

**AN EXPLORATION OF THE IDEOLOGY IN ECONOMIC AND
MANAGEMENT SCIENCES TEXTBOOKS: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE
ANALYSIS**

BY

ROSHNEE DAVID

THESIS

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DECLARATION

I, Roshnee David, declare that this dissertation is my original work. It is submitted for the Degree of Masters in Education at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban. The research reported in this dissertation, except where otherwise indicated, is my original work and has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other university.

Roshnee David

ABSTRACT

Pupils acquire skills, knowledge, values and attitudes through the important institution of education. An essential tool used in the transmission of these socially approved attitudes and values is the textbook. Because teacher content knowledge is an ongoing challenge in South Africa, school textbooks are being viewed as an important source of content knowledge. Textbooks used in the apartheid era in South Africa were subjects of numerous studies which found that textbooks were capable of transmitting the dominant ideology of the then apartheid government. Given the important role that textbooks are expected to play in post-apartheid South African classroom, it becomes crucial to examine the ideologies being reflected and transmitted through this medium of instruction in the post-apartheid era. This study therefore set out to explore the ideologies that are manifest in Economic and Management Sciences (EMS) textbooks.

This study adopted a qualitative research approach and engaged the tenets of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as its methodological framework. The use of CDA revealed how the content of the selected EMS textbooks represent particular ideologically orientations. The dominant discourses that emerged from the analysis were the stereotypical positioning of gender roles (a subjugation of women; contingency of women's success on male support); entrepreneurship leads to wealth creation; the advocacy of a free-market system; reinforcement of the hegemonic positioning of business; deficient service provisioning as a normality; business and production's precedence over the environment and finally that globalisation is natural and unproblematic. These discourses disclose that the textbooks under study have profound strains of neoliberal ideology. The content of the textbooks legitimates the values of the free market system and neoliberalism as it reinforces and reifies the normality of personal wealth accumulation and individual endeavour. EMS textbooks were thus found to have potential as hegemonic tools capable of influencing pupils toward

assimilating and accepting the ideology of neo-liberalism as being natural, ethical, moral and acceptable.

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CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction and overview of the study

The purpose of this study is to explore the ideology that is manifested in selected Economic and Management Sciences (hereafter referred to as EMS) textbooks available to teachers and pupils in the GET (General Education and Training) band in South African classrooms. This chapter presents the background to and rationale for the study, and the purpose and focus of this study, and then gives a brief description of the literature review and research design and methodology of the study. It then provides a synopsis of each chapter of this dissertation.

1.2 Background and contextualisation

One of the challenges faced by the new post-apartheid government of South Africa in 1994 was to broaden access to social resources for groups which were marginalised through the policies of apartheid (Green & Naidoo, 2008). One of the ways that the government sought to overcome this challenge was by introducing a new school curriculum. The post-apartheid curriculum was implemented for the first time in South Africa in 1997. However, it was apparent by 2007 that the aims envisaged by this curriculum were not being achieved.

The results of the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SAQMEQ) tests administered to Grade 6 pupils in fifteen African countries in 2007 showed that South African pupils fared poorly compared to students from poorer countries like Botswana and Zimbabwe (Spaull, 2011). The tests were administered to assess the academic ability of pupils in Mathematics and Reading. South Africa ranked 13th in rural students' Reading scores and 9th in urban students' Reading scores. For Maths the results were 8th out of 15 for urban students and 12th out of 15 for rural students.

The performance of Grade 8 pupils in the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) of 1999 and 2003 showed that South African pupils had the lowest scores amongst 39 countries (Howie, 2001; Soudien, 2007). The performance of Grade 12 pupils also showed that too few pupils pass at acceptable levels (Volmink, 2010). Some of the factors identified as having an effect on the performance of students were home background, learning environment, school quality and poor content knowledge and poor pedagogical skills of teachers (Howie, 2001; Maistry, 2005; Spaul, 2011).

Given the high rate of failures at matriculation level, the number of pupils who were not completing schooling and the poor performance of Grade 3, Grade 6 and Grade 8 pupils compared to their peers around the world (Howie, 2001; Soudien, 2007; Volmink, 2010; Spaul, 2011), major measures have been set in place to address these problems over the next fifteen years. An important strategy in addressing these grave issues was to recentre the textbook as a crucial artifact in the teaching and learning experience (Department of Education (DoE), 2009). This initiative was labelled Schooling 2025. Schooling 2025 is a strategy which should, according to the latest objectives of the DoE, tackle a wide range of problems inherent in our present education system. Schooling 2025 claims to ensure that the performance of South African learners will be improved. One of the ways in which the DoE sees this as happening is by reintroducing textbooks into classrooms; in the DoE's publication *Curriculum News For 2010*, the importance of textbooks is highlighted in the statement that "textbooks play a vital part in teaching and learning. Textbooks must be used by teachers and learners to enhance their teaching and learning" (2009, p. 6). Taking into account this important role that textbooks are envisaged as playing in the South African classroom, this study aims to explore the ideology that is present in EMS textbooks.

The post-apartheid curriculum implemented in 1997 saw the introduction of the learning area of EMS to the intermediate phase (Grades 4, 5 and 6) and senior phase (Grades 7, 8 and 9). EMS is one of eight learning areas included in South Africa's post-apartheid curriculum and is a uniquely South African creation. This new discipline was intended to prepare pupils for entrepreneurship; but the government itself was also in a dilemma. On the one hand, it had the newly created equity-oriented Reconciliation and Development Planning (RDP) unit

which sought to address the social ills of the poor and to allow the poor access to basic services. On the other hand, the government also promoted the freemarket system in the form of the neoliberal Growth Employment and Reconstruction (GEAR) programme. GEAR advocates economic growth through the freedom of the market, entrepreneurship, less regulated international trade and global trade integration. It also endorses that the costs of service delivery are to be borne by users (Miraftab, 2004). Against the backdrop of all these tensions, challenges and unresolved issues, the learning area of EMS was introduced.

The nature of the discipline of EMS is divided into sections to introduce pupils to the basic ideas of the economy, financial literacy and entrepreneurship. The new Revised National Curriculum Statement (DoE 2002: 4) defines the learning area of EMS as dealing with the efficient use of private, public or collective resources in satisfying people's needs and wants and the effective management of scarce resources in order to maximise profit. Pupils are also expected to reflect critically on the impact of this use of scarce resources on the environment. One of the objectives of EMS was to enable pupils to adjust, participate and survive in an economically complex society. This can be achieved by enabling learners to become economically literate and to understand how wealth is created. Pupils' entrepreneurial skills are also developed so that they can be enabled to play a critical role in transforming the country's socio-economic environment and reducing the gap between the rich and poor. EMS textbooks were therefore designed to meet these objectives.

1.3 Rationale for the study

Knowledge is made available to pupils largely through the use of textbooks, and therefore many new EMS textbooks were published. Apple (1988) estimated that 75% of time spent in classrooms and 90% of time spent on homework tasks is spent on text materials. However, little critical attention is paid to the ideological source of their production (Apple, 1988). From my own experience as a teacher I have, like Apple, found that textbooks are never neutral (Apple, 1988). I know that biases exist in textbooks, so this study explores the ideologies manifested in selected EMS textbooks.

Apple & Christian-Smith (1991) have emphasised this viewpoint of bias in textbooks by stating that "little attention has been paid to the one artifact that plays such a major role in

defining whose culture is taught: the textbook” (p. 1). Pingel (1999, p. 5), director of the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, points out that “in addition to transmitting knowledge, textbooks also seek to anchor the political and social norms of a society”. Referring to History textbooks, Pingel (1999, p. 6) argues that not only do textbooks “convey facts, but [they] also spread ideologies”, which are invested with “historical legitimacy”. Similarly, Crawford (2003, p. 5) describes the ideological function in educational textbooks by stating that “textbooks are cultural artifacts and in their production and their use inside classrooms, confront a range of issues to do with ideology”. A major focus of this study will therefore be on whether knowledge in the selected EMS texts can be representations of ideologies and can contribute to social relations of power and domination.

My experiences both as a student and teacher seemed to reinforce this idea that textbooks represent the ideology of the dominant in society. This is therefore an issue that will be explored in this study. An example of this is the information that was conveyed in History textbooks in the apartheid era, during which I studied in South Africa. Although I studied History as a subject in primary and high schools as well as in my first year of university, my initial encounter with alternative history, about the triangular slave trade movement and the underground movement to free slaves, was when I taught in the UK for four years. The History textbooks in the apartheid era also did not make any reference to the South African liberation struggle movement or its heroes.

This therefore seems to reinforce the idea that the ideology of the ruling party (the apartheid government in this instance) can strongly influence what is transmitted in textbooks. They have control over what counts as relevant knowledge. In post-apartheid South Africa we are unsure as to the specific subtextual messages that prevail in school textbooks, and therefore I embarked on the present study to explore if the political elites continue to have control over what counts as relevant knowledge.

There have been many studies on textbooks used in the primary school classroom in the learning areas of Literacy, Social Studies, History, Science and Mathematics, but very few have focused on the learning area of Economics, especially in South African education.

Because of the limited Economics educational literature, I drew on Accounting education literature as EMS comprises a component of Accounting. Many concerns have been raised regarding the role played by ideology in Accounting education, with the presentation of a capitalist worldview, and that Accounting literature predisposes accountants to serve the interests of capitalism (Ferguson, Collison, Power & Stevenson 2009; McPhail, 1999; 2001).

The review of the literature also showed that Accounting and Business Education texts have great potential to promote ideologies in keeping with capitalism and neoliberalism (McPhail, 1996; Collison, 2003; Zhang, 2012). In spite of these concerns, only a few studies have been conducted on the analysis of Accounting textbooks in South Africa located in the particular historical context of post-apartheid South Africa, and none on EMS textbooks in the GET phase. Therefore I hope to address this gap with particular emphasis on ideologies perpetuated in EMS textbooks in the South African classroom.

1.4 Purpose and focus of the study

The aim of this study is to explore the ideology that is manifested in EMS textbooks. Taking into account the important role that textbooks play in the classroom, I wish to address these questions in this study to explore the extent to which ideology is reflected and reinforced in EMS textbooks:

1. What ideology do EMS textbooks advance?
2. How is this ideology presented in these textbooks?

1.5 Research methodology

This study is located within a qualitative and critical research paradigm, because the aim is to make sense of what ideologies are transmitted in textbooks. The decision to adopt a qualitative approach is because this allowed me to examine how ideologies are formed. Ideology is seen by many writers as ideas, values and beliefs which entrench the dominance

of the more powerful over the less powerful, or a view of the world transmitted by language which influences what is written and how it is written (Cross & Orminston-Smith, 1996; Knain, 2001). The issue of ideology is actually an issue of power, and analysing the information in the selected texts will hopefully reveal how issues of power are played out in the texts under study. This could also reveal how and in which ways particular worldviews are pushed and reinforced, with a view to a deep understanding of how teachers may counteract this.

I therefore drew on the analytical tools of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and systemic functional linguistics (SFL) because of their focus on the observation of how language plays an important role in the construction of hegemonic ideologies.

I chose CDA as an analytical tool because of its focus on the observation of how language plays an important role in the construction of hegemonic ideologies, hegemony being the undue influence of one over another (Gramsci, 1971). CDA concerns itself with relations of power and inequality in language (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). As McGregor (2003) succinctly puts it, only CDA analysis helps to figure out the real meaning behind the written and spoken word (the overt and hidden meaning).

The features of language that I focused on were drawn from Fairclough (1992b), as simplified in the primer by McGregor (2003, p. 5). Key constructs appropriated for this study were foregrounding, backgrounding and topicalisation, embellishments, assumptions, insinuations, silences and omissions, nominalisation, modality, and register. The use of the above framework of constructs was a useful tool in helping me to examine power relationships and ideologies embedded in the selected texts.

By adopting the tools of CDA in this study I explored the ways in which the social structure (the EMS textbooks) subtly promotes ideologies and power relations which permeate or are embedded in three Grade 7 EMS textbooks in the classroom. These textbooks have all been

approved by the DoE and were published in South Africa. I limited myself to these textbooks to keep the study manageable. I have chosen to analyse only three chapters in the textbooks, because a complete CDA of the entire textbooks would probably be impossible to achieve in the time required to complete this study.

Although textbooks are public documents, the selected textbooks were given pseudonyms, (i.e. textbooks A, B and C) to avoid any ethical issues that can arise and for ease of reference. Data were generated from specific themes from the selected textbooks. I have not indicated the chapters used in the first textbook as it combines sections which are separated in the other books. In the chapter on analysis of data I clearly indicate the specific topics: entrepreneurship, needs and wants, and power relations in the economy.

The textbooks employed in my study were:

1. *Access to Economic and Management Sciences*; Grade 7 learner's book, TEB Assan, ACE Publishers (hereafter referred to as text A).
2. *Business Today*; Grade 7 learner's book, J. Bantjes, D. Kerdachi, A. Kriel, Maskew Miller Longmans, 2005 (hereafter referred to as text B).
3. *Spot On Economic and Management Sciences*; Grade 7 learner's book, M. Louw, A. Liebenberg, M. van der Merwe, Heinemann, 2005 (hereafter referred to as text C).

1.6 Overview of the study

This study consists of five chapters, this introduction being the first.

The second chapter focuses on the review of literature relevant to this study. It interrogates the key issues raised by writers. They found that textbooks contain selected knowledge that writers of textbooks deem necessary to be transferred to potential readers. Therefore students are presented with only one version of a reality, which is a form of social control (Apple &

Christian-Smith, 1991; Sleeter & Grant, 1991; Loewen, 1995; Barnard, 2001). The chapter also examines the assumption that Accounting and Business Education textbooks can be considered a form of social control and hegemony, as they have the potential to promote ideologies and especially those that promote capitalism and neoliberalism (McPhail, 1999; Collison, 2003; Ferguson et al., 2005, 2009).

Chapter three explains the methodology employed in this study. I apply a qualitative analysis adopting the framework of Fairclough (2000) consisting mainly of CDA with aspects taken from Systemic Functional Linguistics or SFL (Halliday, 1985). The use of CDA offers a useful framework for organising my thinking, as this framework examines power relations and ideologies embedded in the texts. This model is particularly well suited for the study of ideology in Economics because of its focus, simplicity and flexibility. In chapter four I present the findings of analysis of the three chapters of the selected textbooks.

The fifth chapter concludes the dissertation by revealing the manifestation of ideologies in the textbooks and includes a discussion of the findings in relation to the existing body of knowledge. The implications of this study draw the chapter and this thesis to a close.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter introduced and summarised the study under focus. It presented the background to and rationale for the study, its purpose and focus, and then gave a brief description of the literature review, research design and methodology of the study. It then provided a synopsis of each chapter of this dissertation. The next chapter is a review of the literature that demonstrates that while textbooks are an essential resource, they can be used as a form of social control.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I presented the background to the study, the statement of purpose, critical questions and the rationale for this study. This chapter begins with an overview of the history of textbook research and the debates in the field. I examine relevant research on the inclusion and exclusion of selected knowledge in textbooks. A brief examination of studies conducted by South African authors then ensues. I then briefly explore how textbook production is simultaneously a cultural and economic activity, leading on to the exploration of research examining ideology in textbooks. This is followed by a narrowing of my focus onto ideology, specifically in Business Education textbooks. I conclude with a reflection on the implications of the research.

