

**University of Cape Town
Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities**

**Exploring discourse change in the formulation of coastal
management policy in South Africa**

**A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of**

Master of Philosophy

by

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March 1999

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Abstract

The field of coastal management in South Africa, and the discourses which construct and are constructed by it, are in transition. Emerging from a history of a narrow scientific approach with goals related mainly to environmental conservation, coastal management has in the 1990s become far broader and more orientated towards socio-economic development. This forms part of a wider transition in the social practice of environmental management under South Africa's new democratic government, in which environmental goals have begun to be pursued in the context of broader social and economic aims. This mini-thesis explores the shift which has occurred in coastal management policy and practice over the past decade, analysing representative samples of the discourse of coastal management policy. The use of a critical approach to discourse analysis enables an understanding of the power relations and ideological forces at play, both within the policy discourses and in the broader social practices of coastal management and policy formulation of which they are a part.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to my excellent supervisor, Cathy Kell, for her patience, moral support and valuable critical guidance.

I thank Bruce Glavovic and Prof. Deon Retief for their interest in my project and willingness to be interviewed.

And finally thanks to my husband, Jochen Petersen, for his love and support and for believing in me always.

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Glossary of key terms

discourse:	language use conceived as social practice
a discourse:	a way of signifying experience from a particular perspective
discourse practice(s):	general practices of particular institutions, organisations and societies in relation to discourse
discursive practice:	the production, distribution and consumption of a text (<i>middle layer of Fairclough's framework</i>)
discursive event:	instance of language use (analysed as text, discursive practice and social practice)
discursive formation:	the rules of formation which determine the set of rules which at a given period and for a given society define the limits and form of the sayable
genre:	use of language associated with a particular social activity
interdiscursivity:	the constitution of a text from diverse discourses
order of discourse:	totality of discursive practices of an institution, and relations between them
social practice:	activity in the social / cultural / economic / political realm, as expressed in discursive events (<i>outer layer of framework</i>)
text:	the written or spoken language produced in a discursive event (<i>inner layer of framework</i>)

Chapter 1

Introduction to the topic

This mini-thesis will explore discourse change in the formulation of coastal management policy in South Africa. I will use critical discourse analysis to explore and contrast the two major examples of coastal management policy in South Africa. The first sample is *A Policy for Coastal Zone Management in the Republic of South Africa (Parts 1 and 2)*, published in 1989 - 1991 towards the end of the apartheid era by the government-sponsored Council for the Environment. The second document is the *Coastal Policy Green Paper: Towards Sustainable Coastal Development in South Africa*, published by the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism of the newly elected democratic government in 1998. Both of these policy documents, and the formulation process of the later policy, have a conscious and explicit educational goal, which means that they can be understood as “learning practices which are not subject to organised educational forms but are directly embedded within broader social discourses” (Morphet, MPhil course memorandum, 1997).

A recent United Nations report defines coastal management as: “A continuous and dynamic process that unites Government and the community, science and management, sectoral and public interests in preparing and implementing an integrated plan for the protection and development of coastal ecosystems and resources”. It states that the goal of coastal management is: “to improve the quality of life of human communities which depend on coastal resources, while maintaining the biological diversity and productivity of coastal ecosystems” (GESAMP, 1996). This may be used as a working definition of coastal management for purposes of introduction to the topic.

The work aims to explore the ways in which a shift in government policy and in the South African environmental movement, away from a conservation discourse and towards a discourse of sustainable development, has played itself out in the field of coastal management. In addition to analysing shifts in the discourses present in the texts, I will investigate the discursive practice¹ of policy formulation, and will argue that

¹ The key discourse analysis terms used in this mini-thesis are defined in the Glossary on p. 5.

there has been a shift from an elitist approach to a more democratic and inclusive one. Finally the development of the broader social practices of the environmental movement, government policy-making and coastal management will be investigated. This will enable me to cast light on some of the interesting and often contradictory dynamics at play in the field of emerging government policy in the context of the transformation of South African society.

1.1 Why I chose this topic

My focus on discourse analysis emerged from the emphasis on discourse and the processes through which adults learn new identities, skills and capacities in the coursework teaching of the UCT MPhil in Adult Education in 1997. Through my work as a social analyst for Common Ground Consulting over the past two years, I have been involved in designing and running policy formulation processes, and in drafting policy documents, and have become increasingly interested in the field of policy studies. Of particular interest are anthropological approaches to policy which, by “excavating the prescriptive tones and normative assumptions that underlie policies”, are able to “examine how policy discourses ‘work’ to control political agendas, and the complex ways in which policies construct their subjects as objects of power” (Shore and Wright, 1997:i). Policy is increasingly important in contemporary societies – affecting all areas of life and shaping the way individuals construct themselves as subjects (Shore and Wright, 1997:4).

Shore and Wright (1997:3) suggest a number of key questions for a critical “anthropology of policy”: How do policies work or fail as instruments of governance? What metaphors and linguistic devices are used to give legitimacy to policy? How do policies create subjects / identities? How are major shifts in discourse made authoritative? How are normative claims used to silence other ways of thinking? (Shore and Wright, 1997:3) Many of these questions overlap with those asked by sociologists and linguists involved in critical discourse analysis, as will be shown in the next chapter.

The choice of coastal management policy as a topic was an obvious one, because of the large-scale project in this field with which my firm is currently involved, a national

Coastal Management Policy Programme (CMPP) – conducted for the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism with funding from the British Department for International Development (DfID). Members of my firm and the Project Management Team were also involved in national coastal management efforts in the 1980s and participated in drawing up the earlier *A Policy for Coastal Zone Management in the Republic of South Africa (Parts 1 and 2)*, published in 1989 - 1991 by the Council for the Environment.

Although I assisted in editing the recently published *Coastal Policy Green Paper: Towards Sustainable Coastal Development in South Africa*, I was not directly involved in the project at that time, and was not responsible for drafting any of the document's content. I therefore feel that, while no commentator can be unbiased or objective, I do have sufficient critical distance to be able to comment meaningfully on the document. I believe that discourse analysis can be a powerful tool in exploring what lies beneath the surface of a policy, revealing ideological messages and contradictions of which policy-makers are often unaware, because of their closeness to the discourse. As Usher and Edwards (1994:90) put it, "For those who speak it, a discourse is a *given* - it operates 'behind their backs', it is an 'unthought'". In his discussion of the role of sociology in deconstructing the social construction of reality, Bourdieu notes that, while "participant objectivation" is the ultimate goal of sociology, a sociologist must break with "the propensity to invest in her object which is no doubt at the root of her 'interest' in the object" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:259). My aim in this thesis is to break through my own involvement with the subject of coastal management, and to attempt to think through the unthought.

Bourdieu notes that social problems (which could include coastal management or the lack thereof) are always socially produced, in "a collective work of construction of social reality". (1992: 239-240). As a critical sociologist, says Bourdieu, one must question the very classifications that one uses - which is difficult when these are internalised. Society and the state define certain social problems as topics for research, but if one doesn't question the objectivising of these problems, one is merely their instrument (1992:235-237). Rupture must be created by looking at "the social history of problems, objects and instruments of thought, that is, with the history of the work of social construction of reality" (1992:238). I hope to deconstruct the notion of coastal

management by exploring change in its policy discourse and locating this in terms of broader social change in South Africa today.

1.2 My methodology and research questions

In analysing the field of coastal management policy in South Africa, I will draw on the methodology for critical discourse analysis set out by Fairclough (1992; 1995)², involving the selection and analysis of a “corpus” of sample texts. The texts (or parts thereof) which form my corpus are as follows:

- Council for the Environment, *A Policy for Coastal Zone Management in the Republic of South Africa – Part 1: Principles and Objectives*, 1989
- Council for the Environment, *A Policy for Coastal Zone Management in the Republic of South Africa – Part 2: Guidelines for Coastal Use*, 1991³
- Coastal Management Policy Programme, *Coastal Policy Green Paper: Towards Sustainable Coastal Development in South Africa*, 1998
- Various feedback letters from stakeholders commenting on the Coastal Policy Green Paper, 1998

The Council for the Environment was a statutory body established in 1982 in terms of the Environment Conservation Act (100 of 1982) and re-established in terms of the Environment Conservation Act (73 of 1989). The role of the Council was to provide the Minister of Environment Affairs with advice regarding environmental policy and related matters. There were nine committees of the Council, including a Committee for Coastal and Marine Systems, whose main objective was to advise on an effective coastal management policy and who were responsible for the formulation and publication of *A Policy for Coastal Zone Management in the Republic of South Africa*.

The Coastal Management Policy Programme is a partnership between government and civil society, represented on a Policy Committee, to formulate a new coastal management policy for the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. The

² Critical discourse analysis and Fairclough’s methodology are discussed in the next chapter.

Coastal Policy Green Paper: Towards Sustainable Coastal Development in South Africa is the first milestone in this process and will be followed by the publication of a White Paper during 1999, setting out government's new policy. The feedback letters referred to above were written comments received from participants in the process of formulating the Green and White Papers. This thesis focuses on the written texts described above, and uses critical discourse analysis, and ideas drawn from a number of theoretical sources, to analyse them and explore their significance in terms of broader social practice in South Africa today.

Two interviews were also conducted with protagonists in the drafting of the two policies, Prof. Gideon Retief of Watermeyer Prestedge Retief, formerly of the Council for the Environment's Committee for Coastal and Marine Systems and currently Project Leader on the Coastal Management Policy Programme, and Bruce Glavovic of Common Ground Consulting, formerly of the Department of Environment Affairs and currently Project Manager of the Coastal Management Policy Programme (also one of the drafters of the Green Paper). I chose not to transcribe these interviews and treat them as texts for discourse analysis, but used the information gained from them to provide detail and deeper understanding where possible. According to Fairclough, interviews can be used to enhance a corpus of discourse, eliciting interpretations of samples by participants in or observers of the discursive events in which they were generated, or probing issues which go beyond the samples, for example, exploring the extent to which participants are conscious of the ideological investment of their own discourse. Fairclough also sees close informal access to participants' perspectives, such as the access I have had through recent participation in the Coastal Management Policy Programme, as a positive feature in conducting discourse analysis (Fairclough 1992:227-228).

In analysing the discourse of the text sources mentioned above, I use the critical discourse analysis methodology recommended by Fairclough (1992) which centres around a "three-dimensional framework" (Fairclough, 1995:9). This framework includes:

³ An intended Part 3 – "Integrated coastal management in the RSA" was never produced because the Council for the Environment failed to reach agreement on the exact nature of the document (Informal interview with Deon Retief, 1999).

- detailed analysis of **text** (the written or spoken language produced in a discursive event)
- analysis of **discursive practice** (the processes of text production, consumption and distribution)
- analysis of **social practice**⁴, as expressed in discursive events.

Each of the chapters of the thesis focus on one of these three dimensions – Chapter 3 looks at discursive practice, Chapter 4 at text and Chapter 5 at social practice. Deciding in which order to approach the analysis was not easy. Fairclough himself recommends a possible approach, which is to start with discursive practice, narrow to the text and then broaden out to social practice (Fairclough, 1992:231). In an early draft of this work, I attempted to start in the centre with the detailed textual analysis and broaden out to discursive practice and then social practice. This enabled an immediate engagement with the discourses in the text, but meant that contextualisation of the policy documents could only be done towards the end. I then tried reversing the order, to work from the outside in, but found that leaving the detail of the policy documents till the end was also not ideal. As a compromise, I eventually settled on the order recommended by Fairclough – middle layer (which includes elements of both detail and context), inner layer, then outer layer – more convinced than I had been initially that this order made sense! Because of the interconnected and overlapping nature of the three parts of the framework, I have indicated in the text and in footnotes where issues will be or have been covered in more detail elsewhere in the thesis.

The thesis starts with a chapter which situates Fairclough's methodology for critical discourse analysis in an outline of the historical development of this approach. The chapter discusses some of the theoretical strands informing the approach, which combines close textual analysis with a critical approach to discourse in terms of power and social relations. Chapters 3-5 address the overarching question of the thesis: *How can discourse shifts between the coastal management policies of the Council for the Environment and the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism be accounted for?*

⁴ Note that Fairclough's later work (1995) actually uses the term "sociocultural practice", but it is used to mean the same as "social practice" in his earlier work (1992). The term "social practice" is used in this thesis.

This is done by exploring the more detailed questions outlined below – starting with questions 1-3 in Chapter 3, addressing questions 4 and 5 in Chapter 4 and question 6 in Chapter 5. The final chapter draws together the above findings into an overall conclusion on the overarching question and answers question 7 in assessing the effectiveness of the methodology in addressing my topic.

1. What discourses are drawn on in the two policies and how?
2. How are the discourses produced, distributed and consumed?
3. How is the coherence and / or ambiguity of the discourses interpreted?
4. How do the discourses construct identities and social relationships?
5. How do the discourses construct knowledge and belief systems?
6. How do the discourses of the two policy documents reproduce or transform broader social practices?
7. How effective is critical discourse analysis as a method?

1.3 The source documents

A brief description of the two policy documents will be provided here, in order to give the necessary background. Before embarking on a detailed analysis of the language contained in these documents, it is important to establish their materiality. According to sociolinguist Kress, the study of different material forms and modes is essential: “The project of multimodality is an attempt to make the point overtly and decisively that an interest in representational forms other than speech and writing is essential and not merely incidentally interesting; that it is central to actual forms of communication everywhere” (Kress, unpublished:1). Clearly, the policy documents under discussion do not communicate with their audience entirely through language – the visual mode of communication is also important.

Kress and others believe that all texts are always multimodal, and that a methodology is needed for describing all modes together, without privileging language. “We are, in the West,” says Kress, “coming out of a period in which writing was the mode which was

most highly valued, and ruled supreme” and in which “the visual was regarded as a mode of ‘saying again’, of ‘illustrating’ what had been represented already verbally.” (Kress, unpublished:11). This is changing rapidly, in today’s multimedia age, with CD-ROM, Internet websites, icon-driven computer software and collage-style electronic and print media. Fairclough (1995:4) stresses the need for a broad definition of texts to include the “multi-semiotic”, and the need for analysts to use all five senses in examining the texture as well as the content of texts. The multimedia theme is also taken up in the New Literacy Studies, where literacy artefacts are examined for material evidence of linguistic, visual and intertextual decisions which “situate the text...within the wider semiotic environment” and reveal further layers of meaning (Maybin, unpublished:5).

Although this thesis will not attempt a full multimodal analysis, it is important to contextualise my focus on the discourse of written language, and to make some basic points about the source documents’ materiality. The sections which follow, contain an outline of the visual and tactile aspects of the two key policy documents, with brief and necessarily subjective accounts of the impressions they may create and the way in which they communicate visually with the reader. The section also contains a summary of the content of each of the documents, which is necessary background information for the chapters which follow, showing the context of the particular discourse samples selected for analysis. Photocopies of a few selected pages of each policy are included as an appendix to this thesis, in order to give an idea of the way the documents look.

Council for the Environment Policy (CE Policy)

The Council for the Environment’s *A Policy for Coastal Zone Management in the Republic of South Africa, Parts 1 and 2 (1989; 1991)*⁵ is published in two separate volumes in smooth-feeling semi-glossy covers, Part 1 stapled and Part 2 bound with a spine. The covers are full colour – but are mainly white with the bright blue and green identity of the Council for the Environment prominently featured (see Appendix). The large size of the name “Council for the Environment” relative to the title gives an impression at first glance that the document may be a brochure of some kind. It looks fairly serious and technical from the outside, and gives the impression of appealing to a

specialised or technical audience, rather than a broad one. *Part 1, Principles and Objectives*, is A4 size and 24 pages long, and is printed in both English and Afrikaans – one half in English, with the other half in Afrikaans and printed upside-down (relative to the English half), so that the document can be read from either cover. *Part 2, Guidelines for Coastal Land-Use*, also A4 size, is substantially thicker at 96 pages, and is available in English and Afrikaans versions. The presence of the two languages tells the reader immediately that the publication is from the “old South Africa”, in which official documents were published in English and Afrikaans as the two official languages.

Inside, the two parts of the publication are printed on high quality smooth white paper with full colour throughout. Colour is used in a simple way, with black text and colour photographs and illustrations. The only other uses of colour are green pages to introduce chapters in *Part 2*, and pale yellow blocks which appear randomly in the documents to fill up white spaces. The photographs are good quality and large, and are used mainly to illustrate coastal scenes which show the physical consequences – positive or negative – of effective coastal management or lack thereof. The clear distinction between images of “good” and “bad” development contributes to the didactic tone of the publication.⁶ Technical diagrams are included in full-colour water-colour painting. The colour photographs and diagrams contribute substantially to making the publication attractive and preventing the text from becoming overwhelming. The design is a straightforward one, with two columns of text in a serif typeface. The small, non-prominent headings, densely covered pages and extensive use of visual material give me an overall impression of a serious and fairly conventional handbook or textbook-type publication, brought to life by its illustrations. To me, the publication looks finished and professional. It presents itself as a document which is complete and has all the answers, and invites the reader to read and learn.

The content of *Part 1, Principles and Objectives*, has four sections following the “Foreword” and the “Introduction”:

- “The coastal zone”
- “Objectives for coastal zone management”

⁵ Referred to throughout this mini-thesis as “the CE Policy”.

- “Land-use categories in the coastal zone” and
- “Sensitive areas in the coastal zone”.

The section on “Objectives for coastal zone management”⁷ lists a set of six key objectives. The section on “Land-use categories in the coastal zone” gives a brief explanation of four land-use categories: protected areas, recreation areas, natural resource areas and intensive-use areas. The final section on sensitive areas in the coastal zone describes two types of high risk areas – those caused by natural processes and those caused by human activity. Finally, there is a brief sub-section on “Principles to be adhered to in high-risk and other sensitive areas”. Overall, *Part 1* provides a broad statement of policy for coastal zone management focusing mainly on the specific and fairly narrow issue of wise land-use planning in sensitive coastal areas.

Part 2, Guidelines for Coastal Land-use, is divided into 13 chapters: Chapter 1 is an introduction on the need for the guidelines, and Chapter 2 contains a broad set of “Environmental guidelines for coastal planning”. Towards the end of the document, Chapter 12 provides advice on “Landscape planning and construction site management” and Chapter 13 on “Where to obtain advice”. The bulk of the document, made up of Chapters 3 - 11, contains detailed guidelines for land-use and protection of particular coastal land forms:

- rivers
- floodplains
- estuaries
- wetlands and coastal lakes
- dunes
- beaches
- cliffs and steep slopes
- rocky shores
- marine sub-tidal zone and
- coastal islands.

⁶ This will be discussed in Chapter 4.

⁷ This section is actually titled “Objects for coastal zone management” in the text, but this is presumed to be a mistake, as the Contents page refers to “Objectives” and the text of the section uses the word “objectives” rather than “objects”.

A consistent format is maintained for each chapter focusing on a particular land form, with the following sub-sections: “Ecological features”, “Impacts of human activity”, “Management guidelines” and “Further reading / References”. Overall, *Part 2* provides a practical, technical set of guidelines for coastal land-use aimed at officials and professionals whose day-to-day work has a physical impact on the coast.⁸

DEAT Coastal Policy Green Paper (Green Paper)

The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism’s *Coastal Policy Green Paper: Towards Sustainable Coastal Development in South Africa* (1998)⁹ is published in A4 size in one thick volume of 172 pages (see Appendix). It is bound with a hard spine, but gives a less polished impression than the Council for the Environment document, as the cover material is matte and slightly rough-feeling, and looks either recycled or deliberately grainy. The subtle colours and use of photographs in one colour only (which also appear poor quality) give an understated impression – the publication appears to have been produced more cheaply than the CE Policy¹⁰. The design of the front cover, with its use of vertical and horizontal text, subtle colours and “broken” font create an overall impression that is more modern, artistic and trendy than the CE Policy. The front cover is folded inside, giving the effect of a dust-cover, with a user-friendly summary provided on the inside on “How to Read this Document”.

Inside, the publication is printed on matte recycled paper with noticeable flaws. The three unusual ink colours of the cover are used throughout – grey blue, lime green and rust red. The subtle colours and the recycled paper give the document an “eco-friendly” image. The colours are used in creative ways for different elements of the document. Most of the text is blue, with important sections and headings in red, photographs and diagrams are in blue, the green is used to highlight tables and all three colours are used for the beginning pages of chapters. Another user-friendly feature is that the three sections of the document’s content are clearly indicated with a colour marker down the right hand side of the pages for easy reference. The design of Green Paper is also fairly simple, with one column of text and a wide left margin, but there are elements of more

⁸ The question of the audiences for whom the policies are intended is addressed in Chapter 3.

⁹ Referred to throughout this mini-thesis as “the Green Paper”.

¹⁰ Although this is not necessarily the case. The recycled paper used inside the document is actually more expensive than ordinary matte white paper.

adventurous design, e.g. in the chapter introduction pages with a colour-fade, and the use of different heading sizes to guide the reader.

Small one-colour photographs are used to introduce chapters and do not appear to relate specifically to the chapter topics or to add to or illustrate their meaning. Instead, the photographs seem to be included randomly, with the only (but significant) pattern being that they are always in pairs, most of which contain one picture of a relatively unspoilt natural coastal environment and another of an intensively developed coastal environment. This has the effect of backing up the message of the policy that there is a need for a balance between environmental conservation and development.¹¹ Because the photographs are not captioned, the effect is almost a subliminal rather than an overt or didactic one. The inclusion of sketch-style line illustrations of coastal regions creates an informal impression, and contributes to the overall feel of the document as a work-in-progress. The accessible design and structure of the document, and the varied contents, create an impression of providing something for everyone. The inclusive nature of the policy formulation process is conveyed visually - the document appears both to be a product of interaction with stakeholders and to invite further interaction. The somewhat less professional and polished look of the publication, while it may be less inspiring of confidence to a conservative reader, sends a message to the more open-minded reader that the document is indeed not yet complete¹². The reader is invited to browse through the document and to interact with it.

The content of the Green Paper is broken into three sections: "Section A: Managing the Coast", "Section B: The South African Coast" and "Section C: Towards a Coastal Policy", with a number of Appendices. Section C is the real policy section, containing a chapter outlining "Some Key Policy Questions", a vision statement for the coast and a set of principles to guide coastal management. A lengthy section detailing "Goals and Objectives" for coastal management is divided into five major themes, with goals under each theme, objectives under each goal and bulleted points under each objective. The themes are: Our National Heritage, Coastal Planning and Development, Pollution Control and Waste Management, Natural Resource Management, and Governance and

¹¹ The message of the policy will be addressed in Chapter 3.

¹² Because this is a Green Paper, it must still be revised into a White Paper before being adopted as government policy.

Capacity Building. The section closes with a chapter on different models for “Possible Institutional & Legal Arrangements” and an outline of the next steps to be taken.

Section A of the document provides some of the necessary background to the policy formulation process, and includes an introduction explaining why a coastal policy is necessary, chapters which define “What is the Coast?” and “What is Coastal Management?”, and a chapter exploring the value of the coast. Section B is more unusual in a policy document, containing detailed background information on South Africa’s coast. This information serves an educational purpose, while contextualising the policy and providing a reference point for participants in the policy formulation process. The section provides further background on coastal management internationally and outlines the biophysical, social, economic, legal and institutional setting of the policy in South Africa. It also contains an illustrated outline of “Regional Characteristics and Issues” for each of 14 coastal regions, which shows the diversity of the coast and includes participants’ contributions to an understanding of the issues which the policy is to tackle.

The length of the documents, particularly the Green Paper, made it impossible to conduct detailed textual analysis of more than a fraction of the overall texts. Because of the great difference in content between the two documents it was not always possible to do a direct comparison of selected portions covering similar issues. Large portions of the Green Paper, including the whole of Section B, had no equivalent in the CE Policy. Instead, I chose particular samples of texts from each document for what they revealed about particular issues, for example, the presence of discourses or the meaning of keywords. In some cases it was possible to find elements of the two documents to contrast. In other cases, I explored the features of a sample from just one of the documents. Overall, this approach seemed successful in allowing me to explore the issues I wished to, without getting stuck in attempting to cover the documents comprehensively.

