenomenon	mental process	senser

In the Jones text **verbal processes** are used to represent the spreading of ideas and political propaganda. **Mental processes** are used to express the perceptions of the **participants** and to represent the process of consciousness raising, as in 1.28-9 above.

Participants

We have already noted above that **participants** are realised in the grammar by **nominal groups**. In FSG the nominal group can be broken down into a number of elements which cluster around the nucleus or **thing** (the thing-like element in the nominal group). The **thing** can stand alone, but often it is preceded and/ or followed by other words which modify it in some way. **Pre-modifiers** are typically found in this order: **deictic**, **numerative**, **epithet** and **classifier**. **Post-modifiers** are labelled **qualifiers** and they serve to qualify the **thing** in more detail by means of a clause or prepositional phrase. Here are two examples from 1.88 and 1.14-15:

<i>the</i>	<i>growing</i>	<i>class</i>	<i>organisations</i>	<i>of the natives</i>
demonstrative deictic	verb as epithet	classifier	thing	qualifier

<i>a number of</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>more</i>	<i>industrialised</i>	<i>natives</i>	<i>of Johannesburg</i>
non-specific deictic	demonstrative deictic	comparative	verb as epithet	thing	qualifier

The **deictic**, the **numerative** and the **classifier** typically perform an **experiential** function. **Epithets** perform an **experiential** function when they are

used to define the **thing**; but they can also have an **interpersonal** function when they express attitudes, for example, Jones' description of the police as *the armed thugs of the law* 1.57 and of SANC members as *black-coated respectables* 1. 87-88. (Also see Tenor below).

Circumstances

Circumstances are constructed in English mainly by prepositional phrases and by adverbial groups. **Circumstances** are used in the **experiential function** to illuminate the **process**, for example to locate it in time or space (**circumstance of location - temporal and spatial**), to suggest how it occurs (**circumstance of manner - means, quality or comparison**) and to give information about the cause of the process (**circumstance of cause - reason (why?, how?)**), **purpose (what for?)** or **behalf (who for?)**). We should also note that **circumstances of location** are used frequently in historical discourse because the writers are concerned with the specific circumstances of particular historical events. It is also characteristic of historical discourse to use chronology (sequence in time) to scaffold its narrative structure and I note in 4.1.1 that this is the case in the Jones text. Here are some examples of different uses of **circumstance** from the Jones text, l. 50-51, 17-18 and 44-45.

<i>on the Rand</i>				<i>in March, 1920</i>
circumstance of location, definite, spatial				circumstance of location, definite, temporal
<i>Masabalala (...)</i>	<i>was imprisoned</i>	<i>last August</i>	<i>for his trade union activity.</i>	
goal	material process	temporal circumstance	circumstance of cause, reason	
<i>It</i>	<i>held</i>	<i>meetings</i>	<i>regularly, //</i>	<i>(and)</i>
actor	material process	goal	circumstance of manner (temporal)	
<i>the message</i>	<i>(...) was</i>	<i>eagerly</i>	<i>imbibed</i>	<i>for the first time.</i>
phenom- enon	auxiliary verb (finite)	circums- tance of manner	mental process	circumstance of manner (temporal)

Here we should note that there is an overlapping of the **experiential** and **interpersonal** functions. **Circumstances of location** tend to realise the **experiential** function, but **circumstances of manner** and sometimes of **purpose** can also realise the **interpersonal** function when they function as **modal adjuncts**. For example, the writer's positive attitude towards the IWA is realised through his use of the adverbs *regularly* and *eagerly* in l.17-18 above.

At this stage of a text analysis, on the basis of the patterns of choice of **processes, participants** and **circumstances**, one should be able to specify the **experiential domain** of the text. For example, in the analysis of the Jones text, I suggested that the text is primarily about the political and trade union activity of a left-wing socialist movement, the ISL, and its fledgling African trade union, the IWA, and about the opposition with which their activities were met by the South African state and its agents.

Nominalisation

One of the ways in which writers (more so than speakers) of English manipulate the experiential meanings of language is by using **nominalisation** which is a form of **grammatical metaphor**. **Nominalisation** is a form of **grammatical metaphor** which downgrades a **clause** (which is structured around a **process**) to a lower rank in the grammar, that is, to a **nominal group** or **phrase**. This means that **processes** (usually realised by verbs) are turned into nouns or things and so they can function as **participants** in further **processes**. It also means that the **participants** in these **processes**, for example, the people who are doing the action, can be excluded. Martin (1993) notes that in specialised discourses, the achievement of both abstraction and technicality relies on **nominalisation**. Here is an example from l. 24-5 in the Jones text:

It is the era of awakening to the consciousness of class. Its **congruent** form (its grammatically most simple and natural form), is something of the order of: At present, workers are beginning to think of themselves as members of the working class. The use of **nominalisation** has removed the workers as **sensors** in a **mental process**, and replaced them with a **classifying relational process** in

which the historical period, the era, becomes a thing. It is followed by a post-modifier which gives more detail about the thing, that is, it specifies its attribute, of *awakening to the consciousness of class*. In the analysis of the Jones text, I note that the writer makes use of nominalisation particularly when he chooses to represent events or processes in terms of Marxist-Leninist discourse in which human historical processes are abstracted and reified to the point where abstractions like *class*, *class interest*, *industrial solidarity*, *working class emancipation*, *political and economic forces*, *trade unionism* and *revolutionary nationalist movement* are represented as “things” which have agency in history. The effect of this pattern of nominalisation is to hide human agency and so make the writer’s truth claims seem like objective external reality.

3.3.1.2 Logical Meaning

The **logical function** is that aspect of the **ideational metafunction** of language which represents the logical relationships that the writer (or speaker) sets up between clauses. The highest rank in FSG is the **clause complex** (which in writing usually coincides with the sentence) and this is made up of one or more clauses with relationships of independence or dependence between them.

Independent Clauses

An **independent clause** contains a verbal group(a **process**) and a subject (for example an **actor**). In **mood** under **Tenor** below, we will learn that a verbal group contains three elements, a **finite** (for example, *has* in the example below), a **predicator** (for example, *prepared* in the example below) and optional **auxiliaries** (for example, *been* in the example below). An **independent clause** must include the **finite** element of the verbal group (sometimes it is merged with the **predicator** and sometimes it can be understood through **ellipsis**). For example the clause below from 1.1-2 of the Jones text is an **independent clause** with an obligatory **finite** verb:

<i>A formal statement (...)</i>	<i>has been prepared</i>	<i>by Comrade S.P. Bunting</i>
goal	finite auxiliary predicator (verbal group)	actor

A **conjunction** functions to join two clauses together and to set up a logical relationship between those clauses. Two independent clauses can be joined together by a **linking** or **co-ordinating conjunction** (for example, *and*, *but*, *or*) which functions to expand the meaning of the first **initiating clause**. **Linking conjunctions** join together two or more **independent clauses** of equal status in a **paratactic relation**, that is, a relation between like elements of equal status. Here are two examples from l.36-37 and l.21-23 of the Jones text:

<i>Comrades Bunting, Tinker and Hanscombe</i>			<i>were arrested</i>			<i>at the instance of the Botha government //</i>					
goal	(finite & predicator) material process in independent clause			circumstance of reason							
<i>but</i>			<i>the chief native witness for the Crown</i>			<i>broke down ///</i>					
linking conjunction			actor			(finite & predicator merged) material process in independent clause					
<i>This leaflet</i>			<i>reached</i>			<i>a still wider mass of native workers //</i>					
actor		material process in independent clause				goal					
<i>and</i>		<i>(it) was introduced //</i>		<i>and</i>		<i>(it) was read</i>		<i>to illiterate labourers</i>		<i>in the mine compounds ///</i>	
linking con- junction	verbal process in independ- ent clause		linking con- junction		verbal process in independ- ent clause		receiver		circumstance of location		

In my analysis of the Jones text in 4.1.1, I note that the writer sets up a cohesive pattern of **parataxis** between his clauses through the frequent use of the **linking conjunctions**, *and* and *but*. The *ands* serve to link the events of his recount into a sequential pattern, whilst the *buts* break this developmental pattern in order to indicate setbacks and problems.

Dependent Clauses

Dependent clauses cannot stand alone, their function is to provide additional information in support of other clauses. **Dependent clauses** may be **finite** or **non-finite** and sometimes the conjunction is omitted. A **dependent clause** is

joined to a **dominant clause** (which may be independent or dependent) by a **binding** or **subordinating conjunction**. These conjunctions make the relationship between the two clauses explicit and they serve to expand on the proposition in the **dominant clause** usually indicating some contingency for example, of condition (if, although, unless), of time (when, while, until), and of cause (because, since, so that, as a result of), etc. The choice of a **binding conjunction** determines a **logical relation** of **subordination** or **hypotaxis** between two clauses. The first example from the text, 1.40-41 illustrates a **finite** dependent clause with the **binding conjunction** *when*. The second example 1. 66-67, illustrates a **non-finite** dependent clause with the **binding preposition** *by*. It also contains a **rank-shifted** clause which will be discussed below.

<i>It</i>	<i>has (also) spread</i>	<i>to Bloemfontein //</i>
actor	material process	circumstance
dominant clause		

<i>where</i>	<i>Msimang</i> <i>(...)</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>active</i>	<i>in native</i> <i>organisation//</i>
binding con- junction	carrier	relational process	attribute	circumstance
dependent clause				

<i>The</i> <i>Capitalist</i> <i>Press</i>	<i>[[thinking to</i> <i>damage our</i> <i>election</i> <i>prospects]]</i>	<i>gave</i>	<i>still</i>	<i>further</i> <i>to our appeal //</i>	<i>publicity</i>
actor	rankshifted clause	material process	adverb	range	beneficiary
dominant clause					

<i>by</i>	<i>reproducing</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>in full</i>	<i>as proof of our</i> <i>criminality ///</i>
binding conjunction	non-finite material process	goal	circumstance of manner	circumstance of purpose
dependent clause				

Rankshifted Clauses

Rankshifted or **embedded clauses** are clauses which are embedded in a **nominal group** and function as **qualifier** of the **head noun**, or they are embedded in an **adverbial group** and function as **postmodifier** of the adverb.

They are called **rankshifted** clauses because they function in the text at the rank below the clause, that is, within the rank of group. One of the more common forms of a **rankshifted clause** is the **defining relative clause** which always begins with a relative pronoun and also serves to qualify the head noun (see the two examples below). **Rankshifted clauses** can realise any function open to **nominal** or **adverbial groups**. Here are some examples from the text, l.8, l.15-16 and l.31-32:

<i>certain white men</i>	<i>[[who engaged to keep the plant going]]</i>	<i>were sneered at</i>	<i>as blacklegs</i>
goal	rankshifted clause	mental process	circumstance
<i>(...) natives</i>	<i>were enrolled</i>	<i>into the Union,</i>	<i>[[which was named the "IWA"]]</i>
goal	material process	range	rankshifted clause
<i>Hundreds of natives</i>	<i>[[who had burned their passes]]</i>	<i>were jailed</i>	<i>every day</i>
goal	rankshifted clause	material process	circumstance

A **reduced relative clause** omits the relative pronoun and/ or the finite for example, l.19-20 below. Occasionally a **rankshifted clause** may also function as if it is a **participant** in the clause, but there are no examples in the Jones text.

<i>A manifesto (...)</i>	<i>was issued (...)</i>	<i>[[written in the Zulu and Basuto languages]]</i>
goal	material process	rankshifted clause

Projected Clauses

We noted under the discussion on **projecting processes** that **mental** and **verbal processes** (for example, *believe, hope, wish, and say, claim, promise*) are often followed by **projected clauses**. In **verbal processes**, if the **dominant clause** is projecting direct speech, then it will project an **independent clause** and the clauses will be of equal status, in a **paratactic** relation. If the **dominant clause** projects indirect speech, then it will project a **dependent clause** in a **hypotactic** relation. There is an example of a projected dependent clause in l.8:

it appears // that certain white men were sneered at as blacklegs//
men [...]

mental process	projected	dependent clause
-----------------------	------------------	-------------------------

Projected clauses can also be **non-finite** as in the examples from 1.68-69:

The MUE called upon its members// to side with the masters// and endeavour //

sayer	verbal process	receiver	material process	prepositional phrase	linking conjunction	mental process
dominant clause			non-finite	dependent	projected	clauses

to run the mines // and publicly condemned our propaganda

material process	goal	linking conjunction	adjunct	verbal process	goal
dependent	projected clause	independent clause			

I will conclude this section on the **logical function** by relating it to historical discourse in general. Above, I noted that in his text, Jones uses the **linking conjunctions**, *and* and *but* to create **cohesion** in his narrative. However, Martin (in Halliday & Martin, 1993) suggests that historical discourse draws not only on the narrative/ recount genre, but that from time to time it characteristically draws on the explanation or expository genre. In other words, historians do not only recount what happened, they also try to give reasons for why things happened; and as we saw above under nominalisation, they can be very abstract when doing so. Martin notes that when historians use nominalisations to realise the function of **processes** and **participants** in a clause, the reasoning (the logical meaning) of the text tends to be realised within the clause rather than between clauses through the use of conjunctions, as has been described above. This form of abstract writing buries the reasoning between clauses by nominalising events or processes as participants and by verbalising the logical relations between the events which now function as participants in a single clause. The explicit conjunctive relations between clauses are internalised as verbs (usually **relational processes**) between the participants (nominalisations) within the clause. In other words, the **experiential** function of the field takes over the reasoning function and so subsumes the **logical** function (Martin, J. in

Halliday & Martin, 1993:266). The following two examples from l. 29-31 and 88-91 in the Jones text help to illustrate Martin's point:

In 1918 the propaganda of the IWA, and the pressure of the rising cost of living, produced a formidable strike movement among the native municipal workers, and a general movement for the tearing up of passports. (l.29-31)

The logical reasoning here is (a + b caused c + d). The activity of the IWA has been nominalised as *the propaganda* and so the human participants are no longer directly represented. The *propaganda* and the *pressure* are represented as the **actors** of the **process produced**, which implies but does not make explicit the causal relation. Likewise, the result of these two "factors", *a strike movement* and *a general movement* are represented as nominal groups and the latter, the human participants, (presumably *natives*) are hidden in the nominalisation. The preposition *for* in the prepositional phrase *for the tearing up of passports* implies a relationship of purpose, but it conceals who does the *tearing up*.

The national and class interests of the natives cannot be distinguished the one from the other. Here is a revolutionary nationalist movement in the fullest meaning of Lenin's term. (l. 89-91)

The reasoning here is simply (x = y). The congruent meaning is this: there is a group of "natives" mobilising to free themselves from colonial domination and there is a group of "native" workers mobilising to free themselves from capitalist exploitation. In the South African context, these two groups are destined to come together, because their interests (and enemies) coincide. The **nominalisation** *national and class interests* represents these **processes** as **participants** and the logical relation of equivalence is implied in the **relational process** *cannot be distinguished*. The nominalisation *a revolutionary nationalist movement* serves to fuse two processes into one thing which can now be represented through an **existential process**, *Here is*. Lenin's ideology has been imposed on the social reality by the writer and an historical "fact" has been invented which of course serves to prove the claims of the ideology.

It is when Jones departs from his characteristic recount genre and moves to a higher level of abstraction to the expository genre, that he tends to select this pattern within the lexico-grammar. This is particularly the case when he employs the abstract nominalisations of Marxist-Leninist discourse to explain events in terms of its ideology.

Finally, an analysis of the **field of discourse** should enable one to state clearly the short and long term goals of the text. For example, in the analysis of the Jones text, I conclude that the short term goal of the text was to convince the original audience, the Third International, to commit human and material resources to support the ISL and IWA in South Africa; whilst the long term goal may have been to give an account of South African politics in terms of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

3.3.2 The Tenor of Discourse: the Clause as Exchange

As explained in 3.2.2 above, the **tenor of discourse** is that aspect of the **context of situation** of a text which is realised in **the interpersonal meanings**, that is, it refers to the relationships between the interlocutors of the text. When investigating the **tenor of discourse**, one analyses the clauses in the text as interactive events between the speaker or writer and their audience. These meanings in turn are realised in aspects of the lexicogrammar, some of which I illustrate below. There are two aspects of **tenor** which I deal with in turn. The first concerns the kind of interaction which is taking place, which is dealt with under **mood**, and the second concerns the way in which speakers/ writers take a position (take a definite stand in what they say or write) and set up positions for the **participants** and listeners/ readers of their texts. As Halliday explains,

“In the act of speaking, the speaker adopts for himself a particular speech role, and in so doing assigns to the listener a complementary role which he wishes him to adopt in his turn”
(1985: 68)

Mood

We saw under **field** in 3.3.1 above, that in relation to the **ideational function** of language, the main **experiential** and **logical** meanings are realised in the **transitivity system** which allows the writer to signal the relationships between

the **processes, participants and circumstances** of clauses. In relation to the **interpersonal function** of language, the weight of the meaning making is also carried by the grammar of the clause. The two grammatical elements which carry the main burden of **interpersonal** meanings are the **subject** and the **finite** (Butt et al, 1995:66). Together these two elements form the **mood** of the clause and together they express a proposition which can be affirmed or denied. In English it is the order in which the **subject** and **finite** combine which gives us a clue as to the kind of exchange that is taking place between the two parties involved in the interaction.

The **finite** has a number of functions; it is that part of the verbal group which encodes **primary tense** (that is, time in relation to the speaker, it tells us whether the event contained in the verbal group is in the past, present or future from the writer/ speaker's point of view). But apart from this, in English, the present tense can also be used to express universal truths and habitual practices. Alternatively, the **finite** can be used to encode the writer/ speaker's judgement or opinion about the proposition contained in the clause (that is, when it functions as a **modal finite** it signals **modality**) (Butt et al, 1995:67). The **finite** also carries agreement with the subject in terms of person and number (we see this most clearly in the verb *to be*). Through these functions the **finite** ties the verb to its subject so that the speaker or writer's position in relation to the proposition in the clause is expressed and this in turn becomes debatable (Butt et al, 1995: 80). The **finite** is always the first element in the verbal group. If there is only one element in the verbal group, then the **finite** is mapped onto the **predicator** and has to be inferred.

All clauses in English have either **positive** or **negative polarity**. Positive polarity is assumed and so is not shown in the grammar. If the clause is negative, then this is usually indicated in the second element of the verbal group, after the **finite**, (for example, *has not*). This **polarity** allows the writer to take up a position, that is, to assert a proposition or quarrel or disagree with it. With the **finite** and the **subject**, **polarity** forms the core of what Halliday terms the **mood block**.

The **subject** is the nominal group responsible for the action in the verbal group or as Halliday puts it, “the entity in respect of which the assertion is claimed to have validity” (1985: 76). Halliday suggests that if one isn’t sure what are the **subject** and **finite** in a clause, then one should use a tag question to find out, for example, if we take the first rather long sentence in the Jones text,

A formal statement of the various categories of native labour and the true Communist policy towards the native workers has been prepared by Comrades S.P. Bunting and accepted by the International Socialist League,

and add the tag question *hasn't it?* this gives us the clue that the *it* refers to the **subject**, that is, *a formal statement* and the *has* is the **finite** in the verbal group *has been prepared* and it is understood to be the **finite** in the second verbal group (*has been*) *accepted*. (Under **mode**, we shall see that in English, as in the sentence above, the **unmarked** form in **declaratives** (statement type clauses) is for the **subject** to be placed first in the clause, that is, to function as the **theme**).

Together the **subject** and the **finite** (and the option of negative polarity) express the proposition which the speaker/ writer is offering in the interactive event. In an offer the **subject** is typically the speaker, in a command, the **subject** is typically the addressee (see **imperative** mood below) and in statements and questions, the **subject** is that element responsible for the validity of the information (see **declarative** and **interrogative** mood below). Here is an example from 1.31-32 of the Jones text, illustrating how one might analyse a **clause complex** for the realisation of **interpersonal** meanings:

<i>Hundreds of natives</i>		[[<i>who</i>		<i>had</i>	<i>burned</i>	<i>their passes</i>]]	
subject	[[subject		finite	predicator	complement]]		
mood	mood		block	residue			
<i>were</i>		<i>jailed</i>	<i>everyday //</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>became</i>	<i>full to bursting //</i>
finite	predicator	adjunct	conjunction	subject	finite/predicator	adjunct	
mood	residue						

We can see from the example that together the **finite** and the **subject** form the **mood block**. Anything else in the clause is considered less important to the

analysis and is termed the **residue**. The **predicator** is the rest of the verbal group, the **non-finite** element of the verbal group for example, *burned* and *jailed*, including other auxiliaries (for example, *been* in the very first example above). In **field** the **predicator** specifies the type of **process** and under **mode** the **predicator** specifies the **voice** of the verbal group, that is, whether it is active or passive. Nominal groups other than the **subject** (usually the object) are called the **complement** because they complete the argument set up by the clause. **Complements** are typically those elements which have the potential of being the **subject**, but are not. Adverbial and prepositional groups (which would be analysed as **circumstances** in the **experiential** function) and which do not have the potential of being the **subject** of the clause are termed **adjuncts**.

Having established the basic grammatical categories for analysing **interpersonal** meanings in FSG, we can now explore how these function in a communicative interaction. Halliday (1985:68) suggests that at the semantic level, two of the most basic distinctions to be made about language used in interaction is firstly whether the speaker is giving or demanding something from the listener and secondly, whether the interactants are using language to exchange (give or demand) goods and services or to exchange information. These are **interpersonal meanings** which are realised at the lexicogrammar in the following ways: the giving of information usually takes the form of a statement (the **declarative mood**), the demanding of information usually takes the form of a question (the **interrogative mood**), the demanding of goods and services usually takes the form of a command or order (the **imperative mood**) and there is no usual way of giving goods and services (often an offer or proposal in the indicative) (Butt et al, 1995: 64). Halliday (1985: 70) explains that language has developed special grammatical resources for the exchange of information, as opposed to language for the exchange of goods and services, because in the latter the point of the exchange is non-linguistic, whilst in the former language is both the means and the goal of the exchange. In English it is the order in which the **subject** and **finite** combine which gives us a clue as to the kind of exchange that is taking place, that is, which tell us the **mood** of the clause. Although there

is no one to one relation between the **interpersonal meanings** and the lexicogrammar, the usual pattern is as follows:

type of exchange	order of subject & finite	mood
giving information	subject before finite (<i>you are</i>)	declarative
demanding information	finite before subject (<i>are you?</i>) if a wh- element is subject, subject before finite (<i>who is?</i>)	polar interrogative wh- interrogative
demanding goods & services	usually no subject & no finite (<i>march!</i>) either may be optional, (<i>do march/ you march</i>)	imperative
giving goods & services	no regular grammatical form (e.g. <i>I will, shall I?</i>)	usually declarative/ interrogative

In historical discourse, the **mood** is overwhelmingly **declarative**, because the whole purpose of writing a history is to give information, the historian is giving his/ her interpretation of past events to the reader. The analysis of the Jones text confirms this generalisation, the **mood** is **declarative** throughout and the tense usually past, although the writer does occasionally select the present tense (and on one occasion the future) for expository and rhetorical statements. The mood often gives us a clue as to the societal roles adopted by the writer and reader (or speaker and addressee) of a text. For example, in the Jones text I noted that the writer takes on the role of authoritative informant. His audience are overseas socialists who are not familiar with the South African situation and so he is giving them information about socialist activities in this part of the world. In terms of status, Jones would have been accepted as an insider, a Comrade, but he held a relatively low status in terms of the Communist hierarchy and so the social distance between the writer and his intended audience is considerable. This is reflected in his adoption of a formal recount genre, in which his own personal role is back-grounded. However, in the analysis, I do also point out that he allows his personal attitudes to emerge in his positioning of the various participants in the text, which is not typical of the historical recount genre.

Positioning

This is the second aspect of the **tenor of discourse** which is realised in the **interpersonal** meanings of the text. In the context of this dissertation which is concerned to analyse historical discourse, it is important to note that it is precisely these **interpersonal meanings** of a text which traditional academic historical discourse claims to purge from its “objective” and “factual” accounts. However, the analyses in chapter 4 show that this possibility is an illusion. This leads me to the conclusion that it is not possible to deny the **interpersonal function** of language and that at best what one would expect of a “good history” is that it foregrounds clearly for the reader, the position from which the history is constructed and provides the reader with sufficient “evidence” or resources to show how the historian came to his/ her judgements and why the historian positions the other **participants** in the text in certain ways, rather than pretending that the historian takes no position at all (see chapter 2.2 for further discussion).

According to Butt et al,

“In any argument or quarrel about the information in a message, it is the relation between the **subject** and **finite** in the **mood** block which is at stake” (1995: 79).

If a speaker wants to disagree with a positive proposition contained in the **mood** block, all s/he needs to do is to insert a negative into the **mood block** after the **finite**, for example, we are familiar with childish “ding-dong” arguments which end up in *you did, I didn't, did! didn't!* oppositions. In trying to uncover a writer's position, it is important to note that in **non-finite** clauses, there is nothing to argue about. Because **non-finite** clauses are without subjects and not tied to the here and now, they are not open to debate, nor are they tied to a relationship in the present.

Modality

One of the ways in which speakers or writers take up a definite position with respect to their propositions is by encoding in the **finite** the time of the action relative to the time of speaking (that is, the primary tense). If there is no other **modality** apart from the encoding of **primary tense** in the **finite**, then this is a

signal that the speaker/ writer believes in and supports the proposition (Butt et al 1995: 81). For example, in the clause below from l.4-5, Jones is indicating his conviction that up until 1914, there were no strikes by native workers in South Africa:

<i>such a thing as a strike</i>	<i>was</i>	<i>unknown //</i>
subject	finite, encoding past tense	predicator

In this example, the negative polarity is carried in the predicator, *un-*. If a speaker wanted to contradict Jones, s/he could change the polarity by saying, *No! A strike was known to have occurred ...*and give the details.

However, speakers and writers often look for ways of expressing meaning which are somewhere between a definite yes and a definite no. The expression of how the speaker judges the certainty of a proposition, and all other signs of a speaker/ writer's opinion or judgement in a text is termed **modality**. Modality has a number of grammatical forms; we will look at each in turn.

Modal Finite

Modal finites are those finites which indicate that the speaker/ writer wants to modify the force or the certainty of a proposition. For example, *may, could, might* are **modal finites** expressing **low modality**; *will, shall, would, should* express **median modality** and *must, ought to, needs to has, had to* are **modal finites** expressing **high modality**. This expression of obligation is sometimes referred to as **modulation**.

Mood Adjunct

Mood adjuncts are those prepositional phrases or adverbial groups which express degrees of certainty, probability or usuality. They relate to the meaning of the finite and usually are placed before or after them. They are included in the **mood block** when carrying out an analysis of the **interpersonal function**. This function is sometimes known as **modalisation**. Here are two examples from the text, l.24 and 80:

<i>the question</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>not yet</i>	<i>irrevocably</i>	<i>put</i>
subject	finite	negative primary tense	mood adjunct	predicator

<i>the role (...)</i> [[<i>which</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>normally</i>	<i>tries //</i>	<i>to assume]]</i>
relative pronoun	subject	mood adjunct	finite/predicator	non-finite predicator

Comment Adjuncts

These **adjuncts** (adverbial or prepositional phrases) are not part of the **mood block** or the **residue** (the rest of the clause) because they do not contribute to the making of a proposition. They stand outside the proposition and express the speaker/ writer's attitude towards the proposition realised in the clause. **Comment adjuncts** are included in an **interpersonal** analysis because they are an expression of the writer's position or attitude towards the things and ideas expressed in the text. Here the examples from the Jones text, 1.17 and 1.84, express the writer's different attitudes towards the two African organisations represented in the text. The first example expresses his positive attitude towards the IWA, whilst the second expresses his negative attitude towards the SANC:

<i>It</i>	<i>held</i>	<i>meetings</i>	<i>regularly //</i>	<i>and</i>
subject	finite/predicator	complement	comment adjunct	conjunction

<i>the message</i>	<i>of working class emancipation</i>	<i>was</i>	<i>eagerly</i>	<i>imbibed</i>
complement	prepositional phrase	finite	comment adjunct	predicator

<i>the Congress</i>	<i>draws back</i>	<i>timidly</i>
subject	finite/predicator	comment adjunct

Attitudinal Epithets

These are adjectives which are not part of the **mood block-residue** structure, but nor are they part of the **experiential** meaning of a text. They are lexical choices (adjectives) which are mapped onto **experiential** meanings to express the speaker/ writer's attitudes and values. These choices often give us a very good idea of the writer's position towards and positioning of the participants in the text. For example, Jones represents the employers in his text as *capitalist oppressors* 1.21 and the police as *armed thugs of the law* 1.57, responsible for

bloody incidents l.56. He describes the ordinary “natives” as *backward brethren* l.19, *illiterate labourers* l.23 and as *raw recruits* l.51. He describes the SANC as a *small coterie of educated natives* l.81-2 and as *black-coated respectables* l.87-8. In the analysis of the text, it becomes clear how these attitudes are consistent with the discursive practice of Marxist-Leninism, the ideology / position from which the writer makes his judgements.

Modal Grammatical Metaphor

This is the term given to the use of a whole clause to express the speaker/ writer’s judgement or opinion about the proposition in a neighbouring clause, when this could be expressed within the neighbouring clause by means of a **modal adjunct**, for example, *probably*. A **modal grammatical metaphor** often takes the form of a **mental process** with a **projected clause**. In the Jones text, the writer uses **grammatical metaphor** to distance himself from the uncertainty about the proposition expressed in the clause that follows by the use of the impersonal *it*, for example, l. 8 and 11:

<i>(but) it</i>	<i>appears //</i>	<i>that certain white men</i>
empty subject	finite present tense/ predicator	projected proposition
<i>(and) it</i>	<i>seems //</i>	<i>to have dawned (then)</i>
empty subject	finite present tense/ predicator	projected proposition

To conclude this section on the **tenor of discourse**, it is necessary to point out that in its foregrounding of **interpersonal** meanings, the Jones text is not typical of academic historical discourse. In the analysis of the Jones text, I suggest that this is because the writer is drawing not only on the genre of narration or recount, but also on the hortatory and expository genres. In other words, his purpose is to convince his audience of the correctness of his political analysis and to persuade the Comintern to support the ISL and the IWA with human and financial resources; it is not just to give them an account of what happened.

3.3.3 The Mode of Discourse: the Clause as Message

The **mode of discourse** is that aspect of the **context of situation** which is realised in the **textual meanings** of the text. The concern here is with how language is used to organise the text so that the wordings or lexicogrammar of the **ideational** and **interpersonal meanings** are organised into a linear and coherent whole, that is into a text. According to Halliday (1985), the **texture** of grammar has two groups of resources with which to realise **textual meanings**, these are **structural** and **cohesive**.

Structural Resources

These are the grammatical resources used “to signpost the way through clauses, clause complexes and paragraphs, from the beginning to the end of a text” (Butt et al, 1995: 90).

Theme and Rheme within the Clause

The structural organisation of the clause in English is realised by position in the clause, that is by what is placed first. That which comes first in the clause is called the **theme** and it is used to signal to readers/ listeners what is the writer/ speaker’s starting point, and what the clause is going to be about. The rest of the clause is called the **rheme**; this corresponds to what the writer considers to be interesting or important or what s/he assumes that reader wants to know. The writer’s selection of **theme** realises **textual meaning** because it signals the writer’s starting point in the development of meaning in the clause. The division between **theme** and **rheme** always comes after the first element in the clause expressing **experiential meaning**, that is, the whole nominal, verbal adverbial group or prepositional phrase which fills the first **participant**, **process** or **circumstance** slot in the clause. Here are two examples of the **theme/ rheme** division from 1.4 and 5-6 in the Jones text:

<i>Before the war</i>	<i>no trade union movement existed (..)</i>
theme	rheme
<i>The first move in the direction of organised revolt</i>	
<i>was</i>	<i>a strike (..)</i>
theme	rheme

Mood and Unmarked and Marked Themes

In FSG, the term **unmarked** means “the most expected, common and unremarkable case” and the term **marked** means that which “is unusual and should be noticed because of the way it stands out” (Butt et al., 1995: 95). FSG is based on the premise that all choices are meaningful, so when carrying out a **textual** analysis, one should note the pattern of **marked themes** in the text and look for the purpose in the writer’s thematic patterning. **Marked themes** cannot be determined without reference to the **mood** of the clause; in English, different **moods** prescribe different positionings for the **subject** and **finite** and so this affects what can be considered to be the **unmarked thematic position**. In the **declarative mood**, **actor**, **subject** and **theme** are all mapped on to the same nominal group, so that the **subject** takes the **unmarked thematic** position (called the **topical theme**), (see the example above where *the first move in the direction of organised revolt* is subject of the clause and is the topical theme). In the **declarative mood**, a **theme** which is something other than the **subject** of the clause is a **marked theme**, (see for example *Before the war* in the first example above). In the **interrogative mood**, in a **polar interrogative**, the **unmarked** form would be the **finite** and **subject** in **thematic** position and in a **wh-interrogative**, the **wh-word** takes **unmarked thematic** position. In the **imperative mood** it is the **predicator** which takes the **unmarked thematic** position. Historical discourse is principally written in the **declarative mood**, and so in this account, I shall only give attention to **unmarked** and **marked** themes in the **declarative mood**. Here are examples from the Jones text: l. 14-15 is an example of an **unmarked theme**, l.42, l.82 and l.23-4 are examples of **marked themes**.

A number of the more industrialised natives of Johannesburg *were enrolled* *into the Union*

subject	finite	predicator	adjunct
unmarked theme	rheme		

In the Cape Province *the natives* *are* *more advanced politically*

adjunct	subject	finite/	predicator	adjunct
marked theme	rheme			

<i>But</i>	<i>to obtain</i>	<i>these, //</i>	<i>the mass</i>	<i>cannot be moved</i>
conjunction	predicator	complement	subject	verbal group
marked theme			rheme	

<i>For the native of Africa,</i>	<i>and the white too for that matter,</i>	<i>the question</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>not yet</i>	<i>irrevocably</i>	<i>put</i>
prepositional phrase	comment adjunct	subject	finite	negative	mood adjunct	predi- cator
marked theme		rheme				

Voice and Marked Themes

The writer's choice of **voice** also affects the choice of **theme**. In the **active voice**, the **unmarked** choice of **theme** is for the **actor** and **subject** of the **process** to be placed in **thematic position**. However, when the **passive voice** is selected, the **actor** of the **process** is placed after the verbal group and so cannot function as **subject** or as **theme** of the clause. Instead the **goal** is often placed in **thematic position**, which is therefore a **marked theme**. In the analysis of the Jones text, I noted that there is a **thematic** pattern in which Jones tends to place the *natives* and *workers* in **thematic position**, even when they are the **goals** of actions/ **processes** carried out by the government, police or state officials. Here is an example from l.33:

<i>Gatherings of native men and women</i>	<i>were clubbed down</i>	<i>by the mounted police</i>
goal/ subject	material process, passive voice finite predicator	circumstance/ adjunct
marked theme	residue	

The effect of this pattern is to foreground what was done to the natives and workers and to background the government and its agents as the actors of this history.

Multiple Themes

Here we need to remember Halliday's insistence that any clause is the product of three simultaneous semantic processes, a representation of experience, an interactive exchange and a textual message, that is, a clause simultaneously realises all three of the **metafunctions** of language, the **ideational**,

interpersonal and **textual**. This fact is evidenced in the structuring of **themes**. We have already noted that a **theme** must include the first element of the **ideational** function in the clause; however, **experiential** meanings are often prefaced with groups or phrases which realise **textual** and **interpersonal** meanings, as we have seen in the examples above. The sequence of elements in a **theme** is typically **textual**, **interpersonal** and then **ideational** (any further **ideational** element is always in the **rheme**). **Themes** realising **ideational** meanings are called **topical** themes, **themes** realising **textual** meanings are called **textual** themes and those realising **interpersonal** meanings are called **interpersonal** themes. A **multiple theme** is one which contains **textual** and/ or **interpersonal** theme(s) as well as the **topical theme** (Butt et al, 1995: 92).

A **textual theme** often has a **cohesive** function, in that it serves to make connections between the new clause and the previous one(s). The pattern of **textual themes** of a text often give us a clue as to the overall purpose or **genre** of a text. For example, in the third clause above, *But to obtain these* is a **marked multiple theme**. *But* is the first element of a **textual theme**, it is a **conjunction** which always takes obligatory first place in a clause. The rest of the **textual theme** *to obtain these* is a **dependent clause** which is made up of a **predicator** and a **complement**. The **complement**, *these* is performing the cohesive function of **anaphoric reference** (that is, it is referring back to *civil equality and political rights* mentioned in the previous clause. The writer's placing of this **dependent clause** in **thematic** position emphasises the importance that the writer attaches to the means of gaining these rights and his belief that the SANC will not be able to obtain them without forming an alliance with the working class. The **conjunction** *But* also performs a wider textual function. We noted earlier under **logical relations**, that this text has a **paratactic** pattern of **textual themes** in which *and* and *but* are frequently the textual themes (**linking conjunctions**) used to link clauses together. I noted in the analysis of the Jones text that the effect of this is to create a developmental sequence between the events represented in the text, which is interrupted by setbacks which are signalled by those clauses introduced with a *but*. This thematic pattern indicates that the Jones text is an exemplar of the narrative or

recount **genre**, whose purpose is to give information (an account of what happened) to the reader.

In the second example above, from 1.42, *In the Cape Province*, is a prepositional phrase in **marked thematic** position. This phrase carries **ideational** meaning and is therefore not a **multiple theme**. However, in the text as a whole, there is a pattern of **marked themes** such as this one, which signal circumstantial meanings of time and place. The frequent use of these **marked themes** referring to time and place simultaneously serve a **textual** function by creating **cohesion** between the clauses of the text in a way which scaffolds the development of the narrative.

Clauses can also begin with **interpersonal** meanings, and as we noted above, the **unmarked** form for **polar interrogatives** is to place the **finite** followed by the **subject in thematic position**, which indicates that the speaker is demanding information. **Mood** and **comment adjuncts** can also function as **interpersonal themes** and serve to indicate the position which the speaker/ writer is taking. In the last example from 1.23-4 quoted above, the **comment adjunct**, *and the white too for that matter*, is an **interpersonal theme** in a **multiple theme** structure. Here the normal sequence is not followed, *For the native of Africa*, a **marked topical theme** is followed (rather than prefaced) by an **interpersonal theme**. This is probably because it is added as an afterthought. The inclusion of this **interpersonal theme** indicates the writer's theoretical/ ideological position in which the African working class is seen as the revolutionary class, but he also wants to remind his audience of the theoretical possibility that the white working class may also join "the struggle".

Structural Resources continued: Theme and Rheme within the Clause Complex, Paragraph and Text

The notions of **theme** and **rheme** can be extended so that their functions can be analysed at the higher levels of **clause complex**, paragraph and the text as a whole. At the **rank** of **clause complex** this means that the first clause in the complex is regarded as **thematic**. For example, in the analysis of the example

from l. 82 quoted above, *But to obtain these, the mass cannot be moved (...)*, the whole **dependent clause**, *But to obtain these* was treated as **theme** for the **independent clause** which follows. This pattern is repeated at the level of the paragraph, where the first clause or sentence can be considered to thematic, that is, it expresses the writer's point of departure for what comes next in the paragraph. Likewise at the level of the whole text, the first paragraph often serves to frame the rest of the text and establish the writer's starting point.

Thematic Progression

Here we shall examine how the **themes** and **rhemes** of a text tend to structure the development of its meanings.

“If the Theme is the signpost for a ‘speaker’s point of departure’, then each Rheme is the temporary destination” (Butt et al, 1995: 98).

We have already noted that in the **unmarked** form, the **theme** serves as the starting point of the clause, clause complex, paragraph or text, it tends to contain the meanings which the writer considers to be **given**. The **rheme** typically contains the **new** meanings, that which the writer is offering to the reader as new information. If the **new** element is mapped onto the **theme**, then it is considered to be a **marked** form.