2.2 A brief history of textbook research

The analysis and revision of textbooks was first promoted by the League of Nations as early as the 1920s, after the organisation passed a resolution known as the ‘Casares Resolution’ (Dean Hartman & Katzen, 1983). This organisation recommended the exchange of textbooks between countries so that a close examination of these textbooks would lead to the identification of aspects that could lead to controversy. This work was carried on by Unesco in 1949 in the publication of a guide proposing criteria for evaluating textbooks by looking at accuracy, fairness, balance and world-mindedness (Pingel, 1999). Continuing in this tradition, The International Textbook Research Network, which consists of researchers involved in textbook research from around the world, was then set up by Georg Eckert, a German historian and educationalist. This network has played an important role in helping textbook authors to improve the quality of their textbooks and to look at the use, evaluation and analysis of textbooks. However, the intentions of these organisations, Unesco and The Georg Eckert Institute, were not always carried out as intended, as not all countries adhered to the guidelines. This was clearly the case in the use of textbooks in the apartheid era in

South Africa, and in textbooks of other countries that obviously propagated a politically correct ideology (Dean, Hartmann & Katzen, 1983).

In an attempt to manage such limitations, Unesco produced a seminal handbook on textbook research methodology. In this book the author, Pingel (1999), attempted to guide textbook analysts by providing guidelines to consider for textbook research. Pingel uses the following stages in textbook analysis (Nicholls, 2003, p. 3): defining a textbook sample; methods and techniques which may be used to analyse texts; designing an analytic instrument (categories and questions); and lastly he discusses additional considerations that should be noted. Some of Pingel's guidelines are useful. He lists additional specific analytical techniques like hermeneutic, linguistic, cross-cultural and discourse analyses (Pingel, 1999). However, these guidelines have an inherent weakness as they can analyse the literal content of textbooks but are less likely to uncover the hidden and covert messages that reinforce and entrench stereotypes and ideologies. This aspect is crucial to my study.

2.3 Knowledge selection: Inclusion and exclusion

An emerging category of textbook analysis that has relevance for the current study is one that deals with identifying intrinsic qualities in textbooks, namely that of identifying author bias. Author bias is what Sleeter & Grant (1991) focused on by questioning how writers and publishers of textbooks select knowledge of American racial, social class, gender and disability groups (p. 281). The authors argue that students are presented in classrooms with only one version of reality taught through textbooks. Students may accept or reject this particular worldview (Sleeter & Grant, 1991), but the content in the textbooks remains significant in that it can exercise a form of control, because it conceals or trivialises many aspects of knowledge. Textbooks further participate in social control when they "select in" some knowledge and "select out" others (p. 294). This inclusion of certain texts and voices, exclusion of certain texts and voices, and notable absences all contribute to the inevitable selection of knowledge (Fairclough, 2003).

Sleeter & Grant (1991) examined forty-seven textbooks in Social Studies, Reading and Language Arts, Science and Mathematics in use in Grades one through to eight in the United States. Using the following apriori categories of picture analysis, anthology analysis, 'people to study' analysis, language analysis, story-line analysis and miscellaneous, they examined the treatment of various American racial, social class, gender and disability groups. They looked at how the diverse groups are portrayed to children in school, the selection of knowledge, and whether children were exposed to challenges in oppression and discrimination.

Sleeter & Grant (1991) found that white people consistently dominated the textbooks and that the books conveyed an agreeable intermingling of different race groups living in racial harmony under White domination. But the reality was remote from this portrayal. Regarding gender issues they found that males predominated in most books and females of colour were seldom shown as actively involved in the social, political and economic equality struggles. Almost everybody was portrayed as belonging to the middle-class in North America. This was not particularly helpful to students' knowledge of the reality of issues of poverty that many people are confronted with daily. Disability issues were also ignored, so students remain ignorant of issues that the disabled face.

Sleeter & Grant (1991) concluded that their study found that the curriculum focused on White males and backgrounded the concerns and achievements of Americans who were female, of colour, disabled and poor. This was seen as risky because citizens produced would lack an in-depth knowledge of history, society and culture (Sleeter & Grant, 1991). Textbooks should thus be carefully examined. If they fail to expose learners to multiple perspectives, as evident in the analysis in the present study of the Grade seven Economics textbooks, then these textbooks may lead to development of knowledge which is legitimated by those with economic power.

In a study of twelve History books Loewen (1995), found that History textbooks deliberately left out details like the causes and processes of European domination from about 6000 B to

2000 AD to encourage readers to view Europe as the centre of all knowledge and intelligence. In the same study Loewen examined the phrase “people grew more curious” (p. 31), and found it strange because nobody had measured the curiosity levels in Spain in 1492 or with certainty compared it to an era in another place and time before that. This reinforces his argument that students can be influenced to think in certain ways, which prevent them from thinking about what really happened in American society to cause American Indian societies to become the impoverished minority that they are today.

He further states that by avoiding the use of names and stories of individual Arawaks and omitting their points of views, authors of the textbooks position the American Indians as ‘others’. Textbooks therefore, according to Loewen, practise “cognitive dissonance” (p. 64). This can be clearly seen in the analysis of Economics Management Science textbooks, as writers deliberately exclude the risks that entrepreneurs face which could negate the intended effect. Therefore textbooks also have a way of telling less than the truth.

Textbooks are never neutral, as they are social artifacts (Apple, 1988). The impact of commerce and politics on textbooks is strongly evident, because constraints from the market often impact greatly on what gets published and what is selected. As Loewen (1995) found in his study of American History textbooks, the political economy, political climate, activist groups and racial issues all play a role in what is included, what is omitted, and how information is presented.

In his analysis of 88 History textbooks approved for use in Japanese high schools in 1995, Barnard (2001) found that language can be used in a way that has the effect of omitting salient facts that can influence the truth. Using a study framed in terms of a critical discourse analysis based on systemic functional grammar, he found that the language in textbooks shows a “reluctant telling of what has to be told” (p. 527), which in this study was the isolating of knowledge of the Rape of Nanking, capital of the Chinese Nationalist Government. When the city fell on 13 December 1937 soldiers of the Imperial Japanese Army entered the city and murder, torture, rape, arson and mass killings ensued for six

weeks. Patterns of language used in the textbooks showed that the knowledge of Nanking is isolated from the Japanese, because the textbooks tell less than the truth by not depicting the Japanese people as perpetrators. Barnard argues that if young Japanese are to be taught critical skills and knowledge, then they should be taught a history that gives a frank account of the atrocities committed. However, this may not be entirely possible as writers of textbooks are always aware that political constraints often impact on which textbooks get published and selected for use.

The idea of selecting parts of knowledge to include or exclude echoes the writing of Apple and Christian-Smith (1991), who wrote that inclusion and exclusion of knowledge in textbooks constructs a distinct economic and historical reality. Similarly, Pingel (1999, p. 6) reiterates that textbooks also spread ideologies while conveying facts under the guise of “historical legitimacy”. Taking this point further, McDiamid & Pratt (1971) call this the general biases of omission and commission, the chief biases of omission being ignoring attributes and contributions which are positive and also ignoring the oppression of minorities.

The commission of biases could be evidenced by reproducing stereotypes, using disparaging phrases to describe groups, and emphasising battles and wars. This often determines the elite and legitimate culture that textbook authors wish to pass on (Apple, 1998). Language in print is therefore a powerful tool used to maintain relationships of power, and critical discourse analysts use a critical framework to unearth this abuse of power. CDA therefore has an interest in the ways that language perpetuates ideology in social constructs. South African texts also played an important role in entrenching the relationship between language and power, as can be seen in the next section of the literature review.

2.4 South African literature

Language plays a large role in shaping us and influencing our ideas and feelings in constructing positions for us (Janks, 1993), and there is a relationship between language and

power. However, often this is opaque, so by using critical language awareness (CLA) as a strategy this relationship can be made transparent. Janks (1993) argued that social institutions like schools and the media use language to maintain and defend the rules of society. Janks recommends using critical language awareness to resist the power of print. This enables us to refuse to believe everything that is written by asking critical questions, which increases awareness of what a text selects, hides or backgrounds. Like Wallace (1992), Fairclough (1992) and Locke (2004), Janks (1993) also believes that CLA can raise awareness of the ways in which texts can be used to reinforce particular ideologies and hegemonies. Janks (1993), describes critical language awareness as used to “raise awareness of the way in which language can be used (and is used) to maintain and to challenge existing forms of power” (p. 51). Her study focused on the period when apartheid was the dominant ideology in South Africa.

Another author who also suggested ideas which could help readers resist the power presented in texts was Wallace (1990). Her ideas can help the reader to look at the obvious and taken for granted assumptions in critical ways, so that the ideological content of texts can be challenged. Wallace’s study focused on how reading practices, different sorts of texts and contextual factors influence text interpretation. She also focused on the range of textual and non-textual practices in a society that ensure a particular discourse or ideology.

Her study drew on data gathered from her multilingual class of mainly migrant women with English as a foreign language, from a range of cultural backgrounds in London. Three media texts were presented to the students and she encouraged them to look critically not only at the text itself but also to be aware of the social context of the text. Drawing on aspects of Hallidayan grammar such as pronouns, subjects and objects and the active and passive voice, she encouraged the critical reading of the texts that looked at ideological assumptions. She adapted Fairclough’s (2000) and Halliday’s (1985) frameworks to help raise awareness of the ideology of texts by questioning the reasons for the choice of topics, how these topics are written and other ways that the topic could have been written.

The result was that she found evidence that students were looking at the media critically and were challenging the ideological content of the texts. This study was useful in that it helped me to draw insights from the questions that were posed to the students. The aspects of pronouns and the identification of the active and passive voice also generated a critical reading of the texts. This in turn led to the identification of assumptions which are key to this present study on the exploration of ideologies. However I adopted and adapted the framework of Fairclough (2000) and Halliday (1985) to help me unearth ideologies manifested in the EMS texts that I selected.

In a critical analysis of learning materials used in South African schools McKinney (2005) states that content in textbooks can socialise children by legitimating cultural norms, official values and knowledge, and that textbooks are a representation of a selection of culture. This study aimed to explore the extent to which textbooks currently in use in South African schools reflected and reinforced the post-apartheid vision of a non-racist, non-sexist and equitable society, and to understand the ways in which racial legacies were and were not being overcome through the integration of schools. The study focused on the representation of the social world in learning support materials and diversity in relation to race, gender, social class, rural/urban location and disability.

Sixty one textbooks used in South African primary schools were analysed. The textbooks included Grade 1 Reading schemes (51 readers, 111 stories) and ten Grade 7 Language and Natural Sciences books. The study found that the Grade 1 readers portrayed very little opportunities to create an awareness of issues of racism, sexism, poverty and disability. The Grade 7 Language texts demonstrated a gender inequity generally dominated by males. With regard to social class and rural/urban locations, McKinney (2005) found that rural settings as well as poor and working-class people were under-represented. Disabled people were also invisible in almost every Grade 1 and Grade 7 text analysed. These findings led McKinney to state that South African textbooks still have some way to go in the production of learning support materials which effectively address the challenges of integration, inequality and exclusion in post-apartheid South Africa.

Looking at the legitimization of the ideology of apartheid, a study by Dean, Hartmann & Katzen (1983) based on an analysis of South African secondary school History textbooks in the apartheid era, found that these textbooks were a reflection of the policies of the apartheid political regime. This was so because, according to Dean et al. (1983), these textbooks reflected and transmitted values of the dominant society. They cautioned that textbook authors therefore have to deliberately ensure that they do not singularly reflect the ideology of the dominant worldview.

The objectives of the study were to look at the presentation of ethnic groups, the degree of stereotyping of ethnic groups and the sanctioning of attitudes pertinent to apartheid in South Africa. All these objectives helped them to achieve the main aim, which was to appraise the extent to which the selected texts legitimated the ideology of the supremacy of whites. A large sample (42 in all) of Grade 12 English-language History textbooks used in the white schools and also a sample of books written for the black education system were selected. These textbooks were written to accommodate the common syllabus and were on the approved list of the then Transvaal Education Department.

They found that in this particular quantitative analysis of the distribution of subject matter, that a great deal of coverage was given to the history of the white groups in South Africa and that it was also predominantly Eurocentric. Very little coverage was given to the history of black South Africans. Therefore this reinforced their opinion that textbooks can reflect and transmit values of a dominant society. However, Chisholm (2007) in her study of migration, xenophobia and South African History textbooks, argued that the problem with studies on ideology, discourses or representations alone is that they do not examine what is transferred, communicated, understood, learnt, challenged or renounced in the classroom, even though textbooks may have admirable intentions.

In a study in 2007 Chisholm examined the role that South African History textbooks now play in the constructing of xenophobia and citizenship, especially in the light of the important role that History textbooks played in legitimating the ideology of apartheid. She conducted a

critical and contextual analysis of two sets of History textbooks which were officially issued and currently in use in three Gauteng schools with large numbers of migrants. Use was made of Bundy's classification of History textbooks which are: conservative pluralist (where the history of all ethnic groups should be presented equally); nation-building pluralist (where history should be used to correct the past and be used in reconciliation and the building of the nation); and a new model textbook approach (where the main emphasis of history should be in interpreting South African history, and it should consider historical advances). She found that the textbooks seem to have the intention of correcting the interpretation and recognition of diversity, that the textbooks are internationalist and Africanist, and that they do challenge the issues of migration and xenophobia, but whether these textbooks are used to address these issues largely depends on the extent that teachers use these learning support materials in classrooms to support the issues of anti-xenophobia.

Although the official textbooks advocate a citizenship that is cosmopolitan and recognises diversity, very little is yet known of its practice and exposure in classrooms through teachers. Going further, Morgan and Henning (2011) raised concerns that although textbooks in post-apartheid South Africa were written to create a unified citizenry, this is not enough. Grade 11 History textbooks were analysed and found to support citizenship education in post-apartheid South Africa. The findings of this study raised concerns that although these textbooks were written with the intention of creating a unified citizenry, this was a simplistic solution. The authors recommended that historical events should be depicted in its intricacies and ambiguity to encourage critical evaluation and judgement (p. 188).

A text portraying evidence of hybridity drawing on apartheid and post-apartheid discourses was the subject of a study by Janks (1997). An advertisement for the Standard Bank's Domestic Promise Plan that appeared in a South African newspaper, *The Weekly Mail and Guardian*, in 1994, was analysed by Janks. She argued that this text showed hybridity, providing evidence that texts mirror the struggle of ideological forces at work and show values in transition during a period where existing values in society clash with emerging discourses. This argument strengthens the evidence that texts are artifacts of society. Using a transitivity analysis of verbs based on Halliday's (1985) grammatical aspects, she found

evidence of a racist discourse of paternalism in that the domestic worker was portrayed as an infant who needed to be cared for. To Janks, this particular selection of verbs is not easily identifiable with its associated processes of transitivity because of the difficulties involved in its encoding, so it therefore requires a greater effort on the part of the reader to identify it. These particular linguistic selections, according to Janks, also intimated to her that the writer was caught up in the struggle between the pre-transformation and post-apartheid speak.