The next chapter provides a background to and an outline of the methodology of critical discourse analysis in more detail.

Chapter 2

Critical discourse analysis as a methodology

In discussing the idea of discourse, it is useful to begin with the distinction that Fairclough draws between the concept of “discourse” in abstract and “discourse” as a count noun. Discourse in abstract is defined as “language use conceived as social practice”, whereas *a* discourse can be said to be a “way of signifying experience from a particular perspective” (Fairclough, 1995:135). The latter is the sense which literacy theorist Gee has in mind, when he describes 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 member of a socially meaningful group or ‘social network’”(Gee, 1990:143). In an overview of critical discourse analysis, Luke also talks about different discourses which “constitute what Wittgenstein called ‘forms of life’, ubiquitous ways of knowing, valuing and experiencing the world” (Luke, unpublished:10).

According to Ball (in Usher and Edwards, 1994:90):

“Discourses are... about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority. Discourses embody meaning and social relationships, they constitute both subjectivity and power relations... Thus, discourses construct certain possibilities for thought. They order and combine words in particular ways and exclude or displace other combinations.”¹³

This is supported by Shore and Wright, who define discourses as “configurations of ideas which provide the threads from which ideologies are woven” (Shore and Wright, 1997:11). As Cherryholmes points out, discourses and discursive practice¹⁴ are “relative

¹³ This definition is provided in the context of summarising Foucault’s ideas on discourse and “power-knowledge”, to be explored later in this chapter.

¹⁴ The term “discursive practice” is used throughout this mini-thesis to refer to the processes of text production, distribution and consumption, as used in Fairclough (1992). To avoid confusion, it should be noted that Fairclough uses the alternative term “discourse practices” to refer to these processes in his later work (1995) and also, confusingly, in the final chapter (Chapter 8) of Fairclough (1992).

to time and place". As societies and professions develop, "what is said and written and accepted as true changes." (1988:3).

Since the 1970s, discourse analysis has been practised across a wide range of disciplines, including linguistics, sociology, psychology, anthropology, literary criticism and the study of education. Early discourse analysis made important contributions to appreciating structures in dialogue and provided valuable resources for analysing discourse, but tended to look at texts in isolation, failing to explore how discourses shape and are shaped by broader social relations (Fairclough, 1992:13-24). Critical discourse analysis goes beyond these attempts by combining textual analysis with a critical approach to discourse in terms of ideology and power.

2.1 Influences on critical discourse analysis

Luke (unpublished:7) defines critical discourse analysis as "the use of an ensemble of techniques for the study of textual practice and language use as social and cultural practices". He identifies three theoretical strands which have influenced the development of the school of thought, with its associated methodological approaches, which has come to be known as "critical discourse analysis", incorporating sociologists, linguists, anthropologists and others. These influences are poststructuralism, neo-marxism and the work of Bourdieu. Fairclough (1992) focuses particularly on the influence on critical discourse analysis of Foucault, the French structuralists and the critical linguistics school. This section explores all of these influences and how they have helped to shape critical discourse analysis.

Influence of critical linguistics

Fairclough (1992) traces the emergence of more critical approaches to discourse analysis, which demonstrated the two-way relationship between language and discourse on the one hand, and power and ideology on the other. The "critical linguistics" school, which developed at the University of East Anglia in the 1970s, including Fowler, Hodge and Kress, broke away from mainstream linguistics, which treated language systems as separate from the actual use of language. They began from the assumption that "systematic asymmetries of power and resources between speakers and listeners,

readers and writers can be linked to their unequal access to linguistic and social resources" (Luke, unpublished: 7-8). They drew on Halliday's systemic linguistics to combine linguistic text analysis with a "social theory of functioning of language in political and ideological processes" (Fairclough, 1992:26).

According to Halliday, text language has three functions – ideational (representing the world and experience), interpersonal (constituting social identities and relationships) and textual (relating the parts of a text and relating the text to its context). Ideology is present in all of these functions of language. This multifunctional theory of language is useful to critical discourse analysis because it allows for a view of language as both socially shaped and socially constitutive of identities, relations and systems of belief (Fairclough, 1995:131). Critical linguistics broadened the techniques of conventional linguistic analysis to establish connections between the properties of texts and discourses and an understanding of power and ideology in broader social formations.

Influence of French structuralism

Another trend in emerging critical discourse analysis was set by the French structuralist school of Pêcheux, who applied Althusser's theory of "ideological state apparatuses" to discourse. Pêcheux (in Fairclough, 1995:40) defines a "discursive formation" as "that which in a given ideological formation, i.e. from a particular position in a given conjuncture determined by the state of class struggle, determines 'what can and should be said'"¹⁵. The early work of both the critical linguistics school and the Pêcheux group tended to have a top-down view, emphasising the way in which discourse reproduces social relations and neglecting the possibilities of agency, struggle and change (Fairclough, 1992:29-33).

¹⁵ Fairclough's early work used a hybrid of these two concepts – the "Ideological Discursive Formation" (IDF) to describe the dominant complex of ideology and discourse characterising institutions, viewed as being in struggle with other non-dominant IDFs. Fairclough later rejected the concept of IDF as too crude and monolithic, but retained the emphasis on power as both ideological and discursive.

Influence of Foucault

A major influence on the development of critical approaches to discourse analysis has come through Foucault's contributions to the understanding of discourse in relation to power and social relations. Foucault's work contributed to popularising the idea of discourse, although he explored the *concept* of discourse without analysing actual examples of spoken or written texts. Foucault's early "archaeological" work (*Madness and Civilization*, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, *The Birth of the Clinic*) traced the history of the discourses of the human sciences, in particular medicine, psychiatry, economics and grammar, and painted a picture of how historical configurations of discourse constructed new kinds of human subjects (Luke, unpublished:7). This followed the poststructuralist view that subjects are inscribed in language, are social and historical, and are never singular or autonomous beings. Foucault emphasised that language and discourse are central in constructing, regulating and controlling knowledge, social relations and institutions.

Foucault achieved this by showing how discourse actively constructs society. This includes the construction of: "objects" of knowledge, for example, madness; "enunciative modalities" or types of discursive activity, for example, teaching (with associated subject positions, e.g. teacher and learner); "concepts", i.e. the shifting elements, types and categories used in a discourse; and "strategies" for selecting from fields of possibility, constrained by interdiscursive and extradiscursive factors (Fairclough, 1992:41-48). Foucault also investigated the structuring or articulation of discursive formations¹⁶ in relation to one another within institutional and societal "orders of discourse" – "the totality of discursive practices"¹⁷ within an institution or society, and the relationships between them" (Fairclough, 1992:43).

Foucault's aim was to construct an archive of the domains of knowledge constituted by "discursive formations", his term for discourses as a count noun. Discursive formations consist of the "rules of formation" which determine "the set of rules which at a given

¹⁶ Foucault uses the term "a discursive formation" to mean "a discourse" (as a count noun) - as defined by the rules of formation which, in a particular time and place, determine the limits and form of "the sayable". This can be related to Pecheux's definition above.

¹⁷ Foucault uses the term "discursive practices" in a different sense from the specific one employed by Fairclough in his "three-dimensional framework". Foucault means general practices relating to discourse - which I have elsewhere referred to as "discourse practice(s)".

period and for a given society" define "the limits and form" of "the sayable", of "conservation", of "memory", of "reactivation" and of "appropriation" (Burchell *et al.*, 1991:59). The limits and form of the "sayable" define what it is possible to speak of, while the limits and forms of "conservation" determine which utterances are destined to remain and which to disappear. "Memory" refers to what social groupings regard as valid or invalid things to say, while "reactivation" refers to discourses being reconstituted from other times and places. The limits and forms of appropriation, finally, address "What individuals, what groups or classes have access to a particular kind of discourse? How is the relationship institutionalized between the discourse, speakers and its destined audience? How is the relationship of the discourse to its author indicated and defined? How is struggle for control of discourses conducted between classes, nations, linguistic, cultural or ethnic collectivities?" (Burchell *et al.*, 1991:59-60). All of these would become central questions in achieving the aims of critical discourse analysis.

In his work on discourses in the human sciences, Foucault used three sets of criteria for defining a discourse or "discursive formation". The first were "criteria of formation" - an individualised discursive formation exists where there is a set of rules of formation for all its objects, operations, concepts and theoretical options. The second were "criteria of transformation or of threshold" - one must be able to define the set of conditions for the formation of the discourse. The third were "criteria of correlation" - one must be able to define the set of relations which define and situate the discourse amongst other types of discourse and in the broader social context (Burchell *et al.* 1991:54-55).

Foucault's work in the later 1970s and 1980s described the development of networks of ideas as "genealogical discourses" that build institutions of governmentality and moral order (*Discipline and Punish, The History of Sexuality, Power/Knowledge*). He developed the concept of "bio-power" - based on an alliance between the social sciences and structures of power - which has, in the last two centuries, "brought life and its mechanisms into the realm of explicit calculations and made knowledge/power an agent of transformation of human life" (Foucault, 198:143). According to Foucault, biopower is comprised of control of the human species and the body as object of manipulation. It rests on "technologies of power", which are embedded in social

institutions and which produce social subjects (Dreyfuss and Rabinow, 1982:136) and which are “the means by which power conceals its own operation” (Shore and Wright, 1997:9). According to Shore and Wright, the political nature of policies is often disguised by “the objective, neutral, legal-rational idioms in which they are portrayed”. This “masking of the political under the cloak of neutrality” can be described as one of Foucault’s political technologies, and is a key feature of modern power (Shore and Wright, 1997:8-9).

Foucault departed from the structuralist tradition in seeing power not as a negative force for domination, but as multi-faceted and diffuse, a network all over society. “What makes power hold good,” says Foucault, “what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn’t only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression” (Foucault, 1980:119 in Atkinson, 1985:154).

Critical discourse analysis picks up on the poststructuralist view that discourse operates across sites and helps shape human identity and actions, and the view that power shapes orders of discourse and discursive practice. Fairclough (1995:12) adapted the concept of “order of discourse” from Foucault to mean “the ordered set” of discursive practices “associated with a particular social domain or institution (e.g. the lecture, the seminar, counselling and informal conversation, in an academic institution), and boundaries and relationships between them”. There are established chains of discursive practices within and between orders of discourse across which texts get shifted and transformed. “For instance, in the mass media there are chains connecting various public orders of discourse (politics, law, science etc.), media orders of discourse, and orders of discourse in the private domain (the domain of reception)” (Fairclough, 1995:13).

Influence of neo-marxism

A further influence on the growing critical trend in discourse analysis was the contribution of neo-marxism, which sees discourses as articulating ideological interests in the context of political economy. In particular, Gramsci’s theory of “ideological

hegemony” has continued to be influential. Gramsci studied post-World War I structures of power in Western capitalist states, and argued that the political power of the dominant classes depends not only on outright domination but also on “hegemony” - intellectual and moral leadership exercised through control over institutions of political and civil society. According to Gramsci, hegemony is linked to the “ethical state” which raises the population to a higher cultural and moral level in order to fulfil the needs of the economy and the dominant classes, and which includes “cultural and ethical engineering, the reshaping of subjectivities or ‘selves’” (Fairclough, 1995:93).

Gramsci himself was interested in language structure in relation to how hegemony operates in the production of meaning, but did not develop a comprehensive theory of discourse (Holub, 1992:20-21). Critical discourse analysts like Fairclough apply Gramsci’s theory to discourse, and argue that hegemonic struggle happens in orders of discourse in civil society. Fairclough shows that discourse can “naturalise” ideologies and power relations to the point where these are taken for granted, seen as common-sense, and not questioned. According to Fairclough, discourse itself can also be seen as a sphere or domain of cultural hegemony – ideology is hidden in both in the structures of discourse conventions (e.g. the conventions of crime reporting or medical consultations) and discursive events (Fairclough, 1995:25). Fairclough uses the term “discursive event” to refer to an instance of language use, the production of a written or spoken text.

Influence of Bourdieu

A final strand informing critical discourse analysis is Bourdieu’s theory of “cultural capital”, in which textual interactions are seen as acquiring exchange value in society (Luke, unpublished:7). Bourdieu developed the concept of “habitus”, referring to “a set of historical relations ‘deposited’ within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation and action” (Bourdieu *et al.*, 1992:16). Discourses (in the plural sense) form part of the cultural resources and habitus that a person may need in order to control social situations, for example, to “decode” the culture of the school (Atkinson, 1985:80-81).

Bourdieu is also concerned with language and discourse, and sees language as “an immense repository of naturalised preconstructions” that “can function as unconscious instruments of construction”, for example, names of occupations, age groups etc., and concepts of “occupation” and “profession” themselves. (Bourdieu *et al.*, 1992:241). He highlights the value of discourse analysis in questioning socially constructed “problems” and taken-for-granted objects of sociological study – in what he calls “reflexive sociology”. Discourse analysis is crucial, he believes, given the rôle of preconstructed concepts in language (Bourdieu, 1992:241).

2.2 Access to discourse

Bourdieu’s concern with access to discourse in an educational setting is echoed in different ways in the work of Gee in the United States and Bernstein in the United Kingdom. Gee (1990:143) 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 ‘rôle’.” The “discourse system” of a language, says Gee, has a number of sub-systems beyond grammar, which create the sense of a text and position it in status and solidarity social networks. Being part of a discourse involves much more than knowing the language – it involves knowing how to use its prosody and syntax and how to manipulate sociolinguistic variables to give the right signals about identity (Gee, 1990:104-105).

Gee distinguishes between “primary Discourses” which are “our socioculturally determined ways of thinking, feeling, valuing, and using our native language in face-to-face communication with intimates” (1990:150), and “secondary Discourses” which a person acquires through apprenticeship in secondary institutions. Secondary discourses can be local, “community-based Discourses” or more globally orientated “public sphere Discourses”, which include “ones used in schools, national media, and in many social, financial and government agencies, as well as many Discourses connected to various sorts of employment and professions” (1990:152). Policy discourse would clearly fall into the latter category.

Access to public sphere discourses is important because these are often the gateway to social power and hierarchical structures in society and to the acquisition of social goods such as money, power and status. Gee is pessimistic about the possibility of dominant discourse acquisition by non-dominant social groups, however, and argues that secondary discourses cannot effectively be learnt, but instead are acquired through having access to and practice in the social groupings where these discourses predominate. This view may be criticised by pointing to examples of adults with a relatively low level of formal education who are nevertheless fully conversant with a fair number of discourses, for example, an urban black South African who has access to the discourses of home, church, sport and political organisation.¹⁸

Bernstein's early theory of "elaborated" and "restricted codes" was also concerned with questions of access to educational discourses, and was essentially a structuralist "representation of the symbolic forms of power and the social division of labour" (Atkinson, 1985:17). Codes "regulate the transmission and reproduction of cosmologies and the very social structure itself" (Atkinson, 1985:68). Bernstein's codes are at a more abstract level than Gee's discourses and are "principles which articulate language use with social contexts or situations" (Atkinson, 1985:114).

In the 1980s, Bernstein's growing interest in the processes whereby educational theories are produced, and the circumstances in which they become current led to "an increasing concern with the construction and reproduction of 'discourse' in educational contexts" (Atkinson, 1985: 159). In his later work, Bernstein shows that the circulation of texts and the production of pedagogic discourse *are* the play of power. He is centrally concerned with power, and argues that boundaries between orders of discourse are contested and may be weakened or strengthened as part of social struggle. In Bernstein's view, discourses differentiate and stratify, create people's habitus¹⁹ and set up "classification" and "framing" of identity and consciousness (Bernstein, 1996:175).

¹⁸ This issue is addressed again in Chapter 3.

¹⁹ In Bourdieu's sense.

Classification and framing

Bernstein's term "classification" refers to the way in which power relations establish boundaries between categories and discourses, with strong classification reflecting highly insulated categories or specialised discourses. "Framing" refers to the controls on communication within categories or discourses, determining "who controls what" in terms of the selection, sequencing, pacing, criteria and social base associated with a discourse (Bernstein, 1996:19-28). According to Bernstein, changes in discursive practice arise from changes in the strength of classification and framing, and need to be analysed in terms of whose interests they operate in. The analysis in Chapter 1 of the visual messages conveyed by the two policy documents - the message "read and learn" by the CE Policy and the message "browse and interact" by the Green Paper, seem to indicate the possibility of a shift between the two policies from a strong to a weaker framing.

Bernstein's focus on boundaries can be seen to have similarities with Foucault's "archaeology of knowledge", with its metaphor of discontinuity and difference. Bernstein's classification and framing are paralleled by Foucault's "procedures of exclusion", which define what is thinkable and construct the objects of discourse" (Atkinson, 1985:178). As Foucault says, "[i]n any society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed according to a number of procedures whose rôle is to avert its powers and its dangers, to master the unpredictable event" (Foucault, 1971:10-11). These procedures include prohibition, division and rejection and the opposition between the true and the false. Like Foucault, Bernstein sees power not as a negative force for domination, but as "multi-faceted, diffuse and ubiquitous" (Atkinson, 1985:100).

Vertical and horizontal discourses

Before leaving Bernstein, it is useful to note his distinction between two major types of pedagogic discourse - "horizontal" and "vertical". Horizontal discourses include everyday, oral and common-sense knowledge. They are local and context-dependent, embedded in social practice and aimed at goals in the present. These discourses are usually acquired through demonstration and imitation, rather than formal learning, and

are essentially community-based “strategies for maximizing encounters with person and habitat” (Bernstein 1996:171-174). Vertical discourses, on the other hand, are much more systematic and hierarchically structured, and acquisition is normally through formal learning, with an emphasis on how the learning will be used in the future. Vertical discourses are structured by principles of recontextualisation – taking knowledge from other areas of life and recasting it in a new form for pedagogic purposes.

Within vertical discourses Bernstein identifies two types of knowledge structure - “hierarchical knowledge structures”, for example, the natural sciences, and “horizontal knowledge structures”, for example, social sciences. Hierarchical knowledge structures give rise to “an explicit, coherent, systematically principled and hierarchical organization of knowledge”. They are motivated by an “integrated code”, with general propositions integrating knowledge across an ever-broadening range of fields. A horizontal knowledge structure “gives rise, instead, to a series of specialized languages, each with its own specialized modes of interrogation and specialized criteria”. Such a structure is motivated by a “collection code” with specialized, non-comparable languages based on different assumptions (for example, different theoretical approaches within sociology). Horizontal knowledge structures, while they are part of a vertical discourse, do have something in common with horizontal discourse – their segmental and serial structure, and a closer relation between discourse and knowledge structure (Bernstein 1996:172-173). Bernstein’s theory of horizontal and vertical discourses will be applied in Chapter 3 in relation to interdiscursivity.

2.3 Fairclough’s critical discourse analysis

It can thus be seen that the beginnings of a critical approach to discourse analysis can be traced to the critical linguistics and Pêcheux schools who were in turn influenced by a number of sources. These include Althusser’s structuralist understanding of ideology, Foucault’s poststructuralist archaeological and genealogical contributions to the understanding of discourse in relation to power and social relations, Gramsci’s theory of ideological hegemony and Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital. The application of a critical approach to discourse analysis can be seen in the work of Gee and Bernstein,

both of whom are concerned, in different ways, with access to discourse in an educational setting.

Fairclough draws together all the strands mentioned above, into his own summary of the way in which detailed textual analysis can be combined with a critical approach to the relationship between discourse and power relations. In a summary of what he considers necessary for a critical approach to discourse analysis, Fairclough suggests that linguistic texts should be analysed in terms of vocabulary, grammar and text structure, but also in terms of their processes of production and interpretation. He outlines his view that texts may include “configurations of discourse types”, which may be heterogeneous and ambiguous, and which shift over time – influencing and influenced by social change. Discourse, he says, has an ideological effect in constructing subjects, social relations and belief systems, and not only reproduces, but also transforms ideologies and practices. On the other hand, he suggests, power struggles also influence discourse practices²⁰, and power relations inside discourse should be explored (Fairclough, 1992:35-36).

Fairclough’s own major contribution has been to apply critical discourse analysis in detailed analysis of contemporary social texts, e.g. newspaper articles and advertisements, in order to identify trends occurring in the “late modern world”²¹. Examples of these trends are the “conversationalization” of institutional discourse, as private discourses enter public institutions; the “marketization” of discourses previously isolated from the commercial realm as these become increasingly promotional; and the “technologization” of discourse, referring to “a specifically contemporary form of top-down intervention” (1995:87) which “uses research upon discourse for redesigning discourse practices and training people to use new discourse practices” (1992:239). This can be related to Habermas’s theory of the progressive colonisation of the “lifeworld” by economy and state, replacing communicative with instrumental strategic practices, for example, the penetration of advertising discourse (Habermas, 1984).

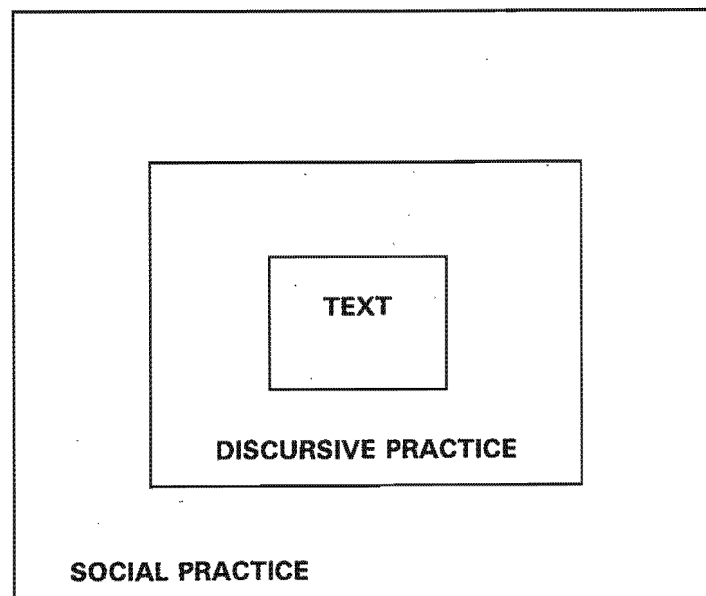
²⁰ The term “discourse practice(s)” is used throughout this mini-thesis to refer to general practices of particular institutions, organisations and societies in relation to discourse.

²¹ Here Fairclough draws on Giddens’ sociological analysis of “late modernity”.

2.4 Using Fairclough's methodology

Fairclough suggests a "three-dimensional conception" of discourse, which integrates a variety of theoretical perspectives into "a powerful resource for studying discursive dimensions of social and cultural change" (1992:99). The three analytical major traditions which Fairclough brings together are the tradition of "close textual analysis and linguistic analysis within linguistics, the macrosociological tradition of analysing social practice in relation to social structures, and the interpretivist or microsociological tradition of seeing social practice as something which people actively produce and make sense of on the basis of shared commonsense procedures" (Fairclough, 1992:72).

The analytical method which follows from the three dimensional conception, includes detailed analysis of "text" (the written or spoken language produced in a discursive event), analysis of "discursive practice" (the processes of text production, consumption and distribution) and analysis of "social practice", as expressed in "discursive events"²² (Fairclough, 1995:9). In this way, one is able to establish connections between properties of texts, features of discourse practice and wider sociocultural practice. Because the three parts of the framework overlap at points, I have used footnotes or references in the text to show linkages.



Fairclough's three-dimensional conception of discourse (1992:73)

Fairclough suggests starting with the analysis of discursive practice, moving on to text and ending with social practice, describing this as “a progression from interpretation to description and back to interpretation”. Although he acknowledges that any order is possible, he proposes “fronting” the analysis of discourse processes because of his concern process and change (1992:231). In selecting discourse samples for analysis, Fairclough recommends choosing examples of texts with heterogeneous and contradictory features, a complex relationship of discursive practice and conventions, and a clear relationship of these to sociocultural change (Fairclough, 1995:97). I believe that the two policy texts which I analyse, meet these criteria.