The development of texts is often signalled by the writer by the placing of elements from the **rheme** of one clause into the **theme** of the next clause, so that what was **new** now becomes ‘**given**’ this is sometimes referred to as the **linear theme pattern**. Alternatively, elements from the **theme** of one clause are repeated in the **themes** of subsequent clauses to help the reader follow the development of the text, this is called the **constant theme pattern**. Other common patterns of **thematic drift/ progression** which have been identified are the **split rheme pattern** where the different elements stated in a **rheme** each in turn become the **themes** of subsequent clauses; and the **derived thematic pattern** in which terms used in an earlier **theme** are **cohesively** linked in meaning to subsequent themes. Both of these latter patterns can be used to demonstrate the hierarchical structure of a text. An analysis of the **thematic drift** of a text enables one to study the accumulated meanings of the text by

studying the patterning of **themes** and **rhemes** through the text. For example, in the analysis of the Jones text I noted that blacks, workers and the IWA in particular tended to be placed in **topical thematic** position, because the writer was concerned to write a history about these groupings. There is also a pattern of **circumstances of location** placed in **marked thematic** position which is typical of historical discourse; the specification of time and place is used to scaffold the narrative. I also noted a pattern of **marked textual themes** through the use of the **linking conjunctions** *and* and *but* which function to link the events together or to mark setbacks and problems. The overall function of these choices of **theme** and **rheme** in the text is to create **coherence** for the reader. We will now look at the way in which this **thematic structure** of the text is supported by the **cohesive** components of the grammar.

Cohesive Resources

A piece of language is said to have **texture** (that is, to function as a text) if it has **coherence**, (that is, if it makes sense) and if it has **cohesion** (that is, if the language hangs together). We have explored the creation of **coherence** under **thematic progression** above. We will now turn to the **cohesive** resources of English grammar which function to create a linear text by relating the language and meanings of the text to other parts of the text which have gone before, or are to come and also to meanings which are understood to exist outside of the text. Halliday (1985) identifies four **cohesive** components in the grammar, **reference**, **ellipsis** and **substitution**, **conjunction** and **lexical cohesion**. I will deal with each in turn:

Reference

Reference is a **cohesive device** used to refer to something in the text which has been mentioned before, and is therefore assumed by the writer to be understood. There are two kinds of **reference**, **exophoric reference** which refers to something which is outside of the text and **endophoric reference** which refers to something within the text. Within the latter a further distinction can be made between **anaphoric reference** (which points backwards to something mentioned previously in the text) and **cataphoric reference** (which points forwards to something which is still to come in the text.) In the Jones

text, the writer uses **exophoric reference** particularly to refer to concepts within Marxist-Leninist discourse with which he assumes that his audience are familiar, for example his **reference** to *the Soviets and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat* l. 58-9, *'The International'* l.61 and *the fullest meaning of Lenin's term* l.91. His use of the definite article *the* before each of these terms suggests that they are represented as shared knowledge. **Endophoric reference** occurs when two or more expressions in a text refer to the same entity, but in the second and subsequent cases the nominal is not repeated but replaced by a pronoun or **determiner** for example. This forces the reader to mentally identify the nominal which is being referred to and to forces him/ her to make connections and find coherence in the text. Here are some examples from the Jones text: *Prior to that* l.9, *The Native Congress* l.73 ... *This* l.74 .. *It* l.77 ... *It* l.80. Halliday identifies three types of **endophoric reference**: **personal reference** which takes the form of pronouns or possessives, (see *It* above), **demonstrative reference** which takes the form of **adjuncts** and **determiners**, (see *Here is a revolutionary nationalist movement* l. 90-91, and *This* and *that* above). The third type of **endophoric reference** is **comparative reference**, for example: *In the Cape Province the natives are more advanced politically and more permanently settled in the European areas* l. 42-3, (which sets up comparison with the natives on the Rand, mentioned earlier in the text.)

Substitution and Ellipsis

Substitution, like **reference** is used when the writer wishes to avoid the repetition of a lexical item and so draws on the grammatical resources of the language. However, in **reference** there are two or more references to the same concept, whilst in **substitution**, a word or word group is replaced by another item. Here is an example from the text;

These were distributed in the mine shafts by Communist sympathisers among the miners. One or two were made the 'object of prosecution' by the police.
l.63-4.

The word group *One or two* replaces/ substitutes the word group *Communist sympathisers*. The two word groups do not mean exactly the same thing, but the reader understands that the writer means *one or two of the Communist sympathisers*.

Ellipsis occurs when an item or items are omitted altogether because they can be understood from what precedes. The receiver of the message is forced to search for what has been elided and to make connections with what has gone before. Like items of **substitution**, items of **ellipsis** may be nominal, verbal or clausal groups.

Conjunction

Conjunction refers to the **cohesive ties** formed by **conjunctions** (linkers and binders) and **conjunctive adjuncts** which function to join two clauses of a text together and at the same time to indicate what type of relationship is operating between the elements being joined. Halliday identifies four main classes of **cohesive conjunction**: **additive** (for example *and it seems to have dawned then, l.11*), **adversative** (for example *but the chief native witness for the Crown broke down l.36*), **causal** (for example *Hence the government is dubious about the Congress l. 83-4*) and **temporal**, (for example *firstly, secondly* (no examples found in the text, maybe *Prior to that, l.9??*)). These conjunctions and conjunctive adjuncts all function to signal the direction of the argument for the reader.

Lexical Cohesion

This refers to the **cohesive** effect of the use of lexical items in a text where the choice of an item relates to choices which have gone before. These chains of meaning can be established by the use of **repetition, identity chains, synonyms, antonyms, collocation** and **general, summary** or **anaphoric nouns**. In the Jones text one can trace a **lexical chain** which runs through the text and refers in different ways to native workers and their trade union, for example,

native labour l.1, native workers l.2, trade union movement l.4, the native workers l.4, a strike of native workers l.5, the native workers l.10, the native l.12, workmate l.13, a native workers' union l.14 etc.

To conclude this section on the **mode of discourse**, we should note that in historical research, the primary sources or texts may be found in a variety of media such as oral tradition, film, newspapers, diaries and so on. Secondary

historical texts are characteristically represented in written, formal, monologic form, in the recount or narrative genre. However, in the analysis of the Jones text, we saw that historical discourse also draws on the expository genre for explanation and that non-academic historical discourse may also draw on the hortatory and rhetorical genres for persuasion. In Martin's conclusion to his analyses of historical discourse (Halliday & Martin 1993, Chapter 11), he suggests that the dominant **genre** of historical discourse is the generalised **recount** which is primarily orientated to the **field of discourse** (see the historians' intuitive hunt for "the plot" described under 3.1 above). But Martin claims that in academic historical discourse, explanation and exposition, the **expository genre**, is embedded within the **recount genre**. The role of the historian is to construct a text which synthesises what happened (using the recount genre) with causes and explanations for these happenings (the expository genre). The historian's job is therefore to interpret rather than simply describe the past for present audiences and this is done through the construction of texts. Martin concludes that historical discourse is therefore more orientated to **mode**, that is, to the meanings which create a text or a document, than to the **experiential** meanings of **field**. He contrasts historical discourse with scientific discourse and explains that scientific discourse is used to build systems to explain reality (for example, taxonomies), whereas history functions as a text rather than as a system. Contrary to the empirical historians' desire to compare history with science, (see Chapter 2.2), Martin contrasts the two discourses thus,

"For the historian, texts interpret the world from a nominal point of view, while for the scientist they reconstruct the world as a place where things relate to things" (1993: 220).

3.4 A Characterisation of Historical Discourse in terms of Functional Systemic Grammar

I now draw together the features of historical discourse which I have suggested characterise the discourse in the sections above. We can safely generalise that in historical discourse, the role of language is typically constitutive of the activity

of “doing history” itself, that is, there is no other activity apart from the mental and intellectual activity of writing and reading the text. The doing of history is constituted by texts. But we should recall that although historical discourse is constitutive of the discipline, this is largely hidden because history uses “natural” everyday language with very little specialised terminology, and so successfully disguises the fact of its “constructedness”. Hayden White describes the practice of traditional history in this way,

“History is rather a craftlike discipline, which means that it tends to be governed by convention and custom rather than by methodology and theory and to utilise ordinary or natural languages for the description of its objects of study and representation of the historian’s thought about those objects, based on ‘research’ of the ‘primary sources’ and efforts to co-ordinate these with ‘secondary sources’.” (1995: 243)

Below I outline what I consider to be some the conventional features of academic historical discourse. In teaching practice and curriculum development within the traditionalist paradigm these features typically remain tacit and implicit. Firstly, under **field** we noted an orientation towards public events, that is, to happenings involving public **processes, participants and circumstances** which become “facts” constructed by the historian to back up the traditionally political, national or constitutional recount or narrative which is being constructed. When historians draw on these two genres, we saw that **circumstances of location** (specifying time and place) are often used in marked thematic position, to construct a chronology which scaffolds the development of the recount or narrative. With respect to the expository genre, we noted Martin’s analysis of abstraction in historical discourse, in which **attributive identifying and classifying relational processes**, often with **nominalisations** as **participants**, are used to generalise from the particular to the general or to assign **participants** to everyday classes of things. Thus, in contrast to scientific discourse which invents new systems of taxonomies to reconstruct reality, historical discourse tends to re-arrange old knowledge in new ways by setting up relationships between already known categories. Here we should note that historians often employ analogy and metaphor to do this. This means that the relations set up between the categories in historical discourse are often loose

and implicit. Furthermore, historical discourse establishes relations between known classes of things in very abstract ways, particularly through the use of **nominalisation**, such that the **logical** connections (usually casual reasoning) between clauses are realised, but buried in the (**relational**) reasoning within the clause. These **internal conjunctive relations** are typical of the abstract and implicit nature of historical argument and explanation.

Secondly, under **tenor of discourse**, we noted that historians are set up as authorities who are giving their readers information. The **mood** of historical discourse is therefore invariably **declarative** and the tense past. (The recount genre always uses the past tense and the narrative genre is typically in the past tense apart from the coda which may be in the present tense). In conventional academic histories **interpersonal** meanings, the position, subjectivity and interests of the historian, and his/ her positioning of the reader, are consciously suppressed and concealed so as not to “interfere” with a faithful rendering of a “factual” account. However, one of the central theses in this dissertation is that this attempt is illusory, and that historians should rather recognise the interpretative or hermeneutic nature of their discipline and be prepared to foreground **interpersonal** meanings. Furthermore, it is argued that FSG provides one technique whereby the **interpersonal** meanings of historical texts can be recovered and the positions of historians exposed.

Thirdly, as we have just noted under **mode** above, historical discourse draws mainly on two **genres**, that of **recount** (and sometimes narrative) with **exposition** embedded within it; that is, historical discourse is constructed as a recount of what happened and as an explanation for why it happened. Functional linguists, such as Martin (1993) and Butt et al (1995), have characterised the recount genre as follows: its purpose is to reconstruct past experiences by retelling events in the order in which they occurred, in order to inform or entertain the audience; its generic structure is simply: orientation, a series of events in chronological order, re-orientation; and its typical grammatical features are: it deals with individual participants, it follows chronological sequence in the past tense, it tends to use temporal conjunctions

or clauses and it uses marked topical themes (usually circumstances of time and place) to organise the development of the text. It may also be useful to note here their characterisation of the narrative genre, which is often used instead of the recount genre in historical discourse: its purpose is to tell a story in order to make sense of the events of the world and to instruct or amuse the audience; its generic structure is more complex than that of the recount: abstract (optional), orientation, complication, resolution, evaluation, coda (optional), (see my employment of the generic structure of narrative in the analysis of Text 3 in Chapter 4.3 below); its grammatical features are as for the recount genre, but in addition, it tends to use **material processes** in the complication and resolution stages, and **relational** and **mental processes** in the orientation and evaluation stages. Butt et al's characterisation of the exposition genre is as follows (1995: 147): its purpose is to advance or justify an argument; its generic structure is typically: position statement, justification (a series of arguments supported by evidence), summary (or recommendation); and its grammatical features are the use of human or non-human participants, (see the use of **nominalisations** below), the use of **mental** and **relational processes** (often modalised), the present tense and conjunctions showing reasons and conditions. Obviously, these are generalised characterisations of the features of the genres and historians employ them to suit their own purposes.

Furthermore, we noted above, that in the traditional, empiricist school of historiography, the historian's interpretation is presented as "the truth". In conventional academic historical discourse, this attempt to remain "true to the sources" is usually expressed by a display of evidence and sources via referencing, foot-noting and bibliographical conventions. This is in keeping with the aim of justifying arguments in the expository genre, noted above. This attention to evidence suggests an emphasis on the "factual" or field-creating function of historical discourse. But, following Martin (Halliday & Martin, 1993), I suggest that when working in the hermeneutic paradigm of knowledge construction, it is the textual and interpretative nature of historiography which should be emphasised.

When academic historical discourse conforms generally to the patterns described above, then I would consider the grammatical elements to be “unmarked”, that is to be safely within the conventions, rules and procedures of the discourse. To the uncritical reader, this usually has the effect of representing a seamless, factual, historical account. However, it is precisely when historical texts do not conform to these patterns and exhibit features and grammatical elements which transgress the authorised conventions, boundaries and limits of the discourse, (that is they exhibit “marked” features), that the texts become interesting. It is these ragged edges of the discourse, as well as the intrusion of other genres and discourses which give clues to the reader about the positioning of the author and about the meta-narratives and ideologies on which he/ she is drawing. Of course, if the text goes too far beyond the boundaries of the discourse, it may not be regarded as historical discourse at all, and will certainly not be recognised as such by the power-knowledge formations of academic history. But Foucault makes the point that discourses are unstable and fragile and that no discourse is monolithic. As well as exercising power, discourses always contain within them the possibility of resistance. The limitations and exclusions of a discourse can be used as points of resistance.

“Discourses are not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against it, ... Discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power, it reinforces it, but it also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it.” (Foucault, quoted in Young, 1981: 50-51).

So when analysing the historical texts which follow in Chapter 4, I move through each of the three functional aspects of discourse as described above, analysing the different lexicogrammatical elements and patterns through which the three metafunctions of language are realised. I use the hypotheses posited in the socio-historical analysis to help me to predict what meanings I should expect in the texts. I use the characterisation of historical discourse described above to help me predict what discursive and lexicogrammatical forms to expect. I pay particular attention to those aspects of the text where these

typifications are breached and where the writers depart from the unmarked features of the discourse.

In writing up the analyses, it would obviously be very tedious to account for all of the elements described in the grammatical account given above. Instead I attempt to write the analyses from the perspective of a discursive analysis, selecting only those aspects of the formal analysis which are marked and which provide evidence for the larger claims of the macro-analysis and for the final re-interpretation.

Chapter 4: Application of the Method of Critical Discourse Analysis to Historical Texts

In this chapter I present critical discourse analyses of four historical texts to demonstrate how the method of CDA using FSG outlined in Chapter 3 might be applied to historical studies. I also hope to demonstrate how CDA might provide a methodology for doing post-positivist history within the hermeneutic and critical paradigms of curriculum development, and in so doing provide a critical, socially and historically informed (re)interpretation of a text, supported by an analysis of the socio-historical context of the text's production and of the lexicogrammatical choices made by the writer of the text. Secondly, within the context of my staff development project, these analyses provided examples of the method for the historians to discuss and critique in our seminars. I was concerned to discover whether they found them plausible, convincing and accessible and whether my demonstration of the method convinced them of the possibilities of doing history in this way. I also intend these analyses to be used by the history staff in their Honours course as resources for students to study, as examples of how a CDA might be done. Thirdly, I used the textual data from these analyses as the basis for my design of the critical language awareness exercises for future students on the History Honours course. These are presented in Chapter 5.

I did not choose the four texts analysed here, they were pre-selected by the two historians responsible for the History Honours course entitled "Texts, Contexts, Conflicts: Struggles for Pasts in South Africa". They asked me to analyse these four texts for our seminars because they are key texts in the course and they intend to use them for detailed analysis with students in the future. The historians selected these four texts because the course focuses on two periods, the 1880s - the 1930s and the 1970s - the present. The first two texts, the Jones text and the Seme text were produced in the first period and the second two texts, the New Nation and the Walker text, were produced in the second period. Furthermore, all four texts construct histories about the same period, namely the

early twentieth history (although Seme's text is more wide-ranging). This means that interesting comparisons can be made between the different histories which the four texts construct (see discussion under 4.5 below).

Students on the course are only introduced to the analysis of historical texts mid-way through the course. Prior to that they are introduced to some of the key issues in historiography, for example, the need to understand the history of history-making, the close link between the construction of history and the politics of the period and ways in which political and social conflicts feed into the making of histories. As the course outline puts it "struggles in the present give rise to struggles for the past" (Wright, J. 1995). Students will also have thought about the multiple uses of history and its relation to culture, consciousness and social memory (as well as to politics). They will be familiar with the idea that history is constructed "from below" as well as "from above" and that these unofficial and informal versions of history often exist in tension with the dominant, official or "authorised" versions.

The historians therefore selected these four texts in order to demonstrate to students "the politics of history", that is the way in which a writer's contemporary context and his/ her political position shapes the production of history. This results in a variety of historical interpretations. As we shall see below, the Jones text represents one of the earliest examples of an emergent labour history, a school of South African historiography which became popularised only in the 1970s and '80s. The Seme text represents an early Africanist history; it is one of the earliest examples of the thinking of the black South African educated elite. It is also important in historiographical terms because it is one of the earliest examples of the emergence of an Africanist consciousness. (The fact that Seme was one of the founders of the ANC has of course increased the interest shown by historians in this, the first of his works to be published.) The New Nation text is an example of the popular histories which were produced in the period 1970 - the early 1990s, in the context of the anti-apartheid struggle and the "People's Education" movement. The Walker text represents an early feminist history. It is written by a white academic, but it

is an attempt to construct a history for black women and is therefore written in the interests of those “from below” in the context of the anti-apartheid struggle of the early 1980s. The text is important in the overall conception of the course because it introduces yet another recent school or tradition of historiography, feminist history. None of the texts represent the official or dominant histories of their times.

The historians also wanted to expose students to a variety of historical texts produced from both within and without the academy. The Jones text and the Seme text were produced from outside the historical profession and academy, whilst the New Nation and Walker texts were both produced within the academy, but not for academic audiences. In this sense, the Jones and Seme texts might be considered to be primary sources, whilst the New Nation and Walker texts are secondary sources. The range of historical texts represented here lends itself to interesting comparisons and contrasts between the texts, which the historians initiate with students on the course, (see the discussion under 4.5 below).

Before presenting my own analyses of the texts, I present a list of global questions which I formulated to frame my own analyses. (I provide the same set of questions for students in the CLA exercises in Chapter 5 to guide them in constructing their own re-interpretations of the texts):

- How has the context of the text’s production shaped the writer’s construction of history? What political and social struggles gave rise to its production?
- What do you think was the writer’s purpose in offering this particular interpretation of the past?
- How do you think the text was understood by its original, intended audience?
- What history or interpretation of the past does the writer construct in this text?
- What social relations and social identities does the text set up?

- What genres, discourses and meta-narratives does the writer draw on in his/her construction of the text?
- Whose interests does this particular construction of history serve?
- Does this text represent a particular historiographical tradition or school?
- Now give your own critical re-interpretation of the text. (You may want to contrast this with the way in which you think it was originally understood by its intended audience.) Explain what you think were (and are) the social, political and ideological effects of this text.

Line-numbered copies of each of the texts analysed can be found in the Appendices.

4.1 Text 1: Jones

D. I. Jones (1921)

Report on 'Communism in South Africa' in

South African Communists Speak: documents from the history of the South African Communist Party 1915 - 1980 (1981)

(London: Inkululeko) (pp. 51-54)

4.1.1 Socio-historical Analysis

The period in which this text is set (roughly 1910 - 1920), was one in which English and Afrikaner ruled for the first time over a 'united South Africa'. It was a period in which the capitalist and industrial economic system, begun by the mineral revolution, began to expand. The need for cheap unskilled black labour meant that the system of migrant labour expanded; the imposition of taxes and the removal of land under the 1913 Land Act meant that the traditional African economies could no longer sustain themselves without being supplemented by wage labour. This initially took the form of male migrant labour on the diamond and gold fields or farm labour on the white farms, but, increasingly during this period, domestic and other forms of unskilled and semi-skilled labour in the white towns became an option for both black men and women. Thus this period saw the beginnings of the formation of a permanent urbanised black working class, especially on the Rand. This trend was reinforced with the outbreak of WWI which meant that British imports to South Africa were restricted. New local factories developed and created more wage labour opportunities in the towns for whites and Africans. However, the racial division of labour was maintained because employers could not, or refused, to pay the wages required to sustain an African family in the towns. Thus higher-paid skilled positions, especially on the mines, were restricted to white workers and unskilled poorly paid work was done by unskilled African migrant labour. The principles of urban segregation and influx control were only imposed nationally in 1923 through the Native Urban Areas Act, but throughout the early twentieth century, the movement, settlement and wages of Africans were controlled through the harsh imposition of the pass laws by municipalities. During this period, the major causes of grievance amongst the black population were therefore the pass law system, inflation caused by the War and the failure

of their already pitiful wages to meet the rising cost of living. In this period the dominant ideologies were those of capitalism, white racial superiority and segregation.

David Ivon Jones, the writer of this text, was a socialist, who lived in South Africa from 1909 - 1920. He was part of a small minority, who, in 1915, broke away from the South African Labour Party to form the International Socialist League (ISL). Jones was one of the most active members of the ISL; he served as its first secretary and as the editor of its mouthpiece, the "International" (mentioned in the text in l.61) from 1915 - 1920. In July 1921 (shortly after Jones had left South Africa), the ISL merged with other revolutionary socialist groups to form the first South African Communist Party.

Through the 'International', Jones was concerned to address two issues: the need to end the war (WWI) and to form a new international, and the need to organise black workers. Unlike the Labour Party, Jones and other ISL leaders were convinced that the black workers of South Africa were the true "proletariat" and that they would become the driving force of the "class struggle". In October, 1915, Jones wrote in the 'International':

"An International which does not concede the fullest rights which the native working class is capable of claiming, will be a sham. ... If the League deal resolutely in consonance with Socialist principles with the native question, it will succeed in shaking South African Capitalism to its foundations. ... Not until we free the native can we hope to free the white." (quoted in Hirson & Williams 1995:151)

Thus between 1917 and 1919, Jones, with other members of the ISL, tried to form the "Industrial Workers of Africa" (the IWA), the first African trade union movement in the country. (Jones was responsible for writing the "manifesto" mentioned in the text, l.19; printed in the 'International' on 15/2/1918.) In an attempt to gain support from the white working class for their position, Jones wrote in the 22/2/1918 edition of the 'International',

"We are pro-working class, not pro-native ... we want the native workers to realise that it is their historic mission to bring about the emancipation of Labour." (quoted in Hirson & Williams 1995:186).

The text under analysis was completed by Jones on 29th March, 1921 in Nice, France. Jones was en route back to Wales when, for health reasons, he interrupted his voyage at Nice. He stayed there for some time and made contact with the local branch of socialists. There he wrote for them an 'expose of the political history of South Africa within the last ten years' which he entitled, 'Report on Communism in South Africa' (Hirson & Williams, 1995:203). It is not known whether his report was presented to the group in Nice or whether it was sent straight to Moscow or first to South Africa and then on to Moscow. However, it was presented to the Executive of the Third (Communist) International on behalf of the International Socialist League of South Africa in Moscow, June, 1921. Later, whilst in Moscow, Jones edited it for publication in the Russian newspaper, 'Moscow'. In the report Jones is concerned to argue a case for the Third International to take an interest in and to give support to the fledgling Communist Party in South Africa. In the opening section of the Report he describes the South African situation in the following way:

"South Africa, moreover is an epitome of the class struggle throughout the world. Here Imperial Capital exploits a white skilled proletariat side by side with a large native proletariat. Nowhere else in the proportions obtaining on the world scale do white skilled and dark unskilled meet together in one social milieu as they do in South Africa. And nowhere are the problems so acute of two streams of the working class with vastly unequal standards of life jostling side by side, and the resultant race prejudices and animosities interfering and mixing with the class struggle." (Jones in Inkululeko, 1981:41).

And in the concluding paragraph of the report he calls for support from the Third International:

"It will thus be seen that the ISL has a particularly heavy task falling upon the shoulders of a few militants who have stuck doggedly to it for over five years. The present writer, having also left Africa for the time being, feels it his duty to appeal for some reinforcements to the South African movement, and to urge that it should be more directly under the purview of the Third International. A few missionaries, revolutionists who need a spell of sunshine, would be very welcome. Primitive though they be, the African natives are ripe for the message of the Communist International. Speed the day when they too will march with 'the iron battalions of the proletariat'." (Jones in Inkululeko, 1981:56)

I conclude by summarising the writer's purpose in this text: He wanted to give his international socialist audience an historical account of the activities of the ISL in South Africa, which included the building of an African trade union movement. Jones also wanted to enlist the support of the Third International for the emergent South African Communist Party and so he was concerned to convince his audience of the achievements of the ISL under very difficult conditions; he wanted to publicise the extent of the opposition and brutality which they faced from the South African state and its organs and the ineffectiveness of rival African organisations such as the South African Native Congress (predecessor of the ANC).

Jones' report was reproduced in 1981 by Inkululeko Publications, London, in "South African Communists Speak". This book was published under the auspices of the South African Communist Party to record rather than to discuss and criticise its history of struggle in South Africa. The Introduction by Dr. Yusuf Dadoo is a rallying call to those on the left to continue "the struggle" against the apartheid government, in the tradition represented by the collection of documents in the book. Jones' document is published under Section 1 "Socialists and Internationals" which contains documents from 1915 relating to the emergence of the South African Labour Party, extracts from "The International", the formation of the International Socialist League, the Russian Revolution, and opposition to World War 1. An "Editorial Note" inserted just before the Jones text, explains that in 1920 the ISL adopted a resolution to join the Comintern, but conditions for affiliation were that there could only be one Communist Party in a country. In July 1921, after a period of difficult negotiations, the ISL united with other socialist organisations to form the Communist Party of South Africa which was accepted as a member of the Third International. Thus at the time of writing, (early 1921) Jones must have been aware of the difficulties that the ISL was experiencing in trying to unite various splinter socialist groups into one Communist party. This may have added to his desire to impress upon his audience the achievements of his own organisation, the ISL. We can assume that Jones' report was received sympathetically by its original and intended audiences; certainly his political analysis, using Marxist-

Leninist ideology and discourse, would have been understood and received with interest and approval - although his plea for human, financial and organisational support was not taken up in any substantial way.

The full text of Jones' report has the following sub-headings: Communism in South Africa, South African Populations, Industries, Political and Social Currents, Dutch Nationalism and the Native, British Chauvinism, Franchise Anomalies, White Labour Movement, the Era of Collaboration, Labour Aristocracy, Rural Movements, The South African Native, the Native Labour Movement, Native Political Leaders, Native Education, etc., the ISL and its Task. For the purposes of the History Honours course two sections are selected, "The Native Labour Movement" and "Native Political Leaders" because the former gives an historical account of the development of early black trade union activity and the crux of Jones' argument concerning the importance of developing an African trade union movement, whilst the latter represents his attitude to the emergent African National Congress.

4.1.2 Formal and Discursive Analysis

The Field of Discourse

The aspect of the situational context termed **field**, shapes or determines the way in which **ideational** meanings are represented in the text. It is therefore concerned with propositional meaning; with **processes**, **participants** and **circumstances**, that is, with the choices that the writer makes within the **transitivity system** of the grammar.

In the socio-historical analysis, I hypothesised that this text would be about the ISL's activities in South Africa, about its building of an African trade union movement in particular, and about the opposition which these organisations faced from the South African state. This hypothesis is confirmed by an analysis of the **processes** (verbs and verbal groups) and **participants** in the text. 60% of the **processes** in the text are **material processes**, the majority of which represent political and trade union activity and conflict, for example:

stop working l.11, had burned l.32, were jailed l.32, were clubbed down l.33, was charged l.34, were arrested l.35, were driven out l.38, was imprisoned l.45, rose l.47, tried to storm l.48, came out (on strike) l.54, hemmed in l.55, waged a war l.86.

The **actors** (those **participants** in **material process clauses** who “do” the action) are as follows:

- the ISL, comrades, communist sympathisers (9)
- the IWA, native workers, organised natives (8)
- the Government, the police, the Native Affairs Department (8)
- white workers (3)
- the Native Congress (2).

The writer’s choice of **actors** mean that the first three groupings are represented as being the main players in the history he constructs. (We shall see later under **tenor** and under **mode**, when discussing his use of the passive voice, that Jones’ patterns of linguistic choices foreground the second group).

However, the text is not only about the actions that the groupings mentioned above did to each other (**material processes**). It is also about the importance of socialist ideas and the formation of political organisations to carry forward those ideas. We noted in the socio-historical analysis, that one of Jones’ short-term goals in constructing this text, was to impress his international socialist audience and to elicit support from the Third International for his organisation and for the IWA. Other **material processes** and most of the **projecting processes** (most of which are **verbal processes**, verbs of saying) represent the spreading of ideas and political propaganda, which presumably would have been considered to be important activities by Jones’ intended audience; for example:

appeals had been made l.10, carried (the message) l.18, was issued l.20, calling upon l.21, reached l.22, was introduced and read l.22, produced l.30, printing l.58, were distributed l.63, gave (publicity) l.67.

A further group of **material processes** in the text have to do with political affiliation and membership of political organisations for example,

made (an attempt to form) l.14, were enrolled l.15, has been formed l.40, has spread l.40, to side l.68, composed of l.74, are subsidised l.76, will dominate or displace l.89.

A large number of **processes** represented in this text are **relational processes** (expressing relations of being, identity, attribute, circumstance and possession). This is typical of historical discourse which seeks to set up relations between classes of things and to relate the particular to the general (see Chapter 3.4); for example, *the native was really a kind of workmate l.12-13*, and *Here is a revolutionary nationalist movement l. 90*. The writer also uses **relational processes** to construct a description of the social and political conditions of the time and to comment on the **processes** and **participants** he is describing, for example:

the natives were more advanced politically l. 42-3, the Government is dubious about the Congress l.83-4.

The remaining group of **process** represented in the text are **projecting processes** projecting **mental processes** (processes which express states of mind or psychological events). Most of these have to do with consciousness raising, for example:

to have dawned l.11, was imbibed l.17,18, draw away (hopes) l.27, dawned upon l.28, grasped l.85.

We have seen thus far that the writer selects a predominance of **material** and **verbal processes** to represent the **ideational meanings** in this text. This is what one would expect of historical discourse, for the recount genre typically used in historical writing is characteristically about actions and events in the political arena, retold in chronological order. The writer's use of the recount genre is further evidenced by his use of many **circumstances of location** (adverbial and prepositional phrases concerning location and time). Here are some examples from the text:

Before the war l.4, on the dumping machinery of the Van Ryn Gold Mine in December, 1915 l.6,7, Prior to that, in the 1913 revolt of the white workers, l.9,10, of the Kleinfontein mine l.10,11, In 1917 l.13, in the mine compounds l.23, In 1918, l.29; of Johannesburg l.38,39; to Capetown, l.39; to Bloemfontein l.41; In the Cape Province l.42; in the European areas l.43; of the Port Elizabeth native workers l.44,45; last August l.45; on the Rand in March, 1920, l.50, 51; From the tribal territories from Zululand, Basutoland, far-away Blantyre and Portuguese Africa, l.51,52; to the number of 80,000 l.54; in their compounds l.55; in the general elections l.58; in the various Provinces l.73,74; for the whole Union l.74; in the various provinces, ... in Johannesburg, ... in Natal, etc. l.77,78.

Here we see the writer's concern to use spatial and temporal terms which are definite and specific and his use of chronology to scaffold the recount; this implies that he set out to give his readers a precise and accurate account using the recount genre; or more cynically, that he supplied plenty of "facts" to back up his construction of history.

In representing the different **participants** and **processes**, the writer makes use of several specialised terms taken from socialist/ communist discourse, for example:

*comrade l.2, 35, 47, blacklegs l.9. "Industrial Workers of the World" l.16, working class emancipation l.17, capitalist oppressors l. 21, **The Capitalist Press** l.66, bourgeois l.46, **the Soviets** and **the Dictatorship of the Proletariat** l.59, "**The International**" l.61, national and class interests l.89, a revolutionary nationalist movement l.91, Lenin's term l.91.*

The writer uses these terms without further explanation of their meanings to the reader. The effect of the use of terms such as these on the positioned readership (that is, those who subscribe to the socialist ideology) is likely to be to convince them of the correctness of the writer's analysis, that is, of the ability of the "science" of historical materialism to provide a clear and accurate analysis of political events. Jones' frequent use of *the* (the definite article) at the beginning of many of these **nominal groups** implies that he assumes his ideology to be shared knowledge, that is, that the ideology and its terminology is **given**, and therefore does not require further explanation. (However, for a reader who is unfamiliar or resistant to socialist ideology the effect of the writer's choice of terms such as these, is likely to be one of alienation.)

From time to time, the writer interrupts his narrative to give an explanation of the events to his audience in terms of Marxist-Leninist discourse, for example, we see this pattern in

For the native of Africa, ...dawned upon him l.23 - 29, Trade unionism among the native workers makes the hair of the South African bourgeois stand on end l.45 - 46, But such is the division of labour ... without the other l.69 - 71, But to obtain these ... its own people l. 82 - 85, But the growing class organisations ... Lenin's term l.88 - 91.

In these examples, Jones is explaining why things happened rather than simply telling what happened, and here he draws on the expository rather than the

recount genre. This is a common feature in historical discourse (see Chapter 3.4). When explaining events or **processes** in terms of Marxist-Leninist discourse, the writer moves to a higher level of abstraction and there is a pattern of choice of **nominalisation** (in which a clause containing a **process** is **rankshifted/** downgraded to a **nominal group** or **phrase**). This is particularly the case when Jones chooses to represent human, historical processes as abstractions, for example:

class, class interest, industrial solidarity, working class emancipation, political and economic forces, trade unionism and revolutionary nationalist movement.

These **nominalisations** are represented as “things” which have agency in history. The effect of this pattern of **nominalisation** is to remove the **processes** involved in the abstractions and so to conceal human agency. This has the effect of making the writer’s truth claims seem like objective, external reality (see Mode below for further discussion).

Tenor of Discourse

The **tenor of discourse** shapes and determines the way in which **interpersonal meanings** are represented in the text. It is concerned with the social identities of the writer and audience, and of the participants in the text as well as the social relations between them, and with the writer’s attitude towards them. The **mood** determines the kind of interaction which is taking place between the writer and his/ her audience, whilst **mood adjuncts**, **comment adjuncts** and **attitudinal epithets** signal the ways in which the writer positions the various **participants** in the text.

In this text the writer is an informant, giving information to his fellow Communists overseas about the South African situation. He therefore sets himself up as an authority on his subject and expects that his report will be sympathetically received. He writes in a formal style, drawing mainly on the recount genre in which his own personal activities are backgrounded. This may be because he held a relatively low status in terms of the Communist hierarchy and because there was considerable social distance between himself and his intended audience. However, as we shall see below, Jones does allow his own

attitudes to emerge, particularly in his positioning of the **participants** in the text.

The recount genre is typically written in **declarative mood** and usually in the past tense. An analysis of the text confirms these expectations, for by far the majority of clauses are **declarative mood** and in the past tense. Some exceptions to this pattern are when the writer describes circumstances and phenomena which still exist and are still current at the time of writing for example, *are mostly raw recruits... all are here* l.51,52; and the section describing *The Native Congress* l.73 - 85. But apart from these exceptions, the pattern of his use of the present tense, and in one case the future tense, (still all **declarative mood**) is to make assertions and to express his own position on, and/or attitude towards the topic he represents. In these instances, one could argue that the writer is moving away from the recount genre and drawing on the genres of exposition and even of political rhetoric; the latter being characterised by the use of a variety of tenses, (although still predominantly **declarative mood**), cutting critique, high modality, value judgements and ideologically-laden expressions. The following examples illustrate the writer's use of the present tense, drawing on the genre of political rhetoric:

the question is not yet 'irrevocably put of bloody struggle or death' l.24; It is the era of awakening to the consciousness of class l.25; can.. stop .. can.. start l.71; cannot be moved l.82; But the growing class organisations of the natives will soon dominate or displace the 'Congress' l.88,89; cannot be distinguished l.90, Here is a revolutionary nationalist movement l.90.

These examples indicate a pattern of high modality in which the writer is asserting a certain ideological interpretation of the historical account. The last two sentences of the text are in the present tense and state his concluding proposition to his readers, namely that because class and national interests of black South Africans coincide, the situation is ripe for revolution l.89 - 91. This assertion is in keeping with the writer's purpose to argue for support for the fledgling revolutionary movement in South Africa.

I will now look at the writer's positioning of the different players represented in his history. I will look at the patterns of choices which he makes to describe

them, with a particular focus on his **naming**, his use of **person** (pronouns), **mood** and **comment adjuncts** (adverbs) and **attitudinal epithets** (adjectives).

a) The ISL and its members

Jones was undoubtedly anxious to represent his own work and his own organisation in a pleasing light to his comrades overseas. He uses the term *Comrade* in l.2, l.13, and l.34 to describe his fellow members of the ISL; within socialist discourse this is a term of equality, recognition and approval. His organisation, *the International Socialist League*, is mentioned as the subject of several clauses l. 25, 34, 57, 60, 65, usually in abbreviated form, *the League* or *the ISL*; the abbreviation encourages an attitude of familiarity which the writer expects his readers to share. In l.48, 49, Jones uses a quote (probably from the “Capitalist press”) *the ‘white agitators of the Rand’* to describe his comrades in a ‘tongue-in-the-cheek’ manner. This sarcastic use of one’s enemies terms is typical of political rhetoric. It is significant that Jones never uses the first person singular or plural (I or we) when writing about himself and his organisation; instead he often uses the **passive voice with deleted agent** to describe the activities of the ISL, for example *were enrolled into the Union l.15; was named the Industrial Workers of Africa l.15*. It is also interesting that his own activities are even more obscured. We know from Hirson and Williams (1995) that Jones was one of the *other members of the ISL l.13,14*; and that he was responsible for writing the text of *the manifesto to the workers of Africa l.20*, and yet he chooses the passive voice again: *A manifesto ... was issued in collaboration with the ISL l.20*. There are two possible interpretations of Jones’ insistence on writing in the third person and of his frequent use the agentless passive. Firstly, given the considerable social distance between the writer and the original audience, Jones may have hoped that the effect of these choices would be to encourage a reading of the text in which the text appears to be neutral, impersonal, objective and therefore true. Secondly, these choices may signal his intention to downplay the role of himself and the ISL in favour of foregrounding the role of the black trade union movement. This may have been for security reasons; (according to Hirson & Williams, the ‘International’ denied involvement in the 1918 - 1920 strikes for fear of legal action against members

of the ISL (1995:186)). But it is also likely that Jones backgrounded his own role and that of the ISL for ideological reasons; as a committed socialist, he would have rejected a 'great man' view of history, and would instead have subscribed to a view of history as being the product of more collective and abstract forces such as "the class struggle" which could result in spontaneous revolutionary uprisings. In this particular case, he was concerned to construct a history which portrayed the black working class as the driving force of historical change. I suspect that he subscribed to a vanguard role for white intellectuals such as himself; that is, that they were needed to provide intellectual and political leadership for the black working class. This interpretation is supported by Jones' call at the end of his report for the Third International to send 'a few advanced spirits from the upper crust of labour aristocracy' to lead black labour in South Africa (He also called for the establishment of a special African department with linguists and newspapers to support the vanguard's work) (Hirson & Williams 1995: 203).

b) The Government and its agents

In the text, Jones positions the South African government and its various agents - the law, the police, the press, the Native Affairs Department and the employers on the Rand, as the enemies of the ISL and the working classes. This interpretation is channelled by the following pattern of descriptions:

capitalist oppressors l.21; *bloody incidents* l.56; *armed thugs (of the law)* l.57; *The Capitalist Press* l.66; (capitalist is a negative epithet in the context of socialist discourse) plus the connotative meanings of the following lexical items - *clubbed down* l.33; *invented* l.37; *South African bourgeois* l.46; *massacre* l.48; *savagery* l.57; *masters* l.68.

The pattern of these choices force an interpretation in which, not only is the writer's attitude of dislike and disgust made clear to the reader, but the South African state and the Randlords are positioned negatively and in an antagonistic relation to the ISL and the trade unions such that the "struggle" of the ISL and its allies is made to appear morally just and heroic. Beneath this interpretation, of course, lies the Marxist-Leninist ideology (to which Jones and his intended readership subscribed) which sets up a dualistic social structure in which the working and capitalist classes are pitched against each other in an inevitable

“class struggle” - to be won by the workers. Jones’ text would have worked ideologically in its original socio-historical context, insofar as the social positioning and attitudes represented in the text, may have served to confirm and reinforce his readers’ ideology, values and beliefs.

c) The black working class and the IWA

Ironically, the writer’s attitude towards the “natives” in South Africa as represented in this text would not have been very different to that of the Christian missionaries of his time; for he was writing during the era of “high imperialism” when social Darwinism and racial prejudice were the the common sense of the age. The choices which he makes to describe the “natives” position them as “primitive” and as needing “upliftment” from their “tribal backwardness”, indicating a patronising attitude on the part of the writer. He would also have assumed that it was the role of the white vanguard to “uplift” them. Examples from the text which support this interpretation are as follows:

their more backward brethren l.19; illiterate labourers l.23; from the old tribal exploits with the spear and the assegai l.27,28; These mine natives are mostly raw recruits l. 51.