Janks found that the Domestic Promise Plan was textually linked to the changed conditions of service for domestic workers under post-apartheid working conditions. Fairclough (1995) determined that the intertextual context is an important aspect in the interpretation process, and this was also examined here to assist in the process of interpretation. Janks (1997) advocated that this hybridity of the different discourses is a typical feature of the post-apartheid era of the 1990s, and that this hybridity could be tracked to ascertain whether a new hegemony was replacing the pre-transformation discourse. So in this study it can be seen that the tools of CDA are useful in the stripping away of layers to reveal the hidden and less obvious messages.

Science textbooks in post-apartheid South Africa have also not escaped being used as tools to transmit ideology to learners. A comparative analysis of three Grade 10 Physical Science textbooks by Green and Naidoo in 2008 made reference to their findings in a 2006 study of Physical Science curriculum documents. It found that current post-apartheid curriculum documents contain content knowledge which “endorses a fallibilist philosophy” and that the New Curriculum Statement “is rich in symbols legitimating” (p. 249) the post-apartheid state. Performing a content analysis of 20% of the content of the three textbooks in the 2008 study (one which supported the previous curriculum and two written to support the new curriculum), the study examined the representation of knowledge as well as the representation of class, race, language and gender diversity in the textbooks. They found that the textbook prepared for the old curriculum stressed ‘hard’ scientific factual knowledge with the assumption that the first language of students was English. One of the new textbooks was very similar to the old textbook, as it appeared to have more examples of whites and males and drew on scientific knowledge that was difficult for students to identify with. On the other

hand, the second new textbook drew on scientific knowledge that was located in historical, social and cultural experiences relevant to the students (Green & Naidoo, 2008).

The post-apartheid challenge of the new government to broaden access to social resources for groups who were marginalised through apartheid policies and who were denied basic literacy seems to find support in one of the new textbooks. It can be seen to embrace the indigenous diversity of the new South Africa and provides an easier accessibility to Physical Science (Green & Naidoo, 2008). So too, in a way, this also transmits and legitimates the ideology of the present government. However, all of the above studies are based on texts used in the teaching of English, History and Science. There is therefore a distinct gap in research undertaken to explore ideologies of post-apartheid South Africa being manifested in EMS textbooks. My study on examining ideologies portrayed in EMS textbooks will therefore focus on this gap.

In the next section I discuss briefly how textbook production is an economic and cultural activity, and how this has an impact on what knowledge is selected for inclusion in the textbooks.

2.5 Textbook production as an economic and cultural activity

Detailing how textbook production is simultaneously a cultural and economic activity, Luke (1988) intimates that the textbook is a product of human thought and an economic activity. Apple's (1984) proposal for an exposé of commercial and political constraints on text construction presupposes that the textbook is a cultural product. Textbooks are written by authors who are academics and curriculum specialists who have certain assumptions of which knowledge needs to be transmitted. Kress (1985) defines texts as being tangible forms of the expression of social discourse. He further states that

Whereas sentences can be shown to be formed on the basis of knowledge of grammatical rules, texts arise on the basis of knowledge of rules and of exigencies which are first and foremost social in their nature - and in their functions and effects ... the ability to construct texts ... reflects the circumstances in which speakers and writers are placed, as well as their social needs and attention (p. 137).

Therefore the construction of texts is a social activity which is linked with the ideology of the authors and speakers (Luke, 1988), and linguistics permits meaning to be transmitted and distorted in such a way that readers can be influenced and informed (Kress & Hodge, 1979).

Market constraints also have an impact on the selection of South African textbooks, as the DoE lays down criteria for the writing of textbooks. The textbooks are reviewed and the approved textbooks are then selected as recommended for use in schools, by being placed in catalogues available to schools. If schools select texts from these catalogues they are then reimbursed. Because of this, writers and publishers of textbooks would ensure that the ideologies they promote would be viewed favourably by the DoE textbook selection committee.

I now examine the concept of ideology in textbooks.

2.6 Ideology in textbooks

The notions of ideology and hegemony (hegemony being the undue economic and cultural influence of one over another) are quintessential to many textbooks, especially with regard to textbooks reflecting both the interests of particular groups in society and the interests of certain stakeholders, as seen in certain Accounting education textbooks. Wodak (2001), a critical discourse analyst, also sees ideology as establishing and maintaining unbalanced power relations. Other writers perceive ideology as values which entrench the dominance of the more powerful over the less powerful, or a view of the world transmitted by language which influences what is written and how it is written (Cross & Ormiston-Smith, 1996; Knain, 2001). My particular concern would be with the ways in which ideology is mediated through language usage in EMS textbooks. Ideology, as mentioned in this paragraph, can be seen according to Fairclough (2003) as

representations of aspects of the real world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation. (Fairclough, 2003, p. 9)

This can be clearly seen in a study by Anyon (1979), which shows how American History textbooks have misrepresented the history of labour, social issues and socio-economic change to show an ideologically biased curriculum content. Anyon (1979) found that the influential affluent were favoured by a biased curriculum, and the views and preferences of dominated groups were not legitimised. In addition to the above study, studies by South African writers (Dean et al., 1983; Green & Naidoo, 2008) also found that textbooks and curriculum documents in both the apartheid and post-apartheid eras were a reflection of legitimisation of the ideology of the ruling political regimes.

A South American study of language ideologies in Peru's official textbook, *Talento*, for the first year of high school (Heros, 2009) looked at how the selected textbook reflects Peruvian

National Language Curriculum discourse. The study also considered how subtexts or hidden discourses are indirectly brought into the text by the use of certain keywords. Heros (2009) examined language ideologies toward the regional varieties of Spanish in the language textbook, *Talento*. In this study, using Halliday's (1985) Systemic Functional Linguistics or SFL, Heros studied grammatical features of text samples. She analysed the use of conjunctions, grammatical mood indicating the type of speech, the use of the passive voice, the use of mood and modality which reflect attitudes and judgements of the writer, and finally linguistic features and resources like metaphors and key phrases to trigger assumptions (Heros, 2009, p. 182). This was seen in the use of rhetorical questions and mini dialogues to make it appear as if this was an exchange of ideas between the writer and the student, but was not really so.

Heros found that *Talento*, an officially approved textbook, showed no evidence of support for the language diversity of the country. Although the educational law in Peru emphasises that the main goal in language teaching is to establish a respect for the indigenous languages, as seen from this study the textbook does not support the diversity of language. The textbook, according to Heros (2009), reveals a hidden curriculum which advocates that standard Spanish is superior to the indigenous regional varieties of Spanish. Although the educational law in Peru emphasises that textbooks should provide a positive evaluation of regional varieties of Spanish, there seems to be an ideological prejudice against the regional varieties throughout the book. This is made obvious from the sparse examples analysed, which found that the text conveys a negative bias.

Heros therefore pronounces that this is an example of power that is symbolically conferred on standard Spanish and power that is withheld from varieties of Spanish deemed incorrect. The findings of the study were particularly pertinent to my present study, which explored how the concealed discourses of the free market system and capitalism were granted legitimacy through the use of foregrounding and topicalisation.

On the aspect of hidden discourses, Kumaravadivelu (1999), conceptualising a framework for administering a critical classroom discourse analysis, found that ideology and power that constitute dominant discourses are hidden from ordinary people, and only critical linguists using Critical Discourse Analysis can unearth this subtext. She drew on the concepts of post-structuralism of Foucault and post-colonialism to develop a critical framework to explore what happens in a classroom with learners using English as a second language. I would concur with her that teachers generally are not trained critical linguists, and may unknowingly pass on knowledge from textbooks that can contain hidden concepts perpetuated by the economic policies of the ruling party, as the textbook can be an important instrument in reinforcing the ideology of the ruling party. The ideology of the ruling political power can strongly influence the education system of any country, and therefore educational textbooks cannot be 'value neutral', since the selection of teaching materials is influenced by value judgements that reflect the interests of the ruling class (Hsiao & Cheng, 2006).

Accounting and Business Education textbooks therefore lend themselves easily to this criticism that Business Education texts strongly reflect the interests of the ruling party (Ferguson, Collison, Power & Stevenson, 2009), as can be seen in the next section on ideology in Business Education texts.

2.7 Ideology in Business Education texts

Accounting and Accounting education might be considered a form of control and hegemony (McPhail, 1996), because it can instil in students values and notions associated with capitalism. Hegemony can be reinforced through the linguistic tools used to transmit knowledge to students (McPhail, 2001). This idea echoes Myers' (1992) argument that a statement does not find its way into textbooks just because it is a fact, but it becomes a fact because it is in the textbook. The use of words such as 'possible' and 'perhaps', which Myers identifies as 'hedging', further adds weight to the supposed fact. Readers are also persuaded by the use of the present tense of verbs that what they are reading is factual and a certainty.

Drawing on this idea, Crawford (2003, p. 5) contends that the textbook has become symbolised and well grounded in the language of English, as seen in idioms like ‘a textbook operation’ and ‘all done by the textbook’. This serves to iterate that what is in the textbook is seen to be legitimate and mandated. So too, Accounting education plays a role in inculcating values in students, legitimating and mandating the interests of corporate stakeholders and promoting propaganda through the use of ‘taken-for-granted’ assumptions (Collison, 2003).

According to Harvey (2007), for any idea to prevail all it needs is for its perception to become totally entrenched as commonsense, and this idea is then regarded as a taken-for-granted assumption. Harvey (2007) argued that capitalism and neoliberalism, with their practices of personal wealth accumulation, entrepreneurial choices and unencumbered free trade, have an insidious effect on our ways of thought and economic practices. This hegemonic discourse has become pervasive, to the point of becoming commonsense notions in the way in which we live and construe the world.

Departments of Accounting Education have, moreover, also become instruments of propaganda which subliminally perpetuate neo-classicism (McPhail, 1996; Collison, 2003). In a study on textbooks used as tools of propaganda, Cameron et al. (2003) found that writers of textbooks often propagated ideologies that maintained the status quo, especially ones which were conservative by nature, and made them appear as natural - but they actually engendered hegemony through the use of ideological devices.

Drawing on Thompson’s (1990) linguistic modes of ideology, Ferguson, Collison, Power & Stevenson (2009) provided an analysis of the typical modes of ideology in introductory financial textbooks. They applied Thompson’s five general modes through which ideology can operate: legitimation (shows how of power can be established and sustained by being portrayed as legitimate); dissimulation (relates to how domination can be portrayed through concealment); unification (which refers to the creation symbolically of a uniform form, irrespective of divisive differences; fragmentation (the counterpart of unification by linguistically separating and dividing groups which are portrayed as threatening and

harmful); and reification (the state of affairs which is portrayed as a socially natural event or an unavoidable result of natural features).

The analysis identified modes of ideology, even though they were subtly expressed mostly as assumptions which are taken for granted, commonsense facts. The analysis of these financial textbooks showed evidence that even technically considered texts (introductory financial textbooks are technical by nature) may show ideological characteristics, very often in opaque ways.

In a study of writing in first-year Economics at a South African university, Paxton (2007) used linguistic and intertextual analysis of student writing to examine student responses to the academic curriculum in a first year economics class at a South African university. He argued that the technique of the discourse of canonisation used by the Economics textbook writer gives the impression of statements being espoused as if they were facts. This viewpoint was shared by Brown & Guilding (1993), who found in their study that Accounting textbooks may result in the consequence of theories being widely accepted as facts and therefore subject to less critical analysis.

Although textbooks and policies provide an air of impartiality to make it difficult to identify an ideological bias, the use of critical discourse analysis can unearth the hidden bias and subtexts. Thus by using a methodological framework of critical discourse analysis, Zhang (2012) found that Accounting discourses and policies in China are ideologically formed to aid particular sociopolitical programmes. The use of CDA facilitated Zhang's finding that textbooks and literature in Accounting as a globalised practice are also instruments of neoliberalism (Zhang, 2012). Zhang (2012) found that the adoption of globalised accounting practices by the Chinese government reveals that this government entrenches the ideological precepts of neoliberalism.

Therefore the present study of South African EMS textbooks, using the framework of CDA, will also be used to make transparent the hidden ideology which is used to facilitate a particular socio-economic and sociopolitical agenda.

Like Brown & Guilding (1993), Kelly & Pratt (1994) also raised concerns that the influence of Accounting textbooks may have an adverse effect on students' intellectual development when they begin to accept as fact that the purpose of management accounting is to "assist management to increase profitability" (Kelly & Pratt, 1994, p. 316). This is amply evident in the study of Ferguson et al. (2009), who contend that numerous criticisms of Accounting education have been outlined, especially with regard to the ideological role it plays in inculcating students with a particular worldview, one which draws on the values and assumptions of capitalism.

In an earlier study Ferguson, Collison, Power and Stevenson (2005), commented on the gap in the literature examining textbooks in Accounting education. Their concern was that these textbooks are cultural and political artifacts which can be a reflection of cultural, ideological and political values of certain groups in society. Their study explored the production of a cultural and political artifact in financial introductory accounting textbooks in the United Kingdom (however, I would note here that the textbook itself is an artifact). The purpose of the study was to explore what influences textbook production and their contents. Textbook authors and publishers were also asked about their perceptions of whether Accounting textbooks are ideological and if they reflect the interests of certain powerful social groups. The study began with the assumed premise that financial accounting textbooks are cultural and political artifacts. The results of the study, based on 12 semi-structured interviews with both textbook authors and editors, showed that the content and how this content is chosen in these textbooks "was the result of a complex set of social and cultural relations" (p. 256).

One participant in this study claimed that the books are targeted at traditional capitalist business markets. In fact, most participants who were interviewed were of the opinion that the Accounting textbooks mirrored a capitalistic worldview, one even stating that Accounting

textbooks are capitalism's handmaidens. According to Ferguson et al. (2005), this can be viewed as indoctrination and propaganda, as students are not offered an alternate viewpoint which shows that there are other ways in which organised society can function and not necessarily only adopt an Anglo-Saxon capitalistic model.

For Ferguson et al. (2005) this study was just the first step in understanding how textbooks can be used as pervasive instruments, and they acknowledged that more work needs to be done on how these textbooks are used in order to get a fuller and broader understanding. McPhail (1999) also corroborated these views by declaring that accounting literature predisposes accountants to serve the interests of capitalism. Applying Foucault's concept of ethics to Accounting education, McPhail (1999) studied the link between ethics and power, examining how power operates in Accounting education by creating the moral identities of students:

It was suggested that Accounting education may operate in a hegemonic way by constructing individuals who exert control against themselves, such that their actions come to serve the interests of capital: It has also been suggested that the Accounting identity is characterised by an instrumental and rational mode of subjection which may subjugate other forms of knowledge and suppress the emotional development of students, particularly in relation to the way in which they view other individuals. (p. 860)

A way to resist this impersonal aspect of Accounting education, according to McPhail (1999), could lie in a type of ethical education which engenders empathy with other individuals. It is also necessary not to class individuals in ways in which their identities are lost, for example employees, businesses, etc., which can lessen the moral obligation towards them. This would then not only develop the critical abilities of students, but also develop their emotional capabilities. Developing the moral abilities of students to create an awareness of gender bias, gender stereotyping and racial discrimination has also become a concern of Business Education researchers. Thus issues relating to race, gender and the economy have become

increasingly important, and the *Journal of Economic Education* publishes articles that report on the status of events that influence economists, such as the labour market and the status of women and minorities.