The methodology proposed by Fairclough is an appropriate one for exploring discourse change in the formulation of coastal management policy in South Africa, enabling a detailed examination of the two key samples of policy, an exploration of the processes of policy formulation and interpretation, and a discussion of the broader social practices of coastal management, government policy formulation and the environmental movement in South Africa and internationally. It is hoped that the three-dimensional framework will also enable me to explore the relationships between these three aspects of discourse and to reveal how knowledge and belief systems, identities and social relationships are constructed. An assessment will be made in the concluding chapter of the effectiveness of the methodology in addressing my topic and research questions.

2.5 Criticism of critical discourse analysis

Before closing this background discussion of critical discourse analysis, it may be useful to look briefly at its critics. Perhaps the most serious challenge to critical theory as a whole and to critical discourse analysis comes from postmodernism, which rejects all “grand narratives” of truth and falsity, right and wrong, and “anything that indicates essences beyond the context of a particular language game” (Haber, 1994:4). Because discourses are merely “language games”²³, say postmodernists like Lyotard, we cannot use one to critique the rest. With the condition of “hyperreality”, suggested by

²² See page 5 for a definition.

postmodernists like Baudrillard, the distinction between appearance and reality which is assumed in theories of ideology is also no longer seen as valid. In Fairclough's view, critical theorists' use of the analytical concepts of power, ideology, class and truth are now under attack by the political "new right", with postmodernism's unwitting co-operation. Attention has been diverted away from power imbalances, class power and domination – all of which are crucial to critical analysis (Fairclough, 1995:16).

In response to the challenge, Fairclough defends critical discourse analysis: "In claiming that a discursive event works ideologically, one is not in the first instance claiming that it is false, or claiming a privileged position from which judgements of truth or falsity can be made. One is claiming that it contributes to the reproduction of relations of power". Discourse analysis is just one method within "wider critical projects". Often, says Fairclough, well-groundedness is at stake rather than truth. Judgements of truth and well-groundedness are "a necessary part of social life for everyone" (Fairclough, 1995:17). If critical discourse analysis is to survive the postmodernist onslaught, it will need to show itself capable of generating useful and revealing social analysis, through the application of specialised techniques which cast new light on the relationship between language and power relations.

Chapter 3

Analysing the discursive practice of policy formulation

This chapter contains an analysis of the discursive practice involved in the formulation of the two policies. The diagram in the previous chapter showed Fairclough's three-dimensional conception of discourse, with its corresponding three-dimensional framework for conducting discourse analysis – including detailed analysis of text, discursive practice and social practice (Fairclough, 1995:9). This chapter will focus on the middle level of discursive practice, and will explore both interdiscursivity and the processes of text production, distribution and consumption, looking at how social class, ideology and power are reflected in the discursive practice of the two policies. The chapter explores the research questions: “What discourses are drawn on in the two policies and how?” (interdiscursivity); “How are the discourses produced, distributed and consumed?” and “How is the coherence and / or ambiguity of the discourses interpreted?”

One major element of discursive practice is “interdiscursivity”. According to Fairclough, interdiscursivity is one aspect of “intertextuality”, analysis of which mediates the gap between language and social context. Intertextuality includes “manifest intertextuality”, in which other texts are overtly drawn on or quoted in a text, and “interdiscursivity”, which can be described as “the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of elements (types of convention) or orders of discourse” (1992:85). I have not focused on manifest intertextuality, as there are relatively few examples of it in the two policy texts.

The processes of “production”, “distribution” and “consumption” of texts form the other major element of discursive practice. According to Fairclough, it is important to examine the conditions of discursive practice by exploring whether texts are produced and consumed individually or collectively, the rôles and stages in their production, their anticipation of multiple audiences, their patterns of distribution and the modes of their interpretation, depending on available resources (Fairclough, 1992:78-80,233). I will attempt to explore some of these factors through tracing the production and distribution

of the two policies. I will then go on to explore the “interpretation” or consumption of the Green Paper, for which evidence exists in the form of written comments on the document. Consumption will be examined together with the closely related issue of the policy’s coherence, as reflected in different interpretations of it. Fairclough (1992:80) notes that processes of production and interpretation are socially constrained in two ways - “by internalized social structures, norms and conventions” and by “the specific nature of the social practice of which they are parts”. In Chapter 5, I will go on to explore the links between the discursive practice of the two policies and the social practice of which they are a part.

3.1 Interdiscursivity in the policies

According to Cherryholmes (1988:8) tracing interdiscursivity is important because the meanings of texts “depend upon other texts that are related to still other texts.” Fairclough draws on Bakhtin’s (1981) idea that all texts have both creation (“centripetal force”) and repetition (“centrifugal force”) within them. Repetition is necessary because texts are produced within a given language and order of discourse, but creation is necessary in order to meet ever-changing social needs (Fairclough, 1995:188-189). The tension between creation and repetition is often manifested in degrees of homogeneity or heterogeneity within a text. Heterogeneity, ambivalence and disfluency can be seen as evidence of social contradictions and can indicate sociocultural processes and change. Analysis of interdiscursivity is thus linked closely with the analysis of a text’s coherence, addressed later in this chapter.

Interdiscursivity and vertical discourses

In looking for instances of interdiscursivity and identifying particular discourses within the texts, it is useful to bear in mind Fairclough’s caveat about the nature of this exercise: “We should... recognize that there is not, and could not be, a determinate list of genres, styles or discourses, and that we are constantly faced with what often appear to be rather arbitrary decisions (influenced by the point of departure of one’s analysis) about whether something is or is not a separate instance of one of these types” (1992:125).

Using Bernstein's concepts of horizontal and vertical discourses, it is possible to identify fragments of vertical discourses in the two policy texts. An example in the CE Policy *Part 1* can be seen in Sample a, which has barely been recontextualised from its original discourse of geology, and Sample b from the discourse of botany – both vertical discourses with a hierarchical knowledge structure. This can be seen in their use of complex concepts which are in-house jargon in those academic disciplines, but would not be known to the average reader, such as “sediment transport” or “hydrophyte communities” and the fairly formal academic style, including the reference in Sample b.

Sample a:

...naturally dynamic beach-dune areas which are subject to severe erosion setback as a result of wave and current action of the sea or sediment transport by wind. (CE, 1989:6)²⁴

Sample b:

The primary producers can be broadly divided into two types:

- *Algal communities, which may be either free in the water (phytoplankton) or attached to larger plants, stones and other substrates (epiphyton); and*
- *Hydrophyte communities, which include the water lilies such as *Nymphaea* and water weeds such as *Potamogeton* (Heeg and Breen, 1982). (CE, 1991:18)*

The Green Paper also contains examples of vertical discourses, but these are recontextualised to a greater extent, through the text producers' attempt to write the document in an accessible style. The most obvious example is the economics discourse²⁵ shown in Sample c, which talks about the “value” of “services” in relation to “Gross Domestic Product”. In Bernstein's terms, this is an example of a horizontal knowledge structure with a strong grammar. In both policies, the presence of academic discourses can be traced to the influence of the discourses of specialists upon whose work policy formulation is partially based.

²⁴ In references for text samples, the abbreviation “CE” will be used to indicate the publication: Council for the Environment (1989, 1991) *A Policy for Coastal Zone Management in the Republic of South Africa, Parts 1 and 2*.

²⁵ The strong theme of the economy which runs through the Green Paper and its relationship with broader “marketisation” trends are explored in Chapter 4.

Sample c:

Human activities along the coast are sustained by the services provided by coastal ecosystems. The value of coastal ecosystems in meeting basic needs and improving the welfare of South Africans is enormous...

The total value of coastal ecosystem services is conservatively estimated to be about R179 billion per year, which is equivalent to about 37% of South Africa's Gross Domestic Product (R480 billion). (GP, 1998:9)²⁶

Before moving on from Bernstein's categories of discourse, it is interesting to note that they do not appear to be comprehensive. They do not, for example, provide scope for discourses related to government policy. Bernstein's horizontal discourses apply mainly to informal "lifeworld"²⁷ situations. His vertical discourses, on the other hand, apply mainly to education and academic / teaching disciplines of various kinds. This is despite Bernstein's broad definition of pedagogic practice as "a fundamental social context through which cultural reproduction-production takes place" and his citing of pedagogic relationships which are not directly related to education *per se*, for example, between doctor and patient, architect and planner (e.g. Bernstein 1996:17). Despite his broad conception of the nature of pedagogy, Bernstein's focus remains on education specifically. Nevertheless, these categories can be used in analysing interdiscursivity in relation to the academic discourses of specialists upon whose work policy formulation is based.

Interdiscursivity and environmental discourses

Over the past decade, environmental discourses have undergone shifts internationally, in parallel with development and change in the environmental movement. The social practice of the changing environmental movement in South Africa and internationally will be explored in more detail in Chapter 5. For the moment it is useful to note that, as developing nations and progressive social scientists have come to have an increasingly vocal presence in the environmental movement over the past two decades, a shift has

²⁶ In references for the text samples, the abbreviation "GP" will be used to indicate the publication: Coastal Management Policy Programme (1998), *Coastal Policy Green Paper: Towards Sustainable Coastal Development in South Africa*.

²⁷ In Habermas's sense of everyday social interactions.

occurred away from a preservationist or conservationist approach emphasising the maintenance of the natural environment in as pristine a state as possible, to an approach which emphasises the linkages between humans and the natural environment, and sees environmental management as a tool for improving human well-being.

This shift has been reflected in environmental discourses in two obvious ways – firstly through the adaptation of the meaning of existing keywords, and secondly through the construction of new ones.²⁸ The concept of “conservation” has been redefined in environmental discourse to include a broader perspective, as can be seen in the World Conservation Strategy’s 1980 definition of conservation as “the management of human use of the biosphere so that it may yield greatest sustainable benefit to present generations, while maintaining its potential to meet the needs and aspirations of future generations” (IUCN/UNEP/WWF, 1980). One of the new keywords to have emerged during the 1980s is the concept of “sustainable development”. The philosophy of sustainable development is summed up in the preamble to Agenda 21, the action plan which emerged from the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, which state that : “integration of environment and development concerns and greater attention to them will lead to the fulfilment of basic needs, improved living standards for all, better protected and managed ecosystems and a safer, more prosperous future” (DEAT, 1998:4).

Many different strands continue to exist within the environmental movement, accompanied by a variety of discourses. A distinct “conservation discourse” can still be observed, alongside a newer (and by no means itself unified) “discourse of sustainable development”. In exploring interdiscursivity in the two South African coastal management policies, a shift can be discerned from a conservation discourse in the CE Policy to a sustainable development discourse in the Green Paper. As Fairclough (1995:188) points out, however, discourses rarely conform to ideal types, and are usually characterised by a degree of heterogeneity and ambiguity.

The difference between the two discourses can be seen in their different constructions of the desired relationship between the environment and development. In its pure form, conservation discourse recognises the need for human use of natural resources, but

²⁸ Discussed further in Chapter 4.

stresses the importance of maintaining their quality so that future generations can continue to use them. In this discourse, development is often portrayed as a necessary evil, whose impact should be minimised. Sustainable development discourse, on the other hand, acknowledges the need for human socio-economic development as primary, and sees environmental management (rather than conservation *per se*) as important in facilitating and providing the basis for this development. An analysis of text samples from the two policies will reveal evidence of these different constructions of the relationship between environment and development, and of the discourse shift from conservation to sustainable development.

Conservation discourse in the CE Policy

A Policy for Coastal Zone Management in the Republic of South Africa, published by the Council for the Environment in 1989 and 1991, was written under circumstances in which conservation was to a large extent still the dominant discourse in South African government circles. The relationship which conservation discourse constructs between environmental conservation and development can be seen in Sample d below, from the CE Policy *Part 1*.

Sample d:

Coastal zone management implies the effective conservation and utilization of the coast as a dynamic ecosystem in the interface between the land and the sea. The overall aim of CZM is therefore to ensure that development in the coastal zone, which should be regarded as a common heritage of the nation, is regulated in such a way as to benefit the greatest number of people possible, while at the same time safeguarding the intrinsic environmental features and ecological processes of the coast. This implies wise use of the coast and its resources and encompasses the concept of both optimal utilization and protection of the coastal environment.

Effective CZM as outlined above, depends on sound, balanced land-use planning and includes control over

- *further subdivision of land*
- *curbs on industrial development, public works, or infrastructure which could be sited elsewhere and*

- *avoidance of practices in the catchments, estuaries or at sea, which can be deleterious to the proper functioning of the coastal ecosystem.*

Had such an approach been adopted in the past much degradation of the coastal zone could have been avoided. (CE, 1989:4)

In this discourse the importance of development is recognised – the reality of “utilization of the coast”, “development in the coastal zone” and the “use of the coast and its resources” are acknowledged, as is the need to “benefit the greatest number of people possible”. At all times, however, the need for balance is asserted – balancing “conservation” with “utilization”, “safeguarding the intrinsic environmental features and ecological processes of the coast” with benefiting the greatest number, and “protection” with “utilization”. In this discourse, conservation and development are at least theoretically of equal importance. The terms in which “development” are discussed, however, are often negative ones – “control” over subdivision, “curbs” on industrial development and “avoidance” of “deleterious” practices. In practice, development so far (possibly the wrong kind) has been associated with “degradation of the coastal zone” which “could have been avoided”. The underlying view of development seems to be that it is a necessary evil, which should be practised away from the coastal zone wherever possible.

Sustainable development discourse in the Green Paper

The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism’s *Coastal Policy Green Paper: Towards Sustainable Coastal Development in South Africa* was published in 1998 in very different circumstances, in the context of a new democratically-elected government in South Africa and a broadening environmental movement. The environmental discourse within the Green Paper constructs the relationship between environment and development very differently from the CE Policy, as can be seen in the following extract, which provides evidence for identifying a discourse of sustainable development:

Sample e:

Our coast is a rich national heritage that provides enormous benefits to the people of South Africa. It offers many opportunities for future economic and social development, particularly in under-developed areas of our country.

At present, the value of coastal ecosystems as a cornerstone for development is not acknowledged in decision-making. Our valuable coastal assets, and future development opportunities, will be squandered unless we maintain the diversity, health and productivity of coastal ecosystems. South Africa needs to invest in coastal management to realise and sustain the benefits and opportunities the coast offers. A radical new approach is needed to manage coastal resources wisely and to harness them for sustainable coastal development. A Coastal Policy is crucial in achieving this change. The Green Paper sets out a new approach to coastal management that aims to:

- *realise coastal benefits*
- *sustain coastal benefits*
- *promote proactive and co-operative governance. (GP, 1998:vi)*

In this discourse, both conservation and development remain important, although the connotations of the word “conservation” are rejected in favour of the term “coastal management”. What is different here from Sample d, however, is the way in which the relationship between the two sides is constructed. In this discourse development is projected positively, in terms like “opportunities for future economic and social development”, coastal ecosystems being a “cornerstone for development”, and the key concept of “sustainable coastal development”. The other significant element of this discourse is a strong economic one, in which the coast “provides enormous benefits”, coastal ecosystems have a “value” and “productivity” and coastal assets are “valuable”. The acknowledgement of “under-developed areas of our country” and the need for the country to “invest in coastal management” are also part of this economic element. The economic theme in the Green Paper and its implications in terms of the “marketisation” of discourse are discussed more fully in Chapter 4.

from seven government officials, six university academics, two professionals and a group from the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CE, 1991:3). All of these contributors have a specialised area of knowledge within the field of coastal management, which is thus shown as the preserve of those perceived as experts, creating an elitist tone to the document.

Analysis of the production of the Green Paper, on the other hand, shows a much more collective approach, with inputs from both “specialists” and non-specialist “interested and affected parties”. Coastal management and the process of policy formulation are constructed in terms of a democratic discourse which holds that they are of concern to all and can be participated in by all. This suggests, in the transition from the CE Policy to the Green Paper, a weakening of the “framing” of policy formulation, in Bernstein’s sense. As Bernstein points out, “[w]here framing is weak, the acquirer has more *apparent*²⁹ control (I want to stress *apparent*) over the communication and its social base” (Bernstein, 1996:27). Weak framing, Bernstein argues, is usually accompanied by an “invisible pedagogic practice” in which “the rules of regulative and instructional discourse are implicit, and largely unknown to the acquirer” (Bernstein, 1996:28).

The production process is described in the Green Paper as follows:

Sample g:

This Green Paper is the product of extensive input from interested and affected parties and coastal specialists and managers. It is not possible to list, by name, all those who have contributed to this effort. What must be made clear, however, is that the Green Paper could not have been prepared without this input and support – it has been a collective effort. (GP, 1998:Acknowledgements)

Sample h:

This Coastal Policy Green Paper is the result of an extensive process of public participation and reflects the aims and interests of a broad range of stakeholders who live and work along the coast. (GP, 1998: i)

²⁹ Bernstein’s emphasis.

These extracts reflect the influence in South African policy documents over the last decade of a democratic discourse in which “interested and affected parties” or “stakeholders” are called upon by professional facilitators to participate in a “process of public participation” – discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. In addition to playing the rôle of author of the text, the Project Management Team facilitated a nation-wide process to involve sectors of the public in policy formulation, drawing out and recording their contributions in the form of “issues” to be addressed, their “vision” for the coast, “policy options” and “legal and institutional options” for coastal management and later their comments on the Green Paper.

One of the effects of the collective approach in the Green Paper is also a certain degree of anonymity of the actual authors, despite the fact that the names of the “Project Management Team”, “Policy Committee” and “Regional Managers” are listed in the Acknowledgements. Unlike the CE Policy, with clear authors to whom praise or blame for the document can be directed, the Green Paper’s collective author is complex and invisible. This may be related to Bernstein’s “invisible pedagogic practice” accompanying the weaker framing of the Green Paper.

One of the aspects of Foucault’s “rules of formation” which determine “the limits and form of appropriation” of a discourse is how the relationship of the discourse to its author is indicated and defined (Burchell *et al.*, 1991:59). Fairclough quotes anthropologist Goffman’s identification of rôles in text production: “animator” - the one who actually types the document, “author” - the one who is responsible for the wording, and “principal” – the one whose position is represented (Fairclough, 1992:78). In *Part 1* of the CE Policy, Dr AEF Heydorn is designated both animator and author, while the Council for the Environment and its Committee for Coastal and Marine Systems are shown clearly as the principal. The Foreword of *Part 2* (1991:1) shows that Mr S Schneier of the Department of Environment Affairs was the animator, while Dr Heydorn and a working group of the Committee played the rôle of author, with the Council and Committee again being the principal.

In the case of the Green Paper, individual consultants from the Project Management Team were the animators, and the Project Management Team as a whole was the author who ratified the wording before the document was released. Identifying the principal is

a little more difficult – is it the Coastal Management Policy Programme, the Policy Committee or the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism? The front cover of the document reveals no name of any organisation, the title page shows the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism as principal, while the back cover has the logo of the Coastal Management Policy Programme. The Foreword explains that “the Ministry has appointed a Policy Committee representative of government and civil society to prepare the policy”, and the preamble states that “the Coastal Management Policy Programme was initiated by the Ministry of Environmental Affairs and Tourism”. The complex institutional relationships are thus explained, but not in a simple or accessible manner. The resultant effect is one of a split identity to the document, which reflects tensions between the CMPP’s Policy Committee and the Department over who is really the owner of the policy.³⁰ Ultimately, it will be the policy of the ministry, but power is being shared with the Policy Committee, as a “significant partnership between Government and civil society” (GP, 1998:ii).

Distribution of the policies

In looking at the distribution component of the discursive practice of the two policies, it is useful to consider Foucault’s question: “How is the relationship institutionalized between the discourse, speakers and its destined audience?” (Burchell et al., 1991:59). This can be partly answered by looking at the declared audience of each of the policies. *Part 1* of the CE Policy is not specific about its intended audience, but the following extracts from the Introduction provide a sense of it:

Sample i:

It is for these reasons that a high priority has been assigned to the work of the Council for the Environment, aimed at assisting the responsible authorities with the development of a sound policy for coastal zone management for South Africa...

In setting out basic principles for a South African CZM policy, sight must not be lost of the fact that allowances must be made for the special perceptions of the various groups

³⁰

The Ministry and Department did not become closely involved with the policy formulation process until after the publication of the Green Paper, at which point they asserted the need to take ownership of the policy, causing some tension between themselves and the Policy Committee.

of our population that either live in the coastal zone or want to use it for recreational purposes. Inherent in this is an educational component to ensure that an informed public can meaningfully participate in matters relevant to CZM. (CE, 1989:2)

In Sample d, the “responsible authorities” are implied as the main target audience – the policy is being formulated to assist them. The (soon-to-be) “informed public” are implied as a secondary audience, but this is not specifically stated. The sentence which says that “allowances must be made” for these perceptions is a tentative acknowledgement of the needs of members of the public other than the “private individuals who care about the protection of our coast” (see Sample j below). The particular reference to “the special perceptions of the various groups of our population” is picked up in Chapter 4. *Part 2* of the CE Policy is more specific – its section entitled “Purpose of the document” reads:

Sample j:

These guidelines have been put together for the use of

- *professional planners*
- *government officials who carry responsibility for the implementation of coastal zone management*
- *town clerks and all their staff charged with any aspect of coastal development*
- *municipal and local authority engineers*
- *property developers and construction, mining and quarrying companies*
- *environmental consultants, architects, landscape architects and engineers who undertake environmental evaluations or impact assessments*
- *the many private individuals who care about the protection of our coast against ever-increasing human pressures.” (CE, 1991:2)*

The document is thus intended for a very specific audience, composed largely of professionals and civil servants whose day-to-day work impacts directly upon the coast (in the sense of the narrow land-sea interface). This contributes to the elitist tone of the document. The only mention of the rest of society comes in the phrase “the many private individuals who care about the protection of our coast against ever-increasing human pressures”. This is a fascinating sentence because it constructs as one of the

subjects of the policy discourse a member of the public who is marked out as different from the rest of the public – is in fact given the opposing label “private”. The fact that these individuals, who “care”, unlike the rest of the public, are working “*against* ever-increasing *human*³¹ pressures” means that they are portrayed as having different interests from those of the rest of the public / humanity. This subject, the caring, private conservation-conscious individual, is present in the Council for the Environment policy, alongside the planners, engineers and other professional coastal managers.

The Green Paper makes no mention of a specific intended audience – rather it portrays the policy as a work-in-progress, with the South African public, and particularly certain sectors of it, as participants in its formulation. The public are also, by implication, its intended audience:

Sample k:

The purpose of this document is to stimulate lively debate around issues and policy options that have been generated through the combination of specialist knowledge and stakeholder input. I urge all South Africans to participate in this debate. (Foreword by Dr Z Pallo Jordan, Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, GP, 1998:i)

Sample l:

The programme aims to ensure that all stakeholders will have the opportunity to participate in all stages of the policy formulation process, thereby ensuring broad ownership and a commitment to the final policy...

An extensive process of public participation has been the cornerstone for the development of this Green Paper... Similar levels of public participation will be maintained throughout the remaining stages of the programme... (GP, 1998:iii-iv)

The idealistic “all South Africans” in Sample k is followed by the more vague reference to “all stakeholders” in Sample l, without specifying exactly how “stakeholders” are defined – another instance of the invisibility factor mentioned above. In this case, the subject of the policy is constructed as a neutral stakeholder with equal status to all other stakeholders. In reality, there is great variation between the views and interests of these

³¹

My own emphasis.

stakeholders. The database of those receiving information on the policy formulation process includes politicians and officials from local, provincial and national government and representatives of trade unions, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community-based organisations, recreation bodies, business organisations and large industries/mines/parastatals³². This list also reveals that, although individual members of the public have also been included on request, the emphasis is far more on representative organisations than on individuals. Although the great variety of the Green Paper's audience is masked by the unifying / homogenous concept of "stakeholder", the ambivalence within the document³³ reveals that the authors are clearly aware of this variety. As Fairclough points out, more than one intended audience is often a source of heterogeneity and ambivalence within a discourse sample.