However, Jones along with contemporary socialist opinion, believed that once the natives became industrialised (and “proletarianised”) the skills required to operate machinery would civilise and educate them and prepare them to take on their historic role as the driving force of the class struggle. The writer’s belief in the emergent black trade union movement is supported by the following choices in the text in which he describes the black working class or the IWA:

more industrialised natives l.14, 15; It held meetings regularly, and the message ... was eagerly imbibed l.17; ardent little band l.18; a formidable strike movement l. 30; quickly grasped the difference between their trade union and the ‘Congress’ l.85,86.¹⁹

Also significant is Jones’ seemingly deliberate omission of the Industrial and Commercial Workers’ Union (ICU), referred to in l. 41 - 49, for example, *where a more permanent movement of native organisation has since been formed*

¹⁹ This last comparison and the rest of the sentence sets up an antagonistic relation between the Industrial Workers of Africa and the SANU, in which Jones credits the union with greater intelligence.

1.41. Both leaders of working class, popularist movements, Msimang and Masabalala, are mentioned in the text (see 1.42 and 45), but the fact that they linked up with Kadalie and the Cape Town ICU in Bloemfontein in 1920 to form a national trade union movement called the “Industrial and Commercial Workers’ Union of Africa” is not mentioned. We can only speculate the reason, perhaps Jones saw this movement as a threat to the smaller IWA, or maybe he refused to recognise it because it was a popularist movement rather than a trade union organised along classical shop floor structures. This latter interpretation is supported by his assertion that *the most portentous event so far 1.51*, was the 1920 Rand strike which was not organised by the ICU, and which in Communist terms, would have been recognised as a genuine strike by workers combining in the work-place.

According to Hirson & Williams (1995), the IWA was always a very fragile organisation; it was riddled with police informers and did not survive very long. However, this is clearly not the way in which it was represented by Jones in his writings. His representation suggests that he was determined to apply Marxism-Leninism to the South African context and to make the ideology fit the South African social reality. This ideological context forced him to make linguistic choices which reflected his hope and belief in the revolutionary role of the black working class. His possible exaggeration of the success of the IWA (and his deliberate backgrounding of competing organisations such as the ICU and the SANC) is also a consequence of the fact that he was drawing on two different genres in this text, the recount genre used in historical discourse to give a “factual” account and the genre of political rhetoric used to persuade and win support.

d) The South African Native Congress

In his report, Jones was one of the first radical observers of black South African politics to draw a distinction between the trade union movements of black workers and the elitist movement of the (S)ANC - and to criticise the latter for their reformist, anti-revolutionary programme, based on the hope of assimilation into the white middle classes. From the perspective of socialism, the middle

class on its own could never achieve complete revolution. (It was only in the 1940s through its militant Youth League, that the ANC came to adopt this position itself - leading to the somewhat fragile Tripartite Alliance today). The writer's scathing attitude towards the SANC is indicated by the following linguistic choices:

draws back timidly from the mass movements of its own people l.84; *the role of respectable bourgeois* l.80; *small coterie of educated natives* l.81,82; *black-coated respectables* l.87,88; plus the connotations of the following phrases: *eke out a living* l.75; *as agents among their compatriots* l.76. *patronised and lectured by the Government* l.76.

In the text Jones usually refers to the SANC as *the Congress*, or by the pronoun *it*; (note his comparison between the IWA and the SANC in l.85-6, where he refers to *The native workers of the IWA* but uses the depersonalised form, *the Congress* for the members of the SANC). The effect of these choices is to make the SANC seem to be a distant, faceless organisation.

The sum of these choices realise the writer's critical attitude towards the SANC for being an elite, middle class organisation, anxious to collaborate with the state in order to secure privileges for the African middle classes, rather than ally with the black working class against the state and the ruling classes, in the struggle for political and economic rights for all Africans. The writer thus sets up oppositional positions between the SANC and the IWA in an attempt to ensure that his intended audience back the union and not the Congress.

e) White workers

In the text, the writer portrays white workers as racists and traitors to the working class cause, for example:

it seems to have dawned then on the white workers' intelligence.. that the native was really a kind of a workmate l.11 - 13;

indicates that he does not credit the white workers with much intelligence and that he is critical of their reluctance to ally with black workers due to their racism. In l.68 he accuses them of siding *with the masters*.

In the South African context, the ISL failed to attract English-speaking white workers due to its anti-war position and it failed to attract Afrikaans-speaking

white workers due to its policy of recruiting black workers. It's inability to attract white workers raised the issue of ethnicity as a theoretical problem to which socialist theory at the time was unable to provide answers. (The interplay of class and race in South African politics has continued to tease the minds of analysts of South African politics ever since). Jones held on desperately to his belief in class solidarity and was unable to deal with the concept of ethnicity within his notion of class. He believed that white workers had to be won over to socialism because the white and black working class were interdependent. According to Hirson and Williams (1995), he foresaw (correctly) that if the Afrikaans working class were not won over to socialism as the "aristocracy of labour", they would become the 'police boys' of the Afrikaner ruling class, who would use them to crush the black workers. He continued to hope that the white working class would provide the vanguard to lead the socialists revolution in South Africa.

In conclusion, the social relations constructed by the writer in this text reflect the dualism (termed "contradictions") which are at the root of Marxist-Leninist ideology. The writer sets up two sets of antagonistic relations, the ISL versus the Government and the IWA versus the SANC, within the larger opposition between the capitalist and working classes. It is this ideological position which determines his attitudes towards and his positioning of the different actors in the text. We have also noted during the analysis that **interpersonal meanings** are more foregrounded in this text that would be typical of academic historical discourse. This is because Jones' was writing in a highly politicised context in which his purpose was to persuade his audience as well as to provide them with an historical account. He therefore draws on both the recount and expository genres of historical discourse as well as on the hortatory genre of political rhetoric.

Mode of Discourse

Mode of discourse is concerned with the expression of **textual meaning** through textual organisation, that is, with the way in which the text functions

and has meaning as a linear and coherent whole, rather than as a collection of sentences.

I begin by examining the presentation and organisation of the text. The text under analysis consists of two sections of a longer report, under the following sub-headings: *The Native Labour Movement* and *Native Political Leaders*. We have already seen under Field, that the first section tells of the beginnings of trade union organisation and activity amongst the black working class and the second is about the organisation and activities of the black middle class. However, the juxtapositioning of these two sections is not accidental. The writer does this so that he can compare and contrast the two movements in order to persuade his audience that *the national and class interests of the natives cannot be distinguished the one from the other* 1.89, 90. In other words, one of his aims is to persuade his audience that the national struggle of the SANC for political rights is only a part of the greater struggle for economic rights and full emancipation by the working class. This rationale, stated in terms of socialist theory, was crucial to the writer's argument that the emerging South African Communist Party should be supported by the Comintern.

I now look more closely at the textual organisation of the text by looking at its **thematic patterning**, its use of the **passive voice**, its **logical structuring**, and its use of **metaphor**. Under **tenor** we observed that the **mood** of this text is predominantly **declarative**. Functional linguists explain that in the **declarative mood** the **unmarked** thematic pattern (that which one would expect) would be for the **theme** (the element which serves as the speaker or writer's point of departure, Halliday, 1985:38) of the clause to be realised by the subject. A count of the themes in this text reveals the following: 84% are **unmarked**, in **topical** (in subject position), 16% are **marked**, of which 2% are **ideational**, 1% **interpersonal** and 13 % **textual**. This is what one would expect in a text written in predominantly **declarative mood**. I will therefore give attention only to the **marked themes**. I deal first with **marked themes** expressing **ideational meanings**. In some instances the writer foregrounds the natives and workers and backgrounds the state and the police by using the **passive voice**. Here the

native and workers, the **goals** of the **processes** are placed in **thematic** position, for example,

Gatherings of native men and women were clubbed down by the mounted police l.33, A massacre by the armed police ensued l.48, by the police l.39, by the armed police l.55,56.

The effect of these choices is to weaken the link between the **actors** and their actions, the causal connection is syntactically looser, the **processes** are represented as being completed and the **predicates** are more like adjectives describing a state or quality. This may indicate that the writer takes causality for granted in these clauses.

Other **marked themes** using prepositional phrases include

*Without leaders, without organisation l.55, For the native of Africa, and the white too for that matter l.23-4*²⁰

The effect of these choices is to emphasis the point being made, for example in the first sentence, an **unmarked** form might be *The armed police hemmed the strikers in their compounds and the flame of revolt died down because the mine natives did not have leaders and organisational structures.* One can see how the **marked thematic positioning** backgrounds the actions of the police and foregrounds the lack of political leadership amongst the mine workers, which of course, was one of the major preoccupations of the writer.

Other **marked themes**, using prepositional phrases, are those of **circumstance** which emphasise time, place and chronology:

Before the war l.4; Prior to that, in the 1913 revolt of the white workers, l.9; In 1917, l.13; In 1918, l.29; In the Cape Province, l.42; For the time being, l.53.

These selections confirm our observation made under **field**, that the writer is concerned to write within the historical recount genre, which uses chronology to structure the text (these **marked themes** serve a cohesive as well as an **ideational** function).

In this text there are also many **textual** (and therefore **marked**) **themes**, the majority of which are conjunctions which specify the **logical relations** between

²⁰ The second clause of this theme is **interpersonal**.

clauses. These **textual themes** are part of the cohesive patterning and the logical structuring of **ideational meaning** throughout the text. To understand their function we need first to look at the patterns of cohesion in the text. The writer's typical logical ordering between clauses tends to be **paratactic** (that is, 1 & 2, two clauses of equal rank, linked by a **linking conjunction**, typically **and**). Here are some examples of these marked textual themes,

has been prepared ... and accepted l. 2,3; existed .. and was unknown l.4,5; It held ... and .. was .. imbibed l. 17 - 19; This leaflet reached .. and was introduced and read l. 21 - 23; Hundreds of natives ... were jailed .. and the prisons became full.. l. 31 - 32; He admitted.. and the case collapsed l. 36 - 38.

The effect of these choices is hardly recognisable by the ordinary reader. This is because they are typical of the recount or narrative genres with which we are so familiar, (that is, one thing leads to the next, and so the story develops). However, the writer breaks this pattern from time to time by his marked use of the **adversative conjunction, but**, either between clauses or more commonly, at the beginning of a sentence in **marked thematic position**. This has the effect of alerting the reader to events or relations which occur in spite of, or in contradiction to, the preceding ones. Here are some examples from the text:

was regarded ... but it appears ... l.7 - 9; Comrades.. were arrested.. but.. broke down l.34 - 36; But the greater civil equality ... l.43; But the result of Masabalala's imprisonment .. l.47; But the most portentous event so far .. l.49; were made the 'object of prosecution by the police' but released.. l. 64; But such is the division of labour... l.69,70; But to obtain these l.82; But the growing class organisations l.88.

The effect of this pattern, which breaks into the dominant and ... and ... linking pattern, is to create the impression that although there are setbacks (usually oppressive measures by the state), and the story doesn't unfold very smoothly, somehow, the promise of a socialist victory remains.

I now consider the writer's use of the **passive voice with deleted agent**. Here are some examples from the text,

*were enrolled l.15; was named l.15; was issued l.20; (in these examples the ISL is the deleted agent). were jailed l.32; were driven out l.38; was imprisoned l.45; blamed l.49;*²¹

²¹ In these examples, the state is the deleted agent.

By opting for these choices within the **transitivity system**, the writer constructs the black workers as the actors in his history and underplays the power of the state to control and define the situation. This is consistent with the writer's view that the working class is (or should be) the driving force of history.

Finally, I consider the role of metaphor in the text. Root metaphors are linked to ideology, they signal our world views and the ways in which we think and act. I have already suggested that the socialist ideology of class struggle and revolution is the root metaphor of this text. This causes Jones to represent human processes in history as if they are abstract things (**nominal groups and nominalisations**), that is, elements in the system or structure of society which the ideology constructs (see grammatical metaphor below). However, another more common root metaphor runs through the text, that of contrasting light and (implied) darkness. For example:

dawned l.11; awakening (to the consciousness of class) l.25; dawned (upon him) l.28,9; the awakening (of the native workers) l.50; the flame of revolt l.56.

Jones' use of this metaphor encourages an interpretation of the text in which light is equated with an understanding of and subscription to socialism, whilst darkness is equated with ignorance of socialism.

Grammatical metaphor occurs when a writer (or speaker) chooses to transfer an element from its **congruent** (most simple and natural) grammatical form to another grammatical form. Here are some examples from the text (with a more congruent form in brackets):

It is the era of awakening to the consciousness of class. The emphasis of the League on the new power of industrial solidarity, (which their very oppressors had put in their hands, had as its aim) ... l.24 - 27

(In my opinion, South African workers are only beginning to recognise themselves as a working class. The League aimed to show the native workers that if they united as workers, they could become a powerful political and economic force...).

The proposition, stated in the *It is* form is a strong form of modality, a statement of fact. *the era of awakening* is a nominalisation of a process (*beginning to recognise*) and serves to periodise or mark out this process as a

phase of history, (which is presumably automatically followed by the next phase in a deterministic interpretation of history). *the consciousness of class* is also a nominalisation of a mental process, but in Marxist-Leninist discourse it has become abstracted and reified to the point where it signifies a state or level of politicisation. In a similar way, the nominalisation of processes in *The emphasis* and *the new power of industrial solidarity* allows processes to become things which can have aims, or which the employers can unwittingly hand over to the workers (*had put in their hands*) and which can be understood to act in history. The overall effect of writing about historical happenings in this way is to remove the processes and their human agents and to replace them with nominal abstractions, which distil ideologically-specific meanings and which cannot easily be questioned or challenged. This makes the writer's interpretation appear as objective, external reality. This may well be the effect which the writer intended, namely to assure his readers that Marxist-Leninism is indeed a scientific view of history and society, and that as a social science, it has the same validity as the natural sciences.

4.1.3 Re-interpretation

I consider this text to have been successful in achieving its writer's purposes. It succeeds in presenting the ISL and the IWA in a favourable light whilst the South African state and its agents are made to look brutal and corrupt and the SANC is ridiculed. Furthermore, a convincing case is made for supporting the emergent black trade union movement as the protagonist of the "class struggle" in South Africa. We can assume that Jones' report was well received by its original audience, for it was soon published for wider circulation in a Moscow newspaper and became a reference text in the CPSA (see below). If the report succeeded as a political text, it also succeeds as an historical text, due to the writer's attention to historical detail and his successful use of the conventions of historical discourse. He manages to embed the expository and hortatory genres within the recount genre, in such a way that his interpretation appears to be backed up by the "facts". And yet, we need to remember that Jones' text was

radically counter-hegemonic in its context; it was seeking to challenge and overthrow the current relations of power.

Jones also succeeds in providing a relatively coherent account of a period of South African history in terms of the ideology and discourse of Marxism-Leninism and its dualistic understanding of social structure. I suggest that this text may be understood as a creative and intelligent attempt to apply a 'total social theory' to the specific historical conditions of South Africa; I think that it represents a brave attempt to get the ideology to fit the social reality of South Africa. The text successfully sets up binary oppositions between the working classes and their organisations and the capitalists (and their state), and also succeeds in belittling a black middle class organisation, because of its inadequate political analysis. Jones' ability to analyse South African politics in these terms makes this text an important and early contribution to the tradition of Communism and of labour history in South African left-wing politics.

Jones' report was seminal in defining the CPSA's early political philosophy and strategy, for after its presentation at the Third International, it was published as a pamphlet by the CPSA as a history of the movement and also as a set of principles to guide new members (Hirson & Williams 1995:203). In this sense, this counter-hegemonic text was reproduced and distributed within the CPSA, such that it became 'hegemonic' on the far left. Only gradually did the CPSA, (and later the SACP) begin to rework and re-articulate the rigidity of the ideology to meet the demands of South African conditions. In fact, it was not long before the CPSA and the ANC formed a tentative, although short-lived, alliance under the leadership of Gumede in the late 1920s. The Communist Party's embracement of nationalism as a revolutionary force resulted in the "Native Republic" thesis which some ANC leaders found attractive. However, by the 1930s, a conservative ANC leadership under Seme (see 4.2 below) rejected the alliance with the CPSA and it wasn't until the early 1950s, when the continued rejection of the CPSA by the white working class and the willingness of the ANC to incorporate the "masses" into its membership and leadership, brought the two parties together in a common programme for the achievement

of a national democratic revolution. This was cemented by the SACP's acceptance of the Freedom Charter and the SACP's adaptation of classical Marxist-Leninist theory to South African conditions in its analysis called "Colonialism of a Special Type". This became its rationale for a policy in which, in alliance with the ANC, it aimed to achieve a two-stage revolution, first a national democratic revolution, to be followed by a socialist revolution. In Jones' tradition, intellectuals from the Communist Party have continued to play a vanguard role in the ANC-SACP-COSATU alliance, (although the alliance is looking increasingly fragile, precisely because, in Jones' terms, the ANC is showing a lack of commitment to a fully socialist programme.) There are still those in the SACP today, who, following Jones' tradition, believe that the second stage of the revolution, (the socialist as opposed to national democratic revolution), remains to be fought with COSATU, rather than the ANC, in the lead.

4.2 Text 2: Seme

Pixley ka Isaka Seme (April 5, 1906)

'The Regeneration of Africa'

in 'The African Abroad' in Karis T. & Carter G. M. (eds.) (1972)

From Protest to Challenge , Vol.1 Protest and Hope (1882-1934) by

Sheridan Johns III (Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, CA, USA)

4.2.1 Socio-historical Analysis

This speech was given in 1906 by a young black South African, recently graduated at Columbia, an American university. By this date the "Scramble for Africa" by the European colonial powers was complete and the whole of Africa, with the exception of Abyssinia and Liberia, was ruled by European powers. In terms of the world economy, this period had witnessed a change from mercantile to industrial capitalism, which was a major reason for the "scramble"; the European powers now sought to control the actual processes of production as well as the exchange of goods. In terms of African history, we should note that in 1900, the first Pan-African Congress had taken place.

In South Africa, the political situation was as follows: In 1902, the Boer Republics had been defeated by the British colonial forces and settler politics were now pre-occupied with Anglo-Boer unity in order to guarantee continued white domination. In 1906 the Bambata Rebellion in Natal, the last armed resistance to colonial rule in South Africa, was crushed. At this time the Cape franchise was still in place in the Cape Province, but the franchise qualification was based on individual land tenure, which excluded the majority of Africans. However, the black South African educated elite still hoped for gradual assimilation into a non-racial representative government via the Cape system, with the support of the British government. They feared the imposition of the Boer Republics' all-white franchise and appealed to the British colonial authorities to ensure that their political rights were not lost. The hope of assimilation into Western society, which the Christian missionaries had held out to their converts, the emergent black middle class, had not yet been crushed. At the same time, an alternative African nationalist trend in black politics was

beginning to emerge. In 1902 the inter-tribal South African Native Congress was founded in the Eastern Cape and the Ethiopian movement was beginning to form its own break-away churches for black Christians.

Pixley Seme was born in 1881 at Inanda Mission, Zululand. As a boy he was mentored by Rev. S.C. Pixley and John Dube. In 1898 he was sent to Mount Hermon School in the USA. In 1902 he entered Columbia University where he studied anthropology, history and political science. He graduated with a B.A. in 1906. At this time he lived in Harlem and came into contact with politicised black Americans. This speech, 'The Regeneration of Africa', was delivered by Seme at Columbia for an oratory contest. He won first prize, the Curtis medal, the highest award for oratory at the university. The speech was subsequently printed in a number of publications including the 'Colored America', 'Izwi Labantu' in South Africa and in W.H. Ferris' 'The African Abroad' (New Haven, 1913).

As a young man, Seme had dreamed of uniting the Zulu people, but his experiences in the USA (and in particular a visit to Booker T. Washington's black agricultural project at Tuskegee), convinced him of the need for race pride, unity and self-help amongst black South Africans. Seme's vision of African unity, expressed in this speech in his early years, was foundational to his vision for the formation of the South African Native National Congress in 1912. In his opening address at Bloemfontein that year, he spoke of the need for a 'national union for the purpose of creating a national unity and defending our rights and privileges' (quoted in Rive & Couzens 1991: 89).

4.2.2 Formal and Discursive Analysis

Field of Discourse

The field is that aspect of the **context of situation** which shapes or determines the way in which **ideational** meanings are represented in the text, that is, the way in which the writer describes what is going on. Here I look at the way in which **processes, participants** and **circumstances** are represented in the text

(that is, at the **system of transitivity** in the grammar) in order to answer the questions: what is the text saying and how is it saying it, what interpretation of the past is being constructed in this text? I focus on the experiential domain of the text and on the writer's goals in producing it.

We can infer from the context of the text's production that the speaker's short term goal was to win the oratory prize, that is, to demonstrate to his American, university audience that, as a young African, he was well-spoken, well-educated, intelligent and articulate (his use of linguistic devices to do this will be discussed under **mode** below). We can deduce from the title of the speech and from his opening remarks in l.2-3, *I am an African, and I set my pride in my race over against a hostile public opinion*, that Seme's longer term goal was firstly to assert his pride in being an African, despite the negative public opinion or prejudice against Africa and Africans, which he had presumably encountered overseas. The ideas of Social Darwinism would have been prevalent at the time, whereby Africa was understood to be low down on the evolutionary scale of civilisation. Secondly, Seme wanted to persuade his audience that Africans were on the brink of a new stage of human, political, economic and spiritual development; he explains "regeneration" as *the entrance into a new life, embracing the diverse phases of a higher, complex existence, l.111*. His aim in this speech was therefore to re-position Africa for his audience in a positive and hopeful light. He was probably more able to do this from outside of Africa, from the distance and intellectual and cultural vantage point that an American university offered him.

An analysis of the experiential domain of the text suggests that it does not primarily represent a story or account about what the central **participants** (Africa, the speaker and his audience) did, but rather that it presents an argument in which the speaker tries to change his audience's perceptions of Africa. Seme's construction of the past is only one aspect of his argument, and it is represented in a sweeping and generalised manner atypical of historical discourse. I suggest that the narrative about Africa in this speech, is based a European liberal, humanist meta-narrative. This discourse is based on a belief in

the uniqueness and autonomy of the individual (see for example *Man, the crowning achievement of nature, ... Each is self* l.11-14 or 17) which, in its constitutional and political form, results in the Western democratic model and in its economic form, results in free trade and capitalism, both of which are believed to lead to human progress and civilisation (see for example l. 137-142 in which civilisation, presumably Western civilisation, is compared to a plant which reproduces itself organically and naturally). Drawing on this liberal humanist discourse, the structure of Seme's narrative about Africa is based on the European prototype as follows: Africa (as did Europe) enjoyed a classical "golden age" (for example, the ancient civilisations of Egypt and Ethiopia, l.21-35), but Africa has since fallen into barbarism and backwardness (l. 35-36 and l.101, compare the Middle Ages of Europe). But, the European powers (via colonialism) have brought education, science and commerce (that is the agents of civilisation) to Africa, and Africa is about to Westernise and rejoin the civilised world, (l.69-150).

The argument which underlies this grand narrative about Africa is as follows: Africans have the capability to develop their own unique African civilisation, for example

The giant is awakening l.43, *The ancestral greatness, the unimpaired genius and the recuperative power of the race* l.123-4, *The regeneration of Africa means that a new and unique civilisation is soon to be added to the world* l. 133-4.

Africans will do this by (unproblematically) appropriating Western knowledge and science. Europe's role in colonisation and the colonial relationship is represented positively and unproblematically as

this influence of contact and intercourse, the backward with the advanced. This influence constitutes the very essence of efficient progress and of civilisation. l. 84-85.²²

What is absent from Seme's account of the "civilising" process, is any acknowledgement of the resistance, conflict, violence, loss and exploitation

²² Note here the use of **relational classifying processes** and **nominalisations** which hide human agency. to be discussed further below.

which we understand to be integral to the colonial relationship and capitalist development.

Where Seme's grand narrative and perceptions of Africa may have differed from those of his Western audience, and where he uses the discourse transformatively rather than reproductively, is in his advocacy of a African consciousness and an emergent African nationalism, as a means to achieving this development in Africa. (This text is one of the earliest South African records which represent an African rather than a tribal consciousness), for example:

the awakened race consciousness l.112-113, the African people possess a common fundamental sentiment which is everywhere manifest, crystallising itself into one common controlling idea l.116-118, the fusing force of this enlightened perception of the intertribal relation, which should subsist among a people with a common destiny l.119-120.

Seme put these ideas into political practice when he returned to South Africa in 1912. In that year, he founded the South African Native National Congress as a super-tribal party based on the concept of African nationalism.

An analysis of the **transitivity system**, that is an account of how **participants**, **processes**, and **circumstances** are represented in the text support the interpretation given above in the following ways: Firstly, a count of the four main groups of **participants** reveals the following:

- *I* (the speaker) x14,
- *you* (the listeners, sometimes implied through use of imperatives) x14,
- *Africa, Africans, the African people, sons, the elevation of the African race, the regeneration of Africa* etc. x14.

This confirms the suggestion above that the text is primarily about Africa and the speaker's and his audience's perceptions of Africa.

Analysis reveals a further set of **actors** in the text, namely abstract entities which are represented as acting in history, for example:

Nature l.6, time l.15, genius l.15, Science l.75-9, This all-powerful contact l.80, a great century l.82, the brighter day l.102, agencies of social, economic and religious advance, l.121, Civilisation l.137-8, knowledge l.147.

The choice of these entities reflects the optimism and naiveté of the early twentieth century liberal humanist discourse by which this text is constituted.

A count of the **processes** in Seme's speech reveals that 36% of the **processes** are **material**, 21% are **mental** (or behavioural) and 14% are **verbal**, (that is, 35% are **projecting processes**) and 29% are **relational**. The significance of these figures is that they indicate that a surprisingly high proportion of **projecting** and **relational processes** are used in the **transitivity system** of the grammar of the text. We noted in Chapter 3.4, that in historical recount or narrative genres, one would expect a high percentage of the clauses to contain **material processes**, (that is, to represent actions, events and "goings on", "who was doing what to whom"), but this is not the case in this text. Instead, nearly two-thirds of the **processes** here represent states of being, perception, understanding and consciousness; for example:

compare l.3, mean l.4, compare l.18, evince l.32, believe l.46, consider l.48, would change l.49, envy l.51, considering l.68, knows l.70, are witnessing l.71;

or **relations of identity, attribution and possession**, for example:

All the glory of Egypt belongs to Africa and her people l.27, Africa is like the golden sun l.33, she has a role of honour too l.42, the regeneration of Africa belongs to this new and powerful period l.109, The African people ... possess a common fundamental sentiment l.117, He has precious creations of his own l.135, The African is not a proletarian of the world of science and art l.134.

We also noted in Chapter 3.4 that **attributive identifying or classifying relational processes** often with abstract **nominalisations** as **participants** (note that the abstract noun, **Africa** is the **participant** in all of the examples above) are often used in historical discourse to assign **participants** to classes of things and to set up new relationships between already known categories. This is precisely the way in which much of Seme's argument is represented: he seeks to establish new sets of relations between Africa and civilisation, progress, science etc. in the minds of his audience. According to Martin (Halliday & Martin, 1995), the use of this type of relational process is a characteristic feature of historical discourse when it draws on the expository genre. This suggests that this text draws heavily on the genres of exposition (rational argument) and also on exhortation (rhetorical or emotional appeal) as well as on the recount or narrative genres, which are more typical of historical discourse. The use of the expository and hortatory genres is in keeping with the speaker's

short-term goal of winning the speech contest and with his longer term goal of persuasion, mentioned at the beginning of this section.

If we analyse what types of **process clauses** the four groups of **participants** tend to be represented in, the following is revealed:

I (the speaker) is primarily represented as the subject (that is, the **senser** or **sayer**) of **projecting mental** and **verbal processes**. *You* (the audience) is also most often represented (although to a lesser extent than the speaker) as the **senser** or **sayer** of **projecting mental** and **verbal processes**. This confirms the interpretation above, that this text is largely about stating the speaker's perceptions of and position on Africa, and about persuading his audience to change theirs. *Africa* (as we saw in the examples above), is most often represented as the subject (the **identified** or **carrier**) of **relational processes**. We have already noted above that this was because the speaker's intention was to re-define or re-describe Africa. Interestingly, it is the fourth group of abstract entities which are often represented as the **actors** of the **material process clauses** in the text, for example:

Nature has bestowed on each a peculiar individuality l.6-7, genius ... bursts forth l. 15-6, Science has searched out l.75-6, the brighter day is rising upon Africa l.102, Civilisation ... is born, it perishes, and it can propagate itself l.137-8.

The effect of this latter pattern of choices is to conceal the human agency and ideological framing in these **material processes** and to make them seem natural and inevitable, that is entities like nature, science and civilisation simply act in history of their own accord. This pattern of choices may go some way to explain how the negative role of colonisation, capitalist penetration and Western progress etc., and their human agents, is hidden in this text.

Through his choice of **circumstantial elements**, Seme depicts the **circumstances** of events and states represented in a rather grandiose manner.

Here are some examples from the text:

Those **circumstances** dealing with time: *through all ages and for all time l.12, through unborn centuries to this very hour l.72, From these heights of the twentieth century l.86, forever l.126, In ages hence l. 145.*

Those **circumstances** dealing with space: *anywhere in any race l.17, to Europe or to any other continent l.18, upon the world l.34, From the four corners of the earth l.43, everywhere l.117.*

Those **circumstances** dealing with scope: *in all races l.15, in a sense never (known) before l.70, to the world l.134, the world of science and art l.134-5.*

Those **circumstances** dealing with manner: *through fire and sword l.44, in the cabinet and in the field l.63, for liberty l.88, like martyrs l.89.*

Another discernible pattern in Seme's choice of **circumstantial elements** is that they depict future circumstances involving a higher level of development or "civilisation":

to the attainment of this higher and advanced standard of life l.114-5, to the level of their ancient glory l.123, of this process of his (the African's) regeneration l.132, of this new civilisation l.140.

These examples of the grand and generalised scale on which the speaker is operating and his reference to the future, confirm the point made earlier, that this text does not fall easily within the recount historical genre, which demands that attention be given to specific details of time, place and chronology of events which are always recounted in the past tense. An analysis of the **circumstances** in the text therefore confirms the interpretation above, namely that this speech draws heavily on the expository and hortatory genres which is not typical of historical discourse.

Tenor of Discourse

The **tenor of discourse** is that aspect of the context of situation which shapes and determines the way in which **interpersonal** meanings are represented in the text, that is, with the way in which the speaker indicates attitude to self, **ideational** content and audience. In order to capture this, I analyse the **mood** of the text and the ways in which the speaker positions his audience and the **participants** in text.

As one would expect in historical discourse, the **mood** of this text is primarily **declarative**, but what is atypical is the choice of present tense rather than past tense. As we noted above, there is also some reference to role of Africa in the future, for example, *(the new African civilisation) shall be thoroughly spiritual*

and humanistic l.141. This suggests that the focus of the speaker is mostly on the present, and that the main event on which he is focusing is the delivery of the speech itself. The following pattern of use of **circumstantial adjuncts** supports this focus on what is occurring at the time of speaking and it creates a sense of occasion:

*which I am **now** considering l.68, the day you are **now** witnessing l.71, to this very hour l.72.*

Exceptions to the choice of **declarative mood** are the speaker's occasional use of the **imperative** and **interrogative mood** for rhetorical effect. The subjects of his **imperative** verbs are always (you, implied, that is, his audience); for example:

***Search** the universe l.5, **Catch** in your hand l.8, **Come** with me l.21.*

His use of the **interrogative** consists of the first two lines of a poem l.36 - 43, in which *the world* asks *Africa*:

*"Whither is fled the visionary gleam,
Where is it now, the glory and the dream?" l.36-7.*

The effect of these choices of **mood** is to enhance the sense of audience in the text and to make it seem more speech-like and theatrical, (for in his use of the **imperative mood** the speaker is commanding the audience to do something, he is ensuring that they are active listeners). We are reminded that this text was written for a face-to-face performance through which the speaker intended to persuade his audience of his point of view.

An analysis of **modality** is a means of gauging the speaker/ writer's degree of certainty, commitment and attitudes towards the things he writes about. Here I analyse the patterns in the writer's choice of **modal operators** (could, would, should etc.) and of **modal adjuncts** (adverbs and prepositional phrases). The speaker uses **high modality** to express his belief that Africa will develop and progress to a higher level of "civilisation". This indicates the strength of his convictions, for example:

*even to the most backward race, you **cannot** remain where you are, you **cannot** fall back, you **must** advance! l.80-81, It therefore **must** lead them to the attainment of that higher and advanced standard of life l. 114-5, I hold that ...*

must be regarded as positive evidence of this process of his regeneration
l.130-1, *The most essential departure of this new civilisation is that it shall be*
thoroughly spiritual and humanistic - indeed a regeneration moral and
eternal! l. 140-2.

This pattern of choice of **modality** suggests that, whilst there is considerable social distance between the speaker and his audience, he displays the courage and conviction to state his beliefs forcefully. (The judges were obviously impressed by his speech, for he was awarded first prize).

However, the irony in this text is that it is precisely in this early attempt by an African to make a claim for African potential, African nationalism and African independence that his dependence upon a Western discourse becomes evident. The Western education he received in the U.S.A. freed him from the confines of his own language and culture (the tribalism and ignorance associated with “Zuluness”), but in so doing, it trapped him in the discourse of another culture and world-view (with its attendant grand narratives and ideologies). This interpretation is supported by an analysis of the patterns of linguistic choices which Seme makes to **position** himself, his audience and the different **participants** in his text.

Firstly I look at the way in which Seme positions himself. He is clearly at pains to represent himself to his audience as an educated, “civilised” and middle class African. He uses polite and often stylised terms of address which reinforce the positioning of himself as “civilised” and courteous:

If you please, l.8,9, I would ask you l. 18, I make this request l.19, Mr. Calhoun (even though he was a slave-owner) l. 46, Ladies and gentlemen, l.69, I again ask you l.86.

He also uses northern hemisphere imagery, for example, *the gentle flakes of snow l.9* and *the spires of their churches and universities l.105.*

This pattern of choices suggests that Seme is anxious to be recognised and accepted as a member of Western, educated, middle class society. This and his use of imperatives mentioned above, also suggest that Seme is positioning himself as the interpreter or mediator between Africa and the West. He uses his knowledge of both Africa and the West to interpret the one for the other; and he

does so in terms of the twentieth century Western discourses which he had learnt and which he knew would be acceptable to his Western audience. In this sense, Seme is positioning himself in a role which was to be adopted by the emergent, black, educated, elite in Africa.

As we saw with his use of **modality** above, Seme displays great idealism and enthusiasm for his ideals in his choice of lexical items. For example, the connotations of these lexical items are absolute and essentialist:

peculiar l.7, *different, unique* l.10, *capable of genius* l.15, *proof of the new order of things* l.96,99, *this new and powerful period* l.100, 109, *new life* l.111, *a new and unique civilisation is soon to be added to the world* l. 133-4, *it shall be thoroughly spiritual and humanistic - indeed a regeneration moral and eternal!* l.141-2.

These choices express Seme's belief in the values of individualism, progress and humanism. This supports the interpretation above; it suggests that Seme could only express his African nationalism within the discourse of contemporary Western modernity, liberalism and humanism.

Secondly I look at the way in which Seme positions his audience. One could speculate that Seme's audience were probably predominantly white male academics, but he may have hoped to appeal particularly to black Americans as well. Seme assumes that his audience are also well-educated, middle class and polite, (for example, *Ladies and gentlemen*, and also *one civilised family* l.79). He also assumes that they will be sympathetic to his appeals to their reason, see for example his use of the terms *evidence, proof, reason* and *truth*, l. 15, 20, 38, 39, 52, 74. The assumption is that, as educated people, they will be persuaded by reasonable argument. (We have already noted under **field** that in these instances, he is drawing on the genre of exposition.) It is significant that Seme moves from addressing his audience as *you* throughout the speech, until the final poem (l. 143-50, which is addressed to Africa), where he speaks of himself and the audience together as *we* l.145. Here the audience are positioned as sharing his optimism about the regeneration of Africa, that is, as having been won over to his own position. Later, back in South Africa, as the leader of the South African Native National Congress, Seme was to continue to adopt this

strategy of appealing to the reasonableness and liberal values of the colonisers (the British government in particular) to protect the civil and political rights of the black middle classes against the increasing threat of white settler domination and disenfranchisement.

Thirdly, I look at Seme's positioning of Africa and Africans. As we noted in the description of his grand narrative about Africa above, there are three stages to his portrayal of Africa. Firstly his choices of **attitudinal epithets** (adjectives) to describe Africa's "classical" past (or "golden age") express his pride in Africa's past: for example:

grandeur, venerable, gigantic l.22, look with disdain l.25-6, All the glory of Egypt belongs to Africa and her people l.27, indestructible, ...memorials of their great and original genius l. 28, unrivalled l.29, far surpass l.31, the highest purity of taste l.32, unrivalled historic achievements l.29, the ancestral greatness ... recuperative power of the race l.123-4.

This romanticism of Africa's past was to become a re-current theme in the discourse of African nationalism.

However, Seme's choice of the word *Justly l.35*, indicates that he did not challenge the contemporary Western view that Africa was in a state of decline and backwardness. This interpretation is reinforced by the following pattern of choices of **attitudinal epithets**:

the most backward race l.80, elemental needs l.113, undeveloped powers l.114, The African already recognises his anomalous position and desires a change l. 101, the anxious and aspiring mass l.122-3, drive darkness from the land l.129-30.

This pattern of choices suggests how uncritically Seme had appropriated the racial prejudice of European imperialism.

We have already noted Seme's determination to provide evidence to his audience about the future regeneration of Africa, for example:

The giant is awakening l. 43, proof of the new order of things l.96,99, a new and unique civilisation l.133-4.

We have also noted that these beliefs were based on humanist idealism. Finally, this grand narrative about Africa is reinforced by Seme's use of the metaphor of the sun to depict Africa as a power which has set, but which will inevitably rise again:

Africa is like the golden sun l.33, but still plays upon the world l.34, the brighter day is rising upon Africa l.102, the glory of the rising sun l.104, with that morning gleam l.149, shine .. with equal beam l.150.

This choice of metaphor has the effect of representing Africa as a united, natural and powerful but abstract force, which is destined to bring energy and light to the world.

Mode of Discourse

The **mode of discourse** is that aspect of the context of situation which is concerned with the expression of textual meaning. Textual meanings are used to turn the output or wordings of the other two meta-functions, **field** and **tenor**, into a linear and coherent text.

The first point to note about the type of interaction and the medium of this text, is that it is a formal speech, written for a public speaking competition. This means that although it is a spoken text, it was written to be read aloud and so displays the features of elaborated written discourse rather than speech. As I have mentioned above, this places it within the hortatory genre; its main purpose is to persuade its audience to accept a certain point of view, (although the writer- speaker also draws on the expository and narrative genres as well). This would lead us to expect the text to be structured as an argument.

The textual elements which structure the argument in this text and which give it overall cohesion are mostly drawn from the discourse of formal debate which borrows terms from legal discourse. The speaker presents his case as if he were a witness giving evidence in defence of his client (Africa). The lexical chains in the text which have this **cohesive** effect are as follows: In l.2-3 the speaker tells us that he is going to defend his pride in his race *over against a hostile public opinion*. The first claim that he makes in his argument is that in nature all are unique individuals, and so we should not try to compare the different races,

*The reason .. a common standard is impossible! l.20-1, My thesis stands on this truth; time has proved it. l.14-15. His second point is that Africa claims unrivalled historic achievements l.29.*²³

²³ In fact he frequently compares Africa and Africans to the Western world himself!