In a study on how race and gender related issues were treated, Feiner & Morgan (1987) examined 21 introductory Economics textbooks over a 10-year period from 1974 to 1984, and found that the quantity and quality of the coverage of issues concerning the economic status of women and minorities were not encouraging. Sixteen of the 21 introductory Economics textbooks were re-examined by Feiner (1993) in terms of their treatment of the same issues, namely issues relating to race, gender and the economy, using a set of guidelines for avoiding race and gender bias in Economics which were set in place by the Committee for Race and Gender Bias in Economics that was formed in 1987 and chaired by Feiner.

What was concerning about the findings (Feiner, 1993) was that some textbooks either avoided discussing the occupations of women and minorities or else reproduced traditional images of women and minorities. Textbooks also relied upon stereotypes to illustrate economic phenomena, for example one textbook showed a picture of a poor rural black family standing in an unkempt yard, but used pictures of notable white males. This hardly reflected the diversity of economic life in African-American communities. Other types of gender and race bias were also found when textbooks ignored significant topics and treated certain topics selectively. For example, in discussions of labour markets none of the examples specifically addressed the labour experiences of women or minorities.

This tendency to exclude women or minorities produces a skewed vision of the economy, which concerned Feiner (1993), since a balanced treatment is provided only when authors present alternative explanations to avoid inferences not supported by data. Failing to present a range of explanations also narrows the alternatives presented to students, because when textbooks ignore alternatives the economic experiences of women and minorities are marginalised. Authors should present all aspects of important issues, and it should be up to the students to decide which positions they find most persuasive.

The representation of gender in Accounting textbooks was the focus of Tietz's (2007) study. She examined the hidden curriculum and analysed the representation of gender in 19 Introductory Accounting textbooks. She conducted a content analysis of the pictures, stories and homework items using a qualitative and quantitative methodology. Her results showed that the different representation of males and females in these textbooks reinforced "gender bias and gendered role stratification", which is a replication of stereotypes embedded in society. One of the concerns was that although women make up more than half of Accounting graduates in the USA, they only make up 19% of accounting business partners, so promotion prospects for women are limited. Just 2% of Fortune 500 firms are headed by females. According to Tietz (2007) formal laws cannot alone address the barriers of gender stereotyping, prejudice and bias.

She found that gender stereotypes are depicted through overt and implied messages in the textbooks at university level. Because students rely heavily on textbooks and believe that what textbooks depict is uncontestable, there is a real danger in this power to legitimise role stratification. Therefore Tietz recommends that this implied, inferred curriculum needs to be exposed by a thorough critical examination of the implicit communication in textbooks by publishers and writers. A way to prevent the specific example of stereotypes and gender bias, according to Tietz, would be to depict males and females in roles in textbooks which are non-stereotypical, thus raising students' awareness of gender-related issues and equity. Otherwise the reinforced traditional gender stereotyping and prejudice can contribute to the limited development of pupils. Although Tietz did use a content analysis of the pictures, stories and homework material to justify her concerns about gender stereotyping, I think an analysis of the language used would also give publishers and authors an opportunity to focus on how to depict gender differently, so that textbook publishers and authors are positioned to present balanced and unbiased reporting.

On the other hand, a pure linguistic analysis of an Economics textbook can seem to be too technical, as evident in Mason's (1990) analysis of a short passage from an Economics textbook. Although her study is concerned with the specific linguistic features which cause difficulty for students, especially in the field of economics, she applied a model that seems to

be too technical, which makes it difficult for a person without a linguistic qualification to understand. She applied a model where the style of the language in Economics textbooks was analysed to show that grammatical features embody the viewpoints of the writers. The short passage was examined in great detail to get a better understanding of the difficulties that linguistics present, and thus to show students how to read with understanding.

Great emphasis was placed on distinguishing the concrete language from the abstract to show Economics teachers the difficulties that students, especially second-language students, face when presented with the language of these textbooks. The model incorporated elements of morphology (parts of speech and changes in word class, for example, nominalisations), semantics (metaphor and personification) and syntax (passive voice and present participles). Using this model Mason (1990) found that this short passage did not contain a single concrete term and relied heavily on abstract words. That there are no concrete terms makes it more difficult for the ordinary student to understand as it constantly refers to the abstract, and it is this fact that led her to state that “students find the experience of reading such books like dancing on air” (p. 27).

While it seems that Mason’s work focused on those specific aspects of linguistics in textbooks that pose problems for students and to make university textbooks more readable, particularly for second-language students, my study differs in that it will focus on how language is used to convey a particular ideology.

In a study that not only investigated how knowledge is linguistically constructed in textbooks but especially how it differs in different academic disciplines, Moore (2002) investigated the ‘metaphenomenal discourse’ in textbooks from the three disciplines of Sociology, Economics and Physics prescribed in first-year undergraduate courses at an Australian university. Moore (2002) drew on Halliday’s (1994) linguistic framework on metaphenomenon to investigate the way in which human knowledge operates in the construction of disciplinary knowledge, and the way in which knowledge acquires a canonised form in a particular discipline. He found that the most frequently occurring verbs in the Economics texts establish certain

thinking as conventions and not as propositions. The economics text also showed the lowest level of metaphenomenal discourse, which implies that including any human wisdom decreases the chances of statements being accepted as facts. There was also noticeable evidence that economists are treated as a single collective voice, giving this canonical status. This together with the significative verbs (verbs that establish conventions and not propositions) cannot have any other effect other than to convince the Economics student that these are facts.

A possible explanation for this suggested by Moore (2002) is that the subject matter of Economics is concerned with economic activity, with mainly a single problem on how to achieve economic growth in society. Another explanation for this canonical status from the ideological perspective of critical discourse analysis is that Economics deliberately excludes other positions and voices and functions as political hegemony or indoctrination. Moore (2002) echoes what other critics say (Brown, 1993; Klammer, 1990) when he speaks of the need for different viewpoints to be heard, especially conflicting viewpoints, to help students gain more insight from a broader perspective and not from one slant only.

Although textual analyses like Mason's (1990) and Moore's (2002) make valuable contributions on how textbooks can be made more accessible to university students, there is definitely a need for research and investigation of how textbooks at primary school level in South Africa can include different positions and different viewpoints.

2.8 Implications of the literature review

As seen in this review of Accounting and Business Education textbooks, studies focused mainly on the knowledge and interests in management accounting education. I also found that although some of these studies focused on a textual analysis, greater depth could be added to their findings with a detailed linguistic analysis, possibly by using a framework that

incorporates the systemic-functional theory of language (Halliday, 1973, 1985; Gee, 1996; McGregor, 2003).

Also, despite McPhail's (2001) viewpoint that there is little critical analysis of the methods used to transmit power in Accounting and Business Education textbooks, it seems apparent from the literature review above of accounting and business education textbooks, that these textbooks have great potential to promote ideologies in keeping with capitalism and neoliberalism. Although there have been more studies recently on Accounting textbooks, there have not been many on Accounting and Economics textbooks in South Africa, and none that I could find on EMS textbooks in the GET band of South African education. Therefore there has been little research done on the role of Economics textbooks in schools. This does highlight the fact that EMS textbooks and their use and impact in South African classrooms need to be examined, especially in the light of the concerns that Accounting textbooks are instruments that promote capitalism and neoliberalism.

As also seen from the literature review of Business Education texts, issues of gender, race, disability and class have been explored in textbooks at university level, but there is a glaring gap in studies conducted of primary school Economics textbooks. This is where my study will hopefully address the gap, by investigating specific chapters in three South African Grade 7 EMS textbooks. Drawing insights from the above studies, I will examine issues of gender, wealth creation and class.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided a review of literature on textbooks in general, then focused on research conducted on South African texts, and finally interrogated research conducted on Business Education textbooks. In this chapter I show how the literature review of the previous chapter links with the conceptual framework that I have chosen for the present study. This chapter thus begins with a focus on the emergence of critical discourse analysis as a research methodology. It then engages in a discussion of a critique of critical discourse analysis. The methodological design and conceptual framework on which this study is based are then presented. I then focus on aspects of the sample chosen, generation and analysis of the data and their strengths and weaknesses. Finally I detail the validity, reliability and limitations of this study.

3.2 Critical discourse analysis

Some of the beliefs of CDA can be traced back to Marx, who impacted social theorists Gramsci, Althusser and Habermas. Frequent references are made to Habermas, whose critical theory (1973) shows an interest in “ideology and the social subject” (Fairclough, 1992b, p.7). The critical theory of Habermas (1973) underlines the importance of the need to understand the social problems of ideology and power relationships reinforced in written texts. Words are never separate from a situation but draw their meanings from the contexts in which they are based (Habermas, 1973). Ideology is seen as maintaining and reinforcing the hegemony of the economy and the State and language is an important tool in this function

Other social theorists like Foucault and Bourdieu addressed language from a social point of view and made suggestions for the analysis of sociolinguistic discourse (Fairclough, 1992b). Fairclough (1992b) included some of Foucault’s thoughts on analysing discourse in

connection with knowledge, power and institutions in the formation of his framework. Fairclough's point of departure from Foucault's work was that not enough attention was paid to the linguistic details, as Foucault emphasised the historical aspects that impact on a discourse. Fairclough draws on a range of social theorists like Habermas and Althusser as well as his own research to present a form of language analysis. The basis of CDA is thus grounded on the assumption that analysis of linguistics can provide a useful perspective on social critique.

Critical Discourse Analysis is seen to have emerged in discourse investigations in the 1980s in Europe led by Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and Teun van Dijk among others. The work of these critical researchers had its foundation in Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (Halliday, 1973). Halliday's methodology is important for CDA as it provides a guideline to look at and analyse the relationship between discourse and society. It is rooted in a critical study of language which sees language incorporating relations of power and social practice. Fairclough, Wodak, van Dijk and other critical linguists looked at the relationships between power, ideology and language.

Seminal works by Kress & Hodge (1979) and Fowler, Hodge, Kress & Trew (1979) also looked at issues such as how language perpetuated power and ideology. CDA's current focus on language and discourse was initially seen to be introduced with the work of Fowler et al. (1979). CDA has its roots in critical linguistics which, besides describing a discourse, goes further to analyse why and how a discourse is produced. Kress & Hodge (1979), who first used the phrase critical linguistics, believed that discourses mirror and reproduce established structures in society. CDA has since then become an important part of discourse analysis as it aims to

systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles of power. (Fairclough, 1995, p. 132)

The main function of language is to transmit information, and Gee (2005) further suggests that language also serves other purposes. Not only does it give and get information, it also acts as a prop to support human beings in social groups, thus creating social identities for them. The creation of social identities emanates from being part of social groups of different sorts, for example, being a creative entrepreneur, a hardworking employee, an industrious student, etc. Language helps us to communicate appropriately to talk and act in particular ways to fit in with a social identity that has been built by unique ways of thinking, believing and responding.

Fairclough's book *Language and Power* (1989) is commonly considered to be the landmark for the origins of CDA since it was in this book that Fairclough used CDA to analyse British discourses. These discourses involved Thatcher's (Margaret Thatcher, previous prime minister of the United Kingdom) rhetorical speeches and the changing characteristics of the economic and social discourses of late modernity. Fairclough's engagement in relationships of dominance, discrimination and power promotes social action involving the political left. His reasoning is that it is not enough just to expose the ways in which hegemony operates, but also to empower people to have an effect in society by speaking out against the abuse of power and to rectify wrongs in society. Toolan (1997), in a similar stance, suggests that CDA should also provide a programme for change and corrections in certain discourses.

Topics that have preoccupied critical discourse analysts as seen in the literature reviewed are politics, ideology, racism, economics, advertisements, the language in media, gender, discourses in institutions and education (Blommaert, 2005).

Ideology has been a key concept of investigation in CDA (Kress & Hodge, 1979; Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995; Wodak, 1989; van Dijk, 1998; Pingle, 1999; Kumaravadivelu, 1999; Blommaert, 2005; Heros, 2009). A major concern of critical analysts is how texts can be representations of ideologies and can contribute to social relations of power and domination. According to Marx and Engels the notion of ideology refers to the body of thoughts, particularly by intellectuals, used to support the economic domination of particular classes.

Later Marxist theories, from theorists like Althusser, established explanations of how schooling transmits ideologies. Althusser (1971) highlighted the role of “ideological state apparatuses” in reinforcing ideologies, apparatuses such as schools, churches and the media. Bowles & Gintis (1976) in their educational research in the 1970s gave a historical account of the relationship between schooling and industrial capitalism in America. They saw the ideological function of the school as determined by the economic needs of the country. Similarly, in this study the issue of ideologies in the EMS textbooks will also be explored. This will ascertain if the economic needs of South Africa determine the content of the EMS textbooks.

Blommaert (2005) identifies two definitions of ideology; the first is seen by some authors as distinct symbols (discourses, stereotypes, images) that serve a distinct purpose used by a distinct group, and the other is when authors present ideology as a universal phenomenon attributing the entirety of a political or social system. Examples of the first group would be, according to Blommaert, the famous ‘-isms’ like communism, racism, and socialism. Also included in this category would be schools of ideology like Marxism and Stalinism. These ideologies often have a clear source, like a seminal writing of an author, and are developed through institutions, political movements or parties. Authors of the second category identify ideology as the ordinary perceptions and common sense conduct and thought of a particular political or social system. Unlike the first category, this group of authors believes that ideology cannot be characteristic of one specific person, party or government but permeates communities or societies and consequently ends up as natural or common sense behaviour. Authors of this group would include Althusser (1971), Gramsci (1971), and Bourdieu (1990). Many of these authors see capitalism as the system that modern societies are generally based on and perceive it as the norm of behaviour and thought.

However, Blommaert (2005) states that these two views of ideology do not necessarily contradict each other but are in fact different aspects of the same thing. Therefore to him ideology is seen as a process or practice that has layers with different dimensions, different scopes and different effects. For this study I appropriated the sense of ideology as perceived by many writers, and that is as ideas, values and beliefs which entrench the dominance of the

more powerful over the less powerful or a view of the world transmitted by language which influences what is written and how it is written (Giddens, 1993; Cross & Orminston-Smith, 1996; Knain, 2001).

Therefore CDA is useful as an analytical tool because of its focus on the observation of how language plays an important role in the construction of hegemonic ideologies (hegemony being the undue influence of one over another). Hegemony is an important term in many studies on ideology. Although it was not Gramsci who named the term, it was Gramsci (1971) who identified hegemony as the middle class (bourgeoisie) culturally and economically dominating the rest of society. Blommaert (2005) asserts that the ideological character of capitalism is invisible because it has become an ordinary and normal part of modern society. It makes it seem that the working class believe that they have the same objectives as their employers, like the productivity of the business, but in reality the capitalist entrepreneur's primary interest is the profit margin.