Another feature of the concept of "stakeholder" arises from the fact that this document is a draft which fits into a broader process of consultation. The stakeholder is thus constructed as a colleague or partner, participating on an equal basis with other stakeholders and the drafters of the policy in its formulation. The concept of "stakeholder" is also of interest because it gives a sense of participant individuals / organisations having a stake or material interest in the management of the coast.

3.3 Interpretation and coherence of the Green Paper

A study of the consumption or interpretation of discourse can be useful in uncovering the way in which the discourse is ideologically invested. Reader research on actual interpretation of written texts, suggests Fairclough, can assist in understanding the ideological basis of a discourse sample, and the way in which coherence or ambivalence are set up within a text (Fairclough, 1995:62). Foucault asks a related question: "How is struggle for control of discourses conducted between classes, nations, linguistic, cultural or ethnic collectivities?" (Burchell et al., 1991:59-60). But in Fairclough's view, Foucault's lack of an overt focus on resistance and struggle creates the impression of subjects of a discourse being powerless. Fairclough believes this is a weakness in Foucault's work, related to his neglect of the study of practice, i.e. "real instances of people doing or saying or writing things" (Fairclough, 1992:57). In Fairclough's view, a

³² These sectors are reflected in the composition of the Policy Committee (see page ii).

Gramscian notion of hegemony is useful in analysing discourse, including processes of interpretation, as it allows for the idea of struggle over an unstable equilibrium.

According to Fairclough, the “coherence” of a particular discourse, although often treated as a property of texts, is actually a property of interpretation – “In so far as interpreters take up these positions and automatically make these connections, they are being subjected by and to the text, and this is an important part of the ideological ‘work’ of texts and discourses in ‘interpellating’ subjects” (Fairclough, 1992:84). A coherent text is one “whose constituent parts... are meaningfully related so that the text as a whole ‘makes sense’, even though there may be relatively few formal markers of those meaningful relationships – that is, relatively little explicit cohesion³⁴ (1992:83). Texts set up positions and assume that subjects will make a number of connections and inferences which may not be explicitly marked, but which rest on ideological assumptions. “In so far as interpreters take up these positions and automatically make these connections, they are being subjected by and to the text” and its ideological work (1992:84). But readers are not always uncritical – “resistant readings” are also possible, and form a “mode of hegemonic struggle over the articulation of intertextual elements” (1992:136). Where there are contradictions within a text, interpreters may resolve these, or they may resist.

The consumption or interpretation of the CE Policy is difficult to assess, as there is no specific evidence available. The policy is a final document, and the authors make no mention of seeking feedback from readers of the document, contributing to the impression of a somewhat closed and exclusive policy formulation process.

Plenty of evidence of interpretation of the Green Paper is available – in written submissions by stakeholders and records of feedback workshops. Evidence of “resistant readings” of the overall “sustainable coastal development” thrust of the Green Paper came largely through written comment received on the document. It should be noted that most of the written comment came from sectors traditionally holding a conservation-orientated position, including environmental NGOs, local ratepayers’ and

³³ To be discussed later in this chapter.

³⁴ “Cohesion”, as opposed to “coherence”, is dealt with in Chapter 4 as part of detailed textual analysis.

conservation organisations, the scientific community and environmentally-concerned civil servants. Although other sectors more likely to put forward a pro-development perspective did participate in workshops, they were much less likely to make written comments. This is largely due to the historical make-up of organised public participation on environmental issues in South Africa, with a bias towards educated, literate, middle-class and often white communities.

As an aside, this bias provides interesting evidence in support of Gee's theory about the difficulty of dominant discourse acquisition by non-dominant social groups. Workshops held in areas with coastal communities who had a low level of formal education tended to be used by participants as educational encounters, in which questions were asked and information and explanation provided by facilitators.³⁵ Participants in these areas, while they may well have had access to a number of "community discourses", to use Gee's term, did not appear to have access to the sophisticated "public sphere" discourse of policy-making. Their participation in the policy formulation process came largely through the inclusion of the issues they considered important and through the acknowledgement of their interests, both mediated by the Project Management Team as the policy authors. An interview with the Project Manager for the Coastal Management Policy Programme, Bruce Glavovic, confirmed this: "What's not reflected in an appendix," according to Glavovic, "are the concerns and attitudes and perspectives that came though the workshops. They have been addressed, in that those concerns are poverty, access, equity, sustainable livelihoods etc."³⁶ Ultimately, though, these concerns were addressed through the mediation of the policy drafters.

Written comments on the Green Paper show evidence of two different kinds of resistant readings of the document's attempted balance between environment and development. Critical comments from a pro-development perspective were limited and tended to come from the business sector watching out for the rights of the commercial developer, rather than from trade unions and community-based organisations, who made specific criticisms but were largely supportive of the new thrust and the extensive participation

³⁵ Informal interview with Bruce Glavovic, 1999.

³⁶ Informal interview with Bruce Glavovic, 1999.

process. A coastal property development organisation³⁷ commented favourably on the Green Paper in comparison with what it perceived as “the prevailing conservation bias” of other recent environmentally-orientated policy documents:

Sample m:

This Green Paper, although focused on one sectoral vision, is a vast improvement on several of the recent Green Papers. This draft Policy has at least escaped the prevailing conservation bias and acknowledges the wide range of planning issues to be addressed.

Representatives of a parastatal concerned with the coast, also part of the pro-development lobby, went so far as to criticise the policy for being too conservation-orientated:

Sample n:

There was a feeling that this focused too much on ‘green’ issues and not sufficiently on social and economic development, which are implied but not given enough emphasis.

The majority of resistant readings of the overall thrust of the Green Paper, however, came from the opposite angle. Many of the conservation-orientated stakeholder sectors resisted the carefully constructed balance between conservation and development contained within the notion of “sustainable coastal development”. A major scientific research organisation criticised the Green Paper for failing to achieve what it would view as “a good balance”, in other words a balance in favour of conservation, which recognises the “intrinsic value” of coastal resources:

Sample o:

However, we consider that the Green Paper has failed to achieve a good balance between ecological, social and economic considerations in coastal management. In particular, sufficient attention has not been given to the effective management of natural coastal resources in order to ensure the long term sustainability of social and economic opportunities on the coast...

³⁷ Descriptions of organisations commenting are provided rather than names, in the interests of confidentiality.

The vision reflects a view of coastal resources which is primarily based on their use value and gives little recognition to their intrinsic value.

Struggle over the text is reflected clearly in Sample p, in the comments of a national environmental NGO on what it sees as an abandonment of the original “purpose for developing the policy”. Interesting comments are made on the terminology of the Green Paper, which form a kind of discourse analysis of their own. They pick up on the phrase “future development prospects are enormous”, interpreting the term “development” to imply “change”. Change here probably means physical change in the direct land-sea interface, as discussed earlier.

Sample p:

Perhaps our biggest criticism of the Green Paper is the overall thrust of the document. The purpose for developing the policy is to “safeguard South Africa’s national heritage and to address community needs, but we feel that (unintentionally?) too much emphasis is now being put onto economic development of the coast. This is reflected mainly in terminology, e.g. future development prospects are enormous” (pg. 34 – how does this fit in with the principles of sustainability and environmental protection?) and in the “Principles” section of the document, which states “To achieve the ideal of sustainable coastal development, the following principles for coastal management are proposed.” The term “development” implies change, and may therefore be in direct conflict with conservation principles – some areas do not need to be changed.

In a similar way, another environmental NGO picked up the shift in emphasis between earlier government documents on coastal management (for example, the CE Policy) and the Green Paper – “from one focusing on protection, to one that appears to promote economic development”:

Sample q:

The development of a coastal policy stemmed from a call to protect our coast from rampant and often inappropriate development, by integrating and co-ordinating the confusing array of legislation and responsibility. However, the emphasis in the Green Paper has shifted from one focusing on protection, to one that appears to promote economic development. The need for wilderness areas and limited development coastal

resorts, which are valued by foreign tourists as well as South Africans for their recreational and aesthetic value, should be emphasized to prevent “killing the goose that lays the golden egg”.

Interestingly, the word “appears” in Sample q, like the word “unintentionally” in Sample p, seems to indicate that the commentators feel that the drafters of the policy have perhaps been led somewhat astray, cannot really mean what they “appear” to be saying. The metaphor of “killing the goose that lays the golden egg” is an interesting one because it supports the marketised discourse of the Green Paper which stresses the economic value of coastal resources.

In a further pro-environment comment, a local coastal municipality denied any notion of balance in the Green Paper, giving a resistant reading of it, that its position was that “development should take precedence over the need for environmental conservation”:

Sample r:

It is of concern that various explicit statements give the impression that the interests of development should take precedence over the need for environmental conservation rather than aiming for a sustainable balance between them. Given that most developable areas have already been developed, the policy must ensure that the creation of economic opportunities for previously disadvantaged communities does not compromise areas where any form of development is inappropriate.

In a similar vein, a conservation parastatal was explicit in arguing that environmental concerns “should have overriding consideration in policy issues”:

Sample s:

While it is accepted that the policy caters for constitutional issues and has to fit in with the broader socio-economic picture of the country, our own perspective is that a healthy environment, biodiversity conservation and consideration of ecologically sensitive areas should have overriding consideration in policy issues.

The resistant readings of the Green Paper are significant – particularly those by the pro-conservation lobby, who feel that the supposed balance in the document is in fact biased

in favour of development. This resistance shows that readers of the policy are not simply uncomplaining subjects whose identities are shaped without their even being aware of it. Instead they are active subjects, participating in an attempt to alter the discourse back to what they consider a more appropriate balance between environment and development. The fact that there are also resistant readings from the pro-development lobby shows that the discourse of the Green Paper is open to interpretation in many different ways, though the other reading appears to be more prevalent.

The evidence of resistant readings and tensions between different subjects of the policy can be seen as an example of what Fairclough, following Gramsci, would term hegemonic struggle in discourse practice in civil society. Although in some cases discourse practice “naturalises” ideologies and power relations to the point where these are taken for granted and not questioned, this is clearly not the case here. Contrasting interpretations of the Green Paper reflect a broader struggle over the nature of the environmental movement in South Africa, which will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

In closing, it should be noted that the samples above are the few overtly critical comments found amongst a pile of over 200 pieces of written feedback from stakeholders, the majority of which were very positive about the Green Paper and its overall thrust. The above analysis shows, not that the Green Paper is fundamentally flawed, but simply that different readings of it are *possible*. In fact, Glavovic’s view is that “based on the feedback, we have been relatively successful” in achieving a balance between different stakeholders’ expectations. “And on a personal level, we have deliberately sought to address the health, diversity and productivity of coastal ecosystems *and* the coast as a locus of development opportunity. We’ve been very sensitive to the issue.” He agrees, however, that “there is not necessarily a single answer – the way people read the Green Paper is probably informed by the wide range of their perspectives”.³⁸

³⁸ Informal interview with Bruce Glavovic, 1999.

Chapter 4

Analysing the texts of the policies

This chapter analyses a series of extracts from the two policy documents in some detail, corresponding to the inner layer of Fairclough's three-part analytical framework - analysis of text. The chapter explores the two research questions – “How do the discourses construct knowledge and belief systems?” and “How do the texts construct identities and social relationships?” The first question, about knowledge and belief systems is addressed by exploring the micro properties of the texts which contribute to ideational meaning – specifically “word meaning”, “wording”, “theme”, “transitivity” and “cohesion”. The additional aspect of “metaphor” is addressed only briefly (within the section on theme), as it is not a prominent feature of the policy texts. Fairclough (1992: 169) suggests that the emphasis in examining ideational meaning should be on “the rôle of discourse in constituting, reproducing, challenging and restructuring systems of knowledge and belief”.

The second question, about how the texts construct identities and social relationships, is addressed by exploring the micro properties of the texts which contribute to interpersonal meaning – specifically “ethos” and “modality”. Fairclough (1992:138) also discusses the rôle of “interactional control” and “politeness” in contributing to the interpersonal function of language, but these aspects relate mainly to discourse in which there are two active participants, e.g. a conversation, and have therefore not been addressed here. The emphasis in exploring interpersonal meaning, says Fairclough (1992:137), is on “the ways in which social relations are exercised and social identities are manifested in discourse” and “how social relations and identities are constructed (reproduced, contested, restructured) in discourse”. In particular, Fairclough is interested in processes of cultural change, “in which the social identities or ‘selves’ associated with specific domains and institutions are redefined and reconstituted” (Fairclough, 1992:137).

It is worthwhile to remind ourselves here of the distinction between the “ideational”, “interpersonal”, and “textual” functions of language, a theoretical construction of the

multi-functionality of language which Fairclough draws from Halliday's systemic linguistics (see Fairclough 1995:6). The ideational function represents the world and experience, the interpersonal function constitutes social identities and relationships, and the textual function relates the parts of a text to each other and the text to its context. Ideology is present in all of these functions of language (Hodge and Kress, 1993:209).

4.1 Exploring word meaning: "development" and "coast"

According to Fairclough (1992:236), an important aspect of detailed textual analysis is the study of word meanings. Analysis of shifts in the meaning attached to significant keywords can reveal ideological processes within a discourse. As Fairclough points out, word meanings are not always stable, as implied by dictionary definitions, but can be involved in processes of socio-cultural change where their meaning is changing and possibly contested (1992: 186). Word meaning can be explored by examining different elements – keywords of significance in a text, words whose meanings are changing or variable, or the meaning potential of a word as a "mode of hegemony and focus of struggle" (1992:236). A focus on word meaning enables us to explore how "meaning potential may be ideologically and politically invested in the course of the discursive constitution of a key cultural concept" (1992:187). Success in winning acceptance for a new word meaning can be seen as a part of achieving hegemony (1992:190). In this section I shall examine the shifts in the meaning potential of two keywords "development" and "coast" between the two policy texts, and assess the significance of these shifts.

Word meaning: "development"

One striking shift between the discourses of conservation and sustainable development is the way in which the concept of "development" is understood. In *Part 2* of the CE Policy, the keyword development is given the literal meaning of physical change, and a definition is provided in terms of environmental legislation, reducing it to a list of construction and related "activities":

Sample a:

Development is defined in schedule 1 to the coastal regulations promulgated in terms of the Environment Conservation Act, 1982 (Act 100 of 1982), and refers to the following activities:

- *Clearing of land and removal of vegetation*
- *Development of picnic areas, caravan parks or mobile home parks*
- *Erection of any buildings*

etc.... (CE 1991:7)

The use of the narrow, physical meaning of development in the CE Policy is characteristic of conservation discourse, as discussed in the last chapter, in which physical change to the coastal environment is seen as a part of life which must be tolerated, but which should be minimised wherever possible, and strictly controlled where unavoidable. The keyword development thus comes to have negative connotations, and an opposition is set up between the negative concept of development and the positive concept of conservation³⁹.

The Green Paper, by contrast, defines development in a much broader and more abstract sense relating to the social and economic advancement of the country and its population:

Sample b:

Development is central to meeting basic needs and improving the quality of life of all South Africans. Development in this broad sense relates to economic concerns, such as decreasing poverty and promoting investment, employment and wealth creation, and to social concerns such as education, community relations and empowerment. (GP, 1998:xxii)

There has clearly been a major shift here in the meaning potential of the word “development”, reflecting ideological shifts associated with the new political order in South Africa⁴⁰. Instead of referring to the process of immediate physical change associated with construction, the keyword now refers to processes on a much broader

³⁹ The wording of the concept “conservation” is discussed in the next section.

⁴⁰ These shifts will be discussed fully in Chapter 5 in relation to social practice.

scale. These processes relate to concrete but broad activities such as “investment”, “employment” and “education”, as well as intangibles like “quality of life” and “empowerment”, in order to meet broad goals like “meeting basic needs”, “decreasing poverty” and “wealth creation”. Development in this sense is presented as something unequivocally positive and in the interests of “all South Africans”. In the Green Paper’s terms, there is no opposition between looking after the environment and development – both can be achieved simultaneously.

What is interesting, however, is that this appears to be more a case of the meaning potential being broadened, than of it having changed completely. Shore and Wright (1997:18-19) discuss the process whereby new discourses are given institutional authority, including the important element of shifts in the meaning of keywords. They note that, although new meanings may dominate, previous ones can resurface. This is evident in the Green Paper, where the keyword “development” continues to be used in different ways in different parts of the text. The keyword is used both in the broad sense, for example, in the term “sustainable coastal development” or “the value of coastal ecosystems as a cornerstone for development” (see GP, 1998: vi), and in the narrow sense to refer to physical development, for example, in discussing “nodal development” (1998:94) or “inappropriate development”⁴¹ (1998:95).

In addition, the term development is sometimes used in an ambiguous way which can be interpreted as more close to the broad or the narrow definition, depending on the perspective of the reader, for example, “Our coast provides many development opportunities” (GP, 1998:92). It is likely that many readers of the Green Paper, particularly those informed by a conservationist perspective, would continue to understand development in the narrow sense, even where it is explicitly intended in the broad sense. This ambiguity around such a central concept in the discourse is one of the key factors which contributes to the heterogeneity and lack of coherence within the Green Paper as a whole, and the possibility of multiple interpretations of the policy’s central message, as discussed in Chapter 3. Although the term “development” is widely accepted in political circles in South Africa today, it is a focus of ideological struggle within the environmental movement, which will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Word meaning: “coast”

A second keyword with a changing meaning between the two texts is the concept of “the coast”. There is also variability in the meaning of the term within the Green Paper, which adds to the ambiguity discussed above. At one point the Green Paper defines the coast as follows:

Sample c:

In essence our coast is made up of the land that is affected by being near to the sea and the sea that is affected by being near to the land. Our coast is thus a distinct but limited spatial area that gets its character mainly from the direct interaction between land and sea. Surrounding this area of direct interaction are areas of indirect influence, extending from inland mountain catchment areas to the Exclusive Economic Zone and beyond. Our coast is thus an area with a landward and a seaward boundary that includes:

- *Coastal waters, which extend from the low water mark into the sea, up to the point where it is no longer influenced by land and associated activities.*
- *The coastline or sea-shore, which is the area between the low and high water marks.*
- *Coastlands, which are inland areas above the high water mark that have an influence on or are influenced by coastal waters. (GP, 1998:2)*

The word meaning of the keyword “coast” here is somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand, a sense of definiteness is created by describing the coast as “a distinct but limited spatial area”. On the other hand, the inclusion of “coastlands” which are all areas that “have an influence on or are influenced by coastal waters”, creates a sense of an area with indefinite or floating boundaries. In terms of this definition, large inland areas whose climate is affected by proximity to the sea, for example, could be included in the definition. This ambiguity is further reinforced by the section of the document on the value of the coast, for which purposes the coast is defined as “the region 60km inland from the high water mark to the continental shelf” (GP, 1998:8) – a very large and very

⁴¹ In terms of the positive definition of development referred to earlier, a notion like inappropriate development” ought to be an impossibility.

specific area, which includes, for example, the entire Cape, Durban and Port Elizabeth metropolitan areas.

As an aside, the vagueness and ambiguity of the document may also contribute to its apparently weak framing in Bernstein's sense, referring to controls on communication associated with a discourse (Bernstein, 1996:19-28). The weaker framing of the Green Paper relative to the CE Policy can be seen in the variability of meaning of keywords, as well as the interactional visual design discussed in Chapter 1. Possibly the clearest indication of the weaker framing can be seen in the metadiscursive direct addresses to "you" the reader, printed in bold, and usually requesting comment on the document, for example, "Your feedback on these proposals is needed to formulate the final Coastal Policy" (GP, 1998:8)⁴². In answer to Bernstein's query about in whose interests changes in framing operate, this change appears to be in the interests of stakeholders in the policy formulation process, as part of the shift towards more meaningful public participation. The validity of this interpretation will be interrogated in Chapter 5, which looks at the social practice of public participation.

Differences in interpretation of the Green Paper – outlined in Chapter 3 - include conflicting views on the appropriateness of coastal development. But these differences may be at least partly explained by the ambiguous meaning of the keyword "coast" in the document. If the coast is the very broad 60km-wide area, most people would acknowledge the need for development, even in its narrow sense as physical development of structures. If the coast is seen as the narrow area of direct land-sea interface, however, then many commentators from the environmental lobby would see any kind of physical development as undesirable.

This kind of confusion is avoided in the more strongly framed CE Policy, which provides a broad definition of the coast in academic terms, but narrows it down clearly for the purposes of coastal management:

⁴² Also see other such comments on pp. 76, 84, 88, 110, 111 and 127.

Sample d:

... experience in many parts of the world has shown that CZM is most successful in those countries where it is confined to a relatively narrow coastal strip. It includes the actual coastal features such as coastal lakes, lagoons, estuaries, dunes, beaches, rocky shores and, in some cases, offshore islands. In order to improve control measures in the actual coastal strip of South Africa, regulations were promulgated in terms of the Environment Conservation Act, 1982 (Act 100 of 1982) as an interim measure. According to these regulations all activities within a 1000m wide strip landwards of the high-water mark are subject to permit requirements. Such an arbitrary line is, however, undesirable and the precise landward boundary of this coastal strip is now being determined by the provincial administrations of both the Cape and Natal. (CE, 1989:3)

The meaning potential of the keyword “coast” is more clearly limited here, and is echoed in the emphasis in the discourse on precision and exact measurement, rather than vagueness or ambiguity. “CZM”⁴³ is successful where it is “confined” to a “narrow” strip. South Africa’s coast is defined as an “actual” coastal strip with “actual” coastal features. The definition of the strip as being 1 000m wide, although it is an exact one, is seen as “arbitrary” and “undesirable” and will be followed by an exercise to determine “the precise” landward boundary, corresponding to the biophysical reality of the coast. The feeling of security created by precision and accuracy may be related to the construction of coastal zone management as an accurate and reliable science, as discussed in Section 4.6 of this chapter.

A final aspect of the meaning potential of the keyword “coast” relates to the two policies’ different constructions of the coast in terms of the activities carried out there. The Green Paper “reflects the aims and interests of a broad range of stakeholders who *live and work*”⁴⁴ along the coast” (GP, 1998: i). This is in contrast with the mention in the CE Policy of the “various groups of our population that either *live* in the coastal zone or want to use it for *recreational* purposes” (CE, 1989:2). The first example⁴⁵ acknowledges the existence of economic activity in the coast, through its mention of those who work there. The CE Policy example, on the other hand, mentions only living

⁴³ CZM stands for “coastal zone management” - a term used in the Council for the Environment era as opposed to the term “coastal management” used in the Green Paper.

⁴⁴ My emphasis.

and recreation. In broad terms, two alternative constructions of the coast can be seen here – one of the coast as economic zone, and the other of the coast as recreation / conservation area. This reflects the ideological underpinnings of the two discourses of conservation and sustainable development, as explored in Chapter 3.

4.2 Exploring wording: “sustainable coastal development”

Fairclough (1992:77) suggests that a further focus for textual analysis on the level of vocabulary is on “alternative wordings and their political and ideological significance, upon such issues as how domains of experience may be ‘reworded’ as part of social and political struggles”. According to Fairclough (1992:190-191), “there are always alternative ways of ‘signifying’ ... – giving meaning to – particular domains of experience, which entails ‘interpreting’ in a particular way, from a particular theoretical, cultural or ideological perspective”. He gives as an example the wording of an “influx” or “flood” of immigrants, in comparison with a “quest” for a new life (1992:190-191). New wordings create new “lexical items”, which may reflect particular ideological perspectives, for example, the notion of “consciousness-raising”.

Shore and Wright (1997:18-19) also address the question of the creation of new keywords as part of the process in which new discourses are given institutional authority. Where new keywords succeed in attracting mass popular support, as well as succeeding in competitions within the “political field”⁴⁶, Shore and Wright term them “mobilizing metaphors” (1997:20). The extent to which “sustainable coastal development” has or could become a mobilizing metaphor is considered in this section.