However, the argument continues, the world *justly* now *demand*s to know what has become of African civilisation. The speaker wishes for an historian who *will bring to Africa's claim the strength of written proof* l.38-9. He then gives long lists of examples of Africans who are “civilised” and educated and who have played a role in world history (the Western world). He claims that these and other Africans have shown sufficient *marks of genius and high character* l.67, that they *redeem their race from the charges which I am now considering* l.68. As further evidence for the claim that Africans are civilising, he tells his audience, *If you could go ..* l.87, *if you could read* l.97, you would find African rulers (*preacher(s) and apostle(s) ... of the new order of things* l.95-6) who are bringing modernisation to Africa, and *you too would be convinced that the elevation of the Africa race is evidently a part of the new order of things* l.98-99. Further on Seme argues that the Africans’ *untiring devotion to (industrial and educational initiative) must be regarded as positive evidence of this process of regeneration* l.130-2. The argument concludes with a poem addressed to Africa in which the audience and the speaker together look forward to a time when Africa will *Shine as thy sister lands with equal beam.* l.150. ²⁴ The writer assumes that he has brought enough evidence to free his client, Africa, from the charge laid by the West (represented by members of his audience) of being “backward” and undeveloped. The fact that he won the prize, suggests that the delivery of the speech itself provided further evidence for Seme’s claim, namely that Africa was capable of producing “individual genius”, educated and “civilised sons” who could “redeem Africa from the charge of backwardness”. The young Seme must have come across as living proof that Africans could become well-educated and “civilised”.

Other textual features which support the claim that this speech is an elaborated argument and largely hortatory are as follows: Firstly, an examination of the **structural resources** of the grammar shows that the writer’s choice of **themes** is consistently **topical** (that is, the subject of the clause is placed in first

²⁴ This is another example where he does precisely what he initially asked his audience not to do, that is, to compare Africa to other nations.

position). His occasional choice of **marked themes** are as follows: These two **marked themes** emphasise the argument which he is constructing,

The reason I have stated - a common standard is impossible! l.20-21, by this term regeneration I wish to be understood to mean l.110.

A further group of marked themes expresses the grand scale on which Seme builds his narrative,

In all the works of nature l.4, In all races l.15, , From the four corners of the earth l.43, From these heights of the twentieth century l.86.

The following **marked themes** are **textual themes** which are presumably used for emphasis,

Whither l.36, Where l.37, Oh for that l.38, What might have been l.49, And woe l.52, Ladies and gentlemen l.69, Oh how true! L.74, Yes l.109, More particularly l.138, O Africa l.143.

The writer also chooses literary devices such as rhyme and metaphor, presumably in an attempt to make his argument more forceful and more persuasive. He includes a rhyming poem in l. 36-43 (*gleam dream, truth proof, tears years, named ashamed*) and again in l.143-150 (*bloom tomb & gloom, dream stream gleam & beam*). In terms of the metaphors used in the text, I have already discussed the comparison of Africa to the sun (l.33-35) and civilisation to a plant which propagates itself in new soil (l. 137-140). A further metaphor is employed by the speaker to describe the educated “sons of Africa” who will be sent *like arrows to drive the darkness from the land* (l.129-30) (darkness is a metaphor for ignorance). Again, I think that the effect of these metaphors is to enhance the writer’s argument, by suggesting that these processes are pre-determined, organic and natural (and will occur without conflict and exploitation).

4.2.3 Re-interpretation

This text represents an attempt by a promising, young, black South African intellectual to construct a new and positive African identity for himself (and for the class which represents, the African educated elite or emerging black middle class). In the speech, Seme presents his ideas on human development, African history, the current state of Africa and his future hopes for Africa. Many of

these ideas were probably derived from his recent studies in anthropology, history and political science, and also from the wider socio-historical context of the text's production. We have seen how he drew, in various ways, upon the dominant nineteenth and early twentieth century discourses, namely individualism, liberalism, humanism, social Darwinism, racism and nationalism to produce this text. I suggest that Seme's comparison of civilisation with a plant which seeds itself, *when the seeds fall in other soils new varieties sprout up* l.139-40, is more like his own discursive practice. For this is an apt description of how Seme appropriated the dominant ruling class ideologies of his time and reworked them to produce a new African nationalist variety which was to serve the interests of the new black middle class.

The black middle class identity which is constructed by implication through Seme's text, is as follows: Their identity and power are based on their education - modern knowledge is power (see l.127). The black middle class are to use this power to mediate between the West and Africa as the agents of development (or "civilisation") and to lead Africa into the modern era. This educated elite will also wrest political leadership in Africa from the European colonial powers and from their African agents, often the traditional African ruling class. Their values are to be based on liberalism (for example, representative government, rule of law, freedom of the individual, guarantee of private property etc.). Their political strategy is to be based on African super-tribal unity (African nationalism and also Pan-Africanism) and their tactics are to be constitutional.

I suggest that in this text, Seme was beginning to lay the ideological foundations of his own political practice (and for the political party which he founded). We have already noted that when he returned to South Africa in 1912, he founded the SANNC (to become the ANC), in order to unite black South Africans in their struggle for political and civil rights against the white settler government. In keeping with the interpretation given above, Seme stressed in his opening speech in Bloemfontein that the SANNC's purpose was to form a super-tribal African party to defend the rights and privileges of the black middle class. During his leadership of the ANC, Seme insisted that their means of doing so

should be “civilised”, (that is, constitutional and legal). Under Seme’s leadership, the ANC remained a liberal, elitist party which campaigned in the interests of the black intelligentsia and middle classes and resisted taking up the cause of the black working and peasant classes.

4.3 Text 3: New Nation

The ICU in Durban

New Nation New History Volume 1 (1989)

(New Nation & the History Workshop: University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (pp. 29 - 30))

4.3.1 Socio-historical Analysis

This text is one of a series which originally appeared in the “New Nation”, a left-wing, anti-apartheid weekly with a predominantly black urban readership, which ran in the 1980s. The articles were written for the New Nation by the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) History Workshop, a group of left-wing, white academics, who were concerned to popularise South African history. The series began in October 1986 and was so popular that it was collected into a book for publication in 1989. The front cover of the book sells itself as follows, “South Africans have a brand new history book - written from a people’s perspective.” And later, “in the articles, the authors try to correct some of the distortions of history that are found in many South African reference books.”

The back cover states that,

“The articles are all written by experts and based on the most up-to-date research and ideas. In South Africa, many people have been silenced and most history books speak for the rich and powerful. These articles give a voice to those ordinary men and women whose struggles have shaped the course of our history and the shape of our nation.”

In order to understand where this series sits in the larger picture of recent South African historiography, it is necessary to understand the dynamic between the political context and the forms of history writing to which it gave rise. The 1973 Durban strikes and the 1976 student revolt are widely recognised as marking the beginning of a new period of resistance in South African history. Initially, this period saw the rise of an independent black trade union movement and the emergence of fledgling worker education programmes. In response, new accessible labour histories began to be written to service the new unions. In the late 1960s and 1970s a new school of revisionist South African historians had emerged (mostly trained in British universities), who applied a Marxist class

analysis to South African history and society. Two branches of this school can be identified: the structural revisionists and the social history revisionists. The former, influenced by Althusser and Poulantzas, investigated the macro-structures of South African society and tended to apply Neo-Marxist theory in a rather inflexible and reductionist manner. This branch of revisionist history provided the theoretical frame for the popular workerist histories which were produced in the '70s and '80s. However, in the 1980s, the launch of the UDF in 1983 and of COSATU in 1985, signalled a re-assertion of the ANC and SACP and the re-emergence of the African nationalist tradition which, particularly in COSATU, fused with the workerist tradition of the 1970s. By 1985, the "national question" could no longer be ignored and inflexible notions of "class" began to be challenged (Bozzoli & Delius, 1990: 27). The second branch of revisionist history, the social history revisionists, sought to bring human agency, identity and culture into their historical interpretations. In the context of the political changes described above, it was this branch of revisionist historiography which produced a more nuanced historiography, which did not automatically privilege class as a theoretical category over other more local factors such as ethnicity, consciousness, culture and ideology. This merging of revisionist and localist approaches found expression in the Wits History Workshop, which was launched in 1977, to produce history for popular as well as worker audiences and in so doing, to "empower" the dispossessed by returning them to their "lost traditions" and giving them a sense that they too, could (re)make history (Bozzoli & Delius, 1990: 28).

We should also note that at the time these articles were being written, the 1985 mass student boycotts had resulted in the call for "people's education" which included the establishment of a History Commission to produce a history "from below" for schools, which could replace the old apartheid versions. The dedication in the front of the *New Nation History* is "For the Youth of South Africa".

Furthermore, these articles were written during a state of emergency which gave the government enormous powers for suppression of its opposition; many UDF

leaders were detained under state of emergency law during this period. This may well have been the reason for the anonymity of the authors of these articles. But, although the author of this text is not named, we can assume that s/he was probably a white academic, writing during a period of mass popular resistance to apartheid and that s/he may have been seeking to reconcile his/ her scholarly and political commitments by writing “empowering” histories which were “relevant” to and had lessons for the contemporary political struggle, but which did not overly compromise his/ her scholarship. We can assume that this text was written by a (white) academic for a non-academic purpose and audience under conditions of extreme political repression.²⁵

The subject of this text is the Industrial and Commercial Union in Durban, and it forms a chapter in the section on Natal History. It is interesting that the ICU is not dealt with on a national basis, but only from this regional perspective. The overall organisation of the book deals with regional history and then with themes such as “The Struggle for the Land”, “The Making of the Ghettos”, “The Women’s Struggle”, etc. This seems to confirm the point made above, that the History Workshop was attempting to move away from macro- and structural analyses of South African society, to the production of more specific, local and social histories.

4.3.2 Formal and Discursive Analysis

Field of Discourse:

Here I examine that aspect of the context of situation which determines and shapes the ways in which **ideational meanings** of the text are represented. I

²⁵ In the seminar on this text, one of the historians pointed out that he is pretty certain that the writer of this text is in fact, Paul la Hausse, of Wits University, and that it is based on his chapter entitled, “The Message of the Warriors: The ICU, the labouring poor and the making of popular political culture in Durban, 1925-1930” in Bonner, P (ed.) (1989) “Holding Their Ground: Class, Locality and Culture in 19th and 20th Century South Africa” Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press and Ravan Press, (pp. 19-49). A reading of this chapter confirms this opinion. What struck me in reading the academic chapter later, was how much of the analysis and rich texture has been lost in the popular version. Furthermore, neither the political message nor the narrative structure which I identified in the New Nation text, were evident in the academic chapter. It would be an interesting exercise to compare the two texts in more detail and to use the comparison for a discussion on the linguistic and structural differences between academic and popular historical discourse.

seek to answer the questions “what is the text saying and how is it saying it?” Firstly, in answer to the question, “who are represented as the main **participants** in this text?”, a count of the **actors, sensers, identifiers, carriers** and **sayers** of the **processes** in the text reveals the following:

- workers (of various descriptions) 27%
- nominal groups or abstract nouns 20%
- people 17%
- Champion and union officials 17%
- the ICU 14%
- the authorities 4%.

If we collapse the workers and the ICU categories, then workers and their organisation are represented as the subjects of over 40% of all **processes** in the text. This suggests that the writer of this text is committed to representing a class analysis of society, and this is what one would expect in a history of a trade union. Note also that the trade union leadership are represented as a separate category (see further discussion under **Tenor**). However, the writer also chooses to represent workers, not as a homogeneous group, but to make distinctions between various types and fractions of workers - for example, *skilled African workers* l.28, *this lower middle class* l.29, *migrant workers* l.56, *domestic workers* l.58, *dockworkers* l.63. The substantial reference to ordinary people (category 3), for example, *people*, *blacks* l.3, *Africans* l.10,13,24, *young men* l.16, *youths* l.19, *old men and women* l.95, suggests that the writer represents the ICU as, not just a worker’s movement, but also as a popular mass movement - for example, *it had become a mass political movement* l.3. Further lexical choices, for example, *local* l.6, *different*, *particular* l.7, *Zulu identity* l.9, *families* l.15, *in and outside the workplace* l.22-3, *Zulu workers* l.50, *The Zulu nation* l.8, and the mention of a *dancehall song by domestic workers* l.58-9, indicate that the writer is concerned to deliberately modify the class analysis with issues of localism, culture, ethnicity and identity. This suggests that the writer is committed to writing a history about “the people” and not just about “the workers”.

Furthermore, we should note the backgrounding of the authorities (for example, *the PACT government and the Durban Town Council*), and the fact that the

authorities are always the deleted agents of the agentless passives in the text (see discussion under **Mode**). Where they are represented at all, the (white) authorities are positioned as simply reacting to initiatives taken by the (black) people. This suggests that the writer is intent on writing a history “from below”, in which workers and ordinary people do the actions and are the agents of history.

An examination of the different kinds of **processes** in the text, reveals the following:

- material processes 53%
- mental processes 15%
- verbal processes 8%
- relational processes 24%.

One would expect a predominance of **material processes** in an historical recount such as this, but, what is interesting, is the high incidence of **relational processes** in the text and the pattern of choice of abstract nouns and nominal groups, (mentioned above as category 2), for example:

Land shortage l.14, life l.19, living conditions l.20, wages l.23, 62, grievances l.33, this struggle l.60, conditions l.63, promises l.77, worker support l.90.

These nominal groups are nearly always the **carriers** or **identifiers** of the **relational processes**, (for example, *Life ...was hard l.19, Living conditions were crowded and oppressive l.20-21*). This suggests that whilst this history primarily draws on the recount or narrative genres, (that is, it is a political history of events and actions), it also draws on the expository genre which uses **attributive identifying** and **classifying relational processes** with **nominalisations as participants** to describe conditions and states of being, and to assign **participants** to classes of things. This suggests that the history constructed here is a social as well as a political history; it is concerned to describe the conditions of everyday life of ordinary people.

The writer’s frequent choice of **circumstantial adjuncts** (references to time and place) for example:

*in 1919 l.2, By 1926, in the cities and countryside l.4, in particular regions of the country l.7, In Durban l.8,*²⁶

and his/her concern with precision and accuracy, for example, the mention of specific numbers in l. 22, 24, 40, 46, confirms the assertion above, that this text is an exemplar of the genre of historical recount or narrative.

But this political and social history is also represented in terms which “the people” of contemporary black urban South Africa would have been able to relate to and identify with. The writer frequently chooses to use terms from contemporary “struggle” discourse to describe the events of the past, for example:

mass political movement l.3, resistance .. dispossession l.6, protest l.7, land shortage l.14, low wages l.23, racial oppression l.31, grievances l.33 & 34, victories l.35, challenge l.37, leadership problems l.53, struggles l.54, mobilise support l.53, public meetings l.54, militant l.63, boycott l.64, picket l.69, state repression .. and increased unemployment l.91, consolidate l.93.

The effect of these choices would presumably have been to encourage the intended readership to identify with the main actors of the history constructed in the text, in order to confirm their own position as actors in contemporary history and also to learn lessons from the past for the present (this is elaborated on below). Another effect of these linguistic choices is that they suggest that the reader is concerned to close the social distance between him/ herself and his/ her readership. This leads us to the analysis of the **tenor of discourse**.

Tenor of Discourse

The concern here is with the way in which **interpersonal meaning** is represented in the text. I look at the patterns of lexicogrammatical choice which indicate the writer’s attitude to the **ideational meanings** discussed above, his /her construction of the social identities of the **participants** and the social relations between them .

Firstly, the **mood** of this text is typically that of reporting, that is the **declarative mood**, and mostly in the past tense. This is characteristic of

²⁶ For further discussion see **Mode**.

historical discourse. The only exceptions are the conclusion in l.95-6, *Today old men and women remember ... Some also remember ...*, where the present tense is used to link the past with the present, and to remind young readers that some old people in their communities still have living memories of the ICU. A further effect of this reference to elderly men and women in the black community is that it confirms the attempt, mentioned above, by the writer to lessen the social distance between him/ herself (white, middle class) and his/ her readership (mostly black and working class).

Other exceptions to the dominant **mood** are those verbs in direct quotations, in l. 61, Champion's promise is in the future tense, *will be getting* (but still declarative), in l. 87-8, his promise is in the present and future tenses, *is, will now combine*. In l.59 the words of the song are in the **interrogative** and **imperative mood**. I think that the effect of the changes in tense and mood in these quotations is to make the history come to life, and to seem more authentic to its readership, (whether the wordings are direct translations from oral tradition or whether they are authentic constructions by the writer is not made clear, for acknowledgement of sources is not required in this genre of popular history writing).

Another aspect of the **tenor of discourse** is the writer's attitudes towards and positioning of the various groups of **participants** in the text. This is evident in the patterns of choices which the writer makes to convey **interpersonal** meanings through the use of **mood adjuncts** (prepositional phrases or adverbial groups which express degrees of certainty, probability or usuality), **comment adjuncts** (which express the writer's attitude towards or comment on the proposition represented in the clause), **attitudinal epithets** (adjectives expressing the writer's attitudes and values), **attributes** (the qualities ascribed or attributed to entities, usually after **relational processes**) and **prepositional phrases**.

Firstly, the masses, workers and ordinary people are portrayed sympathetically by the writer, for example, through the use of the following **prepositional phrases**:

Thousands flocked ... in the hope l.3-4, in search of work l.11-12, In their frustration l.32;

through the use of the following **attributes**:

increasingly difficult (to support families) l.14-15, life was hard l.18, crowded and oppressive l.21, wages were very low l. 23;

through the use of the following **attitudinal epithets**:

forced off white-owned farms l.13, rigorous control l.22, worsening conditions l.29, the degrading practice l.37, the unfair dismissal l.38;

and through the use of the following **comment adjuncts**: *relatively better living l.25, waited expectantly l.86.*

Through these choices of **modality**, “the people” are mostly portrayed as victims of exploitation, dispossession, discrimination and racism. This representation is reinforced by the photograph on p.29 which shows a large group of Africans, some very poorly dressed, gathered in a dusty open space, with migrant hostels in the background; the caption below reads “*Thousands of people flocked to ICU meetings which were addressed by AWG Champion*”. But in some parts of the text, the workers are also portrayed as collectively strong and able to take control of their own destinies, without relying on the union leadership, for example, *militant dockworkers l.63, independent action l.68, (attitudinal epithets) and picket ...fiercely l.69 (comment adjunct).*

Also evident in the descriptions and positioning of this group is the point mentioned earlier under **Field**, namely that they are represented as having multiple identities, and in this case, a Zulu ethnic identity in particular, for example:

appealed strongly to the Zulu identity of the workers l.8-9, But not all Africans were labourers l.24, angry Zulu workers l.50, “The Zulu nation.. l.87.

In this regard, the re-telling of the story of Champion’s wooing of Solomon, the Zulu king, in the context of the 1980s is significant. Solomon had previously, in 1927, under the influence of the Natal Native Congress and Inkatha, denounced the ICU as a destructive organisation. His brief alliance with Champion in 1930

was seen as a great threat to the government's native policy of "retribalisation" in which traditional rulers were to be used to rule the "natives", (hence Champion's banishment from Natal soon after this incident). In the 1980s, Inkatha was again using its alliance with Zulu royal house to mobilise support in Natal. Perhaps one of the writer's motives in stressing the Zulu identity of the members of the ICU and in telling of this, albeit fragile, alliance between the ICU and the Zulu king, was to suggest to his/ her readers that Zulu ethnicity could be mobilised in various ways and did not necessarily have to be tied to Inkatha. (See, for example, the ANC's attempt to ally with the Zulu king in the 1990s).

The writer's attitude towards the lower middle class trade union leadership, including Champion is apparently ambivalent. In his/ her representation of the early days of the union s/he reveals a positive attitude, for example:

through the use of the following **comment adjuncts**: *appealed strongly to the Zulu identity of the workers l.8-9, But many Durban workers had come to identify strongly l.48, used the courts to successfully challenge l.36, with enthusiasm l.56, and remember with excitement l.95;*

and through the use of the following **attitudinal epithet** and **prepositional phrase**:, *the popular ICU dancehall l.58. In spite of these leadership problems l.53*

However, this pattern is tempered with a more negative representation of the union leadership, as supported by the following pattern of choices -

prepositional phrase: *in trouble l. 42,*

attitudinal epithets: *some elements of truth l.45, good salaries l. 47, declining support l.82, and remember ... the unfulfilled promises l.96;*

attributes: *workers' wages were as low as ever l.62, more cautious l.67, in league with the employers l.8;*

mood adjunct: *continually promised l.94.*

Here the ICU leadership are represented as corrupt, as collaborators and ultimately as unable to deliver their promises to their constituency. This ambivalent representation of the ICU leadership is confirmed by the portrait of Champion on p. 30; he is portrayed as a well-dressed gentleman, wearing a collar and tie, waistcoat and gold chain, with the following caption:

“ICU Durban leader AWG Champion: He used the courts to challenge unjust laws”. This caption, I suggest, positions him as a cautious leader who adopts middle class ways and does not venture beyond the legal system in his resistance.

Thirdly, we have already seen under **field**, the extent to which the authorities are back-grounded in this text. Whilst the effects of the state’s repression are felt by the people represented in the text, the state is represented as subject only once, *the new “Pact” government further restricted the opportunities for skilled African workers l.27* and *the Durban Town Council which attempted to defuse the militancy l.74*. The writer’s silence about the role of the South African state, white government and ruling class in this construction of history, seems to suggest, firstly that s/he was deliberately setting out to write a history “from below” in order to correct the many official histories written “from above”, and also that s/he chose to take for granted that s/he and her audience were agreed on the negative positioning and role of the authorities.

The overall effect of the writer’s positioning of the participants in this text is to suggest to ordinary people (the intended readership) that they have a critical role to play in the making of South African history, and that they should rely on their own collective action to achieve their political and economic goals. I suggest that the lesson the writer wants his/ her readers to learn, from the history of the ICU, is about the importance of developing an accountable leadership; the people should be sceptical about the trustworthiness of the lower middle class leadership of their unions and organisations, who, in the past have succumbed to collaboration with the authorities and have used “the struggle” to further their own interests. (It may well be that the writer was hoping to encourage a critical attitude on the part of his readership towards the trade union and UDF leadership of the time.) The patterns of linguistic choices shown in the text indicate that this is a history written “for the people” by an historian who believes that ordinary people have a right to a representation of the past in which they are represented as the heroes; in the belief that it is this group of

people who are the “masses” of the mass democratic movement and who are the main protagonists in the struggle against apartheid.

Mode of Discourse

Here I examine the ways in which **textual meaning** is expressed in the text.

Mode is concerned with how we use language to organise the **experiential** (ideational) and **interpersonal** meanings into a linear and coherent whole.

I first consider the writer’s use of the **passive voice with deleted agent**. This voice is selected in the following examples:

had been forced off (by white farmers) l.13, were subject to rigorous control (by employers and the municipal authorities) l.22 (the Natives Urban Areas Act had been passed in 1923); The ICU was given (by the Durban Town Council) l.76.

The effect of these choices is to background those who held economic and political power, the white employers, farmers, municipality and state. As noted above, the reason for this back-grounding may be the writer’s desire to focus on constructing a history of the people (that is, “from below”) or it may be that s/he assumes that knowledge of the perpetrators of these actions will be readily understood by the readership - black South Africans living under the apartheid state (see discussion in **tenor** above). The only other use of the passive voice with deleted agent is in l.1, *was established*. We are not told who established the ICU and Kadalie is only mentioned in passing, later on in the text. This omission may indicate the writer’s decision to treat the ICU (a national movement) from a regional perspective and to therefore emphasise Champion’s leadership and the importance of Zulu identity in this representation of its history.

The writer’s assumption about a shared position and shared knowledge with his/ her readership is also indicated by his/ her use of quotation marks to represent terms which were in common usage in the period under discussion, but from which the writer wants to distance him/ herself and remove their legitimacy, for example:

“Pact” l.27, “civilised labour policy” l.28, “proper authorities” l.70

(this last use of quotation marks may also indicate a direct quote). This practice was common in “struggle” circles in the ‘80s, and in spoken texts, quotation marks were often indicated by the term “so-called”.

This assumption of shared knowledge is also evident in the **exophoric reference** to Zulu heroes such as *Shaka* and *Bambatha* l.55. An article had been dedicated to each of these heroes in earlier chapters of this section of the book on Natal History.

I now consider the writer’s choices of **theme** in the text, and the way in which these selections contribute to the overall **cohesion** of the text. The organisation of this text is characterised by many short paragraphs which are connected (within and between paragraphs) by the writer’s frequent placing of **circumstantial adjuncts** and **conjunctions** and to a lesser extent **conjunctive adjuncts** in **thematic position**. The writer’s construction of such short paragraphs may be a result of the fact that this is a densely summarised secondary text, and each paragraph may well represent a summary of much longer source texts. However, the writer manages to construct a narrative and sense of overall **coherence** by using the following **cohesive devices**: For example, the following **circumstantial adjuncts** (representing **logical relations** of **spatio-temporal enhancement**) are all in **thematic** position:

By 1926 l.3, *In Durban* l.8, *by the 1920s* l.10-11, *By 1929* l.23, *after 1924* l.27, *By 1927* l.35, *at the end of 1927*, l.42, *in Johannesburg* l.50, *At its public meetings*, l.54, *“Within three months”* l.61, *by 1929* l.62, *In June 1929* l.63, *After the meeting* l.87, *By the end of 1930* l.90, *Today* l.95.

In these examples, place and time reference is used conjunctively as text-creating cohesive devices. The effect of this recurring pattern is to frame the narrative with a sense of location and its chronological development. This creates coherence across the different events represented in the text. Again this places this text firmly within the genre of historical recount or narrative.

I now examine the **conjunctions** and **conjunctive adjuncts** which are also in **thematic position** and which serve to emphasise the links between the clauses which they preface and the preceding text. The following are **causal-**

conditional or **concessive-conditional conjunctive adjuncts** and **conjunctions** which set up **logical relations of enhancement** between the two clauses:

Because of local traditions of resistance and patterns of African dispossession l.6, Although Africans l.10, As a result thousands of young men l.16, However after 1924, l.27, As a result this lower middle class l.29, In doing so, l.39, Even in Johannesburg l.50, In spite of these leadership problems, l.53, Thus one song l.58.

The choice of these phrases in thematic position at the beginning of clauses has the effect of setting up cause and effect relations between the events narrated. Again this is characteristic of historical discourse which favours the establishment of causal relations in its construction of argument. The second pattern of **conjunctive adjuncts** and **conjunctions** in **thematic position** are those which set up **logical relations of adversative extension**: for example,

But not all Africans l.24, But at the end of 1927 l.42, But many Durban workers l.48, But this struggle l.60, But by 1929 l.61, But when l.67, But worker's anger l.71, But for many workers l.77, But nothing l.88, But the leadership l.93.

The effect of this pattern, as mentioned above, is to create **cohesion** between the condensed and sometimes disjointed events of the narrative. Furthermore, I think that the effect of the recurrent placing of *But* in **thematic position** has the effect of representing to the reader a sense of the difficulties, problems and setbacks involved in the “struggle”. It emphasises the overall message of the text, which is that despite the high hopes and promises which the leadership of the ICU held out to their followers, the Union failed to, deliver to its constituency. As mentioned above, the lesson to be learnt from this construction of history is therefore that “the people” should rely on themselves to achieve their “freedom”.

I next attempt to ascertain the extent to which the story developed in this text conforms to the generic structure of a narrative. A narrative typically has the following structure (Butt et al, 1995: 142):

- Abstract (optional) - what the story is going to be about?
- Orientation - when and where does the story take place, who are the participants and what are they doing?

- Complication - then what happened, what went wrong, what problems arose?
- Resolution - how did events sort themselves out?
- Evaluation - so what is the point of this story?
- Coda (optional) - what is the relation between the events narrated and the present context of its narration?

I use these categories to ascertain the extent to which the text under analysis conforms to a typical narrative structure. Firstly, I suggest that lines 1-17, which introduce the reader to the ICU, its origins, the reasons for looking at the ICU from a regional perspective and the socio-economic context in which it arose, might be considered to be the Abstract. The section sub-titled *Life was hard* (l. 18-40), describes the living and working conditions of the working class and lower middle class in Durban and then tells of the rise of the ICU under Champion's leadership; ending with the high point of the ICU's support (28 000 members). I suggest that this section conforms to the next stage of the generic structure termed Orientation. The third section of the text, sub-titled *In trouble* (l.41-65), might be understood as relating the Complication. It introduces the downside of the ICU, the failure and corruption of its leadership, but *in spite of these leadership problems* (l.53), it tells of how the ICU's appeal to a Zulu identity and history, ensures the ICU's continued popularity in Natal. The next section, sub-titled *Support for boycott* (l.66-78), is more difficult to reconcile with the category Resolution. It describes the militancy of the dockworkers and the failure of the ICU to give leadership to the beer boycott. The boycott does achieve the establishment of the Native Advisory Board, but it does not improve workers' wages. Thus there is only partial resolution to this story. The section sub-titled *No Champion* (l.79-94), can be seen to conform to the Evaluation stage of the generic structure. It tells of the decline of worker support for Champion and the ICU (despite his attempts to use the Zulu king to regain support) because of his failure to fulfil his promises, particularly with respect to workers' wages. Thus Champion and the ICU leadership are seen to have deserved the workers' withdrawal of support and are evaluated negatively. I suggest that (l. 95-94) may be understood as the Coda to the tale. This stage is in the present tense and serves to make a link between the present and the past;

readers are told what the ICU still means for old people today, and again an ambivalent message comes through. Overall, I suggest that this generic structure of the narrative, plus the cohesive devices mentioned above, hold this text together as a story, albeit a story with an unhappy ending.

4.3.3 Re-interpretation

With respect to genre, this text is a good exemplar of the genre of popular historical writing as opposed to academic historical writing. We have seen that it has a narrative structure and that it attends to chronology and causation, the latter being typical of the recount genre in historical discourse. However, the writer's failure to attend to evidence, his/her omission of the usual scholarly conventions such as the acknowledgement of sources, via footnotes, referencing, etc., as well as his/her insertion of popular "struggle" discourse, mean that this text would not meet the conventional requirements of academic text. Instead, s/he presents a simplified construction of a definitive historical narrative with a slightly pedagogical or moralistic tone (see the lesson to be learnt discussed above). S/he does not (and probably would not be expected to by the intended readership) provide the readers with sufficient resources to interrogate this interpretation of history. S/he presumably assumes that her readership is relatively uncritical and that because s/he shares with them their anti-apartheid political position, s/he has the authority and legitimacy to interpret history on their behalf.

Furthermore, the power to define and interpret the past, which the writer wields is largely hidden because s/he constructs the ordinary "masses" as the agents of history. Clearly, the writer's intention in writing this text was to provide an accessible and useful history for ordinary people, a history in which their daily lives are represented and which has some relevance for their present struggle against apartheid. But, whilst this interpretation may have been politically empowering in its context, its potential for intellectual empowerment is limited by the constraints of the low levels of education of its intended readership. So, ironically, although the lesson of this history is that "the people" should control their own destinies and not depend on their leaders for their advancement, the

readers remain dependent on the writer (the white intellectual vanguard at Wits University) to interpret the past for them. This point brings us back to the socio-historical context in which the text was produced. My intention is not to blame the writer for this dependency; it is simply to point out that however good his/her intentions (and those of the Wits History Workshop and the New Nation project) may have been, the South African social structure was (and largely remains) such that access to knowledge, and the power to control the production of knowledge, still lay in the hands of white intellectuals. Despite the writer's political identification with her readership and their cause, s/he could not hand over to them the power to interpret and interrogate the past for themselves. In this sense the writer remains an "expert" who can never become one of "the people" for whom s/he writes.

4.4 Analysis of Text 4

Women and Resistance in South Africa

Cherryl Walker (1982)

(Onyx Press: London) (pp. 19 - 24, 30 - 32))

4.4.1 Socio-historiographical Analysis

Cherryl Walker, as a young, white, female, post-graduate doing research at the University of Cape Town in the late 1970s, developed her theoretical tools during the height of the radical-revisionist school's dominance over South African historiography. As a protégé of Robin Hallet, an African historian of the liberal empirical school, she was probably aware of the concerns of the earlier Africanist historians to write an African history which accorded agency to Africans. The radical-revisionists of the '70s were concerned to explain the failure of African nationalism elsewhere in Africa and to challenge the liberal or modernisation view that capitalism was a benign, modernising force (which, in South Africa would inevitably demand the rationalisation and reform of apartheid). Instead, influenced by British Neo-Marxists, French structuralists and Latin American underdevelopment theory, the radical-revisionists were concerned to explain the development of capitalism in South Africa, the "articulation" of pre-capitalist and capitalist "modes of production", the role of the South African state, structural oppression within the political-economy and the way in which race consciousness had been used as "a tool of capital", for example by politicians, as an ideology to form class alliances. But by the early '80s, when Walker produced her text, the dominance of the revisionists was beginning to be challenged by social historians who, whilst accepting the importance of the "material base" in any historical analysis, were concerned to move away from what they perceived to be the reductionism and determinism of the structural analyses of the '70s. Instead, these historians wanted to be able to develop explanations of culture, identity, consciousness and the workings of ideology as well. I suggest that Walker's text can be seen as an example of this late radical-revisionist school, although, as we shall see below, she remains committed to privileging a class analysis of society.

In terms of feminist historiography, women historians had begun, only in the '60s, to make women visible in national histories. However, if women were really to become the subjects of history, then the boundaries of what had traditionally been regarded as the objects of historical knowledge had to be extended beyond the political and constitutional domains. As Walker herself notes in the preface to her book,

“Given their subordinate status within society, as well as their primarily domestic preoccupation, women have generally been excluded from the institutions of political power and, as a result, excluded from most orthodox historiography as well.” (1982: viii)

The back cover blurb promotes Walker's book as being written from a feminist as well as from a radical-revisionist position:

“fill(ing) a significant gap in the written history of South African politics. It provides a detailed and hitherto unrecorded account of women's involvement in twentieth century political struggles.... The book also gives a valuable overview of women's changing position vis-à-vis the developing capitalist economy of South Africa during the period 1920-1960.”

Walker herself mentions the compensatory emphasis of her work in her preface, “One of the premises underlying the book is that the study of history needs to be broadened to incorporate the female world as a legitimate area of research.” But she adds, “This does not mean that one can delineate a ‘women's history’ that forms a separate study from the history of society in general.” (1982: viii) However, she does allow for “a kind of broad ‘women's consciousness’”, based on women's common suffering from sexual discrimination and the role of reproducers and socialisers of children (1982: 2). But she remains adamant that,

“white women have been separated from black women by a very wide gulf, located in the basic structures of white supremacy. For most women this colour-based divide cuts through any experience of common womanhood they might share. Furthermore, for the majority of women who are black, the disabilities they suffer as blacks rather than as women have been felt to press most heavily upon them” (1982:7).

Walker may have intended to view gender in terms of race, culture, consciousness and ideology as well as class, but I suggest that her analysis remains tied largely to the logic of the structural class analysis of the

revisionists. This is evident in her Introduction where she argues that the “sexual division of labour” between men and women is not the fundamental contradiction in modern society,

“In societies where the capitalist mode of production is predominant - as it was in South Africa by the beginning of the twentieth century - the basic division of society into conflicting classes has a crucial bearing on the position of women as well.” (1982:1)

She goes on to explain how class rather than gender determines women’s political activity:

“under capitalism, this sex-based contradiction (the division of labour in pre-colonial societies) is both overshadowed and transformed by the dominant contradictions between capital and labour, between the owners of the mode of production and the workers. Women are distributed throughout the class spectrum and it is this, their different class positions, rather than their shared sex, that finally determines their basic and varied political allegiances.” (1982:1).

Further on in keeping with the later radical-revisionist school’s position, she observes the complexity of the South African case, in which “the broad divisions of society along class lines have been further compounded by cleavages based on colour and ethnic considerations”. She notes that

“(r)ecent work on the relationship between class and race in South Africa has begun to show how racism has been manipulated in the interests of the capitalist state, particularly in underpinning a cheap black labour force.” (1982:5).

Walker goes on to explain how sexual discrimination was also built into the system of labour exploitation from the start via the system of reserves, migrant labour, passes and customary law.

According to Hetherington (1993), by the late ‘70s, three strands of feminism had developed - liberal, Marxist and radical; but in South Africa in the ‘80s, all women historians were writing within the Neo-Marxist materialist discourse (see for example the quotations from Walker above). Hetherington suggests that early South African feminist historians did not adopt the classical Marxist or radical feminist positions because they identified with the political goals of the national liberation movement and an increasingly articulate and militant

black trade union movement, which were to transform the South African political order and overthrow the apartheid state rather than capitalism per se (Hetherington, 1993). Walker's acknowledgement in her preface that women's liberation was currently viewed as subordinate to national liberation, is consistent with this explanation,

“(e)ven within the national liberation movement, there is sometimes hostility towards any study that smacks of ‘women’s liberation’. The women’s movement is equated with bourgeois feminism; it is regarded as a threat, a reactionary movement that will divide men from women and weaken the combined struggle of both against their common enemy.” (1982: ix).

This new South African feminist historiography did acknowledge the forces of gender, culture and consciousness, but usually these were explained in terms of modes of production, social relations of production and class positions, as illustrated by the quotations from Walker's introduction above.

According to Hetherington, (1993: 261), “White English-speaking historians of South Africa found their quintessential victims and heroines in black South African women”, and their histories accordingly focused on two themes: the portrayal of black women as oppressed victims of a special kind of capitalism buttressed by the state; and the celebration of the heroic resistance of black women against oppression. I now turn to a formal and discursive analysis of sections of Walker's book, “Women and Resistance in South Africa”, to ascertain the extent to which Hetherington's generalisation applies to Walker's construction of a black women's history.

4.4.2 Formal and Discursive Analysis

Field of Discourse:

From the socio-historical analysis above, we can predict that Walker's intention in producing this text is to document and explain the interaction of class, gender and race and the specific form which it took, in women's political organisations in the twentieth century, but from a position which assumes that class (that is, women's differing positions in the social relations of production) was the unit of analysis with the greatest explanatory power. I first examine the **processes**,

participants, circumstances and logical relations in the text in order to explore the ways in which the **field of discourse** determines and shapes the ways in which **ideational meanings** are represented.

The text analysed consists of selected extracts from a whole book. Since these are not in any statistical sense representative of the book as a whole, a count of the **process** and **participant** types chosen in the extracts would not yield an accurate measure of the patterns of the writer's choices. However, like the book as a whole, the text includes short bits of narrative, based on the writer's own research, interspersed with lengthy paragraphs of exposition, in which the writer comments on the narrative and weaves it in, to support her overall structural analysis and argument. As might be expected, in the narrative sections **material processes** predominate, for example:

met l.18, to establish l.18, to lobby l.20, drew forth l.20; presenting l.105, were arrested l.106, boiled over l.106, Headed, marched, hustled l.111, flourishing, came down l.116, demand l.118, defied, came forward l.131.

It is noteworthy that the **material processes** involving white women as **participants** refer to political organisation and the exerting of pressure via constitutional and legal means, (for example, the first four examples above). By way of contrast, the **processes** representing the actions of black women refer to illegal and violent means, as most of the remaining examples quoted above illustrate.

If we examine the **participants** who are represented as the **actors** of the **material processes** and as the **sayers** of the **verbal processes**, the following becomes evident:

In the first section of the text, (l.1 - 99) the **actors** and **sayers** are mostly white women and the suffragists, for example:

women l.13, 14, suffragists l.18 and also Mrs. Grant l.83 and Aletta Nel l.94.

In the second section of the text (l.100 - 183), the **actors** and **sayers** are mostly black women, for example,

the Native women l.109, Six hundred daughters of South African l.110, thirty-four women l.127, women l.136, 137, 145, black women l.174;

but there are also a number of other **participants** responsible for the action in the second section, for example,

The police l.114, M. K. Gandhi l.126, the ANC l.159, the central government l.159 and The suffragists l.173.

Through such choices the writer represents black women as having more things done to them than did the white suffragists. Furthermore, the actions of the suffragists are represented as being more effective than those of the black women, for example:

The changing position of women and the suffrage campaign itself had made their eventual enfranchisement inevitable by the late 1920s; l. 70-71.

But whilst the political activity of the white suffragists did manage to get them the vote, their victory is represented as being ethically compromised, for example, *it allowed itself to be used l.75-6*. The Pact government cynically used the suffragists' cause to double the electorate and increase white representation, in order to change the constitution and get rid of the Cape African franchise. Walker explains this ethical failure in terms of the interplay of ideology and social structure, for example:

the basic political allegiance of South African women has been shaped not by their sex, but by their class position and their colour l. 78-80; The great majority of suffragists placed the protection of their privileges as members (albeit subordinate members) of the ruling class before the elimination of sexual discrimination l. 91-3.

This failure of the suffragist movement to consider the plight of black people is represented as causing a *wide gulf l.148* between black and white women. This analysis confirms the interpretation above, that Walker was concerned to show that class position rather than gender (she uses the dated terms *sex* and *sex-based*) determined the political activity of women.