CDA concerns itself with relations of power and inequality in language (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). As McGregor (2003) succinctly puts it, critical discourse analysis helps to figure out the real meaning behind the written and spoken word (the overt and hidden meaning). In relation to my research of ideology in EMS textbooks, CDA therefore can reveal how certain ideologies are dispersed through discourses of the education system at the micro level of EMS textbooks (closer to the individual) and the macro level (more distant from the individual) of a social agenda of political intervention.

The discourse in this study refers to the words we use to express something, and given the importance of what is transmitted in textbooks, CDA can thus be used to describe, interpret and analyse the ways in which this knowledge is transmitted. CDA can explore how non-transparent relationships (between texts and social structures) transmit power and hegemony. It can also identify a link (if there is any) with the dominant power in society. McGregor (2003) says that “unless we debunk their words, we can be misled into embracing the dominant worldview (ideology) at our expense and their gain”. CDA can be used to reveal

the ways in which the dominant powers in society construct a form of reality that “favours their interests” (McGregor, 2003).

The purpose of CDA is to reveal hidden ideologies and sub-texts that can resist and overcome various forms of power, and to understand that we can also influence others unknowingly (Fairclough, 1989). Wodak (1996), states that CDA can be used to understand the power and control exercised by language. According to Van Dijk (1998), Fairclough and Wodak (1997) establish that the main beliefs of CDA are that CDA deals with social ills; discourse involves society and culture; discourse perpetuates ideology; discourse is a form of social action; and that there is a link between texts and society. It is this link that I will explore in my study of EMS textbooks. Van Dijk (1998) further states that the vocabulary of many CDA researchers will feature such ideas as power, dominance, hegemony, ideology, class, race, gender and discrimination. So therefore in this study I will continually draw on this vocabulary to enhance my exploration of ideology in EMS texts.

I will use CDA to explore if there are covert ideological assumptions in the selected textbooks. I will apply a qualitative analysis adopting the framework of Fairclough (2000). This consists mainly of CDA with aspects taken from SFL. I am drawing on the analytical tools of CDA and SFL because of their focus on the observation of how language plays an important role in the construction of hegemonic ideologies. While CDA can also focus on symbols, visual images and other forms of semiosis (signs and symbols) as means of discourse, this study will largely be limited to analysing the written text and visual images.

The use of CDA will offer a useful framework for organising my thinking, as this framework examines power relations and ideologies embedded in the texts. This model is particularly well suited for the study of ideology in Economics because of its focus, simplicity and flexibility. Fairclough designed a three-point framework which is commonly used by critical discourse analysts. This framework is made up of an analysis of the texts, interactions or discursive practices and the sociocultural practice. This is usefully illustrated in the diagram of Fairclough’s three boxes, as seen below in Figure 3.1, which is an important feature in

CDA literature. The three boxes, embedded as they are, show the interdependence of the three aspects and emphasise the text's embedded nature.

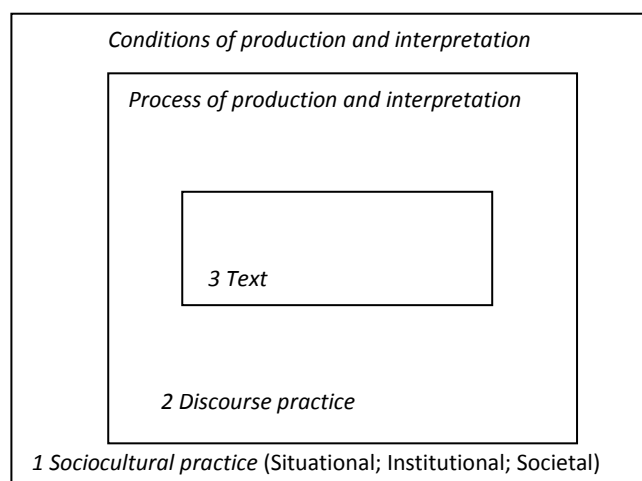


Figure 3.1 Fairclough's dimension of discourse and discourse analysis (1995, p. 98)

The first part, the sociocultural practice, is the exploration of the conditions at levels of society that give rise to the text, and explores whether the text portrays a particular social practice or hegemony (Rogers, Malancharuvi-Berkes, Mosley, Hui & Joseph, 2005, p. 365). Discourse as social practice looks at the ideological effects and hegemonic processes in which the discourse is seen to operate. Hegemony concerns power or influence of one group over the other. Fairclough (1992) states that the way in which discourse is represented can show control and power. According to Fairclough (1989), CDA makes a progression from description to interpretation and then to explanation.

Fairclough's second part, discourse as discursive practice, looks at how texts are interpreted, reproduced and transformed by people, i.e. the text's production, distribution and how readers respond to the text. The text is the link to its wider social context (in the example of my

study, the economic context). This also focuses on the way other texts influence the construction of the given text – its intertextuality.

In the third part, which is an analysis of the text, use is made of Halliday's SFL and the three functions of language, which are the ideational (transitivity, types of verbs), interpersonal (mood and modality established) and textual analysis (thematic structure of the text). SFL explains language use by approaching every interaction as seen at the three levels mentioned above (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). Many CDA analysts have adopted SFL as an analytical tool because language is examined in relation to its functionality within the social world, that is, meaning is interpreted as the result of the writer's selection of linguistic forms based on three functions of language:

- (a) representational - how language serves to interpret the world,
- (b) interpersonal - how relations are evidenced in language in the texts as well as feelings, attitudes and judgements of the writer, and
- (c) textual- how language creates discourse by its manipulation and selection of words (Halliday, 1985; Halliday & Hasan, 1989; Heros, 2009).

An understanding of Halliday's systemic functional grammar (SFL) and his linguistic analysis is an important part in undertaking a CDA of a text, because grammar, according to Halliday (1973), is the form of linguistics at the

level at which the various strands of meaning potential are woven into a fabric; or, to express this non-metaphorically, the level at which the different meaning selections are integrated so as to form structures.(p. 93)

Halliday (1973) explains that in language functional theory tries to clarify the structure and phenomenon of linguistics, particularly with reference to the role it plays in the use and nature of language. Fairclough (1992b) adapted Halliday's three functions and reorganised the textual analysis into four parts: vocabulary (where meanings of words, wording and metaphors are mainly dealt with), grammar (where modality, transitivity and themes are dealt with), cohesion (how sentences and clauses are linked) and text structure (the selection of topics and power relations). To this Fairclough further added the properties of ethos (the

types of identity that people portray in society) and politeness (the speech acts of promises, declarations, threats, etc.).

Locke (2004), in his introductory book on the use of CDA as a research methodology, begins with an overview of the key concepts of CDA. He describes CDA as having

the potential to reveal the way power is diffused through the prevalence of various discourses throughout the education system, at both the micro-level of individual classrooms and the macro-level of large-scale reform. As in other settings, CDA has to be seen as a political intervention with its own socially transformative agenda. (p. 2)

He cites Fairclough's (1995) description of CDA as being used methodically to unearth hidden relationships between discursive practices, events and texts, and social and cultural structures. CDA is also used to explore how texts are ideologically shaped by power and conflict over power. Locke goes on to state that CDA's

concern is with the **opacity** (Locke's emphasis) of texts and utterances – the discursive constructions or stories that are embedded in texts as information that is less readily available to consciousness (p. 40)

Locke draws on a 'linguistic toolkit' (p. 41) to analyse in great detail the subtexts hidden in texts. He makes use of Fairclough's three interrelated processes of analysis (the sociocultural practice, the discourse practice and the text). He also makes extensive use of Gee's (1996) checklist of five interrelated linguistic systems to unearth hidden theories, the five being: prosody (ways in which words and sentences of a text are said); cohesion (ways in which sentences are connected to each other); discourse organisation (ways in which sentences are organised); contextualisation signals (ways in which the contexts are evoked); and thematic organisation (ways in which themes are developed).

Halliday's approach to linguistic analysis is also referred to by Locke when he outlines Halliday's three metafunctions of language as being the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual. Although Wodak (1996) says that "an understanding of the basic claims of Halliday's grammar and his approach to linguistic analysis is essential for a proper understanding of

CDA” (p. 8), Locke makes use of Gee’s checklist to analyse a print text. This serves to emphasise his point that CDA has more than one linguistic framework for textual analysis. For the purpose of this study on exploring ideologies in EMS textbooks, I chose to use the framework of Fairclough which he partially bases on Halliday’s SFL. However, the main thrust of this study will focus on analysis of the selected chapters of the EMS texts and the sociocultural practice. The focus of this study will revolve around two of the three interlinked aspects, as seen in Figure 3.2.

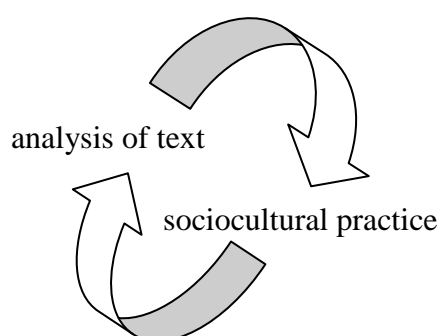


Figure 3.2 Focus of this study

Because of time and space constraints this study will not explore the second part of Fairclough’s three-point framework. A recommendation at the end of the study will show that this important aspect could lead to a further study based on the discourse of the EMS texts as discursive practice, exploring how EMS texts are interpreted, reproduced and transformed by people, i.e. the text production and distribution and how readers respond to the text.

3.3 A critique of CDA

There are researchers (Widdowson, 1995; Schegloff, 1997; Blommaert, 2005) who have levelled criticisms against critical discourse analysis. One of the concerns raised is that the concepts and analytical design of CDA are vague and not clearly distinguished. No clear distinctions can be seen between concepts and methodologies (Widdowson, 1995). Another criticism is that the text analysis can be biased, as CDA does not examine the circumstances under which the text is designed and used, and that texts can also be read and understood in

many ways. Analysts can easily impose their biases and ideological prejudices onto the data (Schegloff, 1997). CDA analysts also (Blommaert, 2005) use standards of the First World to explain discourse in the world, for example, the concept of globalisation. Other societies may have different notions of this concept and may not view it in the same way that a First World analyst would.

Blommaert (2005) also criticises the linguistic bias in CDA where the analyst places great importance on one type of linguistic detail, namely that of Halliday's systemic functional linguistics. He stresses that there are other models that offer critical potential (Blommaert, 2005). However, in spite of these criticisms, CDA is still an effective critical research tool in Social Science studies, although there has not been much use of it in Accounting and Business Education texts and none at all in EMS texts. Therefore this study is an opportunity for the exploration of this research tool which can contribute to the current body of knowledge of Accounting, Business Education texts and EMS textbooks.

So by adopting the tools of CDA in this study, I will explore the ways in which the social structure (the EMS textbooks) promotes ideologies and power relations that permeate or are embedded in EMS textbooks in the South African Grade 7 classrooms.

3.4 Research design and analytical framework

I limited my study primarily to the framework of Fairclough (2000) as simplified in the primer by McGregor (2003, p. 5). This framework for the analysis of EMS textbooks in my study was adapted (the table is my framework) from McGregor, as seen below in Table 3.1. McGregor (2003) separated features like presuppositions and assumptions, but I found it more appropriate in this study to class them together as they do have similar meanings. Another set of features was agency and nominalisations. These too were related terms, so I grouped them together. In the left-hand column of the table the feature is named, and in the right-hand column a very brief description of the feature is given. I then give a further detailed explanation of each feature with an example taken from the texts to illustrate the

interpretation of the features. A more detailed interpretation will appear in the chapter on analysis of the data. Each of the features is numbered for ease of reference.

Feature	Explanation
1. Foregrounding, backgrounding and topicalisation	Using keywords to emphasise certain concepts
2. Embellishments	Using diagrams and sketches to get the reader's attention
3. 'Taken for granted' words and assumptions	Using certain words that take certain ideas for granted
4. Insinuations	Selected words that have double meanings or that can be misleading
5. Omissions	Leaving out or selecting out of certain things; a silence on pertinent issues
6. Nominalisation	Changing a verb into a noun
7. Modality	The tone of the text conveyed by the use of modal verbs, adverbs and adjectives
8. Register	Single words can suggest if words spoken ring true

Table 3.1 The analytical framework

1. A writer can use titles and keywords to stress the importance of certain ideas by placing them in a prominent place textually to influence the reader. This is called **foregrounding**, but if there is minimal mention of a concept this is called **backgrounding**. In the chapter on Entrepreneurship a clear example would be that the benefits are foregrounded but the risks are minimalised and thus backgrounded. The position of a topic in the section may

also show that the higher the placing of a topic, the more important the topic may be to the authors. This feature can be seen in the table in text A on page 64, where three economic systems are described (Table 3.2).

	<i>Free-market system</i>	<i>Mixed system</i>	<i>Centrally-planned system</i>
<i>Employers / Producers</i>	<i>Private initiative and profit-seeking is a basic right.</i>	<i>Profit is a basic right in private ownership, but not a desire in government-controlled businesses.</i>	<i>Profit motive is lacking and no freedom for entrepreneurship. All activities depend on national recognition.</i>

Table 3.2 Foregrounding and backgrounding

The free-market system is placed first or foregrounded in the table, leading us to the conclusion (amongst other factors) that the author favours this economic system. The centrally-planned system is placed last and is therefore backgrounded.

2. **Embellishments** would occur when writers strategically include particular photographs, graphs, diagrams, tables, statistics and drawings in a position to influence the reader. These can also be used to imply that the content is scientific, thereby adding weight to their arguments. The use of the table in text A and depicted in the first feature would also be an example of this.
3. A word or phrase that is **taken for granted** or an assumption and assumed to be a common sense notion can also be seen as a presupposition that takes certain things for granted. A reader is therefore unlikely to question what is known to be common knowledge. This is presented as having no alternative and obscuring what could have been stated, and assigning a meaning without exploring any other meaning because people are products of their cultures, experiences and society. **Assumptions** are statements that imply that the meaning of what is written is taken as true or is sure to happen, although there is no factual proof. For example, in textbook C on page 123 there is an assumption that telephone wirework may have begun with Zulu watchmen, although

there is no factual proof of this. In the same textbook the statement on page 120 that the real South Africa is seen when travelling to townships is also stated as a fact, and when it is further endorsed by ‘*a leading British newspaper*’ this only serves to strengthen the degree of factuality. Fairclough (2003) identifies three types of assumptions, namely, existential assumptions (assuming what exists), propositional assumptions (assuming what can be) and value assumptions (assuming that something is good). These can be set off, according to Fairclough (2003), by the use of “markers of definite reference such as definite articles and demonstratives (the, this, that, these, those)” (p. 58).

Assumptions are particularly important when looking at ideology, as ideology can be transmitted when there are meanings which are conveyed as widely accepted facts. The use of assumptions is of particular importance in my study, as it can be seen to aid the ideological work of the texts that I analysed.

4. Another useful tool in the critical analysis toolkit is the use of **insinuations**, where words, phrases or sentences are used in a way that can be misleading or can be suggestive of a double meaning. A mild and implied criticism of the government for the lack of service delivery in South Africa can be seen in text C on page 6:

This has been a slow process and although much has been accomplished, there are unfortunately still communities in South Africa that lack these basic services(lines 6-8).