The use of the keyword “sustainable coastal development” in the Green Paper, reflecting its discourse of sustainable development, can be seen as a rewording of the keyword “conservation” in the CE Policy, which reflects that document’s conservation discourse. This is what Fairclough describes as ideologically-based “rewording of domains of meaning”. Following Fairclough’s methodology (1992:236-237) for analysing wording, this section will contrast the way in which this central meaning (conservation / sustainable coastal development) is worded in the two texts, and will

⁴⁵ Although this example neglects recreation, this is mentioned elsewhere in the Green Paper.

examine how intertextual relations are drawn on in the rewording process. I will also discuss the ideological significance of “sustainable coastal development” as a new lexical item and will assess the extent to which it has become a “mobilizing metaphor” in Shore and Wright’s terms.

The wording of “conservation” in the CE Policy can be seen clearly in the following sample, which also refers to the intertextual relations through which the wording is put in place. In an example of “manifest intertextuality” (see Fairclough, 1992: 233), the text goes on to quote a definition of conservation directly from the *World Conservation Strategy*:

Sample e:

These guidelines focus on environmental conservation of the coast. That is, the principle of development which blends with and minimizes impact upon the natural environment. Conservation in this fashion encompasses the concept of wise use of resources so that large numbers of people can enjoy the coastline in perpetuity. This concept forms the underlying principle to the World Conservation Strategy, drawn up by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources in 1980.

Good conservation practice must therefore involve itself with all types of land-use from the preservation of pristine areas for reference purposes to the management of regions subjected to intensive modification by human activity. (CE, 1991:6-7)

The next sample, from the Green Paper, shows the way in which the domain of meaning relating to the environmental goals of coastal policy has been reworded from “conservation” to “sustainable coastal development”. Although there is no manifest intertextuality, intertextual relations are drawn on in the wording of the term “sustainable coastal development”, which is based on the more general term “sustainable development”, as used both in extensive literature in the environmental field, and in particular key documents, for example, Agenda 21.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ In Bourdieu’s (1991) sense.

⁴⁷ The Agenda 21 understanding of “sustainable development” is conveyed in Chapter 3.

Sample f:

Broadly defined, the phrase sustainable development means: meeting the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Though the concept of sustainable development is the subject of academic debate, it is widely seen as an important goal for public policy in the international and local context. Given this fact, and based on input from a wide range of interested and affected parties, including leaders in the field of coastal management in South Africa, the proposed theme and focus for this Coastal Policy is sustainable coastal development...

Sustainable coastal development draws attention to the complex inter-connections between the biophysical, cultural, social and political components that make up the coastal system. It draws attention to the important issues of equity within and between generations, and to the relationships between humans and other species. The concept focuses attention on the inter-connections between ecological integrity, basic needs and equity, as well as the relationship between population growth, wealth and poverty. It highlights the challenge of decision-making under conditions of uncertainty and makes explicit the linkage between science and public policy.

In summary, sustainable coastal development aims to enhance the capacity of current and future generations to realise their human potential, within the context of maintaining diverse, healthy and productive coastal ecosystems, in a manner that minimises harm to other life-forms. (GP, 1998:xxi-xxii)

The first paragraph of the sample is interesting because it is essentially a justification of the intertextual use of the concept of sustainable development, in an attempt to forestall possible objections by a specific group of readers. The need for the justification arises because of the controversial nature of the concept, not in South African government circles, where it now has wide currency⁴⁸, but in the environmental movement here and abroad. The term "sustainable development" has been criticised as "ambiguous and open to a wide range of interpretations, many of which are contradictory" (WWF / IUCN / UNESCO, 1991:6). In particular, the term has often, and inaccurately, been

⁴⁸ See Chapter 5 on the social practice of policy formulation and the environmental movement.

used interchangeably with “sustainable growth”, which is a contradiction in terms, implying that infinite economic growth is possible on the basis of finite natural resources. According to Redclift (in Ghai and Vivian (eds), 1995:25), the term “sustainable development” is:

“similar to many terms in the development lexicon, whose very appeal, it can be said, lies in their vagueness. ‘Sustainable development’ means different things to ecologists, environmental planners, economists and environmental activists, although the term is often used as if consensus exists concerning its desirability. Like ‘motherhood’ and ‘God’, sustainable development is invoked by different groups of people in support of various projects and goals, both abstract and concrete.”

It is this debate which is hinted at in Sample f. The phrase “the subject of academic debate” acknowledges the possible existence of contrary opinions by readers, and credits these views with an intellectual and therefore valid status. The phrase “widely seen” and the mention of “the international and local context”, “a wide range of interested and affected parties” and the more high-status “leaders in the field of coastal management” are all used to marshal support for the use of the concept as a unifying one, despite the criticisms which can be made of it.

The ideological significance of the new lexical item “sustainable coastal development” can be seen in the next paragraph, in which a new relationship between humans and the environment is constructed. Although this is not argued very clearly, the wording of “sustainable coastal development” is intended to code a relationship in which human well-being is directly dependent upon the quality of the environment – in this case ensured through the maintenance of “diverse, healthy and productive coastal ecosystems”. This is suggested by the phrase “the inter-connections between ecological integrity, basic needs and equity” and is spelt out more clearly in other parts of the document.⁴⁹ This symbiotic relationship of humans and the environment reflects a different ideological viewpoint from that contained in the CE Policy, where the narrow

⁴⁹ See, for example, pp. vi and vii.

interpretation of “development” means that human actions are usually seen as having a detrimental “impact” on the natural environment.⁵⁰

“Sustainable coastal development” does not seem yet to have attained the status of a mobilising metaphor, as discussed by Shore and Wright. As Project Manager, Glavovic, says: “People read what they want to read into the term. It’s not a phrase that on its own has yet got a common understanding. Some people may see it as a licence for short-term gain through irresponsible physical development. Others may see it as a rationale for perpetuating an old preservationist mode of action. The challenge now in going forward is creating awareness and understanding of how we’ve used the term”.⁵¹

Finally, the concept of “equity within and between generations” clearly positions the Green Paper ideologically, in relation to the discourse practice of both the new South African government (“equity within...”) and the international environmental movement (“equity between...”) – to be discussed further in Chapter 5. The influence of the environmental movement can be seen, not only in the notion of inter-generational responsibility, but also in the mention of “relationships between humans and other species” and the inclusion of the phrase, “in a manner that minimises harm to other life-forms” in the definition of the new keyword. The phrase “other life-forms” gives the impression of positioning the definition closer to the conservationist end of the spectrum than one might have expected, and may contribute to the heterogeneity or lack of coherence in the Green Paper’s discourse.

4.3 Exploring theme: economic argument in the Green Paper

Fairclough’s methodology for textual analysis includes analysis of grammar, in particular, theme and transitivity (related to ideational meaning) and modality (related to interpersonal meaning). Theme is defined as “a textual dimension of the grammar of the clause concerned with the way clause elements are positioned according to their informational prominence” (Fairclough, 1992: 178). The theme is usually positioned first in the sentence or clause and is ideologically significant because it reveals what the text producer takes to be “given” information, and assumes as given for the interpreter

⁵⁰ For example, see Sample d in Chapter 2.

as well (Fairclough, 1992:183). This section will explore thematic structure in a brief sample from the CE Policy, to see if any conclusions can be drawn about the text's assumptions about the social order or its rhetorical strategies. It will also consider whether themes are "marked" i.e. specifically indicated or foregrounded, or "unmarked", i.e. assumed to be the first element in the sentence (Fairclough, 1992:184).

Sample g:

Our coast is made up of a wide variety of ecosystems. They are the "factories" providing benefits to coastal communities and South Africa as a whole. A distinction can be made between:

- ***Direct benefits.** These are goods that are consumed, such as fish, or that are used, such as kelp used in the industrial production of fertilizers. Other direct benefits include coastal tourism, diamond and titanium mining and timber harvesting.*
- ***Indirect benefits.** These include the waste absorbing and water purification services provided by coastal ecosystems. These services provide an indirect but substantial cost saving to coastal communities.*

Human activities along the coast are sustained by the services provided by coastal ecosystems. The value of coastal ecosystems in meeting basic needs and improving the welfare of South Africans is enormous...

The total value of coastal ecosystem services is conservatively estimated to be about R179 billion per year, which is equivalent to about 37% of South Africa's Gross Domestic Product (R480 billion). (GP, 1998:8-9)

The progression of themes can be identified as follows, with implied themes indicated in brackets:

- "Our coast"
- "They" ("ecosystems" = the "factories")
- "A distinction"
- "Direct benefits" ("these" = "goods")

⁵¹ Informal interview with Bruce Glavovic, 1999.

- “Other direct benefits”
- “Indirect benefits” (“these”)
- “These services”
- “Human activities”
- “The value of coastal ecosystems” and
- “The total value of coastal ecosystem services”.

The thematic structure here is one in which the subject is set, i.e. the coast and its ecosystems; followed by a statement of what it provides, i.e. direct, other direct and indirect benefits; and an elaboration on this, i.e. services and (the sustaining of) human activities. The theme “A distinction” is merely a linking device. With the last two themes, the structure moves to a summary: coastal ecosystems + benefits and services = value of coastal ecosystems services. The thematic structure can thus be seen as contributing to a rhetorical strategy of argumentation, in which a foundation is built up for the contention that the coast has a value which can be approximated in economic terms. All of the themes in the sample are unmarked, which contributes to their assumed status as “given”, and shows a confidence by the text producer that the argument will be accepted by the interpreter.

This argument, and the use of environmental resource economics to describe the economic value of the coast, are central to the discourse of the Green Paper, and are revealing on an ideological level. The socio-economic benefits of environmental resources are artificially given a numerical value (“R179 billion per year”) so that their importance can be seen alongside other values in the marketplace (“equivalent to about 37% of South Africa’s Gross Domestic Product”)⁵². The other reason for the economic angle and the stress on socio-economic use values, is that the authors of the Green Paper are attempting to sell the importance of the coastal environment and its protection to the government, which must commit resources to implementing the policy. As the Key Findings section of the Green Paper says: “At present, the value of coastal ecosystems as a cornerstone for development is not acknowledged in decision-making” (1998:vi).

⁵²

The complexity of this concept can be seen in the fact that many readers of the Green Paper missed the point about equivalence and thought that this meant that coastal goods and services actually make up 37% of GDP.

The economic angle is an attempt to put the coastal environment on a par with other crucial national resources in which investment is necessary and justified.

The other ideological feature of the economic argument built up by the thematic structure in Sample g, is the way beliefs are constructed about humans and the environment. Throughout the text, the value of coastal resources and ecosystems in relation to their *use by humans* is stressed. This in contrast with the CE Policy, which ascribes an *intrinsic value* to coastal resources. This is related to the question explored in Section 4.2 of the symbiotic (Green Paper) vs. adversarial (CE Policy) construction of the relationship between humans and the environment. The use of the metaphor of coastal ecosystems as “factories” is ideologically significant, in fitting in with the economic angle and the stress on use value.

The infiltration of economic discourse into the Green Paper could be related to the marketisation trend referred to in Chapter 2. According to Fairclough, the spread of promotional or consumer culture and commodification have led to the marketisation of discourse. This means that discourses previously isolated from the commercial realm, for example the discourses of universities, become increasingly promotional. This is seen as part of a trend in which discourse becomes a vehicle for selling and the advertising genre gradually colonises professions and the public service (Fairclough, 1995:137). This will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

4.4 Exploring transitivity

A second element of grammar which affects ideational meaning is transitivity. According to Fairclough (1992:177-180), transitivity concerns the types of processes which are coded in clauses, and their elements. “Which process type is chosen to signify a real process may be of cultural, political or ideological significance” (1992: 180). Some of the most common types of processes are relational processes (where a verb marks a relationship), action processes (where an agent acts upon a goal), event processes (with an event and a goal) and mental processes (involving cognition, perception or affection). In examining transitivity, it is also useful to look for the agent of a clause and to consider the effect of the use of active or passive voice. A final aspect of transitivity is the possible use of “nominalisation”, i.e. the conversion of processes

into nominals, which can have a “backgrounding” effect on agency, expression of causality and attribution of responsibility (Fairclough, 1992:235).

Transitivity is explored in the following sample from the Green Paper, which describes the process of generating public involvement in formulating the policy:

Sample h:

An extensive process of public participation has been the cornerstone for the development of this Green Paper. Twenty two visioning events were held around the coast in November and December 1997, involving over 800 people from more than 200 organisations. Over 40 regional meetings to discuss policy options were held between April and May 1998, involving over 500 people from more than 200 organisations. There has been ongoing consultation by Regional Managers, each of whom is in direct contact with between 400 and 800 stakeholders. Aside from public meetings, the Regional Managers have held one-on-one meetings and capacity building sessions with over 1000 people from more than 200 organisations. Over 150 written submissions have already been received... Similar levels of public participation will be maintained throughout the remaining stages of the programme... (GP, 1998: Preamble iii-iv)

The first thing to be noted is that almost all the processes in the sample are actional or event processes, which creates a sense of a busy and productive, and therefore apparently successful, public participation process. There is extensive use of nominalisations, including “process of public participation”, “visioning events”, “on-on-one meetings”, “capacity building sessions” and “written submissions”. These nominals all refer to elements of a professionally facilitated public participation process, and are standard tools in the kit of the process facilitator. The effect of, for example, saying “capacity building sessions” rather than “sessions in which facilitators build the capacity of participants to engage in the policy formulation process / to understand the coast and coastal management” is to disguise the identity of both subject (facilitators) and object (participants). In the particular case of “capacity building sessions” the nominalisation glosses over the issue of who is doing the building and who is receiving it, avoiding creating any impression of inequality between facilitator and participant.

In many of the other cases, the nominalisation provides a convenient shorthand jargon, for example, “visioning events”, which stands for “events in which the facilitator asks participants to generate ideas for their future vision of the coast”. In this case, the nominalisation-jargon has the effect of mystifying the process involved, making it sound like a process which requires specialised professional expertise in order to run it. This effect can be understood in relation to the trend of “technologisation” of discourse identified by Fairclough and discussed further in Chapter 5.

The most striking element of transitivity in the sample is the extensive use of the passive voice – events and meetings “were held”, there has been consultation “by Regional Managers”, written submissions have “been received”, levels of participation “will be maintained”. The active voice is only used in one instance – “Regional Managers have held one-on-one meetings...” The effect of the passive voice is to create a sense of impersonality and neutral, efficient professionalism, again related to the construction of the process as one requiring professional facilitation. Public participation is further constructed as a professional and even scientific process by the emphasis on quantification of the process – “over 800 people”, “more than 200 organisations” etc., which stresses the scientifically-measurable *quantity* of participation rather than the more nebulous and hard-to-define *quality* of that participation⁵³.

4.5 Exploring cohesion

The analysis of cohesion, as an aspect of textual analysis, needs to be distinguished from the broader issue of coherence addressed in Chapter 3 in terms of discursive practice. Cohesion concerns functional relations between clauses and sentences (Fairclough, 1992:235). As Fairclough (1992:174) suggests “text types differ in the sorts of relation that are set up between their clauses, and in the sorts of cohesion they favour, and such differences may be of cultural or ideological significance”. The way in which cohesion is achieved in a text is also relevant in terms of its “rhetorical mode” (structuring as a mode of argument, narrative etc. – touched on in Section 4.3). Cohesion is sometimes achieved through functional relations (e.g. reference,

⁵³ The effectiveness of the public participation process is addressed in Chapter 5.

conjunction, elaboration, addition, variation, comparison) or sometimes through explicit “surface cohesive markers” (1992: 175-176).

In this section I analyse cohesion in a brief sample from the CE Policy, taken from the section entitled “Land-use categories in the coastal zone”, about the importance of defining protected areas on the coast:

Sample i:

Protected areas

Areas which have not as yet been subjected to much modification by human activity, which are representative of specific environment types and which have high aesthetic values, should be designated as “protected areas”. The protection given to such areas will enable them to be used for assessment of the effects of man-induced⁵⁴ changes in more heavily utilized neighbouring areas and they are therefore also useful for educational and research purposes. In order to preserve their natural character, public entry into protected areas should be strictly controlled and development in them should be rigorously discouraged. Special efforts should be made to protect all biotic features and ecological processes and to maintain the natural interactions between coastal ecosystems such as estuaries, swamps, dunes, beaches, rocky shore and offshore areas.” (CE, 1989:5)

The functional relations between the clauses can be identified as follows: The first main clause is a statement of what should happen – particular areas should be designated as protected areas. The subordinate clause within the first sentence is an elaboration on the type of areas to be protected, and implies the reason for the necessity of protection (without explicitly stating it). The next sentence has a motivational relation to the first sentence, as it motivates for the need for protected areas in terms of education and research (shown as an additional reason by the word “also”). The main clause of the next sentence is an explanation of what protection entails – controlling access and development. The subordinate clause of this sentence, which has a motivational relation to the main clause, is foregrounded by the use of the only explicit cohesive marker in

⁵⁴ The use of terms like “man-induced” contrasts with the gender-conscious discourse of the Green Paper.

this sample – the conjunctive expression “In order” (in the sentence “In order to preserve their natural character, public entry into protected areas should be strictly controlled...”). The effect of this marker is to emphasise the reason for controlling public entry, thus providing authority to the injunction to control. The final sentence has a relation of enhancement to the previous one, as it adds information about what should be done inside the protected areas to protect the environment. Cohesion is used here to contribute to a rhetorical mode of argument. Because the functional relations are not very clearly set out, however, the effect of the argument is not a strong one.

It can be noted that, in relation to transitivity, the use of the passive voice throughout Sample i, backgrounds the issue of *who* has been modifying areas of the coast and *who* might want entry into unmodified areas. This can be seen in the passive phrases “modification by human activity” and “man-induced changes”, as well as the nominalised “public entry”. The use of the passive voice also masks the identity of those who will do the protecting and controlling – through such phrases as “should be designated”, “enable them to be used”, “should be strictly controlled and... discouraged”, “should be made”. This depersonalises and simultaneously depoliticises the subject of protection and control, by avoiding any indication of actual conflicts of interests between people. The use of the key nominal “protected areas” has a similar neutralising effect.

4.6 Exploring ethos

Ethos is the first of two elements of textual analysis which relate to the interpersonal function of language in Halliday’s terms, and which will be addressed in the remainder of this chapter. Fairclough (1992:166-167) discusses ethos in relation to conversational discourse, for example, the ethos created through verbal and non-verbal cues in a doctor’s appointment. Ethos can also be created in a text, however, and is centrally related to questions of the construction of the “self” and subjectivity or social identity in discourse. Cherryholmes (1998) defines subjectivity as “how and what we think about ourselves, and so act”. This is important, explains Fairclough (1992:168), because “[t]he ways in which societies categorize and build identities for their members is a fundamental aspect of how they work, how power relations are imposed and exercised, how societies are reproduced and changed”.

In this section I will look at two samples from the CE Policy in which ethos and identity play an important rôle, examining the features in the text that assist in constructing identities and social relationships. This will be done by examining two subjects of the discourse – the member of the coastal community and the coastal planner. I will then go on to explore the question of ethos in relation to the “vision statement” in the Green Paper.

The first of the two samples from the CE Policy is as follows:

Sample j:

Development and conservation are not mutually exclusive. In fact, well-planned development will generally add to the prosperity of a coastal community. Bad development will sooner or later have a negative effect: beaches which have to be reclaimed, storm and flood damage, septic tank overflow in communities which have been settled on too high a water table, inadequate storm-water drainage, to name but a few. The coastal community has to carry the cost for these: higher rates and taxes, higher insurance premiums, discomfort, discontent...

Bearing in mind that your coastal community will ultimately either reap the benefits or pay the price of a development, you should give serious consideration to each new proposal before approving it. Local officials will often find themselves caught in the crossfire between those who want to develop, and those who do not. If your community has adopted a development-strategy based on common goals and environmentally sound development, it will be easier to take decisions that will have long-term benefit for your residents. These guidelines will help you to do just that. (CE, 1991:7)

The construction of the subject of the policy here is interesting – the “coastal community” is cited as having to “carry the cost” for the negative effects of bad or poorly planned development, through “higher rates and taxes” and “higher insurance premiums”. The subject is clearly a middle-class homeowner who has a material stake in the coast through paying rates, taxes and insurance. This is in contrast with the Green Paper, whose subject is very broad and includes poor coastal communities, for example, fishing communities and those who make a subsistence living from the sea, holiday-

makers who visit the coast briefly and other South Africans who have never visited the coast but aspire to do so. The fact that the worst hardship that is likely to be suffered by the CE Policy's subject is no more extreme than "discomfort" and "discontent" reinforces the identity of the subject as middle-class and relatively affluent.

Using the second person pronoun "you", the second paragraph is aimed directly at the municipal official who makes decisions on coastal land-use planning, and advises him (the planner is described as "he" on p.12) to "give serious consideration to each new proposal before approving it". In effect, this is a message advising him to turn down proposals which may be likely to cause environmental damage and therefore to increase the financial burden on what is referred to as "your coastal community". The official is thus being asked to identify with the interests of the ratepayers, although elsewhere in the document (CE, 1991:15) the "pressures on local authorities to approve undesirable subdivisions to generate rates" (as municipal salaries are linked to rates bases) are acknowledged. This community of interests of officials and ratepayers will "reap the benefits" or "pay the price" – sensibly planned development might thus lead to a broader rates base, with no individual rates increases, whereas badly conceived development could drain revenue and lead to rates increases in order to meet rehabilitation costs.

In a contradictory move, the official is constructed as "caught in the crossfire" between pro- and anti-development lobbies, which suggests that even ratepayers do not necessarily have a harmony of interests. The possibility of such harmony is envisaged, however, through the creation of a "development-strategy based on common goals and environmentally sound development". The policy is presented as a tool for the beleaguered official caught in the middle, to inform such a strategy and to empower him to take decisions with "long-term benefit for your residents". The overall ethos is a patronising one – seen most clearly in the statement "these guidelines will help you to do just that" – suggesting that the producers of the text have all the answers. Like a strict parent, the official must reproduce this ethos in his own work. He must toughen up and learn to say no, as ultimately he, with the help of the policy, knows what is best for the residents.

Finally, it is interesting to note that Sample j states upfront the belief that “development and conservation are not mutually exclusive” – a belief apparently common to both conservation discourse and sustainable development discourse. The difference is that in the discourse of the CE Policy this can be read as meaning “having conservation does not mean sacrificing development”, whereas the message of the Green Paper discourse would be “having development does not mean sacrificing the environment”. This extract draws a distinction between “well-planned development” and “bad development”. The value-laden term “bad development” is only possible because of the underlying belief that development is a necessary evil. In the sustainable development discourse of the Green Paper, with its alternative meaning of the word “development”, the idea of “bad development” with a “negative effect” would be a contradiction in terms⁵⁵.

The second sample from the CE Policy reinforces the above conclusions:

Sample k:

This chapter has been written mainly for the professional planner working for provincial land-use planning authorities and in large metropolitan areas...

It is very important that you solicit the guidance of the environmental and conservation authorities and consultants as well as academic institutions in your area. A list of most of these appear in chapter 13. These people have been trained in environmental sciences, and will not only save you a lot of time and trouble, but will give you the peace of mind that the right decisions have been taken.

You should give consideration to proposals by the public and interested parties such as private conservation groups, and so forth. These proposals are often a window on the feelings and thinking in a particular community. (CE, 1991:13)

The chapter from which Sample k is taken, states explicitly that its intended subject is the provincial / metropolitan planner, and moves directly into the second person singular to bring home its message more effectively. The tone here is a didactic one –

⁵⁵ See Section 4.1 for an exception to this.

“it is very important that you...” and “you should give consideration”, contributing to the patronising ethos by constructing a subject who needs advice and guidance, and cannot be trusted to interpret the policy for himself⁵⁶. This is reinforced by the message that “environmental and conservation authorities and consultants as well as academic institutions” must be consulted, and that such consultation will “save you a lot of time and trouble” and provide “peace of mind”.