In contrast to the white women, black women are portrayed as heroically resisting oppression such as the imposition of pass laws and the Land Act, (see for example the **material processes** listed above, in which black women are the **actors**). Although their resistance is spontaneous and disorganised, their campaign is represented as being successful, (see l.160), in the short term at least. In contrast to the verbal attacks received by white women, black women are shown to suffer physical repression, they are arrested and put in gaol l.127 -

132. This early anti-pass campaign is represented as being historically significant, as the prototype of the Bantu Women's League, established within the ANC in 1914 (p.27); and as *the first large-scale entry of black women operating in terms of the modern (non-tribal) political structure in South Africa, into the political arena.* l.164-6. Walker also points out that it was *non-racial* (that is, composed of coloured and African women, p.30). But, it is important to note that, like the suffragist movement, Walker does not represent the anti-pass campaign as a feminist movement. The women are represented as protesting against everyday grievances such as the pass laws and the imminent passing of the Land Act, l.133-4. Their protests were not articulated in terms of women's emancipation but rather in terms of their oppression as black people,

From the beginning, then, African women's political behaviour was shaped in terms of their community of interest with African men. The anti-pass campaign of 1913/14 had nothing to do with the women's rights movement then rocking the western world l.176-179.

Here again, Walker represents *class position and colour* rather than gender, as being the determining factors (structural causes) of women's history.

If we return to our analysis of **processes** in the text, there is a significantly high proportion of **projecting mental processes** represented in this text, for example:

accepted l.5, *regarded* l.10, *accepted* l.12, *were regarded* l.16, *hope* l.22, *do (not) think* l.23, *cannot pretend* l.24, *were preoccupied* l.26, *was concerned* l.42, *must show* l.46, *know* l.47, *taken (aback)* l.136-7, *disconcerted* l.137, *ponder* l.140, *to see* l.141, *considered* l.142, *to consider* l.150, *looked* l.180, *were looking (back)* l.181, *considered* l.183.

Mental processes are also used to a lesser extent to represent the writer's own mental activity and that expected from the reader, for example:

is (not) surprising l.2, *is examined* l.31, *look* l.32, *throws (light)* l.34, *illustrates* l.38, *to analyse* l.67.

The **sensers** of the **mental processes** represented here, (apart from those in the **processes** quoted above involving the writer and readers), are predominantly "the others", that is, the other **participants** in the text apart from the women. The writer is concerned to represent how the women were perceived by their contemporaries, especially those who exerted power over them, for example:

Most people l.5, major political parties l.10, most politicians l.12, white politicians l.17. black leaders l.26, the APO l.107, l. 136, we, the men l.139, Whites l.141, a white suffragist l.142, she and other suffragists l.149, white south African suffragists l.180, western society l.183.

The effect of this pattern of choice is to highlight the power of ideologies such as patriarchy, sexism, racism and classism. The ideas and perceptions held by the ruling/powerful classes are represented as an (almost material) force which works against the emancipation of women, especially black women. Some of the **mental processes** do have women as their subjects, for example, l. 46 and 47. These choices are used by the writer to illustrate how these dominant ideologies were internalised in the consciousness of the women she was writing about.

We have seen above that Walker's representation of women as agents in history is constantly qualified and restricted by the social structures and ideologies in which they were trapped. By representing to the reader this interplay between social structure and human agency, I suggest that Walker attempts to show the reader that gender and the idea of women's emancipation was not (and could not be) the primary force driving the women's actions. One of the underlying **ideational meanings** in the text, which is reflected in the linguistic choices made by the writer, is that all women in South Africa during this period were oppressed, for example, *motherhood in some way set women apart l.6-7, it was not 'natural' for women to meddle in politics l.12-13.* (Walker's use of 'natural' in scare quotes indicates her view that the socially constructed ideologies of motherhood and patriarchy made these social practices seem natural, or 'the way things ought to be'.) Clauses such as these, describing the sub-ordinate status and conditions of women in the early twentieth century, or ascribing certain **identities** and **attributes** to women are represented in the text by **relational processes**, for example:

Given l.1, was (very restricted) l.2, had (the vote) l.4, was (very limited) l.5, were (mothers) l.5, became l.8; was l.25, possessed l.27, were l.29, had l.49, shared l.50, . was l.51, was l.5.

The **carriers** (of **attributes**) and **identified** subjects of the **relational processes** in the first section of the text are mostly women, the suffragists or the suffrage

movement (l.3, 5, 7, 25, 41, 49, 52, 80, 87 and 90). However, in the second section on black women's resistance, the subjects of **relational processes** are generally abstract nouns or **nominalisations**, for example:

the flashpoint l.104, This incident l.119, This period of unrest l.132, the Bloemfontein anti-pass campaign l.133, The spontaneity, enthusiasm and informal organisation of the campaign l.152, This anti-pass campaign, The issue ... that of passes l.166, The anti-pass campaign of 1913/14 l.178.

This pattern of choice reflects Walker's abstract level of analysis when dealing with black women's resistance, which was probably prompted by a lack of primary sources and evidence. Apart from her quotations from the APO, it is difficult for her to use the **congruent** (grammatically most simple) form when representing the actions of black women because she cannot specify exactly who did what to whom and with what effects. (We have seen that she is able to use the names of individual white suffragists, but she laments that this is not possible when describing the early activities of the anonymous black women p.30). This pattern of choice possibly also reflects her own social distance from her subjects. Although she identified with their political cause, Walker was a white woman writing about black women.

Throughout the expository and analytical sections of the text, Walker makes extensive use of **nominalisations** which are mostly represented as the subjects of **relational processes**, for example:

the women's suffrage movement was l.41, the enfranchisement of women was delayed l.43, the changing position of women had made .. inevitable l.70, the specific timing and scope of the legislation had little to do l.72, the principle of white supremacy implicit l.77, The history of the WEAU supports the argument already advanced, that the basic political allegiance of South African women has been shaped not by their sex, but by their class position and their colour. l.77-80, the demand for the enfranchisement of women was an explicitly feminist one l.89, the suffrage movement was a racist movement l. 89-90, the simmering opposition l.106, The scale and intensity of the demonstrations l.135, the outburst of popular feeling l.155-6, the enforcement of Free State pass laws against women l.160-1, This anti-pass campaign represents l.164, From the beginning, then, African women's political behaviour was shaped in terms of their community of interest with African men. l.176-177.

The overall effect of this form of abstraction is to foreground **relational processes** at the expense of **material** ones and to foreground **nominal groups**

at the expense of clause complexes. The grammar moves the “action” in the text to a higher level of abstraction where human processes become the nouns or “things” with an autonomous existence and reality is coded as a set of relationships between “things”. According to Martin (1993), in this abstract form of writing, the logical relationships which, in the congruent form would be represented as conjunctions between clauses, are often hidden within the clause. In the discussion on the features of historical discourse in Chapter 3.4, it was suggested that this pattern of choice of **relational processes** with **nominalisations** as **participants** is characteristic of the discourse when the writer draws on the expository genre to construct an argument or explanation. This type of abstract discourse is particularly characteristic of the writings of structuralist Neo-Marxists, whose work was dominant in left-wing academic circles at the time of Walker’s writing of this text.

In considering the choice of **circumstances** within the **transitivity system** of the grammar, we should note that the writer frequently chooses **circumstantial adjuncts** to represent specific events in time and place. This is what her intended readership (that is, mainly academic historians, social scientists and feminist intellectuals) would expect in an historical text. Her reference to time and place throughout the text conforms to the conventions of academic historical discourse, for example:

Until 1930 l.3, throughout this time l.10, In the early years of the century l.11, in the early twentieth century l.16, In March 1911, in Durban l.18 in all the main urban centres of the country in the first decade of the twentieth century l.59-60.

Another feature characteristic of the writer’s choice of syntactic elements, which also suggests that this is an academic text, is her construction of complicated **clause complexes**. She often uses **defining relative clauses** to qualify or limit the meaning of a head noun and also sets up complicated **logical relations** between clauses to **elaborate**, **extend** or **enhance** the meaning of the dominant clause; for example:

[The structural reasons {that lay behind this attitude}{in the form of the important reproductive function {that women served}} have already been outlined.] l. 13-15,

[They shared this fate with most black men] - [and it was largely [because the question of the franchise raised such explosive issues about black political rights], [that the suffrage movement was always a muted one] [and the eventual enfranchisement of white women was delayed] [till some ten years after the suffrage movement had triumphed in Europe and North America.]] l. 50-55,

[It can in fact be argued] [that in defying the law [as vociferously as they had], African women were looking back to a cultural tradition {that had allowed women a great deal more independence and authority} {than western society considered either 'natural' or 'respectable' at the time.}] l. 180-183.

The effect of these kinds of choices in the lexicogrammar is to set up predominantly causal relations between the clauses, but this is done in a way which allows the writer to qualify meanings or expand the casual meanings so that she represents a complex hierarchy of causes lying beyond the obvious ones. Walker presumably has to resort to this complex embedding of causality in order to articulate a structural analysis of society in which there are multiple causes.

Tenor of Discourse:

Here I explore how the **context of situation** influences and determines the ways in which **interpersonal meanings** are represented in the text. An examination of the writer's choices of **mood** and her choices of **modality, modal adjuncts** (adverbs) and **attitudinal epithets** (adjectives) will give an indication of her positioning of her readership and of the **participants** in the text.

I first consider the writer's attitude towards and positioning of her readership. We have already seen in the analysis of the **field of discourse**, under her choices of **mental processes** and **complex embedding**, that the writer assumes that her readership is highly literate and here I would add, has some background knowledge of South African politics and the national liberation struggle in particular. The question of Walker's intended audience is not made clear in either the preface or introduction to this text, but one can assume that she was writing for people like herself - left-wing academics, probably historians and social scientists. She may also have seen herself as writing for South African feminist intellectuals (and particularly for those involved in the women's movements of the '80s) and more generally for educated women interested in

women's studies. (A book on an academic thesis is often re-written for a more popular audience).

The **mood** of this text is uniformly **declarative** (except for the **interrogative** in l.87-8, which is a direct quote). This choice is characteristic of the genre in which the text is written, namely academic historical discourse, in which the writer sets herself up as an authority on the subject and shares information with her readers (Walker tells us that the book is based on her M.A. Thesis). This authoritative sharing of information is confirmed by the following choices made to address the reader directly:

examined in detail l.31, look briefly l.32, throws light l.34, It illustrates clearly l.38.

The writer also sets up relations of causality through her use of **modal adjuncts**, which is typical of the genre in which she is working, for example:

thus l.75, as a result l.127, coincided exactly l.132, Inevitably l.155.

She also uses irony for effect in had little to do with women's rights and far more to do with black rights **or, rather, the removal of such rights**. l.72-4. This assumes some sophistication in her readership.

The writer generally displays confidence in her assertions through her choices of strong **modality**, that is through her choice of and **modal finites, mood adjuncts** and **comment adjuncts**, for example:

was very restricted l.3, was very limited l.5, none of the major political parties l.10, was even less l.25, its history has much to tell l.36, was the only political movement l.42, was always a muted one l.52-3, While it is incorrect to analyse ... purely... it is also clear .. l.67-9, coincided exactly with l. 132, had nothing to do with, l.178.

However, as an academic, she is also careful to 'hedge' on those conclusions about which she is less certain:

most politicians accepted l.12, can be traced back l.56, almost entirely English-speaking l.61, probably for the first time l.149, It can in fact be argued l.180, it was largely because l.51, the only possible political home black women could find l.174.

As we shall see from Walker's positioning of the black and white women in the text, Walker was positioning her readership to support the national liberation

movement and particularly the struggle of black women within it. However, she does not provide a tradition or “useable past” for white women’s organisations in South African politics, and the implication is that white women (like herself and many of her intended readers) should rather support to the non-racial (but in practice predominantly black) women’s organisations of the mass democratic movement which were reviving in the early eighties. This interpretation is supported by the linguistic choices the writer makes to position the main **participants** in the text.

Firstly, she encourages an indignant response to the status of women at the beginning of the century. For example in l.50, she describes how women were classified in terms of the franchise *on the same plane as children, lunatics and criminals*. She represents the extremity of patriarchy at the time by showing how they considered the suffragists to be on the very boundaries of normality, *eccentrics at best, dangerous subversives or lunatics at worst l.17*. This has the effect of placing these patriarchs beyond normality for her readers.

She then goes on to describe the white women’s suffrage movement and its predecessors as *tiny, separate societies l.59*, with a membership which was *small, exclusively white, and almost entirely English-speaking l. 61*. The suffragists are positioned as being from *the most privileged strata of society l.63*, and also *energetic, capable and restless l.65*. These descriptions represent the WEAU as small, weak, white and elitist. In a section omitted from this text, Walker describes their tactics as *mild* and their campaign as *a timid and decorous affair*. In terms of its ideology, (and the consciousness of its members) Walker notes that, *it was the only political movement that was actively concerned with women’s rights. Yet even it was at pains to point out that the enfranchisement of women would not upset established sexual (gender) relations in the home. l.42-4*. The WEAU is positioned as being still entrapped in the ideology of patriarchy, which saw the home, the private sphere, as the women’s place in society. Walker thus positions the white WEAU in negative terms for her (probably feminist) readership. As stated earlier, she argues that it was a movement defined more by its race and class position than by its gender

position. It is thus represented as failing to achieve the true status of a genuinely feminist movement and in terms of its political practice is represented as *muted* l.53, *patronising* l.147, *indifferent* (to the plight of black women) and l.173, *racist* l.90 (probably the worst possible criticism to attribute to a “progressive” white South African). Walker has selected some very convincing quotes from her primary sources to confirm her representation of this organisation as one which failed to challenge the South African status quo and to stand for justice, Mrs. Grant:

it is no use talking of justice ... Should we (white) women be so wonderfully just, when after all, the white men in this country are not entirely just to native men?” l.85-8

In contrast to the representation of the white women’s movement, the movement of black women is positioned in a very favourable light. In l.108 - 118, Walker quotes approvingly from the APO, in which the protesting black women are described as,

daughters of South Africa l.110, (and later as *Africa’s daughters* l.141), *brave(st)* l.111, *assum(ing) a threatening attitude* l.114.

Walker herself chooses images of heat, anger and emotion to represent them:

simmering, boiled over l.106, *defiance* l.107, *spontaneous outburst of feeling* l.123, *spontaneity, enthusiasm and informal organisation* l.152, *an explosive issue* l.169, *how strongly women felt against passes* l.168-9, *defied the pass laws vociferously* l.180.

(However, as noted earlier under **Field**, due to her lack of sources, the black women in the text remain an anonymous collective, and their representation therefore seems rather blurred and distant from the writer (and reader)). Even her primary sources from the ‘APO’ and ‘International’ are written from men’s perspectives. Whereas for the suffragists, she is able to give a much sharper representation, particularly of their thinking and consciousness, through their own words and writings. Because Walker has no doubt that her readership will support her own anger over the injustice of the pass law system, she can represent the black women’s anger as righteous anger which is to be viewed sympathetically. For example there is a small contradiction in the APO’s report of the women using sticks to make *no gentle thwacks across the skulls of the police* l.117, and Walker’s statement that *This incident was the beginning of a*

widespread campaign of passive resistance l.119, - although she does try to explain the change of tactics in l. 121-126. However, the reader is left with the impression that justice is on the side of the black women. I don't find Walker's argument in l.173 -177 entirely convincing, (namely that, because the white suffragists were *indifferent* and failed to ally with the black women's movement, they were forced to find a *political home* with black men); for she fails to explain adequately why black women were unable to form their own political organisation, independently of white women and black men. In this sense, she represents black women as victims, and dependants, who had to rely on more powerful players in the political arena to achieve political organisation. Because of the assumed agreement that segregation and apartheid were unjust, Walker can represent white women's dependence on white men as unjust collaboration, but black women's dependence on black men is represented as a shared *community of interest* l.177. Walker is thus forced to conclude that these early anti-pass campaigns were also defined by class and race rather than by gender. But in her desire to represent them as more "feminist" than the suffragists, she suggests that the bravery and assertiveness of the black women's resistance was due to their old tribal traditions and culture which accorded them *a great deal more independence and authority than western society considered either 'natural' or 'respectable' at the time.* l.182-3.

To conclude this section, I look briefly at Walker's positioning of the minor **participants** in the text, white men and black men. Whites in general are represented as aloof and unconcerned about the sufferings of blacks, for example, she reports that the APO is pleased that the women taught *the arrogant whites* a lesson l.110. White men are represented as powerful and sexist. Firstly, the patronising attitude of the white male establishment towards the WEAU is captured in the quote from the Natal Mercury l.22-4. Politicians of the time are represented as being sexist in the extreme, *most politicians accepted without much thought that it was not 'natural' for women to meddle in politics.* l.12-13. Firstly, they are represented as being unthinking, secondly the word *meddle* has connotations of people being involved in something that they know nothing about, thirdly, *in politics*, the public sphere (of men) is used

in opposition to *in the home*, the private sphere (of women). Finally Walker's use of scare quotes around the word *natural* is a means of indicating that this position had become naturalised through the ideology of patriarchy, when in fact it was a result of social and cultural convention. She conveys the strength of this ideology through her observation that the white government (ironically) was *cautiously sympathetic to the view that women should be leniently treated, if not actually exempted (from the pass laws) l. 101-2*. However, this view is seen not to prevail against political expediency. The way in which Walker shows that Hertzog used the cause of the white suffragists to achieve his own anti-democratic political ends, positions white male rulers as powerful, unjust and manipulative. Similarly, police repression of the black women positions these agents of the white male rulers as reactionary forces.

Black men and their political organisations are represented ambivalently (see l.137 quoted below). Like white men, they are shown to subscribe to the patriarchal view that as mothers, women deserved special treatment, that is, they were different and therefore unequal. Black leaders are represented as not considering women's rights an issue (l.25) and also *the uncharted area of women's rights l.28*. In another section of her book, Walker compares the ANC of the time to the WEAU, in its concern to extend the privileges of the white middle class to its members. (In fact the ANC only supported universal franchise in the 1940s). The APO is represented in a slightly more positive light because of its support for the women. In the rather amusing quote from the APO l. 139-141, the men, who are *supposed to be made of sterner stuff l.139*, are shown to be embarrassed by the bravery of the women. Walker describes them as *jubilant, taken aback and a little disconcerted, l.136-7*, at the leadership shown by the women.

It is clear from this analysis of Walker's positioning of the **participants** in her history, that the black women are positioned as the heroines, the white men as the villains (but they are backgrounded, the story is not about them), and the white women and black men as self-interested disempowered groups, caught in the contradictions of society and unable, at this stage in their history, to act for

the greater cause of women's emancipation. This analysis confirms Hetherington's point, quoted in the socio-historical analysis above, that white English-speaking feminist historians, writing in the eighties "found their quintessential victims and heroines in black South African women" (1993: 261).

Mode of Discourse:

In exploring the **mode of discourse**, we are concerned with the way in which language is used to express **textual meanings**, that is with how the wordings of the other two functions are organised into a linear and coherent text. In analysing the **mode of discourse** here, I focus on the following aspects: the **theme-rheme structure** of the clauses and the effect of **marked themes**, the use of **cohesive devices** and the use of discursive conventions relating to the writer's use of primary sources and evidence. I also note the effect of the writer's selection of the **passive voice with deleted agent** combined with the use of abstract nouns and extensive **nominalisation**.

In the **declarative mood**, **actor**, **subject** and **theme** are all mapped on to the same nominal group, so that the **unmarked** thematic position of the subject in a **declarative** clause is always first. In the **declarative mood**, when a **theme** is not the subject of the clause, it is considered to be **marked**. The pattern of Walker's choice of **marked themes** seems to fall into two categories: firstly those which are selected for emphasis, and secondly those which are used as **cohesive devices**, (often **circumstantial adjuncts** referring to time and place), which the writer uses to scaffold the structure of the text. Here are some examples from the first category:

Until women ... force, (a conditional dependent clause with the emphasis on women) 1.7, *Amongst black politicians* (emphasising black rather than white, as previously discussed, in this sense the theme serves a cohesive/ textual function as well) 1.25, *While it is incorrect* ... franchise (a conditional dependent clause used to qualify the traditional interpretation, the writer is setting herself apart from traditional, probably liberal, histories) 1.67, *White and middle class* (emphasising the race and class position of the suffragists) 1.80, *"Well, in this country, ...1.85* (a textual and topical theme), *"As a woman, .. but as a South*

African born person", l.96 (both emphasising the exceptional South African situation), *Although the demand* l. 89 (a dependent clause, emphasising that despite this given knowledge, what is to follow, the **rheme**, is new and of significance to the reader) that is, *the suffrage movement was a racist movement* l.89-90, "*On that day*," l.109, "*Headed .. them*" l.111 (emphasis by the writer of the APO on the brave action by the women).

The writer also uses **marked themes** as **cohesive devices** which enable the reader to make links between previous events and to follow the chronological development of her account. Here are some examples from the text:

This group of **marked themes** has a **cohesive** function, creating links with previous text:

Given the general position of women, l.2 (this had been out-lined in the preceding section of the chapter), *Yet, even it* l.42, *In this respect* l.49, *As already mentioned* l.56, *Nevertheless, probably for the first time* l.149-5.

This group of **marked themes** specifies chronology and location -

Until 1930 l.3, *throughout this time* l.10, *In the early years of the century* l.12, *In March 1911*, l.18, *In the early twentieth century* l.41, *In 1913* l.44, *At that stage* l.49, *In Bloemfontein* l.127, *In Kroonstad, Winburg and Senekal* l.131, *During the war* (WW1 understood) l.157, *By that time* l.159, *Nevertheless, as late as 1920* (a linking conjunction and chronology) l.161, *The 1913 events* l.168, *the anti-pass campaign of 1913/14* (use of nominalisation to condense event and date), *From the beginning then*, l.176.

Cohesive devices are also used by the writer to establish causal links between the events and statements represented in the text:

Thus, l.9, *as a result* l.127, *Inevitably, therefore* l.155, *This period of unrest coincided exactly with the period* (the juxtaposition set up by the writer implies causality) l.132.

The patterns of choices described above all contribute to the creation of **coherence** in the text and these elements, particularly the use of chronology, location and causality to make links throughout the text, are characteristic of historical discourse.

The writer's selection of the **passive voice with deleted agent** combined with the use of abstract nouns and **nominalisation** (which were noted in **Field**

above) is extensive. In these examples the **deleted agent** is the white male government or its agents (the police):

was delayed l.53-4, to be used l. 75-6, were allowed to drift l.104, were arrested l.106, arrests had been made l.122, was being enforced l.133, was passed l.134, was being relaxed l.161.

The effect of this pattern is to background the government as an agent in this history. This is consistent with Walker's desire to write a women's history and to keep male politicians, the traditional subjects of history, in the background. It may also be an effect of her assumption that her readership already shared a knowledge of South African history and anti-apartheid sentiment and would easily fill in the gaps.

A second group of **deleted agents** with **passive voice** is the black women, for example:

was followed l.129, were forced l.141, had been forced l.150, was linked l.158, seen to be l.170.

We noted earlier under **Field** that their actions are also often represented by abstract nouns and **nominalisations**, for example:

the flashpoint l.104, , This period of unrest l.132, the Bloemfontein anti-pass campaign l.133, The spontaneity, enthusiasm and informal organisation of the campaign l.152, This anti-pass campaign, l.166, The anti-pass campaign of 1913/14 l.178, the simmering opposition l.106, The scale and intensity of the demonstrations l.135, the outburst of popular feeling l.155-6.

It has already been suggested under **Field** that the pattern of these choices arises from the writer's abstract form of reasoning, from her lack of empirical evidence on black women and her inability therefore, to attribute actions to specific individuals or groups.

Walker often chooses the **passive with deleted agent** to conceal her own activities as the writer of the text, for example:

have already been outlined l.15, It is examined l.31, As already mentioned l.56, can be traced back l.57, already advanced l. 78, It can in fact be argued l. 180.

She also uses impersonal agents, usually in **existential processes** to express her own position, for example:

it is not surprising l.2, This was one of the main political campaigns l.33, and it was largely because l.51, it is incorrect l.67, it is also clear l.68-9, there were definite attempts l.122-3, the issue ... was to remain l.166-7.

The effect of these choices is to hide the subjectivity and positioning of the writer. This pattern of choice is conventional in academic discourse and its general effect is to make the text seem more objective and therefore “factual” and “true”.

I next examine the writer’s use of discursive conventions relating to the use of primary sources and evidence. In the text, Walker makes good use of the primary sources which she consulted in her research. The pattern seems to be that she makes a point and then finds an apt quotation to support it, for example, l.43-48, l.80-88, 91-99. She is careful to state the source in the text or to indicate the source in an end-note. This careful attention to detail, the concern to reference her sources and to provide evidence for her claims, places this text firmly within the genre of academic historical discourse. Walker’s careful use of these academic conventions would serve to give her position credibility, particularly with her intended audience. I therefore conclude this section by suggesting that this text is written within the conventions of academic historical discourse, drawing on both the recount and expository genres, and that in its exposition, it also draws on the abstract, impersonal, discourse of structuralist Neo-Marxism which was influential in South African left-wing academic circles at the time of this text’s production.

4.4.3 Re-interpretation

I have suggested that the main thrust of Walker’s argument in this text is to convince her readers that class position and race position, which, in the South African context, intersects (or intersected) with class, are the determining factors (or structural causes) of South African women’s political history. This interpretation is confirmed by her concluding remarks in the book. Here, unlike the WEAU and the early anti-pass campaigns described in our text, she represents the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) as a truly feminist movement. (The FSAW, which mobilised women around the anti-pass

campaigns of the 1950s, is the organisation which occupies a central place in her book.) However, Walker does concede that the struggle for women's emancipation had, of necessity, to be integrated with the larger national liberation struggle. She writes,

"The FDSA was thus the first national women's organisation to include a comprehensive programme for the emancipation of women along with its general political programme and to take up this issue with male colleagues. For all the qualifications that tempered its stand on women's emancipation in practice, it represented a real and serious attempt to incorporate women in the political programme of the national liberation movement on an equal footing with men; for this alone it warrants recognition." (1982: 276)

She then goes on to explain to her readers the good political sense for integrating the women's struggle with the national liberation movement's goals,

"The commitment of the FSAW to the national liberation movement was in itself an indication of the primacy of non-sex-related issues for women in South Africa. In linking the women's movement to the national liberation movement, it reflected - and chose to reflect - the political priorities of the majority of South African women. In speaking of the rights of all women, it was, in fact, attacking the basis of the South African state, in which the dominant interests of most white women were vested. Those few white women who were involved in it, though playing an important part and strengthening its commitment to a multi-racial society, were not representative of their group." (1982: 276)

Secondly, I suggest that Walker's target audience was not the ordinary working class black women about whom she was writing. Rather, she was intent on providing an historical perspective and tradition for intellectuals and political activists like herself, who, she hoped, would be prepared to bridge the "wide gulf" between black and white women and join or continue to support the non-racial women's movements which were beginning to emerge (or re-emerge) in the early 'eighties. She was not interested in providing a tradition for white women's political organisations. Her own commitment to non-racialism, to the national liberation struggle and to a theoretical understanding of the issues, and her strong positioning of her readers to accept this position, is evident from the following quotation,

"The FSAW established that racism is not universal and endemic in South Africa, that it can be breached, that what is important is

not the colour of one's skin but one's understanding of the forces of exploitation in South Africa and one's commitment to their overthrow." (1982: 277).

Her awareness of the possibilities for women's organisation in her own political context is evident from the following comment,

"talk of reviving the FSAW or at least reactivating women's organisation along similar lines can sometimes be heard ... the numbers are small, the obstacles to organisation enormous - but it is apparent that the embers of the FSAW are still glowing and may yet produce a spark." (1982: 275).

In fact the FSAW (which had never been banned) was re-launched inside South Africa two years later, in 1984. It may be significant that Dora Tamana, one of Walker's main informants for this history, was chairperson of the United Women's Organisation, a small but vibrant, non-racial, feminist women's organisation operating in Cape Town at the time of Walker's writing, and that Tamana was also later instrumental in the re-launch of FSAW.

Walker was therefore writing about non-racial (but predominantly black) South African women's organisations and she was presenting them with a "useable past" which could be used in the political struggles of the '80s. But she was not writing directly for the ordinary working class black women, who are the central actors in her book. Instead, the analysis above suggests that she was writing primarily for her fellow feminist intellectuals, political activists and left-wing academics, and that she writes for them within the powerful and exclusive (male-dominated, male-defined) discourse of the academy, which she does not challenge. Instead, strategically, she seems to have been concerned rather to earn a place within that discourse for a Neo-Marxist feminist interpretation of a women's history. In other words, the content of her subject would have posed a challenge to the academic history establishment, but its academic form would not. The book is based on her M.A. thesis in which she would have been bound by academic conventions.

In conclusion, I would like to add a personal note. I have found it very difficult to read against this text, because it is written by an author with whom I share class, race and gender positions, and who writes from a context and perspective

(a consciousness and ideology) very close to my own; in other words I am Walker's ideal "positioned" reader! (I too, studied African History under Robin Hallet at the University of Cape Town, was a member of the UWO and FSAW in the early '80s and went to great trouble to obtain a copy of Walker's book, which was banned soon after its publication.) Her conclusions therefore seemed "natural" and correct to me and it has been instructive for me to see how a critical discourse analysis using functional systemic grammar can serve to deconstruct them.

4.5 Discussion

In this concluding section of Chapter 4, I draw together some of the ways in which the critical discourse analyses presented here might be used in teaching practice. I also report on some of the key issues which arose in the seminars on each of the text analyses. Finally, I assess the historians' response to the work presented in this chapter. (A more in depth assessment of the contribution of the method of CDA to curriculum development is undertaken in the Conclusion under 5.6 below).

In the context of the History Honours course, "Texts, Contexts, Conflicts: Struggle for Pasts in South Africa", in which one of the aims of the course is to demonstrate to students the variety of contending interpretations of the past, one could bring the course to a conclusion by comparing and contrasting the various texts selected for analysis. In terms of **field**, one could ask students to consider what the writers of the texts choose to foreground and background, and what are their silences and exclusions. If one compares the four texts analysed in this chapter in this manner, it is apparent that, although three of them, the Jones, New Nation and Walker texts, all deal with the same period of South African history, roughly 1910-1930, and the Seme text is written just before this period, none of them recognise the concerns of the others. For example, Jones focuses primarily on the role of the ISL and its off-shoot, the IWA. He never mentions women, he is scathing of the (S)ANC and he apparently deliberately refuses to name the ICU (a populist trade union movement). The New Nation text, although also a labour history, is about the ICU in Natal, and so does not mention other labour movements such as the ISL, the IWA or the SACP or even the broader ANC; it refers to women, only incidentally as one category of worker, domestic workers, (although, during this period, most of the domestic workers would have been men). Walker's text is the only one which mentions the political role of women. She relates the women's activities to those of the ANC and the APO, but, although she uses the "International" as one of her primary sources, she does not mention the SACP or the trade union movements of this period. The Seme text can be seen to represent the thinking of the "black-coated respectables" of the SANNC, of

whom Jones was so critical, but it does not represent an historical account in any detail. All four texts background the role of the ruling classes and of the white government of the time.

In terms of **tenor**, one could ask students to compare and contrast the different positions which the writers adopt towards their readership and relate these to the overall purposes of their texts. Jones assumes that he is writing to an audience which subscribes to Marxist-Leninism, and so gives an account which is constructed within that discourse and which presents the ISL and IWA in a favourable light. Seme is giving a speech to an intellectual audience and his primary purpose is to impress them with his own eloquence and intelligence. He therefore uses terms of politeness and builds a persuasive argument. (I also argued that Seme's long-term goal was to construct an identity for the black middle class). The writer of the New Nation text intends to "get alongside" ordinary people in the anti-apartheid struggle and tell them about their own histories and traditions; s/he therefore uses the narrative genre and "struggle" discourse. Although the subject of Walker's text is the political struggles of women, primarily black women, she is addressing primarily an intellectual and academic audience, and this is reflected in her use of conventional, academic, historical discourse.

With respect to **mode**, the analysis of the different purposes of the texts could lead to a comparison of the different genres drawn upon by the writers of the texts. The Jones text is a political report, and draws on the recount and rhetorical genres. The Seme text is a speech which draws primarily on the hortatory genre, with some narrative embedded. The New Nation text draws on the narrative genre and includes some political rhetoric. Whilst the Walker text is academic and so draws on the genres of exposition and historical recount.

One might go on to compare these generic choices with conventional, academic, discourse. Such comparisons could be used to make students aware of the ways in which academic historical discourse typically conceals its interpersonal meanings. For example, one might encourage students to see that the processes of production of the Jones and New Nation texts are the more transparent in the

wordings of the text than those in Walker text, because, whilst drawing on the historical recount and narrative genres, they also draw on the genre of political rhetoric (socialist discourse and anti-apartheid struggle discourse); whereas Walker's position is more concealed by her use of academic historical discourse. Interpersonal meanings in the Seme text are strongly expressed because its purpose is hortatory (for persuasion), however, his speech is couched in the conventions of polite, stylised, conversation of the period.

One could also bring into the classroom the question of whether or not the Seme text should be considered to be historical discourse at all. Does the fact that he draws primarily on the hortatory genre mean that this text falls largely outside of the discourse of history altogether; does this mean that it is not usefully studied by historians? In so doing, it would be important, and in keeping with the aims of the course, to stress that, in their research, historians draw on all kinds of artefacts, and texts, written in a variety of genres and discourses (see discussion on the Seme text below). Academic historical discourse should not be seen to be a privileged form of history which is "more true" than other forms. What is important is that students of history learn to identify a range of genres and discourses which constitute the texts they study, including that of academic historical discourse. This should enable them to become more critical researchers and prevent them from unconsciously reproducing the discourses which constitute the sources they read. However, because of the power which it wields, it is also crucial that they recognise the key features of academic historical discourse and learn to use those conventions which will make their writing acceptable to the academic discourse community of which they are trying to gain membership. But, it is equally important that history students acquire the awareness and confidence to challenge, when and where appropriate, those conventions of academic discourse which they decide are "floutable".

Clark (1992: 136), (see Chapter 2.1), makes a useful distinction between "acceptable" and "floutable" academic conventions. She considers the substantiation and relevance of arguments, the acknowledgement of sources and

the use of recognised referencing conventions to be acceptable. She suggests that the “so-called objectivity” and “impersonal style” of academic discourse to be conventions which students might consider flouting in the interests of taking responsibility for their own ideas and positions. But, she insists that the decision must ultimately be left to the individual student. This debate becomes particularly pertinent when working in the hermeneutic and critical paradigms of curriculum, where one is seeking to encourage students to become critical interpreters and to take up and express their own positions.

I now discuss the reactions of the historians to the text analyses presented in this chapter. I begin by relating briefly some of the key issues which were raised in the seminars on each of the texts. I then go on to report on the historians’ overall responses to the analyses. The quotations presented here are taken from transcriptions of the tape-recordings of the seminars (that is, the historians’ immediate spoken responses) and also from their written responses to my questionnaire, handed out at the end of the last seminar (see Appendix 5).

In terms of critique, the historians tended to focus on gaps and weaknesses in my socio-historical analyses; they seldom critiqued the details of my formal and discursive analyses. This is obviously because they are far more competent than me in the former domain. (However, I do not report on their critiques of the socio-historical analyses, I have simply edited my socio-historical analyses accordingly). Some of the historians complained that they found it very difficult to critique my formal analyses because of their lack of familiarity with the techniques of the method. However, I made it clear that my interpretations and re-interpretations, made on the basis of the formal analyses, were up for debate. What follows is an account of the key discussions which arose in the seminars on the text analyses.

Firstly, the discussion on the Jones text was mostly concerned with the historians’ problems in understanding how I had applied the method of CDA. We spent a long time discussing grammatical metaphor and nominalisation in particular, as these were new concepts for the historians. They were fascinated to realise the role of nominalisation in historical argument and exposition and to

see it at work in the Jones text. The historians were also excited to see how Jones' backgrounding of himself and of the government and its agents, and his foregrounding of the IWA, was reflected in the grammar of the text. A further interesting point arose when one of the historians pointed out my failure to notice Jones' seemingly deliberate omission of the ICU in his report; although he mentions its leaders and activities, he fails to name the organisation itself, (see l. 41- 49, and the discussion on the black working class and the IWA under **Tenor** in 4.1 above). In our discussion in the seminar, we realised that I had not noticed this interesting point because I did not possess the necessary "content schemata" to do so, that is, I did not know that Msimang and Masabalala were leaders of the ICU and that they had joined with Kadalie to form the "Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa" in 1920. This led to my introducing Fairclough's notion of "members' resources" (socially and culturally determined "socio-cognitive processes" which readers bring to texts). We recognised through this example, how crucial members' resources are in determining what interpretations of texts are possible. As one historian put it, "one realises that you need to have both the baggages of linguistics and history to analyse these texts critically".

The analysis of Seme text raised some contention. This was because my analysis showed that the text does not conform to the usual historical genres, but draws primarily on the hortatory genre. One historian suggested that this text should therefore be dropped from the course because it is not really history. This led to a long discussion on "what is history?" One historian defined it as "sustained reference to the past", "the making of pastness". Others, including myself, challenged this notion as being too general. I pointed out that people refer to the past all the time, for example, lawyers do in court when they use an account of past events as evidence, but these references to the past are not "history". We turned again to the characterisation of historical discourse and eventually concluded, by drawing on genre theory (see discussion under 2.1), that history is constructed when the purpose of the discourse is to give a systematic account or interpretation of the past. Furthermore, that the purpose of giving this account of the past must be social, that is, the intended audience needs to be a

group of people, for whom the history told constructs their identity, consciousness, memory and so on. This means that individuals are interesting in historical accounts, only if their actions are significant in relation to the group or society as a whole. (This reinforces Martin's point about the way in which **relational processes** are used in history to relate individuals and particular cases to larger classes of things in order to generalise.) Having established this, I pointed out that history could draw on a number of different genres to fulfil this purpose, but that these are typically the recount and narrative genres with the expository and occasionally hortatory genres embedded. In returning to the Seme text, we noted that Seme's over-riding purpose in making this speech was not to construct a coherent history of Africa, but to impress his audience and win the prize. He made strategic reference to a sweeping narrative about Africa, as evidence for his argument that Africa would regenerate. All the same, some of us argued that this text should remain in the course, precisely because it is an exception to the rule; and to show how CDA reveals this. Furthermore, we were of the opinion that it should remain in the course to demonstrate to students how a critical analysis of any type of text, used as a primary source, can be useful to historians in their research. We noted how much the analysis of this text could reveal about Seme the individual, and about the world view and thinking of one of the founders of the ANC.

In the discussion on the New Nation text, one of the central points of interest was the identification of the generic structure of the narrative genre. The historians were excited to see this demonstrated in my analysis. I emphasised that according to genre theory, generic structure is determined by the social purpose and function of the text. The historians felt that this analysis should definitely be used in the course because it was accessible and because of its ability to demonstrate the generic structure of narrative. There was also some discussion on the difference between academic and popular history. The historians felt that this text analysis was also useful for highlighting the differences between the two kinds of discourse. I suggested that perhaps the original academic text, on which the New Nation text is based, could be used to make this comparison. Finally there was discussion on the visual impact of the

original lay-out, design and use of photographs in the New Nation newspaper. One historian wanted to know whether a critical discourse analysis should not also take these visual aspects of the text into account. I agreed, and suggested that if we are to understand history as a social semiotic, then ideally it should. (I did mention the photographs in passing in my analysis, but do not have the expertise to analyse visual images in any detail.) The group agreed that these skills were particularly important for the analysis of contemporary historiography and for the analysis of primary sources in particular. We agreed that a weakness in this project is its confinement to the printed word.

The discussion on the Walker text revolved around the way I had gone about applying the method. One historian said that he found my analysis so convincing, he wondered if there was an alternative reading. Another historian thought that there was, and that I had underplayed the role of the white suffragists; he suggested that Walker did represent them as part of the feminist tradition. We then looked at the way in which my analysis was built on Hetherington's hypothesis, formulated in the socio-historical analysis, that Walker would represent black South African women as heroines and victims, and that she would try to show that class was, in the final analysis, the key determining factor in social action, even when it intersected with race and gender. We then traced how I had selected elements of the lexicogrammar to prove this hypothesis. We noted some omissions from my analysis which may have represented the suffragists in a more favourable light, for example,

This was one of the main political campaigns by women in the early twentieth century l.34 and In the early twentieth century the women's suffrage was the only political movement that was actively concerned with women's rights. l. 41 - 42.