These words could have a double meaning: *lack* of service delivery or *much has been accomplished*.

5. **Omissions** are identified through the exclusion and suppression of information that can be politically or socially motivated. Information that could be relevant to the reader may be deliberately left out to hide a reality that the writers may want to hide. This is a deliberate silence in the absence of significant information that the writer uses to hide a reality or gloss over an issue. An important fact of entrepreneurship omitted in the textbooks that were analysed is that most of the successful entrepreneurs were in a

position of privilege, which allowed them access to finance to set up their businesses. An example of this is seen in text B on page 60:

With a vegetable farmer for a father, an uncle who left teaching for business and an older sister who was an entrepreneur ---. The other partners in the business helped financially with buying the first oven.

There is a notable omission of the difficulty that new entrepreneurs experience in the process of accessing finance in all three of the textbooks. This therefore adds to the impression that the writers are excluding and concealing a vital piece of information that could give a negative slant to entrepreneurship.

6. **Nominalisation** is evidenced when a verb is converted to a word which is like a noun and is often used to generalise an issue. This results in the exclusion of a person or agent from the event being represented. An example of this would be the clause in textbook C on page 122:

From humble beginnings as an embroidery project ---,

where the project is humanised and has become a grammatical metaphor to highlight that success is inevitable although this project had modest beginnings. This seems to occur often in the narratives, emphasising the success of entrepreneurship, especially where a clause (in this case instead of the words ‘Jameson Maluleke began an embroidery project’ the writers chose *From humble beginnings as an embroidery project*) has been changed to the entity of a noun and also shows clear evidence of the removal of an agent or the elimination of a participant (Fairclough, 2003), which according to Blommaert (2005) can result in concealment of a political process. The example used above from the EMS text is also written in the passive voice, which supports the loss of the agent from the clause. So nominalisations are also used to connote and imply a meaning through metaphors and figures of speech. Investigating metaphorical metaphors can be an effective tool in researching and identifying a particular ideology of a social system, as we use metaphors in our daily lives to explain events or things to ourselves and others. The use of metaphors is also used to present a graphic picture that conveys a clear message.

7. **Modality** is when writers position themselves on what is worth aspiring for or what is undesirable. This can be seen when textbooks use the three important functions of speech to state something, ask questions or make demands. An example of this is found in textbook C when the author makes the statement that

*We all have **some** entrepreneurial potential, but we **may** not be aware of it*(p. 123);
(emphasis added).

Modality, according to Halliday (1994), is the determination of the writer of the likelihood of what is being said. “Stance” is what Hodge and Kress (1998) label this occurrence which signals the degree of certainty or uncertainty. As seen in the example above, the trademarks of modality as viewed by Fairclough (2003) are modal verbs like may, might, can, must, could, will, would, shall, should, etc. An example of evidence of this in the selected EMS textbooks can be seen in text C on page 19:

*Businesses **will** close down* (line 7) (emphasis added)

This signals to the learners that this is a strong certainty. Modal adverbs (evidently, obviously, certainly, probably, possibly and usually) can also signal the degree of certainty or uncertainty of an utterance. Linked closely to modal adverbs are modal adjectives (possible and probable), which can also show differing levels of truth. Hodge and Kress (1998) also include ‘hedgers’ like ‘sort of’ or ‘kind of’ to assert or deny something.

8. When readers are influenced or manipulated by certain opinions that appear to be more correct or legitimate, this is referred to by McGregor (2003) as the **register**. The selected message conveyed by the writer is that only this point of view is legitimate. An example of this is seen in text B on page 60:

Tholakele believes other rural women should start their own businesses, no matter how small.

Potential readers could assume that because Tholakele is portrayed as a successful entrepreneur, her opinions are taken as legitimated truths.

Therefore, by using the above methodology of CDA qualitatively, I hoped to explore the ideological positioning hidden in the EMS texts.

I chose to do a qualitative study because this allowed me to get to examine how ideologies are formed through the social experience of the writers. It also allowed a rich description of data that could have many possible meanings, and also allowed me to give an in-depth description of the authors' interpretations of economic phenomena. I also think that the manner in which I framed my research questions could best be answered by qualitative research. Corbin & Strauss (2008) describe qualitative researchers as leaning towards "qualitative work because they are drawn to the fluid, evolving, and dynamic nature of this approach in contrast to the more rigid and structured format of quantitative methods" (p. 13).

Like Corbin & Strauss (2008) I also drew on my own experiences when analysing the material in the hope that this study would be of relevance to an audience of educators and other stakeholders in the field of textbook production who may not be academics. This qualitative study leant heavily on providing a rich and broad meaning of the data, exploring several critical issues and examining different possible interpretations as influenced by social factors. The qualitative study also allowed me greater flexibility in the exploration of ideologies in the chapters that I chose to examine.

The aim of this study was to explore the ideology that was manifested in EMS textbooks or the ways in which dominant social ideologies "are perpetuated and contested through a multitude of seemingly straight-forward texts" (Hays, 2000, p. 27). Taking into account the important role that textbooks play in the classroom, I wished to address the following questions in this study to explore the extent to which ideology was reflected and reinforced in apparently uncomplicated EMS textbooks:

- 1. What ideology do EMS textbooks advance?**
- 2. How is this ideology presented in these textbooks?**

In this paragraph an explanation of the selection of the sample of textbooks used in this study is given. Sampling is generally the selection of a small part of a whole, usually representative of the whole potential area of study, which is referred to as a population (Kumar, 2005). It is also a set of randomly selected items from a population to test a particular hypothesis about

the population. Keeping in mind that the focus of my study was to explore the ideologies that are manifested in Grade 7 EMS textbooks in the South African classroom, the population of this study was the wide range of EMS textbooks from which I chose my sample. Since the introduction of the new curriculum which introduced the subject of EMS in the post-apartheid era, a wide variety of textbooks have been published to support the new curriculum. I examined a sample of three EMS textbooks currently in use in Grade 7. All these textbooks have been approved by the Department of Education. These books were chosen because they are widely used in the cluster area in which the research site is located. All textbooks have been published in South Africa. I limited myself to these three textbooks to keep the study manageable. Although textbooks are public documents, the selected textbooks were given pseudonyms, that is, they were named as textbooks A, B and C to avoid any ethical issues that could arise and for ease of reference. The Grade 7 textbooks employed in my study appear in Table 3.3.

TITLE	PUBLISHER	CHAPTERS	TEXT
1. Access to Economic and Management Sciences	ACE Publishers 1999	1, 3, 6	A
1. Business Today	Maskew Miller Longman 2009	1, 4, 7	B
2. Spot On Economic and Management Sciences	Heinemann 2010	1, 3, 14	C

Table 3.3 The research sample

I selected chapters in each of the three textbooks, grouping them into the aspects of entrepreneurship, needs and wants and power relations in the economy. This was easily managed in textbooks B and C, as the aspects were clearly demarcated into different chapters. However, this was more difficult in textbook A because this book combined different aspects

into one unit; for example, unit one comprised the sections on needs and wants as well as entrepreneurship. What made it even more difficult was that pertinent information relating to the three chosen aspects was also found throughout textbook A. I overcame this problem by reading the entire textbook and then identifying the selected aspects. After selecting the relevant aspects of analyses, I then photocopied the selected pages to help me in marking the information without defacing the textbooks. Highlighters of different colours were then used to highlight information that I thought would be useful in the next phase of the analysis.

I then read the selected chapters and aspects as a ‘first reading’. Price (2005) calls this first reading “reading with the text” (p. 7) to try and understand the writers’ positioning and why they wrote in the way they did. In the second reading, Price (2005) advises the analyst to read “against” the text using CDA to oppose the “text’s apparent naturalness” (p. 7). In this reading the analyst asks questions on the positioning of the text, whose interests are being promoted, whose interests are being ignored, and the possible consequences of this positioning. Here analysts are actually asking how these texts are used to reproduce or transform the status quo in society (Janks, 1997, p. 329). Using the second reading I then placed the information from the different chapters in tables to help me clearly see what information was relevant and what could be omitted. An example of a table that I constructed can be seen in Table 3.4 below:

TEXT	CHAPTER	EVIDENCE
B	Entrepreneurship	P. 57- topic talks about a successful entrepreneur; concept of entrepreneurship reflected in glowing terms; case study of a young boy who runs a business at primary school (promoting business at school, encouraging wealth creation; capitalism set up as answer for wealth creation; encouragement of greed and avarice; function of school? Is the school set up as a site for personal profiteering?)
		P. 60 - Tholakele always wanted her own business from her school days; created employment for 11 people; winner of an

		award (by government?). So does this encourage entrepreneurship); business is successful (who gains?)
		P. 61- in the illustration, entrepreneurship is implied as the answer to all problems of low pay, frustration, boredom, lack of recognition of hard work, long-term unemployment and saturation of job market; propaganda that only entrepreneurship rewards hard work and that entrepreneurship is also stimulating and exciting; thousands of people have successful small businesses which is a way of earning money
		P. 62- financial rewards for hard work
A		P. 15- the reward of becoming an entrepreneur is profit
		P. 19- business is defined as profit-making activities
		P. 23- through hard work entrepreneurs are better off and if they don't work, they will be correspondingly poorer

Table 3.4 Tabulation of information into relevant themes

Open coding or micro-analysis was then used to help me generate meanings and ideas and to help me really understand the data as it helped me to do a detailed analysis providing more than one possible meaning of the data. Open coding was the process which helped me label the parts of texts into categories. This helped me to break down parts of the text into smaller units. This was performed on a phrase-by-phrase manner (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Open coding often needed a brainstorming activity to make all possible meanings clear and transparent, making the invisible obvious. This was also done by asking many questions about the data and drawing comparisons and similarities between the different textbooks used. After looking at all the possible meanings that emerged, I then examined the contexts using two of the three boxes (explained earlier in this chapter) of Fairclough (1995). I moved

back and forth between the boxes to unearth different interpretations by asking different questions, because different interpretations added depth to the findings.

In so doing concepts or discourses were then derived from the coding of the data. These concepts were then examined, modified or rejected as the analysis accumulated. This also provided a depth in the analysis that would otherwise have been superficial, narrow and shallow. Examples of discourses that emerged from the above table were the discourses of wealth creation and the hegemony of business. I separated the discourses and together with the breakdown of the sections of text then gave a detailed analysis of each discourse.

3.5 Limitations of the study

A limitation that I foresaw in this study was that I limited the study to only three EMS textbooks from a vast field to make the study manageable. Another limitation would be that this study may raise an awareness of the issues discussed, but how do I take it further? Another issue is that how textbooks are actually used by teachers and received by pupils may have a significant bearing on how the ideologies are transmitted, if they are at all.

This prompts questions of whether what is in the textbook is taught to pupils, and is what is taught in reality learned by pupils (Apple, 1988)? This study could therefore lead to another study on how EMS textbooks are used in the classroom. There is also always the danger that researchers can be biased when analysing the data, as they draw on their own experiences which can influence the analysis. Finlay (2002), however, sees this as a valuable tool, and Corbin & Strauss (2008) agree. They say that objectivity in any qualitative study cannot be realised totally, as a researcher approaches the study from a particular perspective which has been influenced by his or her social and cultural experiences.

To ensure the trustworthiness of this study, the process of open coding was used to analyse selected chapters of the textbooks. I adopted the framework from McGregor (2003) as seen above to guide this process. ‘Member checks’ in the persons of an independent coder as well

as my supervisor were also undertaken to ensure the validity and reliability of this study. This also ensured that I was able to distance myself and ensured that my personal experience did not influence my ability to see all the possibilities presented by the data.

Two other events also assisted me greatly in ensuring the validity and reliability of this study. The first event occurred in July 2011, when I participated in a colloquium. Part of the programme involved the other participants and a leading expert in discourse analysis, analysing three pages taken from text A. The other event was my participation in the co-presentation of a lecture on 'Ideology and Textbooks' in October 2011 to a cohort of postgraduate Economics students. Parts of the selected texts were in the lecture independently analysed by the students. Both these events were in the public domain to help bring validity and to verify the claims that I was making. These checks also served as a confirmation of my findings.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter elaborated on the methodology and research tool which I used in this study. I explained how the use of critical discourse analysis qualitatively assisted in the exploration of the ideological positioning hidden in the EMS texts. The sample was selected from three Grade 7 EMS textbooks and the data were generated from the themes of entrepreneurship, needs and wants and power relations in the economy. The limitations of the study were then acknowledged, which in turn could become valuable contributions to the current body of knowledge.

In the following chapters I focus on the analysis of the data and the findings, which show that there are subtexts and covert ideologies advocated in the sample of EMS textbooks.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS: EXPLORATION OF THE IDEOLOGY IN SELECTED EMS TEXTBOOKS

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I explained the methodology that I used to help me unearth the ideologies manifested in selected EMS textbooks. I used the CDA framework envisioned by Fairclough (2000) and McGregor (2003), which I adapted to suit the needs of this study. The use of CDA offered a useful framework for organising my thinking, as this framework of linguistic tools examines power relations and ideologies embedded in the texts. This model is particularly well suited to the study of ideology in Economics because of its focus, simplicity and flexibility. Together with that framework I adopted a qualitative analysis, because this allowed me to examine how ideologies are formed through the social experience of the writers. The choice of the qualitative analysis best allowed a rich description of data that could have many possible meanings.

In this chapter I present the findings of the textual analysis. As indicated in the previous chapter, the three textbooks analysed are *Access to Economic and Management Sciences* (Assan, 1999), *Business Today* (Bantjies et al., 2009) and *Economic and Management Sciences* (Louw et al al., 2010). The analysis of data is set out in the major ideological discourses that were discovered during the investigation. At the end of each discourse a summary is given to conclude the analysis.

4.2 Discourse: Stereotypical positioning of gender roles

All three EMS textbooks have portrayals of women in traditional stereotypical, biased and sexist representations. Evidence of this can be seen in both the written text and in the pictorial depictions. An example of this in text A can be seen on page 9. In this illustration, seen below, a woman can be seen as a customer at a fruit and vegetable stall.

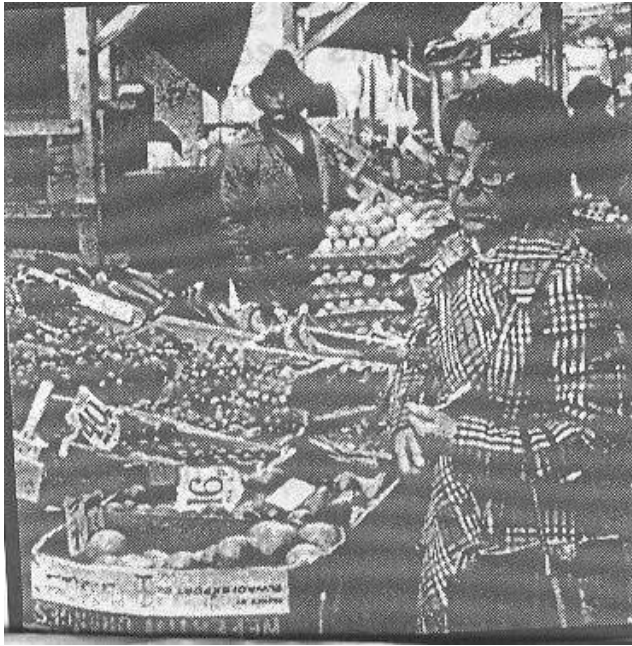


Figure 4.1 Customer at fruit stall

This is an example of the deficit positioning of a woman, where the author signals women in roles as customers involved in the purchasing of day-to-day meal-related commodities as opposed to being entrepreneurs. The writer depicted the woman in this particular traditional domestic role. Further evidence of these stereotypical depictions of women in domestic roles is seen in text C on page 8 (shown below).