The construction of the helpless planning official also contributes to the tendency in the discourse of the CE policy, as discussed in Section 4.4, to portray coastal management as a highly specialised scientific practice in which experts and specialists must play a lead rôle. The fact that these people “have been trained in environmental sciences” is mentioned in order to establish their credibility, to mystify their expertise and to further undermine the official who may not have been so trained. Only with expert input can it be ensured that “the right decisions” have been taken. This contrasts with the democratic ethos of the Green Paper, where all “stakeholders” are constructed as taking part in coastal management efforts.

In Sample k, the advice of the public, compared with that of the experts, is presented as optional and far less important. By contrast with the explicit instruction “It is very important that you solicit the guidance” for the experts, the planner should merely “give consideration” to the views of the non-expert public. The metaphor of a “window” on their “feelings and thinking” contributes to the impression of viewing their opinions from afar, without necessarily engaging with them or making any commitment to acting on them. The many stakeholders in coastal management are summed up in an off-hand fashion as “the public and interested parties such as private conservation groups, and so forth”. The only specific stakeholder sector mentioned is that of “private conservation groups”, who are probably made up of the only non-expert members of the intended audience of the policy – the “many private individuals who care about the protection of our coast” (CE, 1991:2) – discussed in Chapter 3. The “particular community” whose views would be likely to be represented by a conservation group would once again be likely to be an affluent community. The overall ethos is an elitist one, in which the value

⁵⁶ I continue to use the male pronoun here, in reflection of the text.

of contributions to coastal management is directly in proportion to status and formal training, rather than personal experience or “hands-on” knowledge.

The Green Paper, by contrast, has a democratic and inclusive ethos, and constructs the subject in a very different way, as can be seen in the section entitled “Towards a vision for our coast”:

Sample I:

You are requested to make comments on this proposed national vision. Based on your feedback, a final national vision statement will be prepared, discussed and agreed upon.

Proposed National Vision:

We celebrate the diversity and richness of our coast and seek an equitable balance of opportunities and benefits throughout our coast.

We strive for a coast in which there is a balance between material prosperity, social development, spiritual fulfilment and ecological integrity, in the interests of all South Africans.

We strive for a time when all South Africans feel that the coast is ours to enjoy in a spirit of community.

We look forward to a time when all South Africans take responsibility for the health and sustainability of our coast in a spirit of stewardship and caring.

We seek to guide the management of the coast in a way that benefits current and future generations, and honours our obligations and undertakings from local to global levels.
(GP:1998:84-85)

As with the previous samples from the CE Policy, the second person address is used in introducing the “proposed national vision”. An inclusive ethos is immediately created by the phrases “you are requested” and “your feedback”, as well as the statement that this is a “proposed” statement, echoed in the section title “Towards”. The subject of the policy constructed here is the active participant in the policy formulation process, who

has an ongoing responsibility to provide “feedback” and to help shape the final policy. In addition, the policy statement itself contains a construction of the social relationship between coastal stakeholders, who are, in fact, “all South Africans” (even broader than earlier definitions e.g. “those who live and work in the coast”). The use of the pronoun “we” in the vision statement attempts to construct a community of shared interests, and contributes to the inclusive ethos of the discourse. The phrase “spirit of community” takes the social relationship even further to one of comradeship.

Through the notion of a “balance between material prosperity, social development, spiritual fulfilment and ecological integrity, in the interests of all South Africans”, the coastal stakeholder (i.e. the South African) is constructed as an economic, social and spiritual being, who also has an interest (in both senses) in the environment. In addition to the stakeholder’s rights to balance and equity, however, the stakeholder/citizen also has duties. The stakeholder takes responsibility, provides guidance for coastal management, considers future generations and fulfils global commitments. Overall, the text sample illustrates the attempt on the part of the text producers, which may or may not be successful, to draw together and unify all the participants in the process. This has a similar neutralising effect to the sample from the CE Policy discussed in Section 4.5, in which potential conflicts of interests are hidden or denied.

4.7 Exploring modality

The final aspect of textual analysis to be considered as part of the inner layer of Fairclough’s three-dimensional framework is “modality”, a second contributing factor to interpersonal meaning. Modality can be described as the degree of affinity with a proposition expressed by its producer. This degree of affinity is most commonly seen in the use of the modal auxiliary verb e.g. “must” or “could”, but can also be indicated by tenses, modal adverbs (e.g. “possibly”, “obviously”), hedges (e.g. “sort of”) or intonation patterns in speech (Fairclough, 1992:158). Modality may be subjective, e.g. “I think x is y”, or objective, e.g. “X is y” (1992:159). Power relations are sometimes indicated by objective modality, which may disguise whose perspective is being represented. To some extent, the text producer chooses their modality, but sometimes “particular modality practices are imposed upon those who draw upon particular discourse types” (Fairclough, 1992:161-162).

This section analyses a sample from each of the policies in which modality is a prominent feature. Sample m is from a sub-section on “management guidelines” from the section of the CE Policy on “Dunes”:

Sample m:

9. Control mining and excavation on dunes

- 9.1 *Surface mining is an extreme form of dune utilization which destroys the vegetative cover and the form and content of dunes. It is essential that the utmost care be taken in selecting areas where dune mining may take place. Continuing and objective monitoring of primary and secondary impacts must be part of the mining process. Ideally, the mining company should bear the cost of engaging properly qualified impartial experts to undertake this monitoring, and should be contractually committed to immediately rectify any negative impacts.*
- 9.2 *Pristine or unspoilt dune ecosystem areas should be used last. Areas already modified should be used first, that is those under sugar-cane, pines or gums which are most easily replanted.*
- 9.3 *Sand removal and dune mining should be confined to areas where more than one pronounced dune range occurs..., with exploitation limited to the most landward range.*
- 9.4 *The foredune range from the backshore... to the first trough at its landward base should be given full protection, that is no exploitation should be permitted on single dune range sectors.*
- 9.5 *After any excavation or extraction the surface should be regraded if necessary, and reclaimed with vegetation... and care must be taken not to smother or pollute vleis or other water resources. (CE, 1991, 49-50)*

The guidelines in the above sample show a high degree of affinity by the text producers with their statements. This can be seen in the modality features, “It is essential”, “must be part”, “should bear the cost”, “should be contractually committed”, “should be used”, “should be confined”, “should be given full protection”, “should be regraded” and “care must be taken”. Affinity is indicated through the modal auxiliary verbs “should and

must", and the statement "It is essential". Almost all the guidelines are shown as objective, with no indication that there might be different opinions on them. The only statement in which affinity is deliberately weakened is the statement, "Ideally, the mining company should bear the cost", which uses the modal adverb "ideally" to acknowledge that this may be politically controversial and / or practically unrealistic. This has the affect of positioning the text ideologically closer to the interests of the mining company than some environmental activists might prefer.

Sample n from the Green Paper also shows a high degree of affinity of text producers with statements. The sample comes from the section of the Green Paper which outlines a set of "Goals and Objectives" for coastal management. Goals A1 and A2 fall under the first theme, Our National Heritage, and address the issue of public access to the coast. A scan of the "issues" raised in regional workshops, reported in Chapter 6 of the Green Paper, reveals concern about a number of aspects of access – limitations on physical access to areas of the coast owned by private developers, conservation bodies, mining concerns and the military; "limited access to marine resources" by "historically disadvantaged communities" (GP, 1998:50) and related difficulties experienced by disadvantaged communities in entering areas of coastal economic activity, e.g. fishing and tourism.

Sample n:

GOAL A1: PHYSICAL ACCESS

To ensure that the public has the right of physical access to the sea and to and along the sea-shore, on a managed basis

Objective A1.1: Opportunities for public access shall be provided at identified, appropriate coastal locations⁴⁶ ...

Objective A1.2: Where appropriate, public access shall be managed to minimise adverse impacts and to resolve incompatible uses⁴⁷ ...

GOAL A2: EQUITABLE ACCESS

To ensure that the public has the right of equitable access to the opportunities and benefits of the coast, on a managed basis

Objective A2.1: Coastal resources shall be allocated and used in a manner that is fair and just, with particular attention given to the needs of disadvantaged communities⁴⁸.

- *Particular attention shall be given to the needs of disadvantaged communities and groups (e.g., women) in the allocation and use of coastal resources.*
- *The interests of future generations shall be protected.*
- *Economic, ecological, financial, cultural and administrative considerations shall be taken into account.*
- *The diversity, health and productivity of coastal ecosystems shall be maintained.*
- *Preference shall be given to coastal-dependent uses.*
- *A range of beneficial uses shall be maintained.*
- *Options for sequential use of resources shall be retained.*
- *User rights shall not be granted in perpetuity.*

Footnotes:

46 Debate has arisen about this issue because providing public access can at times conflict with strategic objectives (e.g. military objectives) or the constitutional right to protect private property interests (e.g. private landowners). The challenge lies in balancing the need for public access with other interests and rights.

47 Debate arises about this issue because uncontrolled public access can have negative impacts on coastal resources, and management controls are sometimes needed to place restrictions on public access.

48 The notion of giving preferential rights to particular user groups is subject to debate. Disadvantaged communities deserve preferential treatment as a result of past discriminatory practices. But, in practice, it can be difficult to define such communities, and it can also be difficult to ascertain the appropriate extent of preferential treatment, and to decide who should bear the cost of such treatment.

(GP, 1998:89-90)

Modality is primarily indicated in this sample by the use of the modal auxiliary verb "shall". This is a direct result of the genre of explicit policy statements, which usually contain an auxiliary such as "shall", "must" or "will" to express intention and commitment by the policy-makers. The strong degree of affinity suggested by the use of

the word “shall” throughout Goals A1 and A2, however, is somewhat weakened by other features of the text. One of these features is the use of the agentless passive throughout – the absence of an agent may not inspire confidence in the reader that any of these noble ideals will actually be fulfilled.

In addition, there is a certain amount of hedging in the content of the policy statements. Goal A1 reflects the belief that the public should have access to the coast, but qualifies this by adding the condition “on a managed basis”. The goal is further qualified by objective A1.1, which commits the policy-makers only to providing access at “identified, appropriate coastal locations”. Footnote 46 reveals the source of this weakness – full access is not in the interests of certain coastal landowners, e.g. the military and private landowners. Their interests are portrayed in euphemistic terms – “strategic” reasons referring to the need for military secrecy, and “private property interests” to the profit motive. The policy treads a fine line by “balancing the need for public access with other interests and rights”. The use of footnotes is an interesting device, which contributes to the overall modality of the text by anticipating and forestalling or softening potential objections by sectors of the intended audience, by showing that their views are at least acknowledged, if only in the fine print.

A similar debate around Objective A1.2 is acknowledged in footnote 47, which refers to “management controls” and “restrictions” in order to acknowledge the possible views of another sector of the intended audience not likely to support unfettered access – the pro-conservation lobby. The objective introduces a qualification to the overall goal in terms of an environment-development balance, which recommends that access be “managed” to “minimise adverse impacts” on the environment – interestingly these are to be “minimised” rather than “avoided”. The concept of “incompatible uses” is also used to acknowledge the possible conflict of interests between, for example, private landowners and those seeking full access. In both footnotes the transitivity of the agentless phrases “debate arises” and “debate has arisen” have the effect, while acknowledging difference, of avoiding pointing any fingers at the parties involved in such differences.

Anthropologist Apthorpe (in Shore and Wright, 1997: 45) notes that policy discourse usually involves presenting exemplary positions which are projected as “what ‘is known’, as well as what ‘stands to reason’”. According to Apthorpe, policy statements

are usually plain and clear, and are “most unlikely to be said to depend on a weighing of positions and evidence, hard bargaining, drastic exclusions and the like”. In that sense, the use of footnotes in the Green Paper acknowledging existing and potential differences of opinion between stakeholders can be seen as unusual and significant in terms of the policy’s overall modality. As Apthorpe points out, “[t]he plainer... or the clearer... a policy is painted, the more it is driven by evasion and disguise”. The Green Paper, by revealing ambivalence and heterogeneity, is being more transparent than a policy document would normally be expected to be.

Goal A2 also has a qualifier – “on a managed basis” – this time in relation to access to “opportunities and benefits”, rather than physical access. The discourse of Objective A2.1 is of interest mainly for its use of such nebulous factors and concepts such as “equitable access”, “the needs of disadvantaged communities and groups”, “the interests of future generations”, and “beneficial uses”, all of which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to get agreement on a definition of, and many of which would be likely to clash with each other. This is acknowledged in footnote 48 in relation specifically to the notion of “disadvantaged communities” which admits that, while “[d]isadvantaged communities deserve preferential treatment”, this is a political impossibility – shown in the phrases, “difficult to define”, “difficult to ascertain the appropriate extent” and “who should bear the cost”.

This contributes further to the weakening of the apparently strong modality through qualifications, hedges and acknowledgement of diverse opinion. This can be seen as either a strength or a weakness of the Green Paper. On the one hand, the transparency of the document may be seen as contributing to the democracy and inclusivity of the process of formulating a final policy. On the other hand, the Green Paper could be seen as falling into the trap of avoiding making any difficult choices or any firm commitment. As an environmental consultant providing feedback on the Green paper commented: “In a nutshell the Green Paper so far seems only to have done the easy bits of theoretical and philosophical ‘motherhood and apple-pie’ statements.” According to Glavovic, “this is an accusation one could make, but the fact is that we have gone into implementation steps and made explicit statements about things like what parastatals should do, issues of ownership etc. This takes it beyond such a broad overarching level that one can read anything into it”. The real test of the policy’s effectiveness, says

Glavovic, “will be in the implementation - those conflicts and debates are still going to occur at local level”.

The next chapter deals with the final outer layer of the three-dimensional framework – social practice, and relates it to what has been discovered about text and discursive practice in this and the previous chapter.

Chapter 5

Analysing social practice and coastal management policy

In analysing the outermost level of Fairclough's "three dimensional framework" – social practice, the objective is to specify "the nature of the social practice of which the discourse practice⁵⁷ is a part, which is the basis for explaining why the discourse practice is as it is, and the effects of the discourse practice on the social practice" (Fairclough, 1992:237). In other words, the relationship between discourse practice and social practice is a dialectical one, with each influencing the other. Fairclough suggests an exploration of the "social matrix of discourse" – looking at where the particular instance of discourse practice stands with reference to social relations and structures, and whether it has a reproducing or transforming effect on these. In particular, this includes looking at the ideological and political effects of discourse on systems of knowledge and belief, social relations and social identities (Fairclough, 1992:237).

This chapter thus addresses the research question "How do the discourses of the two policy documents reproduce or transform broader social practices?" and begins to draw together an answer to the overarching research question "How can discourse shifts in between the coastal management policies of the Council for the Environment and the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism be accounted for?" The chapter outlines three broad areas of social practice and examines their relationship with discourse change in the two policies – the environmental movement, government policy-making and coastal management. I will also draw on the ideas of Giddens and other theorists about the development of expert systems.

5.1 Shifts in the environmental movement

The shift in environmental discourse between the two policies, from the conservation discourse of the Council for the Environment policy to the sustainable development discourse of the Green Paper, needs to be understood in terms of world-wide shifts in

the environmental movement and in environmental discourse. The modern environmental movement, begun in the United States in the 1960s⁵⁸ concerned itself mainly with problems relating to pollution and over-exploitation of the natural environment. Throughout the 1970s, solutions to environmental problems “were often centred on preservation and conservation of natural areas which had not yet been developed (wilderness areas, nature reserves and parks)” (Lotz, 1998:7).

Following the world oil crises of the 1970s, attention shifted to the conservation and management of natural resources including energy and water. The World Conservation Strategy (WCS) of 1980 called for conservation, defined as “the management of human use of the biosphere so that it may yield greatest sustainable benefit to present generations, while maintaining its potential to meet the needs and aspirations of future generations” (IUCN/UNEP/WWF, 1980). We have seen in Chapter 4 how the CE Policy explicitly draws on this definition, in an example of manifest intertextuality.

In the 1980s the widening wealth gap between nations and the evident failure of Western “development aid” to bring about any meaningful change in developing countries, led to growing calls from developing countries and from social scientists for a broader approach to conservation that recognises human development needs. For many poorer countries, industrialisation and its attendant environmental ills were, in fact, seen as preferable to continued poverty and underdevelopment. Indira Ghandi summed up these views when she said “Of all the pollutants we face, the worst is poverty. We want more development.”

In response to these pressures, the United Nations appointed the Bruntland Commission, which published *Our Common Future* in 1987, introducing the concept of “sustainable development”. This concept has been much debated subsequently, with some arguing that it implies continued economic growth, which can by definition not be environmentally sustainable. This led to the use of the term “sustainable living” in the 1990 follow-up to the WCS, *Caring for the Earth*. The relationship between environment and development was further explored at the United Nations Conference

⁵⁷ The term “discourse practice” is used here as throughout the thesis, to mean the general practice of particular institutions, organizations and societies in relation to discourse.

on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, which produced *Agenda 21*, an action plan for sustainable development, which was adopted by over 170 governments. The discourse of sustainable development can be seen clearly in the Preamble to Agenda 21:

“Humanity stands at a defining moment in history. We are confronted with a perpetuation of disparities between and within nations, a worsening of poverty, hunger, ill health and illiteracy, and the continuing deterioration of the ecosystems on which we depend for our well-being. However, integration of environment and development concerns and greater attention to them will lead to the fulfilment of basic needs, improved living standards for all, better protected and managed ecosystems and a safer, more prosperous future. No nation can achieve this on its own; but together we can – in a global partnership for sustainable development.”
(DEAT, 1998:4)

Shifts in South African environmentalism

The history of conservation in South Africa before the 1990s was one in which apartheid ideology dominated. According to Cock (in Cock and Koch (eds), 1992:1), “conservation projects often disregarded human rights and dignity. The establishment of many game reserves meant social dislocation and distress for many local people” who lost land, grazing and water rights, and were dumped in resettlement areas with no infrastructure. Apartheid-era practices like these forced removals, and the denial of access by black people to recreation facilities, including the coast, revealed the extent to which environmental and political goals were bound up with each other. In the 1980s, anti-apartheid activists pointed out the irony of high-profile government-sponsored campaigns to preserve endangered animal species, like the black rhino, while children starved in the “homelands” (Cock and Koch, 1992:2).

For the generally affluent white population, with a growing environmental consciousness, conservation of remaining natural areas became an important goal in the 1970s and 80s. For the majority of black people, denied access to fundamental human

⁵⁸ Often dated to the publication in 1962 of Carson's *The Silent Spring*, which criticised the manufacture and use of agricultural pesticides for harming the countryside.

rights, environmental issues were at best seen as a luxury. According to Khan, the South African environmental movement in the early 1990s faced “such major obstacles to its growth as apathy and hostility on the part of many blacks” (Khan, 1992:1).

The international shifts towards a sustainable development approach in the environmental movement, which occurred from the mid-1980s, had an uneven impact in South Africa. On the one hand, environmentally-orientated non-governmental organisations (NGOs) with a more progressive perspective, such as Earthlife Africa and the Soweto-based National Environmental Awareness Campaign, started to emerge. These organisations took on board a people-centred approach to environmental issues and challenged the state and big business. In the context of large-scale political uprisings in the mid- to late-1980s, organisations like these, together with organised labour and affected communities, waged grassroots struggles against, for example, unsafe working conditions in the chemical industry and the dumping of hazardous waste in townships (Cock and Koch, 1992:9-12).

On the other hand, international shifts in environmental thinking were slow in filtering through to the Department of Environmental Affairs. According to Fielding *et al.*, (unpublished:10) “the preservationist ethos was still a major influence on the formulation of South African national environmental policy throughout the 1980s.” Adopting a more truly people-centred approach to environmental conservation was also not realistically possible until the start of negotiations for a future political settlement in the early 1990s, following the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of the ANC. With the dismantling of apartheid structures and ideology and the elections for a new democratic government in 1994, the way was opened for a new approach by government to environmental management, one which was more in keeping with international trends and which would be consistent with the new ANC government’s policy of Reconstruction and Development.

It can thus be seen that the shift in the discourse practice of the environmental movement internationally had an impact on the development of an emerging environmental movement within civil society, but was not able to have a significant influence on government’s approach to environmental management within the constraints of apartheid policy and practice. After the 1994 elections, and the

establishment of a new Constitution enshrining the rights of all South Africans to a healthy environment, and to have the environment protected, the way was opened for co-operation between state and civil society in the development of new policies and legislation in a wide range of areas. This included a broad consultative process leading to the emergence of a White Paper on Environmental Management in South Africa in 1997. According to Lotz, the international shift towards sustainable development has been reflected in South Africa since 1994 as "a range of new policies introducing various options and solutions towards sustainable development have been tabled in parliament" (Lotz, unpublished:10).

It would also be possible also to trace the impact in the other direction – the impact of the social practice of the environmental movement in South Africa on discourse practice. During the 1990s, the growth of public environmental awareness and the emergence of radical environmental organisations like the Environmental Justice Networking Forum have undoubtedly had an impact on the development of sustainable development discourse, but an exploration of this is beyond the bounds of this thesis. I shall now look briefly at the two coastal management policies in the context of shifts in the social practice of environmental management in South Africa.

Coastal management policy and the environmental movement

The CE Policy was initiated in 1989, in the context of major international shifts in the focus of the environmental movement. For the Council for the Environment and the government, however, the context continued to be constrained by apartheid, both through the consciousness of the individuals involved and through the ideology guiding government practice. It is of note that the CE Policy drew explicitly on the definition of conservation from the World Conservation Strategy of 1980, but stopped short of incorporating the Bruntland Commission's 1987 concept of sustainable development. The influence of the political context on the policy discourse can be seen in the following extract, also quoted in Chapter 3:

Sample a:

In setting out basic principles for a South African CZM policy, sight must not be lost of the fact that allowances must be made for the special perceptions of the various groups of our population that either live in the coastal zone or want to use it for recreational purposes. (CE, 1989:2)

The influence of social practice on discourse practice can be seen here in the concept of the “special perceptions” of the “various groups of our population”. This is part of the apartheid discourse in which different “racial groups” have distinct needs and perceptions. Given that the relationship between discourse and social practice is a dialectical one, it is necessary also to look at the influence of the discourse on social practice. Overall, the CE Policy appears to have played a rôle of reproducing rather than transforming social practice. This can be seen in the absence of a people-centred approach in the policy, and its failure to acknowledge socio-economic issues or the needs of disadvantaged communities. In addition, the individualist and elitist approach to production and distribution of the policy do not appear to have made any contribution to transforming the social practice of policy formulation or coastal management in South Africa. According to Prof. Deon Retief, who was a member of the committee which drafted the CE Policy, the policy was largely unsuccessful, because it took a “top-down” approach and failed to involve even the provincial authorities, who would have to implement it, in its formulation.⁵⁹

The next sample is from the “Key Findings” section of the Green Paper, and is also quoted in Chapter 3:

Sample b:

Our coast is a rich national heritage that provides enormous benefits to the people of South Africa. It offers many opportunities for future economic and social development, particularly in under-developed areas of our country. (GP, 1998:vi)

This sample shows that the Green Paper is the product of a period of rapid transition and transformation, much of which is reflected in its sometimes ambiguous construction of “sustainable coastal development” as the aim of the policy. A combination of factors

from the realm of social practice influenced the production of the Green Paper. These factors include the history of negative perceptions of environmentalism by the majority of South Africa's population, the growing strength of the conservation / environment lobby, and pressures on the new government to address poverty, unemployment and the provision of basic needs. The phrases "rich national heritage" and "opportunities for social and economic development" are representative of the theme of socio-economic benefit derived from the coast, which runs throughout the policy. The reference to "under-developed areas of our country" locates the discourse within the broader policy environment of reconstruction and development in South Africa.

The result of the influences discussed above is that the policy of the ANC-led government on the environment has to tread a fine line between promoting effective environmental conservation on the one hand, and promoting the kind of development which can lead to job creation and economic growth, on the other. As shown in Chapter 3, the Green Paper reflects a delicate balancing act between the conservationist agenda of many of the participants in the policy formulation process, for example the scientific community, environmental NGOs and many of the government officials who work in coastal management at different levels, and the development / growth agenda of the ANC-led Ministry, the business sector, the trade unions and civic organisations:

Because of these complexities, the influence of the discourse of the Green Paper on broader social practice is a more ambiguous one. The Green Paper can be read as either ultimately reproducing or transforming the social practice of coastal management, as can be seen in Chapter 3 in the different interpretations of the policy constructed by different readers. On balance, however, the shift to a pro-development message seems to have been achieved successfully, as read in the acceptance of the policy by sectors which could be characterised as pro-development, and the perception by some in the pro-conservation lobby that the policy may even have gone too far in this direction.