But overall, the group agreed that my formal analysis did substantiate my interpretation, (and that the historian might have difficulty in substantiating his alternative interpretation). I felt that this discussion was particularly useful, because it illustrated that the formal analysis does not work by a process of induction; it does not simply throw up an "objective" interpretation. Rather, the discussion showed that the analyst, in his/ her selection of linguistic elements for analysis, is already interpreting, on the basis of some prior hypothesis. I

suggested that what is important in the method of CDA used here, is that the analyst's hypothesis or interpretation should be made explicit and should be seen to be substantiated by the formal analysis, affording the reader of the analysis the opportunity to judge whether the interpretation is plausible or not. What was interesting in this discussion on the Walker text, was that whilst one historian did not agree with my interpretation, he did concede that it was substantiated and therefore plausible.

I conclude this discussion with some quotations from the historians on their general response to the four text analyses. My concern here is to ascertain what they learnt from the analyses for themselves, as historians, and to find out if, and how, they intend to use them in their own teaching practice - and whether they intend to use them as resources in the classroom. Their comments on the analyses were generally positive:

"They taught me a great deal about how deeply a text can be unpacked using the CDA method. I wish we had had more time to speak about the method's provisionalities as well as its strengths."

"I found your analyses both plausible and convincing. They made me realise that one needs competence in both history and linguistics to analyse the texts in the ways you did."

"I thoroughly enjoyed your analyses. They were fascinating. I had everything to discover, both in terms of the method and its application.... It was a treat to be in a learning position for a change. My only problem is your method is extremely time-consuming - will we be able to follow it as systematically as you did?"

With respect to the use of the analyses in their own teaching practice, they had the following to say:

"In general your overall method was clearly laid out and applied. This is valuable raw material for us and our students to work with, and there is enough of a variety of texts for us to use."

"Yes, we will certainly use your analyses, closely read and examined, as examples of how texts could be analysed, and of how to take further the looser method which we have used so far. We could now build part of our expanding methodological component of the course around them. The only reservations I have about using them relate to the amount of time needed for

them to be done properly. One would also need more time to reflect with students 'What does all this teach me about the nature of history?'"

My over-riding concern, as to whether the text analyses provide a convincing demonstration of how a method of CDA might be used to do "post-positivist history", is taken up in the Conclusion under 5.6 below.

Chapter 5: Classroom Application: Critical Language Awareness Exercises

This chapter contains the CLA exercises that I designed to be used by future students on the History Honours course. They are based on my own text analyses presented in Chapter 4 above. These exercises also represent my attempt to demonstrate how the method of CDA, described in Chapter 3, might be adapted for use in the tertiary history classroom. I suggested to the historians that, in using these materials, they first give students the CLA exercises to do, preferably first working through one or two together in class, and only thereafter, give my full text analyses to the students to read as examples or case studies of how an analysis might be conducted. Before describing how I went about designing the exercises, I include some quotations from the historians, to indicate their enthusiasm about the desirability of applying CDA to their teaching of history.

The historians had this to say about possible applications of CDA in their teaching practice:

"I would like to start at first year level, getting students to read selected texts critically. In my "What is History" module, a three-week introduction for first years, I would also like them to use this method in thinking about the writing of history. We could introduce students to the different types of genre in historical writing. Quite how, I'm not sure yet, but I think important applications are possible .. (I would like to draw on your expertise in the future."

"I would like to use CDA as a way of highlighting different positions in historiographical debates in undergraduate teaching."

"In the honours course, I would like to introduce students to the concepts of Field, Tenor and Mode. In Mode, particularly to those cohesive devices which illustrate cause and effect through time - because these are central to historical discourse."

"I would like to use the CDA method with my ST110 'History, Truth and Modernity' students next year - and do some text analysis together in class. Will you be available to help?"

These quotes indicate that there is certainly a willingness on the part of historians, who attended my seminars, to try to implement the method, not only at post-graduate level, but at under-graduate level as well.

In designing the CLA exercises, I attempt to take students through the three moments of discourse analysis of my method of CDA. In the formal analysis, I also attempt to lead them through the three components of register, the **field**, **tenor** and **mode** of discourse, without burdening them with Halliday's terminology. In Section A (moment one), I begin by asking students to answer questions which will force them to research the socio-historical context of the text's production. I consider it important for history students to be expected to do this thoroughly, as after all, this is part of what it means to be a good historian. The answers to the questions set, are intended to provide a frame for the whole analysis and to give students a discursive context from within which they can begin to interpret the text. A key question is the one asking them to establish the purpose of the text. They are also asked to establish the writer's position in the social structure and where appropriate, to investigate the power relations within which the text was produced, for example, in CLA Exercise 3 A5, they are asked "*What sort of power relations do you think would have existed between the writer and his/ her intended readership?*" Other questions are designed to prompt students to think about the pre-interpretation or "positioned reading" of the text, so that they can offer a re-interpretation of this in their own analyses, for example, in CLA Exercise 1 A6 and A7, students are asked, "*Who was his intended audience?*" and "*How do you think his original audience would have responded to his report?*". (I expect that the concepts "pre-interpretation", "positioned reading" and "re-interpretation" would first need to be taught to students in class). Finally, at the end of the socio-historical analysis, I encourage students to begin to form hypotheses about the texts, for example in CLA Exercise 2, A6, I ask, "*On the basis of the information you have gathered so far, from what perspective or position would you expect Seme to construct a story about Africa?*"

In Section B of the exercises, I move on to the second moment, the formal and discursive analysis. Clearly, this is the most difficult moment to adapt for analysts who are not familiar with FSG. Here, as mentioned above, I keep to Halliday's three components of the context of situation based on the three meta-functions of language, **ideational**, **interpersonal** and **textual** meanings. However, I have tried to translate the terminology of FSG into everyday "commonsense" language, for example, for the analysis of **field** of discourse I state, "*The following questions will help you clarify what the text is about and what is going on in the text*"; for analysing the **tenor** of discourse, I tell students, "*These questions will help you detect the writer's attitudes towards him/ herself, his/ her audience and towards the content of the text*"; and for the **mode** of discourse, "*The following questions will help you analyse how language is used to organise the content of the text into a linear and coherent text*". Then, on the basis on my own formal analyses of the texts (see Chapter 4), I try to identify key aspects to bring to the students' attention. I do not expect students to identify the lexicogrammatical elements themselves. Instead, I provide these, (either by listing them with line numbers or by referring to the line numbers on which the words can be found, underlined in the text), and then I ask students to judge the effects of these choices on the reader and their significance for the meaning of the text. In other words, I provide some basic aspects of the formal analysis, and on the basis of this, try to get students to begin to move towards a discursive analysis of the text. The questions are intended to prompt them to think and read the texts critically and make links between the formal and discursive analysis, for example, in CLA Exercise 2, B7, I ask, "*What sort of identity does the speaker construct for himself through the use of the following language forms?*" ... "*What class/ group does the speaker suggest he belongs to through these linguistic choices?*"

In educational terms, and more specifically within Vygotsky's theory of learning, what I am attempting to do here, is to "lend my own consciousness" to the learners to enable them to "achieve understanding performances which they could not have achieved on their own" (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988: 27). In Vygotskian terms, this is what it means to work within the learners' zone of

proximal development. The teacher (a more capable member of the discourse community) assists and regulates the learner's performance within goal-directed, meaningful activities via instructional conversational and activity-setting, until such time as the learner begins to internalise the teacher's words and consciousness, in order to construct his/ her own cognitive structure and so develop the capacity to regulate his/ her own performances. (Of course, by designing the CLA exercises, I have only begun this process, the teacher's "instructional conversation", which would guide the learners when they first tackle these exercises, would also be a crucial part of the educational activity.)

In the third moment of discourse analysis, I aim to get students to synthesise what they have discovered by working through sections A and B, in order to arrive at their own re-interpretations of the text. It is important that they use the data from the socio-historical and formal and discursive analyses to substantiate their re-interpretations, and as evidence for their conclusions. The last question in Section C, "*Now give your own critical re-interpretation of the text. ... Explain what you think were (and are) the social, political and ideological effects of this text*" is an attempt to get students to understand how the text functions as a form of social and discursive practice in its context.

5.1 CLA Exercise 1

D. I. Jones (1921)

Report on 'Communism in South Africa' in
South African Communists Speak: documents from the history of the South
African Communist Party 1915 - 1980 (1981)
(London: Inkululeko) (pp. 51-54)

The Native Labour Movement

1 A formal statement of the various categories of native labour and the true Communist
2 policy towards the native workers has been prepared by Comrade S.P. Bunting and
3 accepted by the International Socialist League .
4 Before the war no trade union movement existed among the native workers, and such
5 a thing as a strike was unknown. The first move in the direction of organised revolt
6 was a strike of native workers on the dumping machinery of the Van Ryn Gold Mine in
7 December, 1915. It was regarded as a novel affair by the white workers of the mine;
8 but it appears that certain white men who engaged to keep the plant going were
9 sneered at as blacklegs by their white fellow-workers. Prior to that, in the 1913 revolt
10 of the white workers, appeals had been made to the native workers of the Kleinfontein
11 mine to stop working, and it seems to have dawned then on the white workers'
12 intelligence, or some of their most militant leaders like George Mason, that the native
13 was really a kind of a workmate. In 1917, Comrade Bunting and other members of the
14 ISL made an attempt to form a native workers' union. A number of the more
15 industrialised natives of Johannesburg were enrolled into the Union, which was named
16 'The Industrial Workers of Africa' (an echo of the 'Industrial Workers of the World').
17 It held meetings regularly, and the message of working class emancipation was eagerly
18 imbibed for the first time by an ardent little band of native workers who carried the
19 message far and wide to their more backward brethren. A manifesto to the workers of
20 Africa was issued in collaboration with the ISL written in the Zulu and Basuto
21 languages, calling upon the natives to unite against their capitalist oppressors. This
22 leaflet reached a still wider mass of native workers, and was introduced and read to the
23 illiterate labourers in the mine compounds. For the native of Africa, and the white too
24 for that matter, the question is not yet 'irrevocably put of bloody struggle or death.' It
25 is the era of awakening to the consciousness of class. The emphasis of the League on

26 the new power of industrial solidarity, which their very oppressors had put in their
27 hands, had as its aim to draw away the native's hopes from the old tribal exploits with
28 the spear and the assegai as a means of deliverance. The power of the machine dawned
29 upon him. In 1918 the propaganda of the IWA, and the pressure of the rising cost of
30 living, produced a formidable strike movement among the native municipal workers,
31 and a general movement for the tearing up of passports. Hundreds of natives who had
32 burned their passes were jailed every day, and the prisons became full to bursting.
33 Gatherings of native men and women were clubbed down by the mounted police. The
34 International Socialist League was charged with inciting to native revolt. Comrades
35 Bunting, Tinker and Hanscombe were arrested at the instance of the Botha
36 Government; but the chief native witness for the Crown broke down. He admitted that
37 the evidence of incitement to riot had been invented for him by the Native Affairs
38 Department, and the case collapsed. The moving spirits of the IWA were driven out of
39 Johannesburg by the police, some to find their way to Capetown, where a more
40 permanent movement of native organisation has since been formed. It has also spread
41 to Bloemfontein, where Msimang, a young native lawyer, is active in native
42 organisation. In the Cape Province the natives are more advanced politically, and more
43 permanently settled in the European areas. But the greater civil equality does not bring
44 greater freedom to combine. Masabalala, the leader of the Port Elizabeth native
45 workers, was imprisoned last August for his trade union activity. Trade unionism
46 among the native workers makes the hair of the South African bourgeois stand on end.
47 But the result of Masabalala's imprisonment was that his comrades rose en masse and
48 tried to storm the prison. A massacre by the armed police ensued; and the 'white
49 agitators of the Rand' blamed as usual. But the most portentous event so far in the
50 awakening of the native workers was the great strike of native mine workers on the
51 Rand in March, 1920. These mine natives are mostly raw recruits from the tribal
52 territories from Zululand, Basutoland, far-away Blantyre and Portuguese Africa, all are
53 here. For the time being all the old tribal feuds were forgotten, and Zulu and Shangaan
54 came out on strike together irrespective of tribal distinction to the number of 80,000.
55 Without leaders, without organisation, hemmed in their compounds by the armed
56 police, the flame of revolt died down, not without one or two bloody incidents in
57 which the armed thugs of the law distinguished themselves for their savagery. The ISL
58 at the time was engaged in the general elections, printing literature on the Soviets and

59 the Dictatorship of the Proletariat for its five candidates. The white workers were
60 undecided as to their attitude towards the native strikers. The ISL came out with an
61 appeal in 'The International' and in thousands of leaflets entitled 'Don't Scab,' calling
62 upon the white workers to play the game towards the native strikers. These were
63 distributed in the mine shafts by Communist sympathisers among the miners. One or
64 two were made the 'object of a prosecution by the police, but released later owing to
65 the difficulty felt, no doubt, of getting at the ISL for propaganda in the heat of an
66 election. The Capitalist Press thinking to damage our election prospects, gave still
67 further publicity to our appeal by reproducing it in full as a proof of our criminality!
68 The Mineworkers' Union Executive called upon its members to side with the masters ^G
69 and endeavour to run the mines, and publicly condemned our propaganda. But such is
70 the division of labour in South Africa that whereas either black labour or white labour
71 can stop industry, neither can properly start the wheels going again without the other.

72 *Native Political Leaders*

73 There exists a body known as The Native Congress, with sections functioning in the
74 various Provinces and for the whole Union. This is a loosely organised body composed
75 of the chiefs, native lawyers, native clergymen, and others who eke out a living as
76 agents among their compatriots. This body is patronised and lectured by the
77 Government. It has weekly newspapers in the various provinces, 'Abantu Batho' in
78 Johannesburg, 'Ilanga Lase Natal' in Natal, etc. These are subsidised by Government
79 advertisements, which are often withdrawn when the Congress drops the role of
80 respectable bourgeois which it normally tries to assume. It is satisfied with agitation for
81 civil equality and political rights to which its members as a small coterie of educated
82 natives feel they have a special claim. But to obtain these the mass cannot be moved
83 without their moving in a revolutionary manner. Hence the Government is dubious
84 about the Congress, and the Congress draws back timidly from the mass movements of
85 its own people. The native workers of the IWA quickly grasped the difference
86 between their trade union and the Congress, and waged a merciless war of invective at
87 the joint meetings of their Union with the Congress against the black-coated
88 respectables of the Congress. But the growing class organisations of the natives will
89 soon dominate or displace the 'Congress.' The national and class interests of the natives

90 cannot be distinguished the one from the other. Here is a revolutionary nationalist
91 movement in the fullest meaning of Lenin's term.

Student Assignment:

Write an essay analysing the Jones text above, using the questions asked in Section C below as a guide. The questions asked in Sections A & B below are intended to help you take account of and analyse different aspects of the text and its context. You should use your answers to the socio-historical analysis (A), and to the formal and discursive analysis (B) to support the claims you make in your essay or re-interpretation (C).

A. Socio-historical Analysis

First read the text through carefully. Then do the necessary research to answer the following questions. This will give you an understanding of the context in which the text was produced:

1. What do you know about the events of world history during the period in which this text was written?
2. What was happening in South Africa at the time?
3. Do you know the significance of the date 1921 in the history of the Communist Party of South Africa?
4. Who was David Ivon Jones?
5. Why did he write this text?
6. Who was his intended audience?
7. How do you think his original audience would have responded to his report?
8. What has been the reproduction and distribution history of this text after it was written?
9. Having answered questions 1-8, write down your expectations about the kind of history that you think Jones would probably have written.

B. Formal and Discursive Analysis

Here are three sets of questions to help you unpack this text. The words and phrases referred by line numbers in the questions are underlined in the text. The following questions will help you clarify what the text is about and what is going on in the text:

1. What do these verbs or processes suggest that the text is about?
Stop working l.11, were jailed l.32, were clubbed down l.33, were arrested l.35, were driven out l.38, was imprisoned l.45, rose ... and tried to storm l.47-8, came out on strike l.54.

2. Who are the main actors or participants in the text?
See l.3; l.4,14, 16; l.7; l.33, 35-6; l.73.
3. What discourse (or ideology) do these terms belong to?
Comrade l.2, Industrial Workers of the World l.16, capitalist oppressors l.21, the Soviets and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat l.58-9, class organisations l.88, a revolutionary nationalist movement l.91.
What effect does the writer's unexplained use of these terms have on you as the reader? What effect do you think they might have had on his intended audience?

4. What are these phrases about?
Before the war l.4, on the dumping machinery of the Van Ryn Gold Mine in December, 1915 l.6,7, Prior to that, in the 1913 revolt of the white workers, l.9,10, In 1917 l.13, In 1918, l.29, In the Cape Province l.42; last August l.45; on the Rand in March, 1920.
Why do you think the writer was concerned to be so specific about time and place? (This gives us a clue as to the kind of writing (genre) of which this text is an example).

These questions will help you detect the writer's attitudes towards himself, his audience and towards the content and the different participants in the text:

5. **The government and its agents:** How do these descriptions position this group?
In relation to the ISL and its allies? For you as the reader?
capitalist oppressors l.21; the South African bourgeois l.46;(a massacre by) the armed police l.48; armed thugs of the law l.57; bloody incidents l.56; savagery l.57; The Capitalist Press l.66; the masters l.68.
6. **The black working class and the IWA:** How does the writer position this group?
What is their role in his world view/ ideology?
the more industrialised natives l.14, 15; ardent little band of native workers l.18; a formidable strike movement l.30; The native workers of the IWA quickly grasped the difference between their trade union and the 'Congress' l.85,86;
7. **The Natives (in general):** What do these descriptions tell us about the writer's attitude to this group?
their more backward brethren l.19; illiterate labourers l.23; the old tribal exploits with the spear and the assegai l.27,28; These mine natives are mostly raw recruits from the tribal territories l. 51.
8. **The ISL, its members and allies:** What do these terms tell us about the writer's attitude to his own organisation and its allies?
militant leaders l.12, Comrade l.13, the League l.25, the 'white agitators of the Rand' l.48-9.
We know that Jones himself wrote the manifesto mentioned in l.19,20 which

was then translated into African languages for distribution. Yet he writes about it in the passive voice without mentioning his own role: "A manifesto to the workers of Africa was issued in collaboration with the ISL ..." Why do you think that he chose to hide his own agency in this way?

9. **The SANC:** How do these phrases position the SANC?
agents among their compatriots l.76. patronised and lectured by the Government l.76; the role of respectable bourgeois which it normally tries to assume l.80; a small coterie of educated natives l.81,82; draws back timidly from the mass movements of its own people l.84; black-coated respectables l.87,88;
Why do you think the writer held such a scathing attitude towards this organisation?

The following questions will help you analyse how language is used to organise the content into a linear and coherent text:

10. What is the effect of the writer's recurring use of "but" in the text?
was regarded ... but it appears ... l.7 - 9; Comrades.. were arrested.. but... broke down l.34 - 36; But the greater civil equality ... l.43; But the result of Masabalala's imprisonment .. l.47; But the most portentous event so far .. l.49; were made the 'object of prosecution by the police' but released... l.64; But such is the division of labour... l.69,70; But to obtain these l.82; But the growing class organisations l.88.
11. Below are examples of the writer's use of the passive voice with deleted agent. Who were the agents (the "doers") of these verbs? Why do you think that the writer chooses to delete them?
were enrolled l.15; was named l.15; was issued l.20; and were jailed l.32; were driven out l.38; was imprisoned l.45; blamed l.49.
12. What metaphors is the writer using in these phrases? How are they related to his own ideological position?
dawned l.11; awakening (to the consciousness of class) l.25; dawned (upon him) l.28,9; the awakening (of the native workers) l.50; the flame of revolt l.56.

C. Re-interpretation

Now use your answers to Sections A & B as evidence for answering the following questions:

1. How has the context of the text's production shaped the writer's construction of history? What political and social struggles gave rise to its production?
2. What do you think was the writer's purpose in offering this particular interpretation of the past?

3. How do you think the text was understood by its original, intended, audience?
4. What history or interpretation of the past does the writer construct in this text?
5. What social relations and social identities does the text set up?
6. What genres, discourses and meta-narratives does the writer draw on in his/her construction of the text?
7. Does this text represent a particular historiographical tradition or school?
8. Whose interests does this particular construction of history serve?
9. Now give your own critical re-interpretation of the text. (You may want to contrast this with the way in which you think it was originally understood by its intended audience). Explain what you think were (and are) the social, political and ideological effects of this text.

5.2 CLA Exercise 2

Pixley ka Isaka Seme (April 5, 1906)

'The Regeneration of Africa'

in 'The African Abroad' in Karis T. & Carter G. M. (eds.) (1972)

From Protest to Challenge, Vol. 1 Protest and Hope (1882-1934) by

Sheridan Johns III (Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, CA, USA)

1 I have chosen to speak to you on this occasion upon "The Regeneration of
2 Africa." I am an African, and I set my pride in my race over against a hostile
3 public opinion. Men have tried to compare races on the basis of some
4 equality. In all the works of nature, equality, if by it we mean identity, is an
5 impossible dream! Search the universe! You will find no two units alike, the
6 scientists tell us there are no two cells, no two atoms, identical. Nature has
7 bestowed upon each a peculiar individuality, an exclusive patent from the
8 great giants of the forest to the tenderest blade. Catch in your hand, if you
9 please, the gentle flakes of snow. Each is a perfect gem, a new creation; it
10 shines in its own glory - a work of art different from all of its aerial
11 companions. Man, the crowning achievement of nature, defies analysis. He is
12 a mystery through all ages and for all time. The races of mankind are
13 composed of free and unique individuals. An attempt to compare them on
14 the basis of equality can never be finally satisfactory. Each is self. My thesis
15 stands on this truth; time has proved it. In all races, genius is like a spark,
16 which, concealed in the bosom of a flint, bursts forth at the summoning
17 stroke. It may arise anywhere and in any race.
18 I would ask you not to compare Africa to Europe or to any other continent. I
19 make this request not from any fear that such comparison might bring
20 humiliation upon Africa. The reason I have stated - a common standard is
21 impossible! Come with me to the ancient capital of Egypt, Thebes, the city of
22 one hundred gates. The grandeur of its venerable ruins and the gigantic
23 proportions of its architecture reduce to insignificance the boasted monuments
24 of other nations. The pyramids of Egypt are structures to which the world
25 presents nothing comparable. The mighty monuments seem to look with
26 disdain on every other work of human art and to vie with nature herself. All
27 the glory of Egypt belongs to Africa and her people. These monuments are

28 the indestructible memorials of their great and original genius. It is not
29 through Egypt alone that Africa claims such unrivalled historic achievements.
30 I could have spoken of the pyramids of Ethiopia, which, though inferior in
31 size to those of Egypt, far surpass them in architectural beauty; their
32 sepulchres which evince the highest purity of taste, and of many prehistoric
33 ruins in other parts of Africa. In such ruins Africa is like the golden sun, that,
34 having sunk beneath the western horizon, still plays upon the world which he
35 sustained and enlightened in his career. Justly the world now demands-
36 "Whither is fled the visionary gleam,
37 Where is it now, the glory and the dream?"

38 Oh, for that historian who, with the open pen of truth, will bring to Africa's
39 claim the strength of written proof. He will tell of a race whose onward tide
40 was often swelled with tears, - but in whose heart bondage has not quenched
41 the fire of former years. He will write that in these later days when Earth's
42 noble ones are named, she has a roll of honour too, of whom she is not
43 ashamed. The giant is awakening! From the four corners of the earth
44 Africa's sons, who have been proved through fire and sword, are marching to
45 the future's golden door bearing the records of deeds of valour done.

46 Mr. Calhoun, I believe, was the most philosophical of all the slaveholders.
47 He said once that if he could find a black man who could understand the
48 Greek syntax, he would then consider their race human, and his attitude
49 toward enslaving them would therefore change. What might have been the
50 sensation kindled by the Greek syntax in the mind of the famous Southerner, I
51 have so far been unable to discover; but oh, I envy the moment that was lost!
52 And woe to the tongues that refused to tell the truth! If any such were among
53 the now living, I could show him among black men of pure African blood
54 those who could repeat the Koran from memory, skilled in Latin, Greek and
55 Hebrew, - Arabic and Chaldaic - men great in wisdom and profound
56 knowledge - one professor of philosophy in a celebrated German university;
57 one corresponding member of the French Academy of Sciences, who regularly
58 transmitted to that society meteorological observations, and hydrographical
59 journals and papers on botany and geology; another whom many ages call
60 "The Wise," whose authority Mahomet himself frequently appealed to in the

61 Koran in support of his own opinion - men of wealth and active benevolence,
62 those whose distinguished talents and reputation have made them famous in
63 the cabinet and in the field, officers of artillery in the great armies of Europe,
64 generals and lieutenant generals in the armies of Peter the Great in Russia and
65 Napoleon in France, presidents of free republics, kings of independent nations
66 which have burst their way to liberty by their own vigour. There are many
67 other Africans who have shown marks of genius and high character, sufficient
68 to redeem their race from the charges which I am now considering.

69 Ladies and gentlemen, the day of great exploring expeditions in Africa is
70 over! Man knows his home now in a sense never known before. Many great
71 and holy men have evinced a passion for the day you are now witnessing -
72 their prophetic vision shot through many unborn centuries to this very hour.
73 "Men shall run to and fro," said Daniel, "and knowledge shall increase upon
74 the earth." Oh, how true! See the triumph of human genius to-day! Science
75 has searched out the deep things of nature, surprised the secrets of the most
76 distant stars, disintombed the memorials of everlasting hills, taught the
77 lightning to speak, the vapours to toil and the winds to worship - spanned the
78 sweeping rivers, tunneled the longest mountain range - made the world a vast
79 whispering gallery, and has brought foreign nations into one civilised family.
80 This all-powerful contact says even to the most backward race, you cannot
81 remain where you are, you cannot fall back, you must advance! A great
82 century has come upon us. No race possessing the inherent capacity to
83 survive can resist and remain unaffected by this influence of contact and
84 intercourse, the backward with the advanced. This influence constitutes the
85 very essence of efficient progress and of civilisation.

86 From these heights of the twentieth century I again ask you to cast your eyes
87 south of the Desert of Sahara. If you could go with me to the oppressed
88 Congos and ask, What does it mean, that now, for liberty, they fight like men
89 and die like martyrs; if you would go with me to Bechuanaland, face their
90 council of headmen and ask what motives caused them recently to decree so
91 emphatically that alcoholic drinks shall not enter their country - visit their
92 king, Khama, ask for what cause he leaves the gold and ivory palace of his
93 ancestors, its mountain strongholds and all its august ceremony, to wander

94 daily from village to village through all his kingdom, without a guard or any
95 decoration of his rank - a preacher of industry and education, and an apostle
96 of the new order of things; if you would ask Menelik what means this that
97 Abyssinia is now looking across the ocean - or, if you could read the letters
98 that come to us from Zululand - you too would be convinced that the
99 elevation of the African race is evidently a part of the new order of things that
100 belong to this new and powerful period.

101 The African already recognises his anomalous position and desires a change.
102 The brighter day is rising upon Africa. Already I seem to see her chains
103 dissolved, her desert plains red with harvest, her Abyssinia and her Zululand
104 the seats of science and religion, reflecting the glory of the rising sun from the
105 spires of their churches and universities, her Congo and her Gambia whitened
106 with commerce, her crowded cities sending forth the hum of business, and all
107 her sons employed in advancing the victories of peace - greater and more
108 abiding than the spoils of war.

109 Yes, the regeneration of Africa belongs to this new and powerful period! By
110 this term regeneration I wish to be understood to mean the entrance into a
111 new life, embracing the diverse phases of a higher, complex existence. The
112 basic factor which assures their regeneration resides in the awakened race-
113 consciousness. This gives them a clear perception of their elemental needs
114 and of their undeveloped powers. It therefore must lead them to the
115 attainment of that higher and advanced standard of life.

116 The African people, although not a strictly homogeneous race, possess a
117 common fundamental sentiment which is everywhere manifest, crystallising
118 itself into one common controlling idea. Conflicts and strife are rapidly
119 disappearing before the fusing force of this enlightened perception of the true
120 intertribal relation, which relation should subsist among a people with a
121 common destiny. Agencies of a social, economic and religious advance tell of
122 a new spirit which, acting as a leavening ferment, shall raise the anxious and
123 aspiring mass to the level of their ancient glory. The ancestral greatness, the
124 unimpaired genius, and the recuperative power of the race, its irrepressibility,
125 which assures its permanence, constitute the African's greatest source of
126 inspiration. He has refused to camp forever on the borders of the industrial

127 world; having learned that knowledge is power, he is educating his children.
128 You find them in Edinburgh, in Cambridge, and in the great schools of
129 Germany. These return to their country like arrows, to drive darkness from
130 the land. I hold that his industrial and educational initiative, and his untiring
131 devotion to these activities, must be regarded as positive evidence of this
132 process of his regeneration.

133 The regeneration of Africa means that a new and unique civilization is soon
134 to be added to the world. The African is not a proletarian in the world of
135 science and art. He has precious creations of his own, of ivory, of copper and
136 of gold, fine, plated willow-ware and weapons of superior workmanship.
137 Civilization resembles an organic being in its development - it is born, it
138 perishes, and it can propagate itself. More particularly, it resembles a plant, it
139 takes root in the teeming earth, and when the seeds fall in other soils new
140 varieties sprout up. The most essential departure of this new civilization is
141 that it shall be thoroughly spiritual and humanistic - indeed a regeneration
142 moral and eternal!

143 O Africa!
144 Like some great century plant that shall bloom
145 In ages hence, we watch thee; in our dream
146 See in thy swamps the Prospero of our stream;
147 Thy doors unlocked, where knowledge in her tomb
148 Hath lain innumerable years in gloom.
149 Then shalt thou, walking with that morning gleam,
150 Shine as thy sister lands with equal beam.

Student Assignment:

Write an essay analysing Seme's speech above, using the questions asked in Section C as a guide. The questions asked in Sections A & B are intended to help you take account of and analyse different aspects of the text and its context. You should use your answers to the socio-historical analysis (A), and to the formal and discursive analysis (B) to support the claims and (re-) interpretation of the text which you give in your essay (C).

A. Socio-historical Analysis

First read through the text carefully. Then do the necessary research to answer the following questions. This will help you to understand the context in which the text was produced:

1. Who was Pixley Seme? What role was Seme to play in South African politics later in his life?
2. What was the political situation in South Africa in the 1900s?
3. Where, to whom and in what context did he deliver this speech?
4. What do you think was the purpose of his speech? How successful was he in achieving his goals?
5. What has been the publication and reproduction history of this speech after its initial delivery?
6. On the basis of the information you have gathered so far, from what perspective or position would you expect Seme to construct his speech about Africa?

B. Formal and Discursive Analysis

Here are three sets of questions to help you unpack this text. The words and phrases referred by line numbers in the questions are underlined in the text.

The following questions will help you clarify what the text is about and what is going on in the text:

1. The central participants in this text are:
I (the speaker) (see l.1-2, 18, 20, 46, 50, 51, 53, 68, 102, 110, 130);
you (the audience) (see l.5, 71, 97, 98);
Africa, Africans and *the regeneration of Africa* (see l.29, 33, 67, 101, 116, 134);
and a group of abstract nouns,
Nature l.6, *time* l.15, *genius* l.15, *Science* l.75-9, *This all-powerful contact* l.80, *a great century* l.82, *the brighter day* l.102, *agencies of social, economic and religious advance*, l.121, *Civilisation* l.137-8, *knowledge* l.147.

What do you think is the effect of the speaker's choice of the latter group of entities as the agents of history?

2. In this text there are many verbs which express mental activity such as knowing, meaning and believing, for example:
compare l.3, mean l.4, compare l.18, believe l.46, consider l.48, would change l.49, envy l.51, considering l.68, knows l.70, are witnessing l.71;
Who tends to be the subjects of these verbs? What does this tell us about the speaker's goals?

3. The following prepositions dealing with time, place and scope, are characteristic of this text. What sort of scale does this suggest the author operating on? Is this typical of historical writing?
through all ages and for all time l.12, through unborn centuries to this very hour l.72, From these heights of the twentieth century l.86, forever l.126, In ages hence l. 145; anywhere in any race l.17, to Europe or to any other continent l.18, upon the world l.34, From the four corners of the earth l.43, everywhere l.; in all races l.15, in a sense never (known) before l.70, to the world l.134, the world of science and art l.134-5.

4. The following clauses all contain descriptions about Africa and Africans. What does this tell us about the speaker's intentions in giving this speech?
All the glory of Egypt belongs to Africa and her people l.27, Africa is like the golden sun l.33, she has a role of honour too l.42, the regeneration of Africa belongs to this new and powerful period l.109, The African people ... possess a common fundamental sentiment l.117, He has precious creations of his own l.135, The African is not a proletarian of the world of science and art l.134.

5. In this speech, the speaker presents a three stage narrative about Africa. Stage 1 describes Africa's past (see l.21-35), stage 2 describes Africa in the present (see l.35-37 and l.101), and stage 3 describes Africa in the future (see l.69-150). Can you identify the story he constructs about Africa in each of these three stages?

6. In his speech, Seme predicts the regeneration of Africa. He suggests two main entities as the agents of this process. Can you identify them from the two groups of quotations below?

a) *this influence of contact and intercourse, the backward with the advanced. This influence constitutes the very essence of efficient progress and of civilisation. l. 84-85.*

b) *the awakened race consciousness l.112-113, the African people possess a common fundamental sentiment which is everywhere manifest, crystallising itself into one common controlling idea l.116-118, the fusing force of this enlightened perception of the intertribal relation, which should subsist among a people with a common destiny l.119-120.*

These questions will help you detect the speaker's attitudes towards himself, his audience and towards the content and participants in the text:

7. What sort of identity does the speaker construct for himself through the use of the following language forms?

If you please, l.8,9, I would ask you l. 18, I make this request l.19, Mr. Calhoun (even though he was a slave-owner) l. 46, Ladies and gentlemen, l.69, I again ask you l.86.

What class / group does the speaker suggest he belongs to through these linguistic choices?

8. How does the speaker position Africa and African people in this text?

a) In the past - *grandeur, venerable, gigantic l.22, look with disdain l.25-6, All the glory of Egypt belongs to Africa and her people l.27, indestructible, ...memorials of their great and original genius l. 28, unrivalled l.29, far surpass l.31, the highest purity of taste l.32, unrivalled historic achievements l.29, the ancestral greatness ... recuperative power of the race l.123-4.;*

b) In the present - *the most backward race l.80, elemental needs l.113, undeveloped powers l.114, The African already recognises his anomalous position and desires a change l. 101, the anxious and aspiring mass l.122-;*

c) In the future - *The giant is awakening l. 43, proof of the new order of things l.96,99, a new and unique civilisation l.133-4, it shall be thoroughly spiritual and humanistic - indeed a regeneration moral and eternal! l.141-2.*

d) He also compares Africa to the sun - *Africa is like the golden sun l.33, but still plays upon the world l.34, the brighter day is rising upon Africa l.102, the glory of the rising sun l.104, with that morning gleam l.149, shine .. with equal beam l.150.* What is the effect of this metaphor?

The following questions will help you analyse how language is used to organise the content into a linear and coherent text:

9. What discourse do the following terms come from? What clue do they give us about the type of text that this is, that is, what genre do you think the speaker drawing on?

*The **reason** .. a common standard is impossible! l.20-1, My **thesis stands on this truth**; time has **proved** it. l.14-15. His second point is that **Africa claims unrivalled historic achievements** l.29, will bring to Africa's **claim** the strength of written **proof** l.38-9, **redeem** their race from the **charges** which I am now considering l.68, you too would be **convinced** that the elevation of the Africa race is **evidently** a part of the new order of things l.98-99.*

Further on Seme argues that the Africans' *untiring devotion to (industrial and educational initiative) must be regarded as positive evidence of this process of regeneration l.130-2.*

10. What effect do you think the rhyming stanzas in l.36-43 and l.143-150 may have had on the original audience?
11. Seme won first prize for this speech. Why do you think it was so well received by his, presumably, academic, middle class audience?

C. Re-interpretation

Now use your answers to Sections A & B as evidence for answering the following questions:

1. How has the context of the text's production shaped the writer's construction of history? What political and social struggles gave rise to its production?
2. What do you think was the writer's purpose in offering this particular interpretation of the past?
3. How do you think the text was understood by its original, intended, audience?
4. What history or interpretation of the past does the writer construct in this text?
5. What social relations and social identities does the text set up?
6. What genres, discourses and meta-narratives does the writer draw on in his/her construction of the text?
7. Does this text represent a particular historiographical tradition or school?
8. Whose interests does this particular construction of history serve?
9. Now give your own critical re-interpretation of the text. (You may want to contrast this with the way in which you think it was originally understood by its intended audience). Explain what you think were (and are) the social, political and ideological effects of this text.

5.3 CLA Exercise 3

The ICU in Durban

New Nation New History Volume 1 (1989)

(New Nation & the History Workshop: University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (pp. 29 - 30))

1 The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) was established in
2 Cape Town in 1919.
3 By 1926 it had become a mass political movement. Thousands of blacks in
4 the cities and countryside flocked to the union in the hope of getting higher
5 wages, more land and freedom.
6 Because of local traditions of resistance and patterns of African dispossession,
7 ICU protest looked different in particular regions of the country.
8 In Durban, for example, the ICU branch, which was established in 1925,
9 appealed strongly to the Zulu identity of the workers.
10 Although Africans had worked in Durban during the nineteenth century, by
11 the 1920s increasing numbers of migrant workers were travelling to Durban in
12 search of work.
13 Many Africans in Natal and Zululand had been forced off white-owned farms.
14 Land shortage also made it increasingly difficult for homestead-heads to
15 support their families.
16 As a result, thousands of young men found jobs on the docks, railways or in
17 local industry in Durban.
18 **Life was hard**
19 Many youths became domestic workers. Life in Durban in the 1920s was
20 hard for most of these workers. Living conditions in compounds or backyards
21 were crowded and oppressive.
22 Durban's 30 000 workers were subject to rigorous control in and outside the
23 workplace. Wages were very low. By 1929, they had not risen for 12 years.
24 But not all Africans were labourers. About 600 people managed to earn a
25 relatively better living through skilled jobs (clerks, shoe-makers, painters).
26 Others were self-employed as traders.
27 However, after 1924 the new "Pact" government further restricted the
28 opportunities for skilled African workers through a "civilised labour" policy.

29 As a result, this lower middle class began to experience worsening conditions
30 of life. Many artisans and skilled workers began to lose their jobs to whites
31 and suffered increasing racial oppression.

32 In their frustration, many of them decided to become officials in the Durban
33 ICU. Their own grievances were similar to those of workers and they began
34 to voice these grievances through the ICU.

35 By 1927 the Durban union had won a number of victories for the workers.

36 The ICU's Durban leader, AWG Champion, used the courts to successfully
37 challenge the degrading practice of "dipping" workers in disinfectant, local
38 curfew laws and the unfair dismissal of workers.

39 In doing so, the ICU captured the imagination of African workers and could
40 boast that it had attracted 28 000 members in Durban.

41 **In trouble**

42 But at the end of 1927 the union found itself in trouble.

43 Clements Kadalie, the National Secretary of the ICU, accused Champion of
44 mismanaging union funds and suspended him. These accusations did contain
45 some elements of truth.

46 Over 60 officials in the Durban branch had been using workers' subscriptions
47 to start small businesses, buy land and pay themselves good salaries.

48 But many Durban workers had come to identify strongly with Champion and
49 the ICU.

50 Even in Johannesburg some angry Zulu workers destroyed their ICU cards in
51 protest.

52 Champion himself decided to break away from the national ICU movement.

53 In spite of these leadership problems, the union continued to mobilise support
54 in Durban. At its public meetings the leaders often likened ICU struggles with
55 Zulu history and its heroes such as Shaka and Bambatha.

56 Migrant workers responded with enthusiasm to this message. Most had lost
57 land and hoped for the restoration of what they saw as their traditional rights.

58 Thus one song which domestic workers sang at the popular ICU dancehall
59 ran: "Who has taken our country from us? Come out, let us fight!"

60 But this struggle was also about wages. Champion promised workers in
61 1928: "Within three months of joining the union you will be getting higher
62 wages." But by 1929 workers' wages were as low as ever.
63 Conditions in the city were worsening. In June 1929 militant dockworkers
64 decided to boycott municipal beerhalls, which they saw as symbols of their
65 exploitation.

66 **Support for boycott**

67 Champion asked them to be more cautious. But when workers showed signs
68 of independent action, Champion decided to support their boycott call.
69 Workers began to picket the beerhalls fiercely. Now ICU officials told
70 workers to take their grievances to the "proper authorities".
71 But workers' anger overtook the leaders and, in riots which followed, eight
72 people were killed.

73 The beer boycott lasted almost a year. The Durban Town Council attempted
74 to defuse the militancy which had resulted in the boycott by establishing a
75 Native Advisory Board in 1930.