Hello, my name is Jabu and I am thirteen years old. I live with my grandparents in a village in a rural area of KwaZulu-Natal. My family owns some goats and we have a small vegetable patch.---. At night my grandmother cooks our food on the fire outside. We usually eat mealie meal and vegetables ---.



Hello, my name is Thapelo and I am thirteen years old. I live in a small house in a suburb of Johannesburg with my parents. I have my own bedroom. My mother is a typist and my father works in the post office. I catch the bus to school every day which is four blocks away. My parents go to work by taxi.

Every night my mother cooks us a delicious supper of meat, pap and vegetables on our electric stove in the kitchen.

Figure 4.2 Women at home

These two pictures with text show ‘typical’ urban and rural settings. Both are hypothetical examples which are drawn from the authors’ impressions of a social reality which appears to be a simplification of a real-life experience. Both women are shown in typical domestic roles. The grandmother in case study one is shown kneeling on the ground and cooking. The author also projects the urban mother in case study two in a stereotypical role, when she is shown cooking at the stove, even though the boy states that his mother is a typist, another stereotypical portrayal of women as receptionists. Even though the boy’s mother has a day job, it can be seen that she is also responsible for the home. In both the pictures only the women are pictured doing domestic chores. These examples also seem to rely on a stereotype to illustrate the role functions of men and women in rural and urban areas.

The insinuation is that even though women have careers, they are still responsible for the running of their homes and that males do not have to share the responsibility of chores in the home. Both examples indicate that there are males in the homes (*with my parents; with my*

grandparents). However, there is complete silence on any adult male involvement in domestic chores. In this omission there is an implication of the ideology of the writers' social experiences, which is that women are solely responsible for the domestic chores in the home.

The uncritical manner in which the information is presented reinforces the dual identity that women have to play in society. In addition, at no point does either example express dissatisfaction on the part of the mother, grandmother or child with the roles that they play. Potential readers are thus led to believe that women carry a double burden, irrespective of whether they live in an urban or a rural area. This is likely to send out the message through the hidden text that this is a perfectly acceptable situation, and the writers do little or nothing to challenge these assumptions which reinforce social patterns. This approach, together with the lack of opportunities for critical discussion in the presentation of this section, reinforces and perpetuates the ideological assumptions of the roles of males and females in society. Both male and female students will be disadvantaged through this inculcation of questionable beliefs, values and attitudes.

The register of words used also strongly suggests that although these are hypothetical examples, they elaborate on stereotypical behaviour. The use of the present simple tense in *my grandmother cooks; my mother is a typist and my sister and I look after the goats* implies that although these are hypothetical examples, they are presented as factual and true: women are depicted realistically in traditional domestic roles. This thus maintains the questionable social beliefs of stereotypical gender roles.

Modal adverbs and modal adjectives are used liberally in the first example: *sometimes I walk to school; we usually eat mealie meal and vegetables; most days I stay at home: my family owns some goats* (emphasis added). The use of modality signals that there is a strong degree of uncertainty and tentativeness because of the authors' intention to portray a simplification of actual reality which does not represent reality accurately. So the language used seems to shape the picture that the writers want to establish as they make lexical choices to communicate this message. The examples further add to these contestable assumptions when

they make no specific reference to exact places, events and people. These clues show that these hypothetical examples are used to show that the concept illustrated is not meant to fully explain an actual social reality. They are used merely to depict the reality that the writer wants the reader to acquire, and not to dislodge or disrupt the foundations of these assumptions of stereotypical gender roles.



Figure 4.3 Women at work

In the above picture in text C on page 4, a male is depicted overseeing a group of women working on a farm. This illustration of the male with his hands on his hips illustrates the authoritative position of the male as he supervises the females in this picture. The fact that this is government-owned land also suggests that this is a government initiative, and the State itself sanctions males in roles of authority and leadership and females in subservient roles.

This inference from the data assumes that men are more capable for positions of authority. The bias seems to be natural and unintended, but it therefore becomes a more serious issue as this gender bias forms part of a covert curriculum which is transmitted to pupils as natural and acceptable. The danger of this is that this gender bias affects pupils who are likely to internalise these social beliefs and values.

In text C on pages 20 and 21 stereotypical images are further reinforced. This is clearly seen in the illustration of a female florist with a female assistant and a male customer. Again it seems as if women are more capable of doing traditional jobs. In fact there is no picture or image in the selected chapters of the textbooks which depict women in non-traditional roles. Men are shown in typical roles as figures of authority and depicted as leaders. This statement can be substantiated in these two representations found in text A.

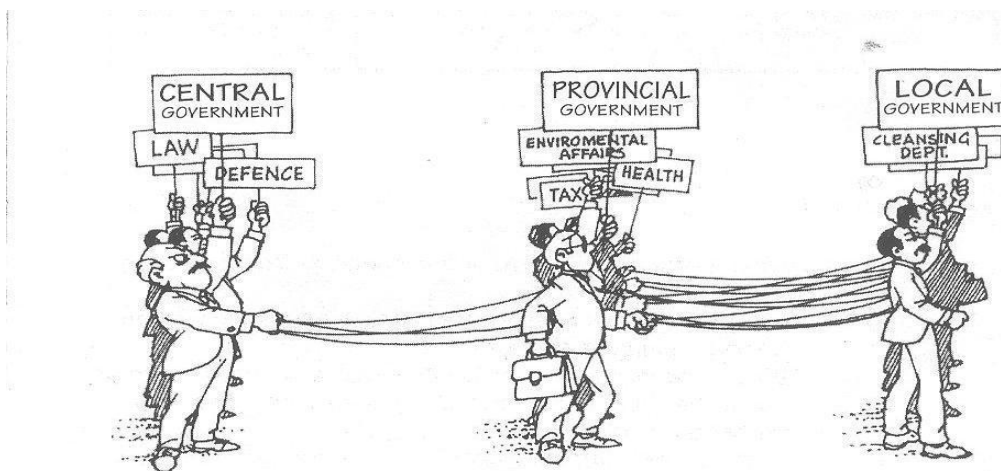


Figure 4.4 Men at work

In text A on page 66 there is a caricature of the stratification at different levels of government. Males are depicted as controlling strings of power, and a male is shown at the level of local government with no power. No females are represented here, which seems to entrench the gender bias. There is also a notable omission of women in text A in the chapter on the South African economic system, as can be seen from the evidence below.

The story of Khoza and Du Preez and the history of the South African economy

Khoza and Du Preez were walking after school past a field where tractors were ploughing the land, when Khoza said to Du Preez, 'You know the world --- significant surplus for trade ---. Du Preez said, But then the discovery of minerals set forces in motion which led to major and dramatic changes. It was the beginning of South Africa's industrial revolution. --- The government has not only provided electricity, but brought drinking water to 3 million people,

distributed land to 35 000 households, introduced a grant for children under 7, subsidised 936 000 new houses ---.'

This implies a patriarchal slant where men are seen conversing authoritatively on the facts and figures of the South African economy. The exclusion of women from the discussion in this section marginalises the experiences of women and the positive role that women can play in the economy. In the same section there are three pages dedicated to the history of the South African economy. Not a single reference is made to the role of women in the South African economy. The information is presented in an uncritical manner with no critical discussion, which further inculcates in potential readers an unawareness of the importance of males and females in the South African economy. This is clearly evident in text A in this chapter. The conversation is portrayed as a factual and intellectual one creating the assumption that men are more knowledgeable on economic issues. Because the textbook is seen by students as unquestionable truth, they will accept this version of reality as truth.

Examples of males being projected as strong, powerful, competent, innovative and capable figures are seen in text B in the chapters on entrepreneurship and power relationships in the economy. The first example is on page 38.

Activity 2

Work in small groups to prepare a role-play between an employer and a few trade union representatives.

A male is depicted as the employer behind a desk. His posture projects a figure of authority and power. This entrenches the pervasive stereotype of the traditional roles of powerful males and subservient females. On page 57 of the same text a young schoolboy is presented as an example of a young entrepreneur who is running a successful business at school.



Figure 4.5 Schoolboy as entrepreneur

The young schoolboy is presented as running a successful business at school and is attributed with positive characteristics (*outgoing, enthusiastic, hardworking, creative, determined, innovative, etc.*). The overt meaning that the authors want to project is that typical entrepreneurs need to have the characteristics described by the above adjectives. The subtext or the covert message in this particular depiction is that this entrepreneur is male. So there is a subconscious and implicit link that males are successful entrepreneurs. On the next page (p. 58) of the same text the definition of an entrepreneur is given as “a person who starts *his* own business” (emphasis added). This entrenches the view of a taken-for-granted assumption that men are the successful entrepreneurs. The writers could have chosen the phrase “**a** business” but the use of the pronoun “**his**” betrays the authors’ bias.

In the same chapter, three examples of entrepreneurs are given: Nicholas, Anthony Delport and Tholakele. The males are represented as solo entrepreneurs but Tholakele, a female, is described as having four other partners. These examples influence the biased assumption (albeit an unrealistic one) of a sexist ideology that men are more capable of running successful businesses, and the writers do very little to trouble this perception. Males have

been stereotyped as having more valuable characteristics for running successful enterprises than women, implying that men are successful leaders and decision makers.

In text C on page 122 the example of a male journalist, Jameson Maluleke, also leads to the unwarranted assumption that males are more capable than women. A male journalist established a company of women working on traditional embroidery:

---the Chivirika group was established in 1986 by journalist Jameson Maluleke, who encouraged women from his home village to do their traditional embroidery for the commercial market.

The register of words used like “established” and “encouraged” feeds into the image of strong and powerful males and helpless and powerless females. It seems also as if women need men to develop this innate talent of embroidery so that this ability can be harnessed to produce an income. This potential would otherwise be left unrealised. In addition, although journalism has nothing in common with embroidery, the authors think that this male journalist has sufficient adaptability to supervise this highly skilled task. The women in this project are only shown in the role of labourers.

The implicit message is that men have adaptable skills and that they have the potential to work outside their fields of speciality to successfully liberate women in a completely different field. Furthermore, males have the ability to create the conditions for women to be successful. What is also implied is that if it wasn't for the intervention of the male journalist, the women would not be successful. While the intervention itself may have had a positive outcome, the way in which the authors present the information paints the image of an omnipotent male intervening to assist the less powerful females.

4.2.1 Concluding analysis

From the above analysis there is irrefutable evidence that all three EMS textbooks give portrayals of women and men in stereotypical, biased and sexist representations. Evidence of this could be seen in both the written text and the pictorial depictions. This is corroborated by

the portrayals of strong and powerful males and helpless and powerless females; men are more capable than women of running successful businesses; males are projected as strong, powerful, competent, innovative and capable figures; men are more suitable for positions of authority; and even though women have careers, they are still responsible for the running of their homes, and males do not have to share the responsibility of chores in the home.

What is clearly evident in this analysis from the texts is the conscious absence of women in powerful roles, which strongly contributes to the stereotype of males traditionally projected as strong, powerful, competent, innovative and capable figures. Conclusively, the representation of females in these texts seems to reinforce the gender bias. The above analysis clearly supports Tietz's findings that "gender stereotypes and gender role stratification in society are reinforced and replicated" (2007, p. 476), in the selected EMS textbooks. The implicit and overt messages clearly show women in imbalanced and biased settings. Even when they have careers, they are still responsible for the domestic chores at home. This reinforces and maintains the ideology of gender bias which is the status quo in many communities.

Both males and females may be disadvantaged by this, with the gender stereotypes being transmitted to succeeding generations, thus making it harder for both males and females to accept that opportunities are available to everybody irrespective of gender or race.

4.3 Discourse: Entrepreneurship leads to wealth creation

In the discussion that follows I will be focusing on a recurring subtext in each data source, which presented a taken-for-granted assumption that entrepreneurship can only be successful. The textbook writers present with a fair degree of authority the fact that entrepreneurs can only be successful. In textbook B there is an overt example of this tone of certainty and authority in the title of the chapter, which makes an emphatic statement and foregrounds the notion of success:

What it takes to be a successful entrepreneur (p. 57)

The use of the verb in the present tense, *be*, lends to the register of certainty and authority. In addition, the title reads as a question but is presented as a statement, which assumes that entrepreneurial success is a certainty. Given that there is no question mark points to the certainty with which the writer presents the data and information that is to come.

In the text the authors emphasise the notion of success as it relates to entrepreneurs. The authors present the image of entrepreneurship as being successful in every instance, in an effort to persuade pupils to believe this concept of success. An example of this persuasive presentation is reflected in the case studies that demonstrate the authoritative assertions based on presuppositions and statements avowed as facts. In textbook B, case study 2, there is a typical example of a presupposition authoritatively asserting the notion of entrepreneurial success as natural, irrespective of the size of the business:

Tholakele believes other rural women should start their own businesses, no matter how small. They should combine their skills as the four women did --- (p. 60)

The writers could have used other words, like ‘thinks’, but the word *believes* implies the absolute certainty of the above statement. The notion of any business irrespective of size projects the myth in this text that in the business world size does not matter. But size does matter, as small-scale businesses struggle to remain sustainable in the presence of established businesses.

This author then implores women to work together, to portray the idea that working together in business is the way to create wealth for rural women, but there is no factual evidence that the outcome is always positive. The tone of this section on entrepreneurship is set with the use of the modal verb *should* to convey the degree of certainty and authority that Tholakele has on this subject, although her knowledge is just based on her personal experience. This also assumes that all other rural women are the same and that they have the same capabilities. This perspective on entrepreneurial success is as if there are no other factors which play a significant role in becoming successful entrepreneurs.

In the same text, on page 57 (see Figure 4.7), there is an image of a young schoolboy who is presented as running a successful business at school. The writers project the impression that there is no wrong in instilling a profit motive in one so young, and that size does not matter when it comes to the creation of wealth. Potential readers may be influenced by this notion that if the young boy can run a successful business, anyone else can – although there is silence on how his success is measured. Moreover, the school is presented as a legitimate, unquestioned site for profiteering, and thus schooling in this instance legitimizes the practice of wealth accumulation.

On page 58 there is another example of a successful male entrepreneur. He gives advice, telling potential entrepreneurs what to do at the start of a business and what to focus on:

He believes that entrepreneurs should be enthusiastic and love what they do. However, they also need to be committed to achieving the goals of the business. To do this, they need to be determined, energetic and have an ability to complete tasks.