In comparison with other environmental policy and legislation brought out under the new government, for example, the White Papers on Environmental Management and Biodiversity Conservation, the Green Paper is far more clearly orientated towards socio-

economic development. Glavovic believes that the Green Paper has been more successful in achieving a balance between environment and development than other recent policies, which tend to be orientated one way or the other: "This has more effectively integrated these often seemingly diverse things than any other policy I'm aware of"⁶⁰. In shifting the emphasis firmly away from conservation and onto a sustainable development agenda, the Green Paper has begun to have a transformative effect on the social practice of environmental management in South Africa, although this can only ultimately be tested in the implementation of the policy.

5.2 Shifts in government policy-making

The influence of the discourse practice of the Council for the Environment and the Coastal Management Policy Programme on the social practice of government policy-making and *vice versa* needs to be seen in relation to the discursive practice employed by each – the production, distribution and consumption of the policies, as discussed in Chapter 3. Essentially, the Council for the Environment followed an exclusive and even elitist approach in formulating the CE Policy. The Committee for Coastal and Marine Systems "consisted mainly of senior natural scientists and planners. It was clearly not representative, either of a wide range of disciplines, sectors or citizens" (Fielding *et al.*, unpublished:18-19). Only a few individuals commented on the policy during its drafting, and it was published as a *fait accompli*. This is not surprising, when considered in the context of the social practice of apartheid. By its very nature, the apartheid government created "a 'closed' governing style, where government decisions were made behind closed doors, with little transparency or public involvement, and little justification given for decisions" (Fielding *et al.* unpublished:18).

The Green Paper, by contrast, was formulated through a self-consciously inclusive and participatory process, involving consultants in running an extensive nation-wide consultation process over a period of more than a year. The implications of the professional facilitation of the public participation process will be discussed below. For the first time, ordinary people from a broad range of sectors were defined as "stakeholders" in coastal management and were called on to participate actively in

⁶⁰ Informal interview with Bruce Glavovic, 1999.

shaping a new policy. Project Manager, Glavovic, recalls an incident at a workshop in Port Elizabeth, in which a woman who belonged to a community-based organisation stood up to speak of her pride and gratification at being included in the process: "She said they'd never thought of themselves as stakeholders. The history was one where they had been excluded, even though they lived within a kilometre of the coast. But the reality, she said, was that they were indeed coastal stakeholders."⁶¹

The Green Paper policy formulation process has clearly been influenced by the context of the new democratically-elected government. Since 1994, the process of producing national policy documents under the new government has usually involved extensive consultation processes co-ordinated by government departments through parliamentary portfolio committees, sometimes with the assistance of extra-government bodies such as the Policy Committee and / or consultants, such as the two consultancy firms involved in the Coastal Green Paper. There should not, however, be an assumption that this trend will continue, as shown below.

The distinction between the exclusive policy formulation process of the CE Policy and the inclusive process of the Green Paper can also be seen in relation to Bernstein's theory about the significance of changes in the strength of "framing" of pedagogic processes. Framing refers to the controls on communication within categories or discourses, determining "who controls what" in terms of the selection, sequencing, pacing, criteria and social base associated with a discourse (Bernstein, 1996:19-28). It is possible to interpret the shift in discursive practice between the two policies as a shift from a strong to a weaker framing. According to Bernstein, changes in the strength of classification or framing need to be analysed in terms of whose interests they operate in. In this case, there appears to have been a shift towards incorporating the interests of coastal stakeholders, particularly previously excluded black South Africans. The shift could, however, be seen as operating in government's interests – a policy generated with extensive public involvement is likely to be better supported and therefore more easily implementable.

⁶¹ Informal interview with Bruce Glavovic, 1999.

It is interesting to remind ourselves of Bernstein's point that "[w]here framing is weak, the acquirer has more *apparent* control... over the communication and its social base" (Bernstein, 1996:27). Despite the openness of the public participation process, one can question the extent to which stakeholders had meaningful control over it. My discussion of consumption of the Green Paper in Chapter 3 noted that less educated coastal communities were often not able to engage directly with the policy-making process, and tended not to move beyond the opportunity provided by workshops to increase their own knowledge of coastal management issues.

An interesting exception to this is recalled by Project Manager, Glavovic, in relation to a workshop held (in Zulu) with the traditional leadership structures of rural Mbazwane and Manguze on the KwaZulu-Natal North coast, where "the meeting was steeped in ceremony and issues of respect and tradition, at every level – from how people sat, to who came in, when they spoke, how they spoke etc. We made an input, but it became a meeting of *those* people about *their* issues. So we were not just a bunch of scientists and professionals talking *to* people, but actually creating a forum for discussion about the use of resources".⁶² In this particular case, the stakeholders had a high degree of control over communication, i.e. there was genuinely weak framing. Strong community ties and traditions enabled this, despite the participants' probable lack of formal education.

In general, Glavovic feels that, although the policy formulation process can be seen as more successful in generating broad public involvement than most other policy initiatives of this scale and complexity, the process could have gone significantly further: "The process has been more consultative than participatory. People are now more informed and more aware, but I'm not sure that their ability to contribute to the discussion has been built".⁶³ In this sense, the degree of control which stakeholders had over communication in the policy formulation can be seen as uneven, depending on the degree of education, experience or social organisation of workshop participants.

⁶² Informal interview with Bruce Glavovic, 1999.

⁶³ Informal interview with Bruce Glavovic, 1999.

The development of public participation in South Africa

The concept of “public participation” or “citizen participation” is a widespread one in developed nations today, with large numbers of government bodies, non-governmental organisations and businesses involved in designing and managing public participation processes in a range of activities – including environmental impact assessments, local and regional plans, development projects, policy-making and delivery of social services. As Gilpin comments, “[t]hat governments were elected to govern and should be free to govern without public ‘interference’ has tended to wither in democratic countries. Democracy is increasingly seen as a continuous and dynamic process in which governments carry ultimate responsibility but only with the most careful public scrutiny” (Gilpin, 1995:63).

Since the late 1960s, as the extent of public participation has increased, particularly in the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom, the number of self-reflexive public participation practitioners and international professional bodies and volume of academic study of public participation have grown rapidly. The process has developed to the point where, in the 1990s, there is now concern in these countries that citizens “are becoming alienated from an increasingly remote and commercialized policy-making process” (Shore and Wright, 1997:3).

In South Africa a few public involvement exercises attempted in the 1970s and 1980s in metropolitan areas failed, largely because of the absence of change in the overall political power structures of the country⁶⁴. Facilitated negotiations on political and socio-economic issues in the late 1980s developed in the 1990s into more extensive facilitation of public consultation processes, particularly in the growing field of environmental impact assessment. This has taken off since the 1994 democratic elections. According to Shandler, (unpublished:1):

“The 1990s have witnessed an intense level of public involvement in South African policy making, planning and development processes. Contrasting the situation in 1999 with 1989 indicates a sea change in the scale and character of participatory activity. The transition from authoritarianism to democracy has

carried with it a surge of interest and opportunities for the active involvement of civil society in both public and private processes.”

In this context, the market for facilitation of public participation has grown and its practice has become increasingly professionalised. The influence of overseas practice has become more evident in the language and concepts used in South Africa, for example, “stakeholders”, “scoping of issues” and “open and transparent processes”. Today, public participation features high on the agenda of most government-driven planning, policy initiatives and development projects. These processes are often run by engineers, planners, environmental scientists or development facilitators, and there is also a growing body of specialist public participation facilitators.⁶⁵

At the same time, Shandler points to an apparently contradictory tendency in government policy-making – that of an increasing trend towards centralisation by the ANC government, together with an assumption that the democratic election of parliamentarians as policy-makers is sufficient to guarantee that the interests of the people will be fairly represented. Shandler (following Marais, 1998) discusses this trend in relation to the burgeoning of civil society organisations during the 1980s years of struggle, their active involvement in policy initiatives in preparation for the new government between 1990 and 1994, and their subsequent decline after the elections, as their rôle became increasingly unclear and insignificant in the context of a democratically elected government. Gelb (unpublished:16-17) is also critical of an apparent current trend by government to take public involvement in policy formulation less seriously. Such involvement, he argues, is essential for the “consolidation of democracy” which “needs to go beyond the state itself, into the arena of society and relations between state and society”. Gelb suggests that linkages with civil society may be threatening to the state’s interests because they reflect “the imperative for the executive to be subjected to uncertainty”. This perception is confirmed, in the case of the formulation of coastal management policy, by Glavovic, who argues that certain government officials and politicians do not appear to have an “understanding that real

⁶⁴ D. Shandler, personal communication, 1998

⁶⁵ The growth of facilitation of public participation will be considered later in this chapter as an example of the development of “expert systems” in Giddens’s terms.

partnership means letting go, giving and sharing responsibility” and who “seem to be going back into an anti-participatory, centralist, statist mode”.⁶⁶

5.3 Shifts in coastal management

International coastal management analysts Hale, Meltzer and Ngoile identify three types of coastal management programmes practised internationally - the first are “enhanced sectoral management” programmes, which focus on a single sector or topic, e.g. tourism or coral reef management. The second type are “coastal zone management” programmes, whose goals correspond closely to those of the CE Policy. These programmes:

“typically include multi-sectoral planning and regulation focused upon the characteristics and needs of narrow, geographically delineated, stretches of coastline. They work to bring order to the development process so as to:

- avoid siting and construction mistakes
- direct development away from critical ecological, cultural or high hazard areas
- minimize adverse environmental impacts of development; and
- reduce foreseeable use conflicts (Hale *et al.*, unpublished:6)

The Green Paper can be seen as advocating the third type, “integrated coastal management” programmes, which:

“often consider an expanded coastal geographic unit or ecosystem with the people of the place to create a “vision for its future”; then motivate and catalyze action among stakeholders – those with an interest in the area or resources to achieve that future. In an ICM process, the area’s renewable and non-renewable resources are managed in an integrated, proactive way to maximize benefits from multiple sectors, reduce impacts of one sector on another, and make progress towards sustainable development.” (Hale *et al.*, unpublished:6)

⁶⁶ Informal interview with Bruce Glavovic, 1999.

A number of shifts in the social practice of coastal management can be seen reflected in the discourse practice of the Council for the Environment and that of the Coastal Management Policy Programme. According to Glavovic, the new policy involves “a fundamental shift - a new way of thinking about the coast, not as a natural system, but in terms of the relationship between natural systems and people”.

Four key shifts can be identified in the Green Paper⁶⁷ – a shift towards recognising the value of coastal ecosystems as a cornerstone for development; a shift away from a resource-centred approach to a people-centred one, focused on facilitating sustainable coastal development; a shift away from fragmented sectoral coastal management to an integrated, holistic approach; and a shift away from a “top-down” regulatory management style to one which is facilitatory, co-operative and flexible. These features can be seen respectively in the discourse in the use of the economic theme, the emphasis on the new lexical item “sustainable coastal development”, the broad scope of the policy’s goals and objectives, and the inclusive style of the document and policy formulation process. The intention of the drafters and participants is that the discourse practice will have a transformative effect on the social practice of coastal management. The extent to which this may occur, cannot be read from the discourse, but will depend on the success of the implementation of the eventual policy which will flow out of the Green Paper.

Overall, the discourse practice of the CE Policy can be seen as having a largely reproductive influence on the social practice of coastal management in South Africa, staying within the narrow framework of a “coastal zone management” programme, as well as within the bounds of an old-style conservation discourse. The Green Paper can be seen as having a potentially transformative impact on the field of coastal management in South Africa, moving it in the direction of international trends towards “integrated coastal management”, whilst reorienting it towards sustainable development, in line with the goals of the newly-elected government.

⁶⁷ Project Management Team members, personal communication, 1999.

Social practice and expert systems

One further area of the social practice of coastal management which is worth noting is the development of coastal management as a field of academic research and professional practice. The growth of this field is described in the Green Paper itself, as follows:

Sample c:

As long as people have lived at the coast and used its resources, there has been some form of coastal management. Traditional societies that depend on coastal resources have had elaborate management systems that have often sustained coastal communities and resources for generations. But in many societies, particularly in more recent times, coastal management efforts have not been able to sustain the benefits that the coast provides.

The term "coastal management" came into common use with the implementation of the United States Coastal Zone Management Act of 1972. The Act recognised that a sectoral management approach, focusing on individual resources such as fisheries, or activities such as transport, was not working. A new coastal management approach was needed. The Act provided coastal states with incentives to prepare and implement integrated plans focused on selected issues of national and local significance. Since then, the concept of coastal management has been refined and it has been applied to many different situations in countries around the world. (GP, 1998:20)

Sample c above is a good illustration of a trend identified by sociologists like Giddens, of the development of "expert systems". According to Giddens, the dynamism of modernity, the period of history from the late eighteenth century until the present, can be attributed to three interconnected factors: the separation of time and space, the development of "disembedding mechanisms" and the "reflexive appropriation of knowledge" (Giddens, 1992:53). The modern period, he argues, has been characterised by "disembedding mechanisms", in which social relations have been reorganised across large time-space distances, and many areas of social activity previously managed by people themselves have been placed in the hands of "experts", in whom ordinary people must trust. The acceleration of this process in the 20th century is described in Sample c,

which talks about “the elaborate management systems” of “traditional societies” being replaced by “a new coastal management approach” in which professionals and experts, outsiders to coastal communities, play an increasingly important rôle.

A link can be drawn here between Giddens’s concept of “expert systems” and Foucault’s tracing of the development of “governmentality” and “bio-power” – based on an alliance between the social sciences and structures of power, which has, in the last two centuries, “brought life and its mechanisms into the realm of explicit calculations and made knowledge/power an agent of transformation of human life (Foucault, 1980:143). Escobar (quoted in Spiegel *et al.*, unpublished:1) follows Foucault in arguing that “the management of the social has produced modern subjects who are not only dependent on professionals for [satisfaction of] their needs, but also ordered into realities (cities, health and educational systems, economies etc.) that can be governed by the state through planning.”

The growth of the new “industries” of both public participation facilitation and coastal management, in South Africa and around the world, can be seen as an example of the development of expert systems. This trend can also be seen as part of the reflexive appropriation of knowledge, in which, as Giddens (1992:53) says, “the production of systematic knowledge about social life becomes integral to system reproduction, rolling social life away from the fixities of tradition”.

Giddens’s concept of the reflexive appropriation of knowledge is related to the 1990s trend of the “technologisation” of discourse, identified by Fairclough. Technologisation “uses research upon discourse for redesigning discourse practices and training people to use new discourse practices” (Fairclough, 1992:239), and can be seen as a “form of top-down intervention to change discursive practices⁶⁸ and restructure hegemonies within orders of discourse” (Fairclough, 1995:87). The professional facilitation of public participation processes can be seen as a particular example of the technologisation of discourse. Facilitation involves the application of specialised expertise in manipulating discourse and people’s responses to it, which is a key aspect of technologisation.

⁶⁸ Fairclough here is using “discursive practices” in his 1995 sense, i.e. to refer to general practices relating to discourse. The term here does not refer to the middle layer of the three-dimensional framework, as I have used it, and as Fairclough uses it in his 1992 work.

Fairclough notes that technologisation is not always a bureaucratic or managerial process in which change is imposed on others from above. Technologisation can be used “in pursuit of change from below”, for example, through the teaching of “critical language awareness” in schools (Fairclough, 1992:239). In a similar way, Giddens notes that experts systems do not necessarily involve only a one-way process of “deskilling” by experts or technical specialists. “Specialist information,” argues Giddens, “as part of the reflexivity of modernity, is constantly reappropriated by lay actors” (Giddens, 1991:22-23). This is supported to an extent by the shift in the policy formulation processes employed between the CE Policy and the Green Paper. In the Green Paper process, a far wider range of people were involved in commenting on and helping to shape the policy and future management actions, despite the increasing professionalisation of coastal management.

Coastal management and recontextualisation of knowledge

The emergence of coastal management as both a field of knowledge with its own discourse, and as a field of practice, can be seen in Bernstein’s terms as an example of the “regionalization of knowledge” – created by a “recontextualization of singulars” (Bernstein, 1996:23). In the case of coastal management, the singulars of topography, hydrodynamics, geochemistry, sedimentology, marine biology, geography, environmental science, urban planning, economics, sociology⁶⁹ and others were merged in the 1980s into a new academic region internationally. Regionalisation involves a weakening of classification (as discussed in Chapter 2), as the boundaries between individual specialised discourses break down.

According to Bernstein, it is important to understand how and why recontextualisation occurs: “as the classification becomes weaker, we must have an understanding of the recontextualizing principles which construct the new discourses and the ideological bias that underlies any such recontextualizing” (Bernstein, 1996:24). The recontextualising principle in the emergence of coastal management as a field seems to be the construction of the coastal zone as a distinct area, with particular and unique features,

⁶⁹ Some of these, like environmental science and urban planning, are already regions in themselves, in a sense.

requiring targeted management and expertise. The study of coastal management is a typical product of regionalisation, in that it forms “the interface between the field of the production of knowledge and any field of practice” (Bernstein, 1996:23). Bernstein also refers to this process of knowledge becoming increasingly orientated towards practical fields as the “technologizing of knowledge”.⁷⁰

A significant aspect of the recontextualisation of coastal management policy in South Africa is its broadening and reorientation to involve social sciences, including economics. As shown in Chapter 2, this can be related to the trend identified by Fairclough of “marketisation” – the penetration of promotional discourses into areas previously unaffected by them. A final aspect of the recontextualisation process is the broadening of both policy formulation processes and of coastal management itself to include ordinary people. This can be seen as a weakening of internal-external classification, comparable with Bernstein’s model of weak classification, in which “boundaries are permeable” and “communications from the outside are less controlled” (Bernstein, 1996:24-25). This is in contrast with the exclusive, elitist and strongly framed approach to both policy formulation and coastal management in the CE Policy.

The final chapter will draw together the findings of Chapters 2-4, and make an assessment of the effectiveness of the methodology of critical discourse analysis in relation to my topic.

⁷⁰ As distinct from Fairclough’s use of the term “technologization of discourse” to refer to use of research on discourse to redesign discourse practices and train people to use new discourse practices.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

This thesis has explored discourse change in the formulation of coastal management policy in South Africa, and has traced discourse shifts between the coastal management policies of the Council for the Environment and the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism at three different levels - the texts themselves, their discursive practice and the social practice of which they form a part. I will provide a brief summary here of the conclusions reached on my research questions, and will make an assessment of the usefulness of applying critical discourse analysis to the study of my topic.

Answering the research questions

In terms of interdiscursivity, the major shift between the two coastal management policies has been from a discourse of conservation in the CE Policy to one of sustainable development in the Green Paper. This discourse shift partly relates to shifts in the international environmental movement, but also reflects changes in the political and policy environment in South Africa. The signals of the conservation discourse can be seen in the emphasis on maintaining coastal resources and ecosystems in as unspoiled a condition as possible and the emphasis on limiting physical development in the coastal zone. The sustainable development discourse is signalled by a greater emphasis on actively promoting development (in a broader sense of socio-economic development), and the importance of managing coastal resources in such a way that these can continue to provide socio-economic benefits and development opportunities.

In addition to this key discourse shift, it can be noted that, while discourses of natural science, engineering and planning are significantly present in the CE Policy, the Green Paper is strongly influenced by social science discourses, particularly an economic discourse. This is reflected in the shift from an emphasis in the CE Policy on the intrinsic ecological value of coastal resources to a stress in the Green Paper on the economic and use value of coastal resources. The presence of the economics discourse

has been linked to the “marketisation” trend identified by Fairclough, and can be explained by the need to sell the importance of the coast to the ANC-led government. This is counter-balanced by the need to sell the development aspects of the Green Paper to the environmental lobby, achieved through an emphasis on the economic realities of coastal poverty and unemployment and the importance of creating socio-economic development opportunities.

In relation to the processes of text production, distribution and consumption, the policy formulation process of the CE Policy can be described as following a fairly exclusive or elitist approach, conducted by specialists and experts from the scientific, government and professional communities, with little input from non-expert sectors of society. The formulation process of the Green Paper, on the other hand, was designed to be inclusive, and actively encouraged participation by sectors including business, labour, non-governmental organisations, community-based organisations, sport and recreation bodies, politicians and government officials at all levels. The democratic discourse of the Green Paper constructs individuals from all these sectors as coastal managers, with an equal right to participate in shaping the policy. The shift from an elitist approach to a more democratic and inclusive one can also be explained in relation to the coming to power of South Africa’s first democratically-elected government, though a continued inclusive approach to government policy-making cannot be guaranteed.

A study of the interpretation or consumption of Green Paper revealed a significant degree of ambiguity, unlike the relatively coherent CE Policy. The bulk of the CE Policy is taken up by practical guidelines about the management of various coastal land forms through engineering, planning and management techniques. Through its portrayal of coastal management as a reliable, scientific practice with concrete, physical goals in a distinct and limited spatial area of the “coastal zone”, the discourse of the CE Policy is projected as a coherent whole. The Green Paper, on the other hand, has a much higher degree of ambiguity, which can be seen through detailed textual analysis, in ambiguous constructions of “development” and “the coast”, and in policy statements which are hedged with conditions or are so vague as to have little meaning. The ambiguity can also be seen through differing interpretations of the policy and its central thrust by different sectors of its audience.

Comments by readers show evidence of resistant readings of the attempted balance between environment and development in the Green Paper - a few reading the balance as skewed in favour of environment, but more seeing it as skewed in favour of development. Given the extensive shifts between the two policies, a degree of ambiguity in the Green Paper is to be expected. Fairclough (1992:96-97) says that discourse change involves "forms of transgression, crossing boundaries" as orders of discourse are rearticulated, and "leaves traces in texts in the form of the co-occurrence of contradictory or inconsistent elements".

The construction of social identity in the Council for the Environment Policy needs to be seen in relation to the main projected audience of professional coastal managers. The policy purports to be teaching new skills around planning and management of development in the coastal zone, but simultaneously sends out a message that ordinary coastal managers, for example, municipal planners and engineers, must not attempt to undertake coastal management activities without consulting the "experts". The identity which is created is thus one of a committed, cautious and humble coastal manager, who relies on specialist advice. The secondary social identity created by the policy is that of the concerned, caring middle class property owner, who must do their bit by protecting their "community" and not allowing further development which would damage sensitive coastal ecosystems.

The Green Paper has a more complex and multi-faceted subject, although the term "stakeholders" is used to create a feeling of unity. The social identity of the stakeholder is the socially and environmentally responsible South African citizen. The citizen is also an active and critical, but supportive, participant in the policy formulation process, who acquires new skills through participation in "capacity building" events. Evidence of different interpretations of the policy, however, seem to indicate that the stakeholder body is not really homogeneous. This is echoed in the presence of ambiguous or contradictory features and heterogeneity in the Green Paper, which attempt to address the concerns of a range of specific constituencies with widely differing views.

The most important difference between the two policies in terms of the way in which they construct knowledge and belief systems is related to the different weighting given to the natural environment and that given to human socio-economic development.

Although both discourses are constructed around a notion of balance between the two, the conservation discourse of the CE Policy is ultimately weighted in favour of the natural environment, and promotes a belief in the importance of conserving natural resources for their own sake. The sustainable development discourse of the Green Paper, while attempting to construct a balance through the notion of “sustainable coastal development”, can be read as ultimately weighted towards socio-economic development, promoting the belief that the well-being of human beings is ultimately what is at stake in managing or protecting the environment.