76 The ICU was given two representatives on the Board.
77 But for many workers the ICU leaders' promises of higher wages seemed to
78 be fading.

79 **No Champion**

80 Furthermore, workers believed that the African representatives on the
81 advisory board were in league with the employers.

82 Champion made a last attempt to increase the declining support for the union
83 in September 1930.

84 He invited the Zulu king, Solomon, to meet union leaders in Durban. Many
85 workers saw Solomon as a protector of rights which they had lost, and they
86 waited expectantly to hear the outcome of the meeting.

87 After the meeting Champion told the workers: "The Zulu nation is one and the
88 towns and rural areas will now combine in one general movement." But
89 nothing happened.

90 By the end of 1930 worker support for the union had disappeared.

91 State repression of the ICU and increased unemployment contributed to the
92 decline of the union.

93 But the leadership had also been unable to consolidate the earlier victories of
94 the ICU in Durban. The ICU had continually promised workers higher
95 wages. Today old men and women remember the ICU with excitement.
96 Some also remember the unfulfilled promises of the union.

Student Assignment:

Write an essay analysing the New Nation text above, using the questions asked in Section C below as a guide. The questions asked in Sections A & B below are intended to help you take account of and analyse different aspects of the text and its context. You should use your answers to the socio-historical analysis (A), and to the formal and discursive analysis (B) to support the claims you make in your essay or re-interpretation (C).

A. Socio-historical Analysis

First read the text through carefully. Then do the necessary research to answer the following questions. This will enable you to understand the context in which the text was written.

1. What was the political context in South Africa at the time of the writing of this text?
2. What sort of newspaper was the New Nation and who was its intended readership?
3. Who wrote this series of history articles for the New Nation?
4. What do you think was the writer(s)'s purpose in producing this series?
5. What sort of power relations do you think would have existed between the writer and his/ her intended audience?
6. How do you think this may have influenced the writer's purpose and style?
7. How do you think this text might have been received and understood by its original readership?

B. Formal and Discursive Analysis

Here are three sets of questions to help you analyse the text. The words and phrases referred by line numbers in the questions are underlined in the text.

The following questions will help you clarify what the text is about and what is going on in the text:

1. What groups of people are represented in this text?
 - a. (l. 9, 11, 20, 22, 28, 30, 35, 39, 48, 50, 56, 58, 63, 80, 94);
 - b. (l. 3, 10, 13, 14, 16, 19, 55, 84, 95);
 - c. (l. 32, 36, 43, 46, 67, 69, 93)
 - d. (l. 73, 81)
2. What does the over-lapping of groups a. & b. tell you about the writer's representation of the ICU as a *mass political movement* l. 3 ?

3. The clauses below all represent relational processes (that is, verbs which relate a participant or thing to its identity, attribute, state of being or class of things). What does the writer's frequent use of this type of process suggest about the kind of history that is being represented here?

It had become a mass political movement l.3, Land shortage also made it increasingly difficult l.14, Many youths became domestic workers l.19, Life in Durban was hard l.19, Living conditions in compounds or backyards were crowded and oppressive l.20-21, Wages were very low l.23, Their own grievances were similar to those of the workers l.33, But this struggle was also about wages l.60, workers' wages were as low as ever l.62, Conditions in the city were worsening l.63, State repression of the ICU and increased unemployment contributed to the decline of the union l.91-92.

4. What discourse do the following terms come from?
mass political movement l.3, resistance .. dispossession l.6, protest l.7, land shortage l.14, low wages l.23, racial oppression l.31, grievances l.33 & 34, victories l.35, challenge l.37, leadership problems l.53, struggles l.54, mobilise support l.53, public meetings l.54, militant l.63, boycott l.64, picket l.69, state repression .. and increased unemployment l.91, consolidate l.93.

What does this suggest about the writer's assumptions about his/ her intended readership and about his/ her purpose in writing this article?

The following questions will help you detect the writer's attitudes towards the content and the different participants in the text:

5. What do the following groups of words and phrases suggest about the writer's positioning of the workers and people in the text?

a) *Thousands flocked ... in the hope l.3-4, in search of work l.11-12, forced off white-owned farms l.13, increasingly difficult (to support families) l.14-15, life was hard l.18, crowded and oppressive l.21, rigorous control .22, wages were very low l. 23, worsening conditions l.29, In their frustration l.32, the degrading practice l.37, the unfair dismissal l.38,*

b) *militant dockworkers l.63, independent action l.68, picket ...fiercely l.69.*

6. What do the following groups of words and phrases suggest about the writer's positioning of the trade union leadership? How does the writer's attitude towards the leadership change in the course of the text?

a) *appealed strongly to the Zulu identity of the workers l.8-9, But many Durban workers had come to identify strongly l.48, used the courts to successfully challenge l.36, In spite of these leadership problems l.53, with enthusiasm l.56, the popular ICU dancehall l.58 and remember with excitement l.95*

b) *in trouble l. 42, some elements of truth l.45, good salaries l. 47, workers' wages were as low as ever l.62, more cautious l.67, in league with*

the employers l.81, declining support l.82, continually promised l.94 and remember ... the unfulfilled promises l.96.

What lesson for their present struggle do you think the intended readership may have learnt from this account of the leadership of the ICU?

7. How are the government, municipal authorities and employers positioned in this text? What does this representation of those in power say about the focus of this history?
(l. 13, 22, 27, 74, 76).

The following questions will help you analyse how language is used to organise the content into a linear and coherent text:

8. Why do you think that the writer puts the following words in quotation marks "Pact" l.27, "civilised labour policy" l.28, "proper authorities" l.70?
9. In this text there is a pattern of two types of conjunction used by the writer (examples are given in a) and b) below). How does each of these sets of conjunctions help to build the argument of the text? Is this type of reasoning typical of historical discourse?

a) **Because of** local traditions of resistance and patterns of African dispossession l.6, **Although** Africans l.10, **As a result** thousands of young men l.16, **However** after 1924, l.27, **As a result** this lower middle class l.29, **In doing so**, l.39, **Even in** Johannesburg l.50, **In spite of** these leadership problems, l.53, **Thus** one song l.58. ?

b) **But not all** Africans l.24, **But at the end of** 1927 l.42, **But many** Durban workers l.48, **But this** struggle l.60, **But by** 1929 l.61, **But when** l.67, **But worker's** anger l.71, **But for many** workers l.77, **But nothing** l.88, **But the** leadership l.93.

10. Look at the overall structure of this text? In what ways do you think it is story-like? Does the story have a happy ending?

C. Re-interpretation

Now use your answers to Sections A & B as evidence for answering the following questions:

1. How has the context of the text's production shaped the writer's construction of history? What political and social struggles gave rise to its production?
2. What do you think was the writer's purpose in offering this particular interpretation of the past?

3. How do you think the text was understood by its original, intended, audience?
4. What history or interpretation of the past does the writer construct in this text?
5. What social relations and social identities does the text set up?
6. What genres, discourses and meta-narratives does the writer draw on in his/her construction of the text?
7. Does this text represent a particular historiographical tradition or school?
8. Whose interests does this particular construction of history serve?
9. Now give your own critical re-interpretation of the text. (You may want to contrast this with the way in which you think it was originally understood by its intended audience). Explain what you think were (and are) the social, political and ideological effects of this text.

5.4 CLA Exercise 4

Women and Resistance in South Africa

Cherryl Walker (1982)

(Onyx Press: London) (pp. 19 - 24, 30 - 32))

1 **Women in Politics: the Women's Suffrage Movement**

2 Given the general position of women, it is not surprising that the scope for
3 women in political work was very restricted. Until 1930 no women in South
4 Africa had the vote, and their participation in political parties, both white and
5 black, was very limited. Most people accepted that women were first and
6 foremost mothers and, furthermore, that motherhood in some way set women
7 apart from a full and equal participation in all spheres of society. Until women
8 became a more prominent and active part of the country's labour force, there was
9 little public debate on established assumptions of male superiority. Thus,
10 throughout this time, none of the major political parties regarded women as an
11 important area for political work and propaganda. In the early years of the
12 century most politicians accepted without much thought that it was not 'natural'
13 for women to meddle in politics. The structural reasons that lay behind this
14 attitude, in the form of the important reproductive function that women served,
15 have already been outlined. The handful of women who took up the question of
16 women's suffrage in the early twentieth century were regarded by almost all white
17 politicians as eccentrics at best, dangerous subversives or lunatics at worst.
18 In March 1911, suffragists met in Durban to establish a national women's suffrage
19 society, the Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union [WEAU], to
20 lobby their cause. Their conference drew forth the following editorial in the local
21 newspaper, the Natal Mercury:
22 'We hope the women suffragists have enjoyed their picnic in Durban, but we do
23 not think the political effect of their visit can have rewarded their endeavour, and
24 we cannot pretend that we have any regrets for their non-success'.¹⁷
25 Amongst black politicians, women's suffrage was even less of an issue. Black
26 leaders in this period were preoccupied with defending the limited rights that
27 Africans still possessed, notably their franchise rights in the Cape, not with
28 extending them into the uncharted area of women's rights.

29 The attitudes towards women that were current in black political organisations,
30 and the development of a women's movement within them, form one of the major
31 themes of this history. It is examined in detail in subsequent chapters. The
32 remainder of this chapter will therefore look briefly at the white women's suffrage
33 movement. This was one of the main political campaigns by women in the early
34 twentieth century and throws light on their general position in society at the time.
35 Although it stood apart from the great mass of black women, those with whom
36 this book is primarily concerned, its history has much to tell about the nature of
37 women's organisations in South Africa, as well as the different priorities that have
38 divided white women from black. It illustrates clearly how class and colour
39 divisions have interacted to shape the political consciousness of South African
40 women.

41 In the early twentieth century the women's suffrage movement was the only
42 political movement that was actively concerned with women's rights. Yet even it
43 was at pains to point out that the enfranchisement of women would not upset
44 established sexual relations in the home. In 1913 the suffrage journal, 'Women's
45 Outlook', argued that,

46 "The home, as has so often been said, is the woman's sphere. We must show
47 other women what we already know so well, that it is the very things pertaining to
48 the well-kept happy home that need their combined operation".

49 At that stage no women had the vote. In this respect they were classified on the
50 same plane as children, lunatics, and criminals. They shared this fate with most
51 black men - and it was largely because the question of the franchise raised such
52 explosive issues about black political rights, that the suffrage movement was
53 always a muted one and the eventual enfranchisement of white women was
54 delayed till some ten years after the suffrage movement had triumphed in Europe
55 and North America.

56 As already mentioned, the roots of the suffrage movement can be traced back to
57 Olive Schreiner and later to the Women's Christian Temperance Union in the late
58 nineteenth century. The WCTU's Franchise Department was followed by a
59 number of tiny, separate societies that established themselves in all the main urban
60 centres of the country in the first decade of the twentieth century. Their
61 membership was small, exclusively white, and almost entirely English-speaking;

62 these were to remain dominant characteristics of the movement throughout its
63 history. The majority of suffragists were drawn from the most privileged strata of
64 society. They were women who had both the education and the leisure to query
65 their restricted role in society: energetic and capable women, restless for all the
66 opportunities that society offered to their class but denied to their sex. [.....]
67 While it is incorrect to analyse the women's suffrage movement purely in its
68 relationship to the Cape African franchise, as most historians have done, it is also
69 clear that this was the dominant concern in Hertzog's mind in 1930. The
70 changing position of women and the suffrage campaign itself had made their
71 eventual enfranchisement inevitable by the late 1920s; the specific timing and the
72 scope of the legislation that finally brought this about, however, had little to do
73 with women's rights and far more to do with black rights or, rather, the removal
74 of such rights.

75 The suffrage movement was thus used by Hertzog - but it allowed itself to be
76 used. Very few of its members were in fundamental disagreement with the
77 principle of white supremacy implicit in the enfranchisement act. The history of
78 the WEAU supports the argument already advanced, that the basic political
79 allegiance of South African women has been shaped not by their sex, but by their
80 class position and their colour. White and middle class, the suffragists were
81 women who were wanting to expand the existing political structures of society to
82 incorporate themselves. They were not wishing to overthrow the structures on
83 which, ultimately, their privileges rested. Said Mrs Grant, a leading Cape
84 suffragist, in 1926,
85 "Well, in this country it is no use talking of justice. If we talk of justice, we are
86 told we shall go under. Such native policy as we have is based on injustice...
87 Should we women be so wonderfully just, when after all, the white men in this
88 country are not entirely just to native men?"

89 Although the demand for the enfranchisement of women was an explicitly feminist
90 one, the suffrage movement was a racist movement that ignored three-quarters of
91 the women in the country. The great majority of suffragists placed the protection
92 of their privileges as members (albeit subordinate members) of the ruling class
93 before the elimination of sexual discrimination. A comment another suffragist,
94 Aletta Nel, made at the 1926 select committee hearing on women's suffrage

95 expressed this succinctly. When asked if she favoured extending the vote to black
96 women, she replied, 'As a woman, sir, yes. . . but as a South African born person,
97 I feel that it would be wiser if we gave the vote to the European woman only'. It
98 was an attitude that would characterise the bulk of white women's organisations
99 throughout the twentieth century. [.....]

100 **The Anti-Pass Campaign in the Orange Free State, 1913-20** [.....]

101 The central government appeared cautiously sympathetic to the view that women
102 should be leniently treated, if not actually exempted. But it was reluctant to
103 damage its already fragile political base amongst whites in the Free State by
104 intervening decisively, and matters were allowed to drift. The flashpoint came in
105 mid-1913. Some Bloemfontein women, presenting a petition to the mayor, were
106 arrested for not having passes and the simmering opposition boiled over into open
107 defiance. This was how the APO described what happened:
108 'Friday morning, the 6th June, should and will never be forgotten in South Africa.
109 On that day, the Native women declared their womanhood. Six hundred
110 daughters of South Africa taught the arrogant whites a lesson that will never be
111 forgotten. Headed by the bravest of them, they marched to the magistrate, hustled
112 the police out of their way and kept shouting and cheering until His Worship
113 emerged from his office and addressed them, thence they proceeded to the Town
114 Hall. The women had now assumed a threatening attitude. The police
115 endeavoured to keep them off the steps. . . the gathering got out of control.
116 Sticks could be seen flourishing overhead and some came down with no gentle
117 thwacks across the skulls of the police, who were bold enough to stem the onrush
118 -'We have done with pleading, we now demand', declared the women'.¹⁰
119 This incident was the beginning of a widespread campaign of passive resistance,
120 which spread to all the major Free State towns and involved hundreds of women.
121 There is no indication that the Bloemfontein protesters had worked out a careful
122 campaign beforehand, but once the first arrests had been made, there were definite
123 attempts to turn a spontaneous outburst of feeling into a more co-ordinated
124 demonstration of popular opposition. The women turned to the tactics of passive
125 resistance and civil disobedience which the South African Indian Congress [SAIC]
126 leader, M. K. Gandhi, had already pioneered in South Africa.

127 In Bloemfontein, 34 women, convicted as a result of the June demonstration,
128 forfeited the option of a fine 'as a means of bringing their grievances before the
129 notice of the public'.¹¹ Their example was followed in other centres, and soon
130 there were reports of gaols being too full to handle all the prisoners.¹² In
131 Kroonstad, Winburg and Senekal, women defied the pass laws and came forward
132 for arrest. This period of unrest coincided exactly with the period when the
133 Native Land Act was being enforced - the Bloemfontein anti-pass demonstration
134 took place a week before the act was passed.

135 The scale and intensity of the demonstrations made a strong impression on
136 observers. The APO, jubilant at the stand the women had taken, was also taken
137 aback, if not a little disconcerted, that it was women who had taken the lead. It
138 concluded its report on the Bloemfontein disturbances in a more sober vein: 'In
139 the meantime, we, the men, who are supposed to be made of sterner stuff, may
140 well hide our faces for shame and ponder in some secluded spot over the heroic
141 stand made by Africa's daughters. ¹³ Whites were forced to see black women in a
142 new light. In 1913 a white suffragist, I.K. Cross, considered the demonstrations
143 sufficiently newsworthy to be included in an article she was compiling on the
144 women's movement in South Africa. She used them to illustrate a general point,
145 that women everywhere were beginning to assert themselves, and made no
146 attempt to link the women's anti-pass campaign to the white suffrage movement.
147 The tone of Cross's comments was patronising - the Bloemfontein march was
148 described as a 'rather amusing incident' - and revealed the wide gulf across which
149 she and other suffragists viewed black women.¹⁴ Nevertheless, probably for the
150 first time she and her colleagues had been forced to consider black women as
151 political beings in their own right.

152 The spontaneity, enthusiasm and informal organisation of the campaign would be
153 characteristic of many anti-pass demonstrations by women in the future. There
154 was no overall strategy; nor did the women have the support of an organisation
155 that could sustain and direct the campaign. Inevitably, therefore, the outburst of
156 popular feeling had to exhaust itself after some months.

157 During the war the campaign subsided, but it flared up again at the war's
158 conclusion, spreading to the Rand, where it was linked to a general anti-pass
159 campaign led by the ANC at the time. By that time the central government had

160 taken note of the campaign, and the enforcement of Free State pass laws against
161 women was being relaxed. Nevertheless, as late as 1920, 62 women in Senekal
162 were reported to have refused residential permits and gone to gaol rather than pay
163 a two pound fine. 15

164 This anti-pass campaign represents the first large-scale entry of black women,
165 operating in terms of the modern (non-tribal) political structure in South Africa,
166 into the political arena. The issue around which they rallied to form the Bantu
167 Women's League, that of passes, was to remain a central area of concern. The
168 1913 events were the first of many indications of how strongly women felt against
169 passes and what an explosive issue it could be.

170 While the resistance focused strongly on the particular evils seen to be inherent in
171 applying these laws to women, the pass laws provided an area of common
172 experience for both men and women that was exclusive to the African group. The
173 suffragists had shown how indifferent they were to the problems and the
174 organisations of black women; the only possible political home black women
175 could find at that time was in the already, existing black political organisations.
176 From the beginning, then, African women's political behaviour was shaped in
177 terms of their community of interest with African men.

178 The anti-pass campaign of 1913/14 had nothing to do with the women's rights
179 movement then rocking the western world and to which white South African
180 suffragists looked. It can in fact be argued that in defying the law as vociferously
181 as they had, African women were looking back to a cultural tradition that had
182 allowed women a great deal more independence and authority than western
183 society considered either 'natural' or 'respectable' at the time.

Notes:

- 17 This and following quotations and comments to do with the women's suffrage movement are taken from my study, 'The Women's Suffrage Movement in South Africa'.

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- 3 Inter-Departmental Committee on the Native Pass Laws, 1920, pp. 3-4
4 S. Plaatje, 'Native Life in South Africa, p.29.
5 2nd Census, 1921
6 'Petition of the OFS Native and Coloured women' printed in APO, 21/3/14.
The petition was addressed to the Governor General, Viscount Gladstone.
7 The APO was founded in 1902. Its membership was primarily 'Coloured' and its leader Dr. Abdurhaman, a member of the Cape Provincial Council.
8 In 1911, the 'Coloured' population of the Free State was 27,054 compared to 175,189 whites and 325,824 Africans. The percentage of this figure which would have been urbanised is unavailable.
9 APO, 6/4/12.
10 APO, 28/6/13.
11 APO, 23/9/13.
12 For instance, S. Plaatje, op.cit. pp. 94-7.
13 APO, 28/6/13.
14 I. K. Cross, 'The women's movement in South Africa and elsewhere' p.307.
15 International, 26/11/20.

Student Assignment:

Write an essay analysing the text above taken from Walker's book, "Women and Resistance in South Africa". Use the questions asked in Section C below as a guide. The questions asked in Sections A & B are intended to help you take account of and analyse different aspects of the text and its context. You should use your answers to the socio-historical analysis (A), and to the formal and discursive analysis (B) to support the claims you make in your essay or re-interpretation (C).

A. Socio-historical Analysis

First read the text through carefully. Then do the necessary research to answer the following questions. This will help you to understand the context in which the text was produced.

1. Who is Cheryl Walker?
2. Describe the political context in South Africa in the late '70s and early '80s. Note particularly what was happening with respect to women's organisations at the time of this text's production. Why do you think this book was banned when it was first published?
3. Look at the covers, contents, preface, introduction and concluding pages of Walker's book (pp. 274-278), to find out what political position she was writing from and to determine what her intentions were in writing this book.
4. What historiographical traditions/ schools do you think Walker may have been influenced by?
5. Who do you think was Walker's intended readership?
6. Who do you think are the central actors in Walker's book?

B. Formal and Discursive Analysis

Here are three sets of questions to help you unpack this text. The words and phrases referred by line numbers in the questions are underlined in the text.

The following questions will help you clarify what the text is about and what is going on in the text:

1. How does the writer represent the position of women in South Africa in the early twentieth century?
(l. 2-3, 3-4, 6-7, 12-13).
2. Who are the main actors in the first section of the text (l.1-99)?
(l. 18, 44, 52, 80, 83-4, 93-4).
What kinds of action are these women represented as being involved in?
met l.18, to establish l.18, to lobby l.20, drew forth l.20, argued l.45, were

not wishing to overthrow l.82..

3. Who are the main actors in the second section of the text (l. 100-183)?
(l.109, 109-110, 127, 136, 174)
What kinds of action are these women represented as being involved in?
presenting l.105, boiled over l.106, Headed, marched, hustled l.111, flourishing, came down l.116, demand l.118, defied, came forward l.131.
In what ways are the actions of this group different from the actions of the first group in question 2. above?
4. Whose actions are these abstract nouns and nominal groups representing?
Why do you think that the writer represents their actions in such an abstract way?
the flashpoint l.104, the simmering opposition l.106, This incident l.119, This period of unrest l.132, the Bloemfontein anti-pass campaign l.133, The scale and intensity of the demonstrations l.135, The spontaneity, enthusiasm and informal organisation of the campaign l.152, the outburst of popular feeling l.156, The anti-pass campaign of 1913/14 l.178.
5. Who are the “doers” of the verbs in the phrases below?
Most people accepted l.5, the major political parties regarded l.10, most politicians accepted (without much thought) l.12, were regarded by most white politicians l.17, the APO was taken aback l. 136-7, she and other suffragists viewed l.149, western society considered l.183.
These phrases represent the ideas, beliefs and consciousness of those who wielded power over (black) women. Use the line numbers to check what these ideas and beliefs were. Why do think Walker is concerned to represent the dominant ideologies of the period in this way?
6. What discourse are the following phrases typical of?
Until 1930 l.3, throughout this time l.10, In the early years of the century l.11, in the early twentieth century l.16, In March 1911, in Durban l.18 in all the main urban centres of the country in the first decade of the twentieth century l.59-60.
What other features can you find in the text which are typical of this discourse?

These questions will help you detect the writer's attitudes towards the two groups of participants in the text:
7. How are the white suffragists represented or positioned by the following phrases?
tiny, separate societies l.59, a small, exclusively white, and almost entirely English-speaking (membership) l. 61, the most privileged strata of society l.63, energetic, capable and restless l.65, always a muted one l.53, patronising l.147, indifferent (to the plight of black women) l.173, racist l.90.

8. How are the black women protesters represented or positioned by the following phrases?
brave(st) l.111, assum(ing) a threatening attitude l.114. simmering, boiled over l.106, open defiance l.107, spontaneous outburst of feeling l.123, how strongly women felt against passes l.168-9, defied the pass laws vociferously l.180.

9. Why do you think the writer chooses to position the two groups of women in these contrasting ways?

The following questions will help you analyse how language is used to organise the content into a linear and coherent text:

10. In the following examples the writer has used the passive voice with deleted agent.

was delayed l.53-4, were allowed to drift l.104, were arrested l.106, arrests had been made l.122, was being enforced l.133, was passed l.134, was being relaxed l.161.

Who are the agents of these verbs? Why do you think the writer chooses to leave them out?

11. Who is the deleted agent of these passive verb forms? Why do you think the writer chooses to hide this agent?

have already been outlined l.15, It is examined l.31, As already mentioned l.56, can be traced back l.57, already advanced l.78, It can in fact be argued l.180.

12. Can you mark which sections of the text are in narrative form and which sections are the writer's commentary, argument and explanation? How does the writer relate these two types of text (genres) in her writing?

13. How does the writer make use of her primary sources in the text? What is the difference between the primary sources used in the first section about the suffragists and those used in the second section about the black women protesters?

C. Re-interpretation

Now use your answers to Sections A & B as evidence for answering the following questions:

1. How has the context of the text's production shaped the writer's construction of history? What political and social struggles gave rise to its production?
2. What do you think was the writer's purpose in offering this particular interpretation of the past?

3. How do you think the text was understood by its original, intended, audience?
4. What history or interpretation of the past does the writer construct in this text?
5. What social relations and social identities does the text set up?
6. What genres, discourses and meta-narratives does the writer draw on in his/her construction of the text?
7. Does this text represent a particular historiographical tradition or school?
8. Whose interests does this particular construction of history serve?
9. Now give your own critical re-interpretation of the text. (You may want to contrast this with the way in which you think it was originally understood by its intended audience). Explain what you think were (and are) the social, political and ideological effects of this text.

5.5 Discussion

When asked about the applicability of the CLA exercises presented above, the historians generally responded positively (again their statements are taken from transcriptions of the tape-recordings of the seminars and from their written responses to my questionnaire, see Appendix 5):

“For the Honours course, the CLA exercises lay out very clearly the method we will deploy.”

“I will use them as a way of introducing a method of text analysis, both at Honours level and, in a modified form with different texts, at first year level, (I hope!)”

“I found you CLA exercises very helpful because you have given the words to the students. If you had not, it would take them ages and they may lose motivation and the point of the whole exercise.”

“We will certainly use some of these exercises to guide students into the method. But I expect it will take longer than we hope to work through a text with them.”

“Yes, I will definitely use them, but the big question for me about this method is the trade off between doing detailed textual analysis with students and the need to get them to read longer texts and establish a broad conceptual framework and knowledge base for the discipline. Such detailed analyses of texts will mean that we can only study a very small number of texts and they will get a very episodic understanding of the big picture. I think that this method is therefore best used in post-graduate teaching.”

In a seminar, one of the historians raised the issue of marking the students’ interpretations,

“One needs to think about the power relations in the classroom - we as markers will wield great power in deciding what is a “good” interpretation of a text and what is not. What criteria will we use for a “good” interpretation?”

In the ensuing discussion we agreed that the following kinds of criteria should be used for marking student interpretations: evidence of thorough but relevant research on the socio-historical context; the provision of textual and historical substantiation for claims made, that is, the plausibility of the interpretation; and within these constraints, the confidence to be creative and original; and

reflexivity - the ability to foreground one's own position and to be aware of how this affects one's interpretation.

Despite the historians' generally positive responses, I suggest that the main compromise of the method of CDA in the design of these exercises, lies in the formal analysis, Section B. The exercises on their own could never provide students with the tools of FSG that they would need to conduct a critical discourse analysis on their own. In this sense they fall short of the Vygotskian ideal, in which learners should be led through the zone of proximal development to the point where they have internalised the teacher's consciousness and so can self-regulate and perform the activity independently of the teacher. Clearly, these exercises on their own can not achieve this. This is largely because the exercises do not enable the learners to independently identify, classify and analyse the formal elements of a text. I have done this part of the work for them and, furthermore, I have not employed Halliday's precise terminology to classify and explain the lexicogrammatical elements. Instead, I have tried to translate the precise terms of FSG into their much looser everyday or "commonsense" equivalents; for example, "*description*", "*preposition*", "*mental activity*", "*abstract nouns*", "*verbs or processes*", "*actors or participants*" and "*phrases*". Occasionally, I risk using a technical term such as "*the passive voice with deleted agent*" or "*participant*" or "*subject*" on the assumption that the commonsense meaning is close enough to the technical meaning. In the process of this simplification exercise, some of the explanatory power of Halliday's system is lost. For example, I was obliged to omit the following aspects of the analysis because they would have required extensive teaching and explanation beforehand: Under **field**, I could not make clear to potential students the distinction between material, mental and verbal, and relational processes. There was little that I could expect of the students with respect to analysing logical relations and grammatical metaphor and the use of nominalisation. Under **tenor**, I omitted any analysis of mood and modality from the exercises, both key aspects of tenor. In discussing the writers' attitudes and positioning, I did not feel able to make the distinction between attitudinal epithets and prepositional phrases (not really a part of interpersonal meaning),

and mood adjuncts and comment adjuncts. Under **mode**, I did not expect students to be able to carry out an analysis of marked themes, or to see how thematic structure is used to develop the overall structuring of a text.

This compromise raises an issue at the heart of this study, namely is it possible for the method of CDA presented here to be applied to educational practice in a manner which is both accessible and rigorous? I suggest that for students, and particularly at the under-graduate level, it may be necessary to sacrifice rigour for accessibility, (see also my discussion of CLA in Chapter 2.1). After all, these are history students and it is probably unrealistic to expect them to learn Hallidayan grammar in the history classroom. However, in Chapter 3 above, I have argued that, for the purposes of staff development, it is important to try to maintain the rigorous aspect of the application as well. The staff are research historians and may wish to use the method in their research; furthermore, they have the responsibility of teaching and explaining the method to students. For these reasons, I have attempted in this study, to hand over to them the full “tool kit” of FSG so that they can use their own judgement in applying it to their research and teaching practice. I suggest that this means giving them the opportunity to learn the concepts, the discourse and the terminology of FSG. As Halliday himself argues, with respect to scientific discourse, the terminologies and taxonomies of scientific discourse are functional in their context; that is they are necessary for the effective construction of scientific reality. I have already suggested in Chapter 2.1, that the terminology and classification system of FSG plays a similar role in the study of language as “technicality” does in the natural sciences, that is, it serves to name and classify elements within a system or taxonomy, in order to establish a reality which can explain phenomena in a way which is not intuitive and immediately apparent to commonsense. This involves the learning of a new discourse and a new way of understanding/ constructing reality at the same time. I suggest that this is precisely what learning to apply FSG in CDA demands. Halliday goes on to point out that it is not always possible to translate the terms of the technical system into everyday commonsense terms because they are not translatable, their meanings are established in relation to other parts of the system which they construct. This

means that much meaning, precision and explanatory power is lost when a technical system is “translated” into everyday terms, such as I have attempted to do in the CLA exercises above.

However, despite the compromise discussed above, I do not believe that the approach taken in these CLA exercises is educationally invalid. Firstly, because simply by doing history in this way, one is moving from the traditionalist paradigm into the hermeneutic and critical paradigms, with significant educational gains.²⁷ For example, the application of CDA to historical studies has the possibility of transforming students from passive consumers of textbook doxa into active and critical enquirers. Their focus should begin to shift from the reproduction and synthesis of knowledge to the conditions of its production. They should begin to understand better how historical knowledge is socially constructed through discourse, and this could encourage them to become critical readers of history and more self-reflective writers of history as well. Ramsden defines learning as “a qualitative change in a person’s view of reality” (1992:4). He argues that a good teacher should aim to change a student’s understanding from its present levels towards that of an expert in the discipline, (and that this includes acquiring the usage of an unfamiliar discourse.) I suggest that the implementation of a post-positivist approach to historical studies, using CDA, should certainly result in a qualitative change in students’ views of reality (particularly if they have only studied history within the traditionalist paradigm previously). And, as we have already discussed above, the difficult issue is the extent to which they should be expected to acquire the unfamiliar discourse of FSG.

Perkins makes a distinction between four types of knowledge: content knowledge - the learner learns the facts, concepts and routine procedures of the discipline; problem-solving knowledge - the learner learns to solve typical formulaic problems; epistemic knowledge - the learner gains awareness of what learning and understanding in the discipline demands and the ability to conduct

²⁷ The possibilities for emancipatory practice within the critical paradigm are discussed in the Conclusion below.)

justificatory and explanatory performances; inquiry knowledge - the learner understands how to challenge conclusions, results and their underlying assumptions within the discipline, and learners how to construct new knowledge (1992: 85). Perkins goes on to argue that if a learner is to display a true understanding of the discipline, then s/he should be able to display all four types of knowledge. I suggest that the teaching of history within the traditionalist paradigm only introduces learners to knowledge types one and two, whereas the application of CDA to historical studies, as demonstrated in the CLA exercises in this chapter, has the potential to teach learners to engage with knowledge types three and four and so to learn to be critically involved in the actual construction processes of the knowledge, rather than simply manipulating its products at a surface level. So my conclusion to this discussion, is that it is probably worth compromising on the rigour of FSG, in order to introduce students to, what I consider to be, a more exciting and intellectually challenging way of doing history with significant educational gains.

5.6 Conclusion to the Thesis

This study is entitled, “An exploration of the contribution of critical discourse analysis to curriculum development”; its aim is therefore to produce some sort of educational knowledge and findings pertinent to curriculum development; that is, knowledge which contributes to the understanding and “doing” (methodology) of the discipline itself and, therefore, by implication, to the practice of teaching the discipline as well. The word “exploration” is deliberate, because the study is largely reflective, and its application of theory is limited to the work of myself and the small group of historians with whom I was working. How do we know that the “findings” produced by this study are no more than just the subjective interpretations and reflections of this small group of individuals? I suggest that the answer lies in the nature of educational knowledge itself. Educational knowledge is never “pure”, it can only be validated in specific educational practices (Luckett, 1996: 8). Educational knowledge is not a body of rigorous, scientific, knowledge, and this is why, as we saw in Chapter 1 above, those who have applied Habermas’ work to education, suggest that curriculum development is best conducted from the

practical and emancipatory, rather than the technical, knowledge-constitutive interests. The implications of this are that educational research cannot be based on pure observation, nor can it result in law-like generalisations; for the knowledge produced by educational research is always bound up in specific contexts and in the here-and-now judgements of the individual researcher. The authority of educational research should therefore always remain open to question. It follows then, that in practice, the expertise of professional educators can never be simply the application of established, general laws about education. This means that educational practitioners can never be sure of “getting it right” beforehand; they work in complex, messy, human situations, which demand that they use their own judgement to interpret specific situations as they attempt to apply educational knowledge to practice. Thus educational knowledge is only developed within and alongside professional practice. This is why, in this study, the focus of the research has been on developing the consciousness, self-reflexivity, and knowledge and skills of the historians, as professional educators, who will have to make their own judgements about the specific applications of the theory and methodology of CDA presented here.

But the question remains, how does one judge the validity of the claims made in a study such as this? I suggest that a criterion for the validity of the kind of educational research presented here, is the improvement of professional practice. In other words, the validity of a staff development project, such as this, lies in its ability to come up with a theoretically and practically feasible strategy for action; that is, in its ability to achieve particularised relevance and effectiveness in educational practice (Lockett, 1996: 15). A study such as this, can therefore only make modest claims, and cannot claim generalisability for its findings. However, if it has been validated in a particular professional practice, then it can hope to be illuminating and to have significance for other practitioners, operating in similar fields and contexts.

I first consider whether this study has contributed to the improvement of professional practice. I suggest that the responses of the historians quoted below, indicate that my own professional practice, as a staff developer in this

project, has been effective and that it holds promise for the improvement of the historians' own understanding of their discipline and therefore of their professional practice as teachers of historical studies:

"These seminars have helped me to understand what I already knew intuitively - that history is a construction - a human process of selection, a piece of art - attention to the grammar of history reinforces the fact that writing history is a social and linguistic act."

"We have become more aware of the complexity of our relationship to the past - our approach is now less naive and it is more modest - we can no longer see ourselves as experts discovering "facts" - the emphasis shifts to uncovering discourse processes."

"These seminars helped me understand exactly in what sense I am not a positivist - you have put your finger on the myth that the work of the historian and the past is the same thing. We can no longer escape the fact that history is mediated, enabled and constrained by discourses which are partly determined by their social function."

"The post-positivist approach breaks down the idea of facts as givens - which historians simply string together to make a narrative. We are now concerned with history as a meaning-making enterprise - meanings which only exist in language - the more we understand the production process, the better we will understand the making of history."

"CDA can help us get beyond a positivist view of history by putting the analysis of the language in which history is couched right at the centre of the (academic) historian's method - or at least an awareness that it should be at the centre."

"My understanding of the textuality of history-as-discourse was reinforced, and I began to feel that I was being equipped to explore this more systematically. I thought more about the 'naturalness' of the narrative and recount genres in making meanings, and in giving meanings coherence and legitimacy."

"I will become more self-conscious than I am already about the ways in which I write. I will furthermore, be able to ask more precise questions about texts used as evidence, for example in the reports of proceedings by commissions of enquiry. More possibilities open up for writing explicit histories of representation."

"The characterisation of historical discourse was very useful in helping me to learn more precisely what linguistic features the

discourse entails. This will no doubt help me to teach it more explicitly to my students."

"We can now put linguistic labels on what we were trying to do before and we have sharpened our tools of text analysis. The key question is how can we teach this so that our history course does not become a linguistics course? How can we use a stripped down version of Halliday without losing the essence?"

These responses indicate that the staff development project afforded the historians an opportunity to develop further their professionalism, as historians and, by implication, as educators. The seminars provided them with a forum in which to reflect on the nature of their discipline and to develop greater theoretical clarity about the nature of history as discursive practice and about how to go about theorising and implementing a post-positivist approach to historical studies. These insights should help to improve their teaching of history and, I suggest, move their educational practice firmly into the hermeneutic paradigm of curriculum development.

I next address that aspect of curriculum development which deals with knowledge construction, namely with the question of whether CDA using FSG has been shown, in this study, to contribute to the methodology of historical studies, that is, whether it provides a theoretically adequate and practically feasible methodology for doing post-positivist history (within the hermeneutic and critical paradigms of curriculum development). Firstly, I suggest that the text analyses presented in Chapter 4, provide one demonstration of the application of the method to a variety of historical texts. From the perspective of the critical discourse analyst or practitioner, the method seemed, to me, to be workable and theoretically satisfying, but the reader will have to judge for her/himself. Secondly, the following responses from the historians suggest that they considered the method of CDA, which I presented, to be theoretically adequate and to have potential as a method for their own historical research and teaching practice:

"The implications of this method for a post-positivist way of doing history are huge - colossal - it is not just about using a new method to do old history - it is actually a new way of conceiving of history altogether!"

“If we can get on top of the method, it could be a very powerful research and teaching tool.”

“Yes, I will use your method in my own research. But we need to follow up with you some of the questions which were raised in the seminars - particularly with respect to academic history and the language of analysis and exposition.”

“I won’t be able to use the CDA method immediately, but given the fact that I constantly work on texts means that I shall have to come to terms with your method sooner or later!”

“With CDA a re-interpretation can’t be anything - it must be plausible and seen to be based on the linguistic evidence. This is important for halting the slide into relativity and nihilism.”

“We need to sell the linguistics to students, especially at post-graduate level. We need to show them that this is all about doing history - it is the re-interpretation that counts, but it needs to be backed up by a socio-historical analysis and a linguistic analysis.”

“In our research, we are constantly faced with the problem of a lack of resources about the oppressed (they didn’t have access to written records) - so the corpus of what is available to historians is very limited. Often, the only way to uncover information about ordinary people is to take official records and read between the lines for the “hidden transcripts”. CDA could provide a good method for doing this, for example, one could use the writings of white missionaries on black clergy and use the techniques of CDA to reveal something about these people and also about the missionaries attitudes towards them.”

Clearly, these responses should not be understood as “proof” that the methodological aim of the curriculum development project was conclusively achieved. Rather, they stand as a statement of possibility; the method appears to have potential, but will require on-going development, implementation and evaluation.

Thus far, I suggest that the findings of this study indicate that a theoretically adequate method of CDA may have been demonstrated. However, the question of the practical feasibility of the method for the historians, both as researchers and as teachers, has not been satisfactorily demonstrated. Despite the high motivation of the historians involved, I underestimated the time and effort that

would be required on their part to master the method.²⁸ The quotations below indicate a rather mixed response by the historians on the feasibility of their being able to apply the method to their own work:

"I liked the way you linked aspects of CDA to the "intuitive" method that we had developed for this course."

"I found your summary of the main aspects of FSG accessible and exciting. I now have some more precise tools to use when analysing texts."

"I found your method useful in the sense that it helped me to look at the discourse process systematically. You have helped me to up-date my little knowledge of linguistics and to apply it to history texts."

"The triple distinction of field, tenor and mode is extremely useful. I do not find it easy, but feel that it is operational."

"I feel I can use the concepts of field and tenor, but I am less confident about mode."

"The diagram was a good way of presenting the method. I feel I gained a broad working knowledge of CDA. The test will come when I apply it myself."

"A customised glossary of key terms and ideas would be most useful for easy reference in familiarising myself with the new discourse."