Overall, the Green Paper policy formulation process can be seen as contributing to the transformation of social practice in terms of an emphasis on sustainable development in government policy, an inclusive approach to policy formulation and a shift in coastal management to become more integrated and facilitatory. The CE Policy, on the other hand, can be seen as largely reproductive of existing social practice in relation to these factors – maintaining an emphasis on conservation, an elitist approach to policy formulation and a regulatory approach to coastal management emphasising the biophysical. Both policy formulation processes can also be seen as reproducing the “expert systems” of professional coastal management practice and facilitation of public participation processes, as discussed by Giddens and others. The field of coastal management can also be seen as a new “region” of knowledge in Bernstein’s terms.

Assessing the methodology

Using Fairclough’s three-dimensional framework for critical discourse analysis has proved to be a useful means for analysing discourse change in the coastal management policy in South Africa over the past decade. The combination of detailed exploration of texts, with consideration of their relationship to other discourses and broader social practices, was a useful way of penetrating the policy discourses and understanding the ideological processes at work within them, as well as the significant shifts between the two policies. The use of detailed textual analysis, while new to me and a challenging task, proved effective in assisting me to draw conclusions about the construction of knowledge and social identities in the discourses analysed.

I feel that the methodology of critical discourse analysis has indeed assisted me in “excavating the prescriptive tones and normative assumptions that underlie [the] policies” (Shore and Wright, 1997:i). In particular, critical discourse analysis has revealed complexities and contradictions in the Green Paper of which I was not initially aware. This has helped me to see beneath the surface of the discourse within which I am currently working, and hopefully, as Bourdieu puts it, “[t]o avoid becoming the object of the problems that you take as your object”.

The link between critical analysis and policy-making work is not always an easy one to make. Spiegel, Watson and Wilkinson (1995:8-9) discuss the problem faced by academic researchers in engaging policy-makers, and discuss the difficult issue of “how to read out of the essentially ‘academic’ and discursive realm of critical understanding and into the ‘practical’ realm of policy making” in order to make their voices heard. The relationship between academia and policy-making can be understood in terms of the discussion by Gibbons and others (see Scott in Cloete *et al.*, 1997:35) of the radical changes currently occurring in production and dissemination of scientific knowledge. Gibbons identifies a shift from “mode 1 science”, theoretical work originating in universities or research institutes that is eventually applied in practice, to “mode 2 knowledge production”, which is generated directly from an application context, and is conducted by a far more open, heterogeneous field of researching and learning organisations, for example, consultancies, think-tanks, and community-based organisations.

Through my work at Common Ground Consulting, which can be characterised as a “mode 2 knowledge production” organisation, I am in the fortunate position of being involved directly in the practical realm of policy formulation. Working on my thesis has had an interesting impact on my subsequent involvement with the coastal policy project, in particular on my current involvement in drafting a White Paper, largely based on the material in the Green Paper. Being aware of the discourse shifts between the old and new policies and some of the ambiguities and contradictions within the new policy has made me more critically aware of the unconscious choices and ideological assumptions we make in the process of drafting policy and has sharpened my policy formulation skills.

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A policy for

COASTAL ZONE MANAGEMENT

in the Republic of South Africa

Part 1

PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES

COUNCIL FOR THE ENVIRONMENT



- 1.4 Conservation priority areas should be identified and demarcated on the basis of their importance and the degree to which they are threatened by development. Areas which should be conserved include places of unique landscape and scientific or cultural significance.
- 1.5 Factors which determine the conservation worthiness of an area or site include
 - number of species and the occurrence of threatened species;
 - significance, in other words, are the ecosystems concerned adequately conserved in other areas?
 - archaeological sites;
 - buildings of historical, architectural or vernacular importance; and
 - could such a conservation site stimulate tourism?
- 1.6 Plans should be firm and inflexible with regard to conservation priority areas and features but flexible with regard to the remaining elements in the plan.

2. Protect sensitive areas

- 2.1 An inventory of coastal landforms, visually appealing landscape features and biological resources such as shellfish areas, feeding and nesting areas for birds, should be compiled during the early land-use planning stages.



Poorly-located railways and roads can restrict access to the coast and damage coastal land forms and attractions
Photo: J D M. Coetzee.

- 2.2 The importance of these landforms and resources and their sensitivity to proposed land-uses should receive careful attention. Development and recreation should be guided towards less sensitive areas, and access and use should be restricted in environmentally sensitive areas.
- 2.3 Where roads and railways are positioned immediately adjacent to the seashore, they may damage coastal resources and attractions and interfere with the natural functioning of coastal landforms (Tinley, 1985). They may also act as barriers between the land and the sea. Roads and railways should therefore be located inland from sensitive coastal landforms and features which enhance the coast's aesthetic and recreational appeal. Main roads and highways should preferably be linked to the coast with access roads aligned perpendicular to the coast and along watersheds at each coast site.

3. Discourage ribbon development

Ribbon development refers to linear development parallel to the coast which reflects one or more of the following characteristics:

- beachfront plots aligned in a continuous row (so as to provide each plot with a sea view);
- continuous urban sprawl; and
- an absence of compact, higher density forms of development which avoid scenic attractions and environmental sensitive areas.

ment which avoid scenic attractions and environmental sensitive areas.

Ribbon development is often premature, uneconomic or inefficient as far as the provision of services is concerned and can quickly degrade the natural landscape, ie the features that attracted people in the first place. Such development is often based on motives of speculative profit and not on need.

- 3.1 Undisturbed areas should not be developed, for example through residential subdivisions, until the extent to which adjacent or nearby proclaimed development (residential, industrial, commercial, and so forth) indicates a need for further development.
- 3.2 To discourage subdivisions which are motivated by speculative buying and not by a real demand for plots, township extensions and subdivisions should only be considered when:
 - approximately 80% of the plots or sites in adjacent or nearby proclaimed development areas have been developed (that is when residential homes or buildings for commercial or industrial purposes have been constructed);
 - approximately 60% of the plots or sites in the proclaimed development area have been developed within 5 years of proclamation (rapid growth areas).
- 3.3 Speculative buying should be discouraged by permitting the buyer of a plot to pay the rates pertaining to undeveloped land for three years only, following purchase. Thereafter, the average rates pertaining to a house in the area should be paid, regardless of whether the plot has been developed or not. This may be waived for even purchased for retirement homes.
- 3.4 Pressures on local authorities to approve undesirable subdivisions to generate rates should be counterbalanced by keeping down costs associated with providing services. This may be done by pooling resources, "regionalizing" services and avoiding ribbon development.
- 3.5 The primary and secondary environmental impacts of entire proposed subdivisions (in addition to the primary physical and ecological impacts of development at specific sites) should be carefully investigated before approving such subdivisions.

4. Concentrate development in nodes

- 4.1 Nodal development indicates a preference for compactness, higher rather than lower densities, and the facilitation of short, lateral connections between the variety of social and economic activities internal to the settlement and the recreational amenities in its surroundings.
- 4.2 Cognisance should be taken of the capacity of each node to absorb additional development. The



FIGURE 1 Limit development along the coast to nodes and avoid ribbon development

growing pressures on the coast should be dispersed among a number of places according to the capacity of each place to absorb them. A procedure has been described by Sowman (1987) for evaluating the suitability of applications for extending resort towns and expanding recreational facilities in the coastal zone. This procedure has been employed in a study undertaken to assess the carrying capacity of the Kromme River Estuary for recreational craft (Sowman and Fuggle, 1986).

- 4.3 The achievement of nodal development requires co-ordinated contributions from the planning, design and environmental professions in order to integrate social, economic, infrastructural, ecological and aesthetic considerations. In other words, as with all planning, the multidisciplinary approach works best.

5. Locate development inland where possible

In view of the demands made on the coastal environment and its resources by various, often conflicting land-uses, shoreline dependent land-uses should be given priority over uses that do not depend on a coastal location.

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Relevant acts, regulations and guidelines are listed in chapter 13.

Objects for coastal zone management

Coastal zone management implies the effective conservation and utilization of the coast as a dynamic ecosystem in the interface between the land and the sea. The overall aim of CZM is therefore to ensure that development in the coastal zone, which should be regarded as a common heritage of the nation, is regulated in such a way as to benefit the greatest number of people possible, while at the same time safeguarding the intrinsic environmental features and ecological processes of the coast. This implies wise use of the coast and its resources and encompasses the concept of both optimal utilization and protection of the coastal environment.

Effective CZM as outlined above, depends on sound, balanced land-use planning and includes control over

- further subdivision of land
- curbs on industrial development, public works, or infrastructure which could be sited elsewhere and
- avoidance of practices in the catchments, estuaries or at sea, which can be deleterious to the proper functioning of the coastal ecosystem.

Had such an approach been adopted in the past much degradation of the coastal zone could have been avoided.

Objectives for CZM in South Africa are

- integration of conservation principles into planning processes for development

- promotion of necessary and desirable development in keeping with the intrinsic environmental features and ecological processes within specific coastal regions
- restriction of ecologically harmful developments and ensuring that major developments are concentrated as far as possible at focal growth points
- discouragement or strict control of development in as yet undeveloped areas, so as to retain the coast's natural character as far as possible
- protection of ecologically sensitive coastal features such as coastal lakes, lagoons, estuaries, dunes, beaches, rocky shores and offshore islands together with the natural processes governing their functioning
- promotion of environmental education to solicit general support and voluntary collaboration in the implementation of CZM procedures

Implementation and control of CZM procedures are complicated by the fact that jurisdiction is divided amongst many authorities and agencies at all levels of government. Effective management in the coastal zone requires co-ordinated jurisdiction over environmental issues and development along the coast. According to present government policy executive functions in CZM are devolved to provincial and local government levels, with the retention of policy formulation and monitoring at first-tier governmental levels. This will require constant and close communication and co-ordination between all responsible authorities together with clear guidelines for the management of various components of the coastal environment to achieve cohesion of CZM. Part 2, *Guidelines for coastal-land use*, provides such guidelines.

Collapse of steep slope immediately in front of holiday home under construction at "Blue Horizon", Eastern Cape



Land-use categories in the coastal zone

Sound land-use planning is essential not only from an economic point of view, but also in terms of many measures aimed at the protection of the environment.

Indeed, economics and conservation are mutually dependent. Good conservation practice must therefore involve itself with all types of land-use from the preservation of pristine areas for reference purposes to the management of regions subjected to extensive modification by human activity. This applies as much to coastal as to inland areas. Fundamental to land-use planning is the identification of land-use categories. The following are land-use categories for the coastal zone:

Protected areas

Areas which have not as yet been subjected to much modification by human activity, which are representative of specific environment types and which have high aesthetic values, should be designated as "protected areas". The protection given to such areas will enable them to be used for assessment of the effects of man-induced changes in more heavily utilized neighbouring areas and they are therefore also useful for educational and research purposes. In order to preserve their natural character, public entry into protected areas should be strictly controlled and development in them should be rigorously discouraged. Special efforts should be made to protect all biotic features and ecological processes and to maintain the natural interactions between coastal ecosystems such as estuaries, swamps, dunes, beaches, rocky shore and offshore areas.



Recreation areas

Recreation areas are areas in which the maintenance of aesthetic values is of the utmost importance and in which the preservation of natural features suitable for outdoor recreational activities such as hiking, swimming, boating, surfing, sunbathing, etc., is a high priority. Where resort or holiday township development is contemplated, it must be ensured that such development does not reduce the recreational value of the area concerned, for example by overloading its carrying capacity. Similar considerations should apply to the expansion of existing amenities. Because the protection of natural features and ecological processes is essential if the above features are to be maintained, the application of sound CZM principles is of the utmost importance in the management of recreation areas.

Natural resource areas

Two major forms of utilization can be identified in land-based natural resource areas, namely those related to forestry and to agriculture. Many coastal areas have been drastically modified by forestry and agriculture. In both these economically important activities special attention must therefore be given to

- water retention properties of soils which may affect run-off or water replenishment in low-lying lands during dry seasons
- control of driftsands and their effects on sediment budgets of estuaries, beaches and dunes
- water pollution through excessive use of pesticides and herbicides
- eutrophication in estuaries and coastal lagoons as a result of excessive use of fertilizers
- maintenance of aesthetic values of landscapes

Ablution facilities on the bank of the Mzimba River, Natal, destroyed by river flood





Coastal Policy Green Paper

Towards Sustainable Coastal Development in South Africa

September 1998

Our Coast, Our Future



INTRODUCTION

In order to formulate a Coastal Policy, a common understanding of the coastal system needs to be developed. In particular, its boundaries need to be defined and the components of the coastal system identified.

WHAT ARE THE BOUNDARIES OF OUR COAST?

In essence, our coast is made up of the land that is affected by being near to the sea and the sea that is affected by being near to the land. Our coast is thus a distinct but limited spatial area that gets its character mainly from the **direct interaction** between land and sea. Surrounding this area of direct interaction are areas of **indirect influence**, extending from inland mountain catchment areas to the Exclusive Economic Zone and beyond. Our coast is thus an area with a landward and a seaward boundary that includes

- **Coastal waters**, which extend from the low water mark into the sea, up to the point where it is no longer influenced by land and associated activities.
- The **coastline or sea-shore**, which is the area between the low and high water marks
- **Coastlands**, which are inland areas above the high water mark that have an influence on, or are influenced by coastal waters.

Defining coastal boundaries is a challenge faced by all countries developing and implementing coastal management programmes. Only a few countries define coastal boundaries uniformly throughout the nation (see Table 1). Instead, national coastal policies often provide broad guidelines under which provinces and districts define specific coastal boundaries, depending on their management goals. For example, regulatory programmes usually define a narrow coastal zone within which to apply permit procedures, and a larger area for planning purposes. It is generally accepted that multiple definitions of the coast should be used to fulfil different tasks, at different spatial and time scales.

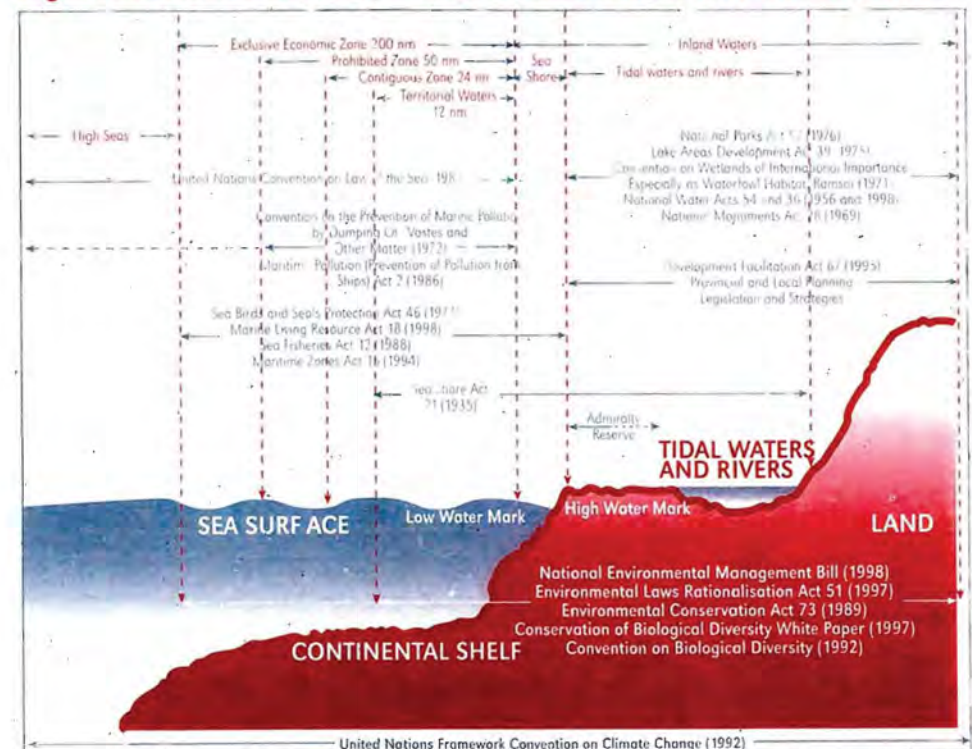
Table 1: Landward and Seaward Boundaries

Landward boundaries (% of 48 countries)		Seaward boundaries (% of 48 countries)	
up to 100m	4%	Mean low tide	2%
100 – 500m	8%	3 nautical miles	6%
500 – 1 000m	4%	12 nautical miles	21%
1 – 10km	10%	Edge of continental shelf	2%
Local Government jurisdiction	4%	Exclusive Economic Zone	8%
Watershed	6%	Arbitrary offshore distance	17%
Varies according to issue	38%	Varies according to issue	23%
Not yet determined	19%	Not yet determined	15%
Other	7%	Other	6%

Based on Cicin-Sain and Knecht 1998

In South Africa, a range of boundaries is applicable to coastal management. For example, in the mid-1980s, an effort was made to introduce a nation-wide permitting process for development proposals within 1 000 metres of the high water mark. This effort was subsequently withdrawn because it proved to be impractical and ineffective. The Sea Shore Act states that the "state President" owns the sea within territorial waters and the sea-shore (between the low and high water marks) on behalf of the people of South Africa. A number of other boundary definitions, prescribed in various conventions, laws, policies and management practices, are highlighted in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Coastal Boundaries and Relevant Laws and Conventions



Note: Some of these boundary definitions are open to different interpretations.

One of the major challenges faced in coastal management relates to the overlap between administrative boundaries (e.g., local authority jurisdictions) and legislative boundaries (e.g., the Sea Shore Act). This overlap is made worse by the fact that such boundaries do not coincide with those of coastal ecosystems. For example, fish do not stay within national and provincial borders, and inland activities affect water quality in rivers that flow into estuaries and out to sea.

Table 6: Key Elements of the Regional Vision Statements

REGION	ELEMENTS OF THE VISION (continued)
BORDER-KEI We see...	- Basic needs being met, human rights being guaranteed and "environment friendly" people who are empowered and knowledgeable about the coast - A booming tourism industry and development initiatives benefiting different communities and interest groups - Appropriate infrastructure and development being encouraged but controlled - Abundant coastal and marine resources being used sustainably to the benefit of local communities - A common coastal management policy for the whole country and more human and financial resources being allocated to coastal management - Clear responsibilities of authorities for implementing laws and regulations - Better relationships between authorities and interested and affected parties - Legislation that is clear and enforceable and communities being involved in design, implementation and monitoring of laws
WILD COAST We see...	- Access to land ownership rights and a restored and effective land administration system - Development, access to business opportunities and the area continuing to attract tourists - Physical development taking place within a legal framework and better land-use plans addressing housing, infrastructure, agriculture and job creation - Biodiversity being conserved and degraded land being rehabilitated - Environmental education being taught in schools and communities - Social development and environmentally conscious community members who actively participate in programmes
HIBISCUS We see...	- Well planned coastal development that benefits local communities - Future developments including functional facilities, a harbour and airport, as well as housing, industry and tourism - A thriving coastal tourism and recreation destination, with good access and facilities - Healthy and intact natural systems, well managed marine reserves and conservation areas, and green belts extending along the coast - A pollution-free environment and degraded areas being rehabilitated - Natural resources being used on a sustainable basis
DURBAN METRO We see...	- Basic needs being met, clean and safe beaches and appropriate access to the coast for all - A prosperous coastal city with a balance between economic activities and the environment - Well planned development that does not compromise the natural environment and rich biodiversity of the region - Protected key natural features and green "corridors" extending throughout the region, and clean, clear rivers from source to sea - Environmentally aware people participating in coastal activities - Effective institutional arrangements and mechanisms
LOWER TUGELA/ DOLPHIN We see...	- Equitable access to resources and opportunities, and educated and informed people - A decent quality of life and employment opportunities for all coastal residents - Appropriate spatial planning and planning of infrastructure, such as nodal residential and tourism development - Impacts on the environment being controlled, regulations being effectively administered and pollution being minimised - The special and unique character and natural heritage of the coast being retained - Environments that are safe, well managed and conserved, and degraded areas being rehabilitated - People participating together to secure sustainable use of resources - Effective, fully capacitated and integrated administrations and Government institutions
ZULULAND We see...	- Access to the coast and appropriate facilities for all socio-economic groups - Co-ordinated development and conservation activities and active public participation in decision-making - A regional plan that promotes a balance between industrial, residential, tourism, mining and conservation activities (where development is subject to height restrictions, nodal in nature and set back from the beach) - The importance and protection of the natural environment being recognised as a priority by all
MAPUTLAND We see...	- Communities with access to natural resources, education facilities and the economic opportunities of the region, such as tourism - A society that is non-racial, crime free and empowered, where there is freedom of speech and movement, and traditional values and cultures are respected and preserved - Land claims being effectively resolved - An economy based on a thriving tourism industry, stimulating development and empowerment for local communities, and providing infrastructure and facilities, while promoting sustainable development - A clean and ecologically sound environment that enjoys effective protection - The Greater St Lucia Wetland Park being declared a World Heritage Site

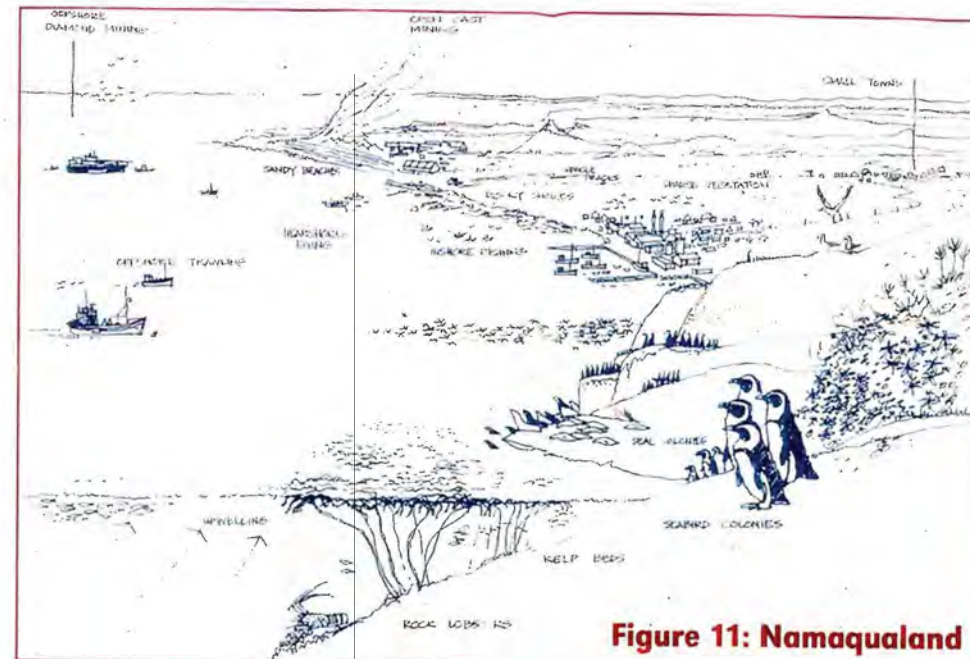


Figure 11: Namaqualand

NORTHERN CAPE PROVINCE

The Northern Cape provincial boundaries define the extent of the Namaqualand coastal region.

Namaqualand

The Namaqualand coastal region is a virtually uninhabited desert. It stretches 390 km from the Orange River mouth, on the border between South Africa and Namibia, to the boundary of the Northern Cape and Western Cape Provinces.

Rainfall is low (less than 100 mm annually). Strong southerly winds cause upwelling of cold, nutrient-rich, deep water that maintains extensive beds of aquatic plants, such as kelp. It also supports valuable fisheries including hake, pilchard and anchovy, as well as large seal, sea-bird, rock lobster, mussel and limpet populations. There are relatively few species, but these often occur in very high densities.

There are no significant bays on this straight coast. Sandy shores comprise 30% of the coastline, while rocky shores comprise the remaining 70%. Only the Orange and Olifants rivers flow year-round and the only wetland of note is the Orange River estuary at Alexander Bay, which has international importance and recognition as a Ramsar site.

The region is characterised by sandy soils that support sparse, scrubby strandveld vegetation, which is well adapted to extreme temperatures and limited moisture, but is sensitive to disturbance. Agricultural potential is poor, but the unusual succulent vegetation and annual wild flower display are important assets of the region.