"I was a bit overwhelmed by the method, the technicalities are still bogging me down, we'll need more practice in trying it out. We should sit down and work on texts together."

"I need to relearn the FSG at a more simple level, with constant reinforcement - I am sure I could pick up a lot again by going back through the hand-outs you gave us. I would need to do this when faced with a practical research or teaching situation rather than just doing it 'cold'."

"I feel underconfident in the technical aspects of identifying grammatical forms and mechanisms. I want to fully apply this method and I need to develop these skills if I am to go further with text analysis. Perhaps you could work with us on doing some more text analyses together in the future?"

²⁸ In retrospect, it may have been more productive to have limited the seminars to only the two historians involved in the Honours course and to have focused very closely on working through the analysis of their texts. Instead, much time in the seminars was spent on wide-ranging and more general theory-of-history debates, which whilst very interesting, stole time from my own concern to teach the method.

“I didn’t find the grammar all that accessible. We had a lot of new terminology, and a lot of new concepts to learn in a short time. I didn’t have time to do proper homework, otherwise my answer might have been a lot more positive. (It is disconcerting to find that one can’t learn something new as quickly as one would like to, especially when one sees its importance for one’s own practice.)”

I think that these responses indicate that the problems, which the historians experienced, lie not so much in the inaccessibility of the method itself, but rather in the effort and time required to master it. Clearly it is going to take more time and practice on their part before it becomes a “practically feasible” method for them. I hope that as I continue to work with them in various research and teaching contexts in the future, I will be able to assist them further in mastering the techniques of FSG.

I suggest that in the CLA exercises presented in Chapter 5, I do demonstrate a practically feasible strategy for educational practice, using the method of CDA. However, as discussed in 5.5 above, I think that, in making the method so accessible, I lost some of its theoretical adequacy. Clearly there is a tension in holding the two concerns, theoretical rigour and practical feasibility and accessibility together, particularly when one is working in an interdisciplinary context. I suggest that if compromises do have to be made, then it is more appropriate to err on the side of theoretical laxity for students and on the side of inaccessibility for staff. However, this is not to say that the quest for a method CDA using FSG which is both rigorous and accessible should not be pursued further. I think, if this study serves any purpose at all, it is to highlight some of the pitfalls in that quest.

I conclude this discussion by claiming that the curriculum development undertaken in this study may be said to be constituted by the practical interest and therefore to fulfil the criteria of the hermeneutic paradigm of curriculum theory. It has been shown that the staff development project undertaken for this study was relatively successful in developing further the historians’ own hermeneutic consciousness and their professionalism as historians and as educators. I suggest that the method of CDA to which the historians were

introduced was a crucial intervention in sharpening their understanding of history as discursive practice and in providing them with a tool to employ in making the post-positivist approach to history feasible.

Furthermore, (as already discussed in Chapter 1 and at the end of Chapter 2.2 above), I suggest that this study falls somewhere on the continuum between the hermeneutic and critical paradigms and therefore holds out promise for emancipatory practice within the critical paradigm. For example, through this approach to historical studies, students may become more “empowered” in the classroom as their own powers of analysis and critique are seen to be valued. They may also become more critical readers and more reflexive writers of history. The approach also encourages the use of “other” histories in the curriculum and so begins to challenge the authority of academic historical discourse and its monopoly on “the truth”. In these ways, the introduction of CDA to historical studies, within a post-positivist approach, has the potential to encourage a culture of democratic practice. However, because I did not have the opportunity to work with students in this study, the potential of CDA to move the study of history into the critical paradigm has not been realised; at this stage it remains at the level of possibility.

I now make a number of further observations arising from the findings of this study. Firstly, in the light of the findings presented here, I suggest that more work and research needs to be done by critical and functional linguists to succeed in the quest for a method of CDA which, whilst remaining theoretically rigorous, is accessible and practically feasible for use by non-linguists wanting to apply it to other fields. I suggest that this remains one of the greatest challenges facing the CLA movement.

Secondly, with respect to the theoretical development of a method of CDA, I suggest that this study may have demonstrated that historical studies can contribute to CDA by showing how a thorough socio-historical analysis of the context of the text’s production can contribute to the overall depth of analysis of the interpretation and re-interpretation.

Thirdly, with respect to tertiary educational practice in general, I suggest that this study has shown that a CDA of the discourse of an academic discipline can expose exactly how the epistemological assumptions and the social purposes of a discipline are encoded in the grammar and structure of the discipline's discourse. This awareness can assist academic staff in understanding better the nature of their discipline and its linguistic demands. It can help them to teach it more explicitly and with greater understanding and it could contribute to enabling both staff and students to read and write the discourse of their disciplines with greater reflexivity and criticality. Two of the historians commented on the insights gained from my characterisation of historical discourse using FSG

"The characterisation of historical discourse was most useful. It has helped to me learn more precisely what the linguistic features of the discourse entail and how these are related to the way in which historical knowledge is constructed. I think this will have some important spin-offs for the way I teach, especially to first-years."

"I found your analysis of the different genres used in historical writing very useful. It is important that we do not see academic historical discourse as monolithic. It was also useful to see that in primary sources we are dealing with a great variety of genres, both written and unwritten... It will be important to teach students to recognise the different genres used in the writing of history."

The method of CDA discussed in this dissertation, could usefully be adapted and applied more widely in two respects. Firstly, within historical studies, it could be applied to a wider range of texts and not be confined to written documents; this is particularly important for research on primary sources which may include oral testimonies, visual images, film and so on. Secondly, I suggest that in my own work in staff and curriculum development at a university, CDA holds great promise for further adaptation and application to the discourses of other disciplines. In introducing this "discourse-across-the-curriculum" approach to staff development, I would not necessarily expect the staff concerned to learn and use the techniques of CDA themselves, (this had to be done with the historians because it was being offered as a methodological tool for the discipline itself). Instead, in a manner similar to that adopted by Halliday

and his colleagues, I believe that, if a staff developer such as myself, could offer to academics critical discourse analyses of specific texts in their discipline, and use these to characterise the grammatical and structural features of the discourse of the discipline in such a way as to relate these features to the discipline's epistemological assumptions and social purposes, then this could have enormous benefits for staff and curriculum development. For example, staff could be offered insights into the ways in which their disciplines are constructed as discursive practice and into how this is encoded in the grammar of its discourse. This could enable academic staff to teach their discipline and its discourse in a more conscious and explicit manner, paying attention to the language development of their students. In the long term, such an approach could enable both staff and students to become more reflexive and critical readers and writers of the powerful discourses which they teach and learn.

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Appendices

Text 1

D. I. Jones (1921)

Report on 'Communism in South Africa'

in South African Communists Speak: documents from the history of the South African Communist Party 1915 - 1980 (1981)

(London: Inkululeko) (pp. 51-54)

The Native Labour Movement

1 A formal statement of the various categories of native labour and the true Communist
2 policy towards the native workers has been prepared by Comrade S.P. Bunting and
3 accepted by the International Socialist League.

4 Before the war no trade union movement existed among the native workers, and such
5 a thing as a strike was unknown. The first move in the direction of organised revolt
6 was a strike of native workers on the dumping machinery of the Van Ryn Gold Mine in
7 December, 1915. It was regarded as a novel affair by the white workers of the mine;
8 but it appears that certain white men who engaged to keep the plant going were
9 sneered at as blacklegs by their white fellow-workers. Prior to that, in the 1913 revolt
10 of the white workers, appeals had been made to the native workers of the Kleinfontein
11 mine to stop working, and it seems to have dawned then on the white workers'
12 intelligence, or some of their most militant leaders like George Mason, that the native
13 was really a kind of a workmate. In 1917, Comrade Bunting and other members of the
14 ISL made an attempt to form a native workers' union. A number of the more
15 industrialised natives of Johannesburg were enrolled into the Union, which was named
16 'The Industrial Workers of Africa' (an echo of the 'Industrial Workers of the World').
17 It held meetings regularly, and the message of working class emancipation was eagerly
18 imbibed for the first time by an ardent little band of native workers who carried the
19 message far and wide to their more backward brethren. A manifesto to the workers of
20 Africa was issued in collaboration with the ISL written in the Zulu and Basuto
21 languages, calling upon the natives to unite against their capitalist oppressors. This
22 leaflet reached a still wider mass of native workers, and was introduced and read to the
23 illiterate labourers in the mine compounds. For the native of Africa, and the white too
24 for that matter, the question is not yet 'irrevocably put of bloody struggle or death.' It is
25 the era of awakening to the consciousness of class. The emphasis of the League on the

26 new power of industrial solidarity, which their very oppressors had put in their hands,
27 had as its aim to draw away the native's hopes from the old tribal exploits with the
28 spear and the assegai as a means of deliverance. The power of the machine dawned
29 upon him. In 1918 the propaganda of the IWA, and the pressure of the rising cost of
30 living, produced a formidable strike movement among the native municipal workers,
31 and a general movement for the tearing up of passports. Hundreds of natives who had
32 burned their passes were jailed every day, and the prisons became full to bursting.
33 Gatherings of native men and women were clubbed down by the mounted police. The
34 International Socialist League was charged with inciting to native revolt. Comrades
35 Bunting, Tinker and Hanscombe were arrested at the instance of the Botha
36 Government; but the chief native witness for the Crown broke down. He admitted that
37 the evidence of incitement to riot had been invented for him by the Native Affairs
38 Department, and the case collapsed. The moving spirits of the IWA were driven out of
39 Johannesburg by the police, some to find their way to Capetown, where a more
40 permanent movement of native organisation has since been formed. It has also spread
41 to Bloemfontein, where Msimang, a young native lawyer, is active in native
42 organisation. In the Cape Province the natives are more advanced politically, and more
43 permanently settled in the European areas. But the greater civil equality does not bring
44 greater freedom to combine. Masabalala, the leader of the Port Elizabeth native
45 workers, was imprisoned last August for his trade union activity. Trade unionism
46 among the native workers makes the hair of the South African bourgeois stand on end.
47 But the result of Masabalala's imprisonment was that his comrades rose en masse and
48 tried to storm the prison. A massacre by the armed police ensued; and the 'white
49 agitators of the Rand' blamed as usual. But the most portentous event so far in the
50 awakening of the native workers was the great strike of native mine workers on the
51 Rand in March, 1920. These mine natives are mostly raw recruits from the tribal
52 territories from Zululand, Basutoland, far-away Blantyre and Portuguese Africa, all are
53 here. For the time being all the old tribal feuds were forgotten, and Zulu and Shangaan
54 came out on strike together irrespective of tribal distinction to the number of 80,000.
55 Without leaders, without organisation, hemmed in their compounds by the armed
56 police, the flame of revolt died down, not without one or two bloody incidents in
57 which the armed thugs of the law distinguished themselves for their savagery. The ISL
58 at the time was engaged in the general elections, printing literature on the Soviets and

59 the Dictatorship of the Proletariat for its five candidates. The white workers were
60 undecided as to their attitude towards the native strikers. The ISL came out with an
61 appeal in 'The International' and in thousands of leaflets entitled 'Don't Scab,' calling
62 upon the white workers to play the game towards the native strikers. These were
63 distributed in the mine shafts by Communist sympathisers among the miners. One or
64 two were made the 'object of a prosecution by the police, but released later owing to
65 the difficulty felt, no doubt, of getting at the ISL for propoganda in the heat of an
66 election. The Capitalist Press, thinking to damage our election prospects, gave still
67 further publicity to our appeal by reproducing it in full as a proof of our criminality!
68 The Mineworkers' Union Executive called upon its members to side with the masters
69 and endeavour to run the mines, and publicly condemned our propoganda. But such is
70 the division of labour in South Africa that whereas either black labour or white labour
71 can stop industry, neither can properly start the wheels going again without the other.

72 *Native Political Leaders*

73 There exists a body known as The Native Congress, with sections functioning in the
74 various Provinces and for the whole Union. This is a loosely organised body composed
75 of the chiefs, native lawyers, native clergymen, and others who eke out a living as
76 agents among their compatriots. This body is patronised and lectured by the
77 Government. It has weekly newspapers in the various provinces, 'Abantu Batho' in
78 Johannesburg, 'Ilanga Lase Natal' in Natal, etc. These are subsidised by Government
79 advertisements, which are often withdrawn when the Congress drops the role of
80 respectable bourgeois which it normally tries to assume. It is satisfied with agitation for
81 civil equality and political rights to which its members as a small coterie of educated
82 natives feel they have a special claim. But to obtain these the mass cannot be moved
83 without their moving in a revolutionary manner. Hence the Government is dubious
84 about the Congress, and the Congress draws back timidly from the mass movements of
85 its own people. The native workers of the IWA quickly grasped the difference
86 between their trade union and the Congress, and waged a merciless war of invective at
87 the joint meetings of their Union with the Congress against the black-coated
88 respectables of the Congress. But the growing class organisations of the natives will
89 soon dominate or displace the 'Congress.' The national and class interests of the natives
90 cannot be distinguished the one from the other. Here is a revolutionary nationalist
91 movement in the fullest meaning of Lenin's term.

Text 2

Pixley ka Isaka Seme, April 5, 1906

'The Regeneration of Africa'

in 'The African Abroad'

(in Karis T. & Carter G.M. (eds.) 1972 From Protest to Challenge

Vol. I Protest and Hope (1882-1934) by Sheridan Johns III

(Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, CA, USA)

1 I have chosen to speak to you on this occasion upon "The Regeneration of
2 Africa." I am an African, and I set my pride in my race over against a hostile
3 public opinion. Men have tried to compare races on the basis of some
4 equality. In all the works of nature, equality, if by it we mean identity, is an
5 impossible dream! Search the universe! You will find no two units alike, the
6 scientists tell us there are no two cells, no two atoms, identical. Nature has
7 bestowed upon each a peculiar individuality, an exclusive patent from the
8 great giants of the forest to the tenderest blade. Catch in your hand, if you
9 please, the gentle flakes of snow. Each is a perfect gem, a new creation; it
10 shines in its own glory - a work of art different from all of its aerial
11 companions. Man, the crowning achievement of nature, defies analysis. He is
12 a mystery through all ages and for all time. The races of mankind are
13 composed of free and unique individuals. An attempt to compare them on
14 the basis of equality can never be finally satisfactory. Each is self. My thesis
15 stands on this truth; time has proved it. In all races, genius is like a spark,
16 which, concealed in the bosom of a flint, bursts forth at the summoning
17 stroke. It may arise anywhere and in any race.

18 I would ask you not to compare Africa to Europe or to any other continent.
19 I make this request not from any fear that such comparison might bring
20 humiliation upon Africa. The reason I have stated - a common standard is
21 impossible! Come with me to the ancient capital of Egypt, Thebes, the city of
22 one hundred gates. The grandeur of its venerable ruins and the gigantic
23 proportions of its architecture reduce to insignificance the boasted monuments
24 of other nations. The pyramids of Egypt are structures to which the world
25 presents nothing comparable. The mighty monuments seem to look with
26 disdain on every other work of human art and to vie with nature herself. All
27 the glory of Egypt belongs to Africa and her people. These monuments are

28 the indestructible memorials of their great and original genius. It is not
29 through Egypt alone that Africa claims such unrivalled historic achievements.
30 I could have spoken of the pyramids of Ethiopia, which, though inferior in
31 size to those of Egypt, far surpass them in architectural beauty; their
32 sepulchres which evince the highest purity of taste, and of many prehistoric
33 ruins in other parts of Africa. In such ruins Africa is like the golden sun, that,
34 having sunk beneath the western horizon, still plays upon the world which he
35 sustained and enlightened in his career. Justly the world now demands-

36 "Whither is fled the visionary gleam,
37 Where is it now, the glory and the dream?"

38 Oh, for that historian who, with the open pen of truth, will bring to Africa's
39 claim the strength of written proof. He will tell of a race whose onward tide
40 was often swelled with tears, - but in whose heart bondage has not quenched
41 the fire of former years. He will write that in these later days when Earth's
42 noble ones are named, she has a roll of honour too, of whom she is not
43 ashamed. The giant is awakening! From the four corners of the earth
44 Africa's sons, who have been proved through fire and sword, are marching to
45 the future's golden door bearing the records of deeds of valour done.

46 Mr. Calhoun, I believe, was the most philosophical of all the slaveholders.
47 He said once that if he could find a black man who could understand the
48 Greek syntax, he would then consider their race human, and his attitude
49 toward enslaving them would therefore change. What might have been the
50 sensation kindled by the Greek syntax in the mind of the famous Southerner, I
51 have so far been unable to discover; but oh, I envy the moment that was lost!
52 And woe to the tongues that refused to tell the truth! If any such were among
53 the now living, I could show him among black men of pure African blood
54 those who could repeat the Koran from memory, skilled in Latin, Greek and
55 Hebrew, - Arabic and Chaldaic - men great in wisdom and profound
56 knowledge - one professor of philosophy in a celebrated German university;
57 one corresponding member of the French Academy of Sciences, who regularly
58 transmitted to that society meteorological observations, and hydrographical
59 journals and papers on botany and geology; another whom many ages call
60 "The Wise," whose authority Mahomet himself frequently appealed to in the

61 Koran in support of his own opinion - men of wealth and active benevolence,
62 those whose distinguished talents and reputation have made them famous in
63 the cabinet and in the field, officers of artillery in the great armies of Europe,
64 generals and lieutenant generals in the armies of Peter the Great in Russia and
65 Napoleon in France, presidents of free republics, kings of independent nations
66 which have burst their way to liberty by their own vigour. There are many
67 other Africans who have shown marks of genius and high character, sufficient
68 to redeem their race from the charges which I am now considering.

69 Ladies and gentlemen, the day of great exploring expeditions in Africa is
70 over! Man knows his home now in a sense never known before. Many great
71 and holy men have evinced a passion for the day you are now witnessing -
72 their prophetic vision shot through many unborn centuries to this very hour.
73 "Men shall run to and fro," said Daniel, "and knowledge shall increase upon
74 the earth." Oh, how true! See the triumph of human genius to-day! Science
75 has searched out the deep things of nature, surprised the secrets of the most
76 distant stars, disintombed the memorials of everlasting hills, taught the
77 lightning to speak, the vapours to toil and the winds to worship - spanned the
78 sweeping rivers, tunnelled the longest mountain range - made the world a vast
79 whispering gallery, and has brought foreign nations into one civilised family.
80 This all-powerful contact says even to the most backward race, you cannot
81 remain where you are, you cannot fall back, you must advance! A great
82 century has come upon us. No race possessing the inherent capacity to
83 survive can resist and remain unaffected by this influence of contact and
84 intercourse, the backward with the advanced. This influence constitutes the
85 very essence of efficient progress and of civilisation.

86 From these heights of the twentieth century I again ask you to cast your eyes
87 south of the Desert of Sahara. If you could go with me to the oppressed
88 Congos and ask, What does it mean, that now, for liberty, they fight like men
89 and die like martyrs; if you would go with me to Bechuanaland, face their
90 council of headmen and ask what motives caused them recently to decree so
91 emphatically that alcoholic drinks shall not enter their country - visit their
92 king, Khama, ask for what cause he leaves the gold and ivory palace of his
93 ancestors, its mountain strongholds and all its august ceremony, to wander

94 daily from village to village through all his kingdom, without a guard or any
95 decoration of his rank - a preacher of industry and education, and an apostle
96 of the new order of things; if you would ask Menelik what means this that
97 Abyssinia is now looking across the ocean - or, if you could read the letters
98 that come to us from Zululand - you too would be convinced that the
99 elevation of the African race is evidently a part of the new order of things that
100 belong to this new and powerful period.

101 The African already recognises his anomalous position and desires a change.
102 The brighter day is rising upon Africa. Already I seem to see her chains
103 dissolved, her desert plains red with harvest, her Abyssinia and her Zululand
104 the seats of science and religion, reflecting the glory of the rising sun from the
105 spires of their churches and universities, her Congo and her Gambia whitened
106 with commerce, her crowded cities sending forth the hum of business, and all
107 her sons employed in advancing the victories of peace - greater and more
108 abiding than the spoils of war.

109 Yes, the regeneration of Africa belongs to this new and powerful period! By
110 this term regeneration I wish to be understood to mean the entrance into a
111 new life, embracing the diverse phases of a higher, complex existence. The
112 basic factor which assures their regeneration resides in the awakened race-
113 consciousness. This gives them a clear perception of their elemental needs
114 and of their undeveloped powers. It therefore must lead them to the
115 attainment of that higher and advanced standard of life.

116 The African people, although not a strictly homogeneous race, possess a
117 common fundamental sentiment which is everywhere manifest, crystallising
118 itself into one common controlling idea. Conflicts and strife are rapidly
119 disappearing before the fusing force of this enlightened perception of the true
120 intertribal relation, which relation should subsist among a people with a
121 common destiny. Agencies of a social, economic and religious advance tell of
122 a new spirit which, acting as a leavening ferment, shall raise the anxious and
123 aspiring mass to the level of their ancient glory. The ancestral greatness, the
124 unimpaired genius, and the recuperative power of the race, its irrepressibility,
125 which assures its permanence, constitute the African's greatest source of
126 inspiration. He has refused to camp forever on the borders of the industrial

127 world; having learned that knowledge is power, he is educating his children.
128 You find them in Edinburgh, in Cambridge, and in the great schools of
129 Germany. These return to their country like arrows, to drive darkness from
130 the land. I hold that his industrial and educational initiative, and his untiring
131 devotion to these activities, must be regarded as positive evidence of this
132 process of his regeneration.

133 The regeneration of Africa means that a new and unique civilization is soon
134 to be added to the world. The African is not a proletarian in the world of
135 science and art. He has precious creations of his own, of ivory, of copper and
136 of gold, fine, plated willow-ware and weapons of superior workmanship.
137 Civilization resembles an organic being in its development - it is born, it
138 perishes, and it can propagate itself. More particularly, it resembles a plant, it
139 takes root in the teeming earth, and when the seeds fall in other soils new
140 varieties sprout up. The most essential departure of this new civilization is
141 that it shall be thoroughly spiritual and humanistic - indeed a regeneration
142 moral and eternal!

143 O Africa!

144 Like some great century plant that shall bloom
145 In ages hence, we watch thee; in our dream
146 See in thy swamps the Prospero of our stream;
147 Thy doors unlocked, where knowledge in her tomb
148 Hath lain innumerable years in gloom.
149 Then shalt thou, walking with that morning gleam,
150 Shine as thy sister lands with equal beam.

Text 3

New Nation New History Volume 1 (1989)

The ICU in Durban

(New Nation & the History Workshop: University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
(pp. 29 - 30)

1 The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) was established in Cape
2 Town in 1919.

3 By 1926 it had become a mass political movement. Thousands of blacks in the
4 cities and countryside flocked to the union in the hope of getting higher wages,
5 more land and freedom.

6 Because of local traditions of resistance and patterns of African dispossession, ICU
7 protest looked different in particular regions of the country.

8 In Durban, for example, the ICU branch, which was established in 1925, appealed
9 strongly to the Zulu identity of the workers.

10 Although Africans had worked in Durban during the nineteenth century, by the
11 1920s increasing numbers of migrant workers were travelling to Durban in search
12 of work.

13 Many Africans in Natal and Zululand had been forced off white-owned farms.

14 Land shortage also made it increasingly difficult for homestead-heads to support
15 their families.

16 As a result, thousands of young men found jobs on the docks, railways or in local
17 industry in Durban.

18 **Life was hard**

19 Many youths became domestic workers. Life in Durban in the 1920s was hard for
20 most of these workers. Living conditions in compounds or backyards were
21 crowded and oppressive.

22 Durban's 30 000 workers were subject to rigorous control in and outside the
23 workplace. Wages were very low. By 1929, they had not risen for 12 years.

24 But not all Africans were labourers. About 600 people managed to earn a
25 relatively better living through skilled jobs (clerks, shoe-makers, painters). Others
26 were self-employed as traders.

27 However, after 1924 the new "Pact" government further restricted the
28 opportunities for skilled African workers through a "civilised labour" policy.

29 As a result, this lower middle class began to experience worsening conditions of
30 life. Many artisans and skilled workers began to lose their jobs to whites and
31 suffered increasing racial oppression.

32 In their frustration, many of them decided to become officials in the Durban ICU.
33 Their own grievances were similar to those of workers and they began to voice
34 these grievances through the ICU.

35 By 1927 the Durban union had won a number of victories for the workers.

36 The ICU's Durban leader, AWG Champion, used the courts to successfully
37 challenge the degrading practice of "dipping" workers in disinfectant, local curfew
38 laws and the unfair dismissal of workers.

39 In doing so, the ICU captured the imagination of African workers and could boast
40 that it had attracted 28 000 members in Durban.

41 **In trouble**

42 But at the end of 1927 the union found itself in trouble.

43 Clements Kadalie, the National Secretary of the ICU, accused Champion of
44 mismanaging union funds and suspended him. These accusations did contain some
45 elements of truth.

46 Over 60 officials in the Durban branch had been using workers' subscriptions to
47 start small businesses, buy land and pay themselves good salaries.

48 But many Durban workers had come to identify strongly with Champion and the
49 ICU.

50 Even in Johannesburg some angry Zulu workers destroyed their ICU cards in
51 protest.

52 Champion himself decided to break away from the national ICU movement.

53 In spite of these leadership problems, the union continued to mobilise support in
54 Durban. At its public meetings the leaders often likened ICU struggles with Zulu
55 history and its heroes such as Shaka and Bambatha.

56 Migrant workers responded with enthusiasm to this message. Most had lost land
57 and hoped for the restoration of what they saw as their traditional rights.

58 Thus one song which domestic workers sang at the popular ICU dancehall ran:

59 "Who has taken our country from us? Come out, let us fight!"

60 But this struggle was also about wages. Champion promised workers in 1928:
61 "Within three months of joining the union you will be getting higher wages." But
62 by 1929 workers' wages were as low as ever.
63 Conditions in the city were worsening. In June 1929 militant dockworkers decided
64 to boycott municipal beerhalls, which they saw as symbols of their
65 exploitation.

66 **Support for boycott**

67 Champion asked them to be more cautious. But when workers showed signs of
68 independent action, Champion decided to support their boycott call.
69 Workers began to picket the beerhalls fiercely. Now ICU officials told workers to
70 take their grievances to the "proper authorities".
71 But workers' anger overtook the leaders and, in riots which followed, eight people
72 were killed.

73 The beer boycott lasted almost a year. The Durban Town Council attempted to
74 defuse the militancy which had resulted in the boycott by establishing a Native
75 Advisory Board in 1930.

76 The ICU was given two representatives on the Board.

77 But for many workers the ICU leaders' promises of higher wages seemed to be
78 fading.

79 **No Champion**

80 Furthermore, workers believed that the African representatives on the advisory
81 board were in league with the employers.

82 Champion made a last attempt to increase the declining support for the union in
83 September 1930.

84 He invited the Zulu king, Solomon, to meet union leaders in Durban. Many
85 workers saw Solomon as a protector of rights which they had lost, and they waited
86 expectantly to hear the outcome of the meeting.

87 After the meeting Champion told the workers: "The Zulu nation is one and the
88 towns and rural areas will now combine in one general movement." But nothing
89 happened.

90 By the end of 1930 worker support for the union had disappeared.

91 State repression of the ICU and increased unemployment contributed to the decline
92 of the union.

93 But the leadership had also been unable to consolidate the earlier victories of the
94 ICU in Durban. The ICU had continually promised workers higher wages. Today
95 old men and women remember the ICU with excitement.
96 Some also remember the unfulfilled promises of the union.

Text 4

Cherryl Walker (1982)

Women and Resistance in South Africa

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1 **Women in Politics: the Women's Suffrage Movement**

2 Given the general position of women, it is not surprising that the scope for
3 women in political work was very restricted. Until 1930 no women in South
4 Africa had the vote, and their participation in political parties, both white and
5 black, was very limited. Most people accepted that women were first and
6 foremost mothers and, furthermore, that motherhood in some way set women
7 apart from a full and equal participation in all spheres of society. Until women
8 became a more prominent and active part of the country's labour force, there was
9 little public debate on established assumptions of male superiority. Thus,
10 throughout this time, none of the major political parties regarded women as an
11 important area for political work and propaganda. In the early years of the
12 century most politicians accepted without much thought that it was not 'natural'
13 for women to meddle in politics. The structural reasons that lay behind this
14 attitude, in the form of the important reproductive function that women served,
15 have already been outlined. The handful of women who took up the question of
16 women's suffrage in the early twentieth century were regarded by almost all white
17 politicians as eccentrics at best, dangerous subversives or lunatics at worst.
18 In March 1911, suffragists met in Durban to establish a national women's suffrage
19 society, the Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union [WEAU], to
20 lobby their cause. Their conference drew forth the following editorial in the local
21 newspaper, the Natal Mercury:
22 'We hope the women suffragists have enjoyed their picnic in Durban, but we do
23 not think the political effect of their visit can have rewarded their endeavour, and
24 we cannot pretend that we have any regrets for their non-success'.¹⁷
25 Amongst black politicians, women's suffrage was even less of an issue. Black
26 leaders in this period were preoccupied with defending the limited rights that
27 Africans still possessed, notably their franchise rights in the Cape, not with
28 extending them into the uncharted area of women's rights.

29 The attitudes towards women that were current in black political organisations,
30 and the development of a women's movement within them, form one of the major
31 themes of this history. It is examined in detail in subsequent chapters. The
32 remainder of this chapter will therefore look briefly at the white women's suffrage
33 movement. This was one of the main political campaigns by women in the early
34 twentieth century and throws light on their general position in society at the time.
35 Although it stood apart from the great mass of black women, those with whom
36 this book is primarily concerned, its history has much to tell about the nature of
37 women's organisations in South Africa, as well as the different priorities that have
38 divided white women from black. It illustrates clearly how class and colour
39 divisions have interacted to shape the political consciousness of South African
40 women.

41 In the early twentieth century the women's suffrage movement was the only
42 political movement that was actively concerned with women's rights. Yet even it
43 was at pains to point out that the enfranchisement of women would not upset
44 established sexual relations in the home. In 1913 the suffrage journal, 'Women's
45 Outlook', argued that,
46 "The home, as has so often been said, is the woman's sphere. We must show
47 other women what we already know so well, that it is the very things pertaining to
48 the well-kept happy home that need their combined operation".

49 At that stage no women had the vote. In this respect they were classified on the
50 same plane as children, lunatics, and criminals. They shared this fate with most
51 black men - and it was largely because the question of the franchise raised such
52 explosive issues about black political rights, that the suffrage movement was
53 always a muted one and the eventual enfranchisement of white women was
54 delayed till some ten years after the suffrage movement had triumphed in Europe
55 and North America.

56 As already mentioned, the roots of the suffrage movement can be traced back to
57 Olive Schreiner and later to the Women's Christian Temperance Union in the late
58 nineteenth century. The WCTU's Franchise Department was followed by a
59 number of tiny, separate societies that established themselves in all the main urban
60 centres of the country in the first decade of the twentieth century. Their
61 membership was small, exclusively white, and almost entirely English-speaking;

62 these were to remain dominant characteristics of the movement throughout its
63 history. The majority of suffragists were drawn from the most privileged strata of
64 society. They were women who had both the education and the leisure to query
65 their restricted role in society: energetic and capable women, restless for all the
66 opportunities that society offered to their class but denied to their sex. [.....]
67 While it is incorrect to analyse the women's suffrage movement purely in its
68 relationship to the Cape African franchise, as most historians have done, it is also
69 clear that this was the dominant concern in Hertzog's mind in 1930. The
70 changing position of women and the suffrage campaign itself had made their
71 eventual enfranchisement inevitable by the late 1920s; the specific timing and the
72 scope of the legislation that finally brought this about, however, had little to do
73 with women's rights and far more to do with black rights or, rather, the removal
74 of such rights.

75 The suffrage movement was thus used by Hertzog - but it allowed itself to be
76 used. Very few of its members were in fundamental disagreement with the
77 principle of white supremacy implicit in the enfranchisement act. The history of
78 the WEAU supports the argument already advanced, that the basic political
79 allegiance of South African women has been shaped not by their sex, but by their
80 class position and their colour. White and middle class, the suffragists were
81 women who were wanting to expand the existing political structures of society to
82 incorporate themselves. They were not wishing to overthrow the structures on
83 which, ultimately, their privileges rested. Said Mrs Grant, a leading Cape
84 suffragist, in 1926,

85 "Well, in this country it is no use talking of justice. If we talk of justice, we are
86 told we shall go under. Such native policy as we have is based on injustice...
87 Should we women be so wonderfully just, when after all, the white men in this
88 country are not entirely just to native men?"

89 Although the demand for the enfranchisement of women was an explicitly feminist
90 one, the suffrage movement was a racist movement that ignored three-quarters of
91 the women in the country. The great majority of suffragists placed the protection
92 of their privileges as members (albeit subordinate members) of the ruling class
93 before the elimination of sexual discrimination. A comment another suffragist,
94 Aletta Nel, made at the 1926 select committee hearing on women's suffrage

95 expressed this succinctly. When asked if she favoured extending the vote to black
96 women, she replied, 'As a woman, sir, yes. . . but as a South African born person,
97 I feel that it would be wiser if we gave the vote to the European woman only'. It
98 was an attitude that would characterise the bulk of white women's organisations
99 throughout the twentieth century. [.....]

100 **The Anti-Pass Campaign in the Orange Free State, 1913-20 [.....]**

101 The central government appeared cautiously sympathetic to the view that women
102 should be leniently treated, if not actually exempted. But it was reluctant to
103 damage its already fragile political base amongst whites in the Free State by
104 intervening decisively, and matters were allowed to drift. The flashpoint came in
105 mid-1913. Some Bloemfontein women, presenting a petition to the mayor, were
106 arrested for not having passes and the simmering opposition boiled over into open
107 defiance. This was how the APO described what happened:

108 'Friday morning, the 6th June, should and will never be forgotten in South Africa.
109 On that day, the Native women declared their womanhood. Six hundred
110 daughters of South Africa taught the arrogant whites a lesson that will never be
111 forgotten. Headed by the bravest of them, they marched to the magistrate, hustled
112 the police out of their way and kept shouting and cheering until His Worship
113 emerged from his office and addressed them, thence they proceeded to the Town
114 Hall. The women had now assumed a threatening attitude. The police
115 endeavoured to keep them off the steps. . . the gathering got out of control.
116 Sticks could be seen flourishing overhead and some came down with no gentle
117 thwacks across the skulls of the police, who were bold enough to stem the onrush
118 -'We have done with pleading, we now demand', declared the women'.¹⁰

119 This incident was the beginning of a widespread campaign of passive resistance,
120 which spread to all the major Free State towns and involved hundreds of women.
121 There is no indication that the Bloemfontein protesters had worked out a careful
122 campaign beforehand, but once the first arrests had been made, there were definite
123 attempts to turn a spontaneous outburst of feeling into a more co-ordinated
124 demonstration of popular opposition. The women turned to the tactics of passive
125 resistance and civil disobedience which the South African Indian Congress [SAIC]
126 leader, M. K. Gandhi, had already pioneered in South Africa.

127 In Bloemfontein, 34 women, convicted as a result of the June demonstration,
128 forfeited the option of a fine 'as a means of bringing their grievances before the
129 notice of the public'.¹¹ Their example was followed in other centres, and soon
130 there were reports of gaols being too full to handle all the prisoners.¹² In
131 Kroonstad, Winburg and Senekal, women defied the pass laws and came forward
132 for arrest. This period of unrest coincided exactly with the period when the
133 Native Land Act was being enforced - the Bloemfontein anti-pass demonstration
134 took place a week before the act was passed.

135 The scale and intensity of the demonstrations made a strong impression on
136 observers. The APO, jubilant at the stand the women had taken, was also taken
137 aback, if not a little disconcerted, that it was women who had taken the lead. It
138 concluded its report on the Bloemfontein disturbances in a more sober vein: 'In
139 the meantime, we, the men, who are supposed to be made of sterner stuff, may
140 well hide our faces for shame and ponder in some secluded spot over the heroic
141 stand made by Africa's daughters. ¹³ Whites were forced to see black women in a
142 new light. In 1913 a white suffragist, I.K. Cross, considered the demonstrations
143 sufficiently newsworthy to be included in an article she was compiling on the
144 women's movement in South Africa. She used them to illustrate a general point,
145 that women everywhere were beginning to assert themselves, and made no
146 attempt to link the women's anti-pass campaign to the white suffrage movement.
147 The tone of Cross's comments was patronising - the Bloemfontein march was
148 described as a 'rather amusing incident' - and revealed the wide gulf across which
149 she and other suffragists viewed black women. ¹⁴ Nevertheless, probably for the
150 first time she and her colleagues had been forced to consider black women as
151 political beings in their own right.

152 The spontaneity, enthusiasm and informal organisation of the campaign would be
153 characteristic of many anti-pass demonstrations by women in the future. There
154 was no overall strategy; nor did the women have the support of an organisation
155 that could sustain and direct the campaign. Inevitably, therefore, the outburst of
156 popular feeling had to exhaust itself after some months.

157 During the war the campaign subsided, but it flared up again at the war's
158 conclusion, spreading to the Rand, where it was linked to a general anti-pass
159 campaign led by the ANC at the time. By that time the central government had

160 taken note of the campaign, and the enforcement of Free State pass laws against
161 women was being relaxed. Nevertheless, as late as 1920, 62 women in Senekal
162 were reported to have refused residential permits and gone to gaol rather than pay
163 a two pound fine. 15

164 This anti-pass campaign represents the first large-scale entry of black women,
165 operating in terms of the modern (non-tribal) political structure in South Africa,
166 into the political arena. The issue around which they rallied to form the Bantu
167 Women's League, that of passes, was to remain a central area of concern. The
168 1913 events were the first of many indications of how strongly women felt against
169 passes and what an explosive issue it could be.

170 While the resistance focused strongly on the particular evils seen to be inherent in
171 applying these laws to women, the pass laws provided an area of common
172 experience for both men and women that was exclusive to the African group. The
173 suffragists had shown how indifferent they were to the problems and the
174 organisations of black women; the only possible political home black women
175 could find at that time was in the already, existing black political organisations.
176 From the beginning, then, African women's political behaviour was shaped in
177 terms of their community of interest with African men.

178 The anti-pass campaign of 1913/14 had nothing to do with the women's rights
179 movement then rocking the western world and to which white South African
180 suffragists looked. It can in fact be argued that in defying the law as vociferously
181 as they had, African women were looking back to a cultural tradition that had
182 allowed women a great deal more independence and authority than western
183 society considered either 'natural' or 'respectable' at the time.

Notes:

17 This and following quotations and comments to do with the women's suffrage movement are taken from my study, 'The Women's Suffrage Movement in South Africa'.

3 Inter-Departmental Committee on the Native Pass Laws, 1920, pp. 3-4

4 S. Plaatje, 'Native Life in South Africa, p.29.

5 2nd Census, 1921

6 'Petition of the OFS Native and Coloured women' printed in APO, 21/3/14.

The petition was addressed to the Governor General, Viscount Gladstone.

7 The APO was founded in 1902. Its membership was primarily 'Coloured' and its leader Dr. Abdurhaman, a member of the Cape Provincial Council.

8 In 1911, the 'Coloured' population of the Free State was 27.054 compared to 175,189 whites and 325,824 Africans. The percentage of this figure which would have been urbanised is unavailable.

9 APO, 6/4/12.

10 APO, 28/6/13.

11 APO, 23/9/13.

12 For instance, S. Plaatje, op.cit. pp. 94-7.

13 APO, 28/6/13.

14 I. K. Cross, 'The women's movement in South Africa and elsewhere' p.307.

15 International, 26/11/20.

History Staff Questionnaire

*Please answer these questions on a separate sheet(s) of paper and send it to me at TESU, or reply on the e-mail by **the 15th November**. Please be sure to indicate the number of the question which you are answering.*

1. Have our seminars in any way developed further or changed your understanding of histories as discourses? If so, please explain how.
2. In what ways do you think the method of critical discourse analysis (CDA), which we looked at, can contribute to a “post-positivist” approach to history?
3. Did you find my presentation of a method of CDA using functional systemic grammar (FSG) useful? rigorous? accessible?
What questions or queries still remain for you?
4. Do you think you will ever use this method (or aspects of it) in your own historical research? If so, please explain how?
5. Did you find my four text analyses using CDA and FSG plausible? convincing?
In what ways might you use them?
Any further comments about them?
6. How do you think you might apply the method of CDA in your own teaching practice?
7. Do you think you will be able to use my critical language awareness exercises (the pedagogic texts) in the classroom? If so, how might you use them? What reservations do you have about using them?
8. Any further comments about our explorations in this series of seminars?

Thank you for attending the seminars and for your contribution to my research.

*Kathy
November, 1996.*