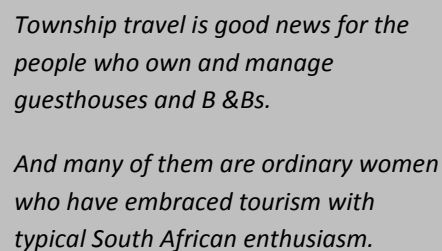
Like Tholakele, this entrepreneur just doesn't think but he "believes", once again implying the absolute certainty of his convictions. This advice together with Tholakele's creates the impression that they are experts in this field. Both these entrepreneurs are seen as experts giving unequivocal advice. There is no modality or hedging, so they are being very prescriptive. With all this 'advice' and persuasive words learners are likely to assume this concept of entrepreneurial success as a factual reality.

Another similar example is seen in textbook C in a case study on page 122, where the writer makes emphatic assertions about Irma van Rooyen successfully combining creativity with sound business practice:

With her drive, creativity, and natural teaching ability, Irma inspires, guides and develops potential talent. Irma has successfully combined creativity with sound business practices.

These statements come across as strong categorical facts because of the absence of words suggesting modality or tentativeness. Words that suggest tentativeness are, for example, perhaps, possibly and may, which are absent in this excerpt. The writers of these textbooks present a perspective of entrepreneurial success as if there are no other influences or factors which may inhibit this success. As a result, they produce somewhat unrealistic expectations in the reader, who may not be aware that there may be issues of lack of access to resources and finance and variables like competition and a lack of support in the business world.

The use of photographs is also an example of persuasive semiotic modalities. In textbook C (in case study 1, p. 120) the photograph of Vicky Ntozini standing outside her corrugated iron-roofed house is intended to target an audience of pupils from townships. The writers mention townships to refer to mass low-cost housing, which in a South African context is characterised by a mix of semi-formal housing and informal settlements. The reader can also be influenced by the context that the picture creates, the context of women in townships becoming successful entrepreneurs, thereby implying that if you're from the townships you can reinvent yourself as a wealthy entrepreneur. This is reinforced in the excerpt: ---*not only offers a rewarding cultural exchange, but the promise of a better life*, which positions the concept of entrepreneurship as having the potential to succeed and a means to accumulate wealth. The use of a shaded insert reinforces this form of persuasive modality by foregrounding the success of township travel:



Township travel is good news for the people who own and manage guesthouses and B &Bs.

And many of them are ordinary women who have embraced tourism with typical South African enthusiasm.

Figure 4.6 Township Travel

With the use of the words *typical South African enthusiasm* a patronising tone is introduced in the generalisation that South Africans are enthusiastic. The exclusive *them* carries this

patronising tone further and this is maintained in the use of the phrase *ordinary women*. The use of the word *many* implies that this is therefore good and should be embraced. The writers also present this statement emphatically in the present tense, that this *is good news*.

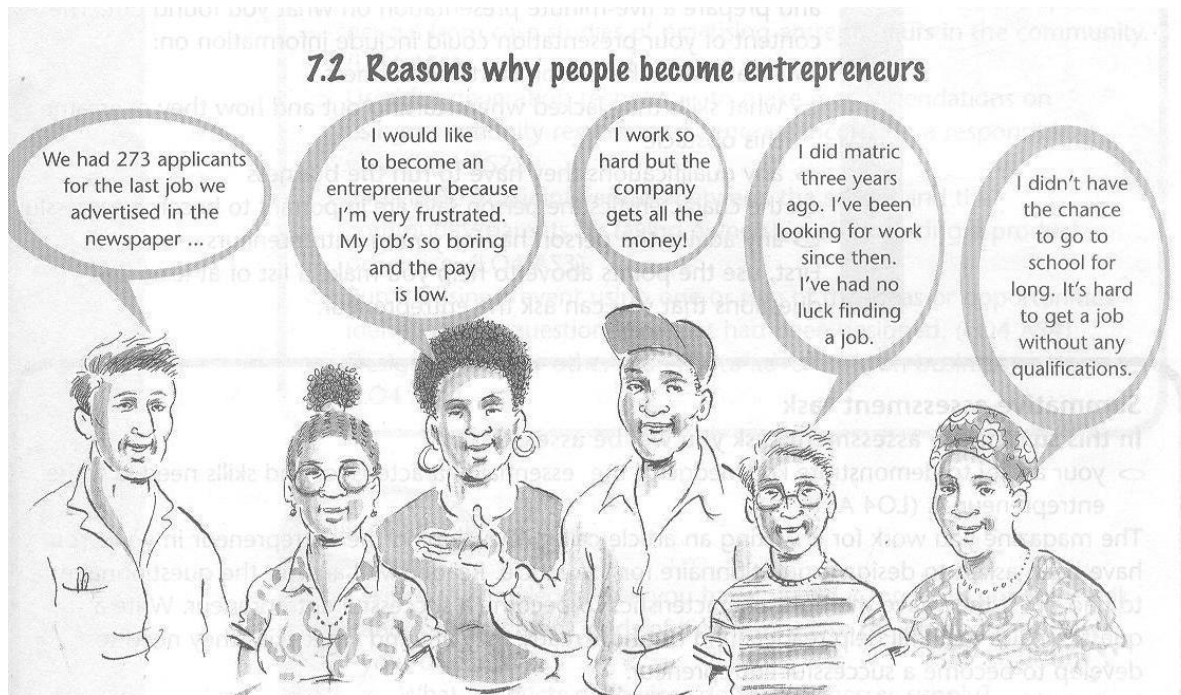
The writers then legitimate the process of personal wealth creation by choosing a term that registers a positive connotation, as seen in the paragraph below taken from the same page:

*‘Vicky and her B&B epitomise **ubuntu**[emphasis added]– the South African philosophy where a person is only a person through their interaction with other people,’ says Cheryl Ozymsky of Cape Tourism. ‘In her own way she has done so much for tourism in South Africa because the people in the community relate to what she has achieved and know it is possible for them to put their dreams into reality as well.’*

The use of the African term *ubuntu* in the example on the previous page implies a connotation of a positive African value system. This term is generally used to describe the act of goodwill and helping others, and here it is stated that Vicky and her B&B epitomise *ubuntu*. This term refers generally to interaction in the community which unselfishly benefits others; it is difficult to explain the connection here to describe someone who owns and manages a guesthouse to create an income for herself, as entrepreneurship is very much an individual pursuit for personal prosperity. There is a tension here between this concept of *ubuntu* and community aspirations and the positive value system which the writers invoke, and then linking this to the superficial concept of individual personal prosperity.

Here, then, is an example of a term with positive connotations being loosely appropriated to relate to the notion of entrepreneurial success. This phrase has been deliberately chosen to manipulate the potential readers, by implying positive values and connotations. The patronising tone is also continued here, because it is in an African township that an African has *in her own way she has done so much for tourism*. The choice of vocabulary implies that this is a surprising and unexpected consequence because *her own way* is not usually a way that leads to success.

In the same textbook, on page 61, there is an illustration depicting three women and three men with an accompanying explanation:



Many people become entrepreneurs because they want to work for themselves and make their own decisions. Sometimes people become entrepreneurs because they are unemployed and they need to find ways to make money to meet their basic needs.

Figure 4.7 Why people become entrepreneurs

Each person in the group is pictured with a speech bubble in which 'scare quotes' (Fairclough, 1995, p. 74) are used to represent the dreaded unemployment which faces people if they choose not to be entrepreneurs. All the participants in this illustration give consent to the concept of entrepreneurship to legitimate this hegemony. An impression is further created here that the disadvantaged have to accept the inevitable factual reality that unemployment is something that you have to live with unless you become an entrepreneur (an implication), and this is depicted in the following forthright comment made in the text:

Long term unemployment is a problem for many people in South Africa. There are too many people and too few jobs (p. 61)

This writer presents the notion that unemployment is something we have to live with and that unemployment is long term. If you are unemployed it is not something that goes away. Here the writer is also giving a perspective that there is a problem with overpopulation. There is no attempt on the part of the writers to offer reasons for structural unemployment or employment or to offer an explanation as to why this is so. The presentation of the information in this particular way urges the reader to accept that this is the way that things are.

In an example where it seems that the writer not only wants to inform pupils about the facts of entrepreneurship but seeks to persuade, is in the shifting of statements from the third person to the second person and then to the first person. In textbook C on page 119 the writer begins the paragraph on what an entrepreneur is by couching the definition in the third person, *their* and *they* when talking about the characteristics and skills of an entrepreneur:

Entrepreneurs use their initiative and creativity to turn this idea into reality. They find a way to finance and start their businesses and to make it work.

Initiative and creativity are two characteristics which are mentioned. The writer then switches to the second person *you*, to tersely state that entrepreneurs take calculated risks:

You will often hear that entrepreneurs take calculated risks.

Two social identities are constructed by the text here with the use of *they* and *you*. The use of *they* constructs the entrepreneurs as the more powerful and successful, while the use of *you* suggests that if you're not an entrepreneur you are uncreative and without initiative. This reinforces who is included, *they*, and who is excluded, *you*.

The language suggests that entrepreneurs belong and are 'good' for society. The negative characteristics of *they* as successful entrepreneurs are omitted or mentioned superficially. Also implied is the notion that there are groups that the writers want to identify with, *they*, and other groups that they do not want to be part of, *you*. This effortless switching reinforces the notion that pupils have the potential to access the world of entrepreneurship. At the end of the chapter (p. 123), after presenting the pupils with the success stories of specific entrepreneurs, the writer persuasively encompasses pupils in the statement that

we all have some entrepreneurial potential but we may not be aware of it.

For the first time in this chapter the authors change to the inclusive *we* to include the reader. The writers write as if *we* the readers now all agree that everyone has the potential to become an entrepreneur. We therefore should wish to develop this latent potential so that we can be included in this powerful group of successful and creative entrepreneurs. The way the writers use the shifting pronouns show the evidence of a seamless and subtle movement of the pronouns from *they* to *you* and finally to *we*. First the writers depict the group of high-flying individuals and then eventually attempt to personalise it with the usage of the inclusive *we*, from being away from us to now making this a part of us, which can be quite a convincing and persuasive device.

What is also evident in the above example is that the writers insinuate that the creation of wealth depends on the individual's attitude:

Entrepreneurs use their initiative and creativity to turn this idea into reality. They find a way to finance and start their businesses and to make it work. (Text C, p. 19)

There is a way out of unemployment and poverty, and this is implied as a change brought about by the individual:

Many people become entrepreneurs because they want to work for themselves and make their own decisions. Sometimes people become entrepreneurs because they are unemployed ---. Long-term unemployment is a problem for many people in South Africa. (Text B, p. 61)

Poverty, unemployment, failure and working for others are seen as undesirable. On the other hand, entrepreneurship is seen as positive and desirable, with its description of being empowering, profit-making, profit-seeking, efficient and adaptable. An example of efficiency is seen in case study one in textbook B, on page 58 when the writers state that:

To do this they need to be determined, energetic and have an ability to complete tasks.

The issue of adaptability was seen in text C on page 122, where a male journalist established a company of women working on traditional embroidery:

---the Chivirika group was established in 1986 by journalist Jameson Maluleke, who encouraged women from his home village to do their traditional embroidery for the commercial market.

So then one can conclusively say from the information in the textbooks that the only hope for a prosperous future lies in entrepreneurship.

There is a notable silence or exclusion in these textbooks, which is that in most of these examples of successful entrepreneurs they were in a position of privilege which allowed them access to finance to set up their businesses. An example of this was seen in the case study of the entrepreneur in text B, who had help from her sister and other partners. They helped her financially to start her own business and to buy her first pottery oven.

There is also a notable silence on the reality of life in South Africa in terms of the unevenness of the terrain, differing capabilities, acumen, access to finance and opportunities that pupils in urban and rural South Africa are exposed to. There is a notable omission of the difficulty that new entrepreneurs experience in the process of accessing finance in all three of the textbooks. This adds to the impression that the writers are excluding and concealing a vital piece of information that could give a negative slant to entrepreneurship.

In the discussion that follows I focus on the omission of risks and present evidence that the writers do not emphasise this aspect of entrepreneurship. These EMS textbooks ‘select in’ some knowledge and ‘select out’ other knowledge. There are certain aspects of knowledge that the author wants to downplay, for example, the risks involved in entrepreneurship. In the chapters on entrepreneurship in the textbooks risks associated with entrepreneurship are backgrounded, and in some case studies totally omitted. They are not presented upfront as red flags signalling caution. Two case studies are presented in textbook B, and only a reference to

risks involved in entrepreneurship is implied when an entrepreneur in case study one ambiguously states:

---*one of the hardest things for an entrepreneur is to never give up.* (p. 58)

In another implied risk in the same case study, the writers state that entrepreneurs experience failure before they reach success. Failure is glorified here, as the traumatic consequences of failure are totally omitted. No elaboration is given on these statements, giving the impression that the authors deliberately downplay the risks involved or mention them superficially. The extent of devastation of failed enterprises is omitted. These are certain aspects of the phenomenon of entrepreneurship that the writer chooses to background. The backgrounding of this aspect is significant since the inclusion of failure of enterprises could negatively affect the message that the writers want to portray, which is that of entrepreneurial successes.

In the introductory section detailing what an entrepreneur is in textbook C, keywords are foregrounded to emphasise the positive concept of entrepreneurship. Words like ‘initiative’, ‘creativity’ and ‘viable business opportunity’ put in place the idea that entrepreneurship is the answer to an individual’s economic status. The authors make choices, choosing particular grammar and from a particular lexicon in order to convey this meaning of entrepreneurship. The frequent recurrence of clauses which make claims about entrepreneurship emphasise only the success and positive benefits of entrepreneurship.

An example of this is seen in textbook B (p. 60), where the case study begins with the clause ‘The winner of the 2003 Technology Women in Business award’. This foregrounds very emphatically the idea of “pervasive success”. Another example of a clause which carries the same thread of success is in textbook C. In the case study given on page 123 a grammatical metaphor is used in the clause *Realising the potential of the craft*, to reinforce the reader’s perception of the success and positive benefits of entrepreneurship. The craft is humanised and has become a grammatical metaphor to highlight the fact that success is inevitable.

In textbook C six case studies are presented to the pupil, and textual prominence is given to the words ‘successful entrepreneurs’ in the heading, thus again foregrounding the concept of success. Of the six examples of successful entrepreneurs, only one contains a short reference (of two lines) to the challenges of entrepreneurship and that entrepreneurial success is not quick and immediate – and then a risk is only implied. In the context of all the data presented in the chapters on entrepreneurship, there is very limited reference to the risks and challenges associated with entrepreneurship, and this is evidenced by this single statement in the text: *This is not an easy business; it’s not a quick money maker.*

4.3.1 Concluding analysis

From the above analysis it can be seen that in a sense the writers can be accused of almost being reckless in the way they present this phenomenon of entrepreneurial success by misleading the potential reader. This happens through the selective use of words; the omission of salient facts that could give a negative portrayal of entrepreneurship; the foregrounding by overemphasis of the success of the entrepreneurial ventures discussed; and the use of inclusive and exclusive pronouns. All these devices strengthen the notion that anybody can be successful in entrepreneurship. Little attention is paid to the capabilities, human abilities, entrepreneurial challenges and the kind of devastation and trauma that is associated with failure. In fact there is complete silence on the issues of trauma related to failure.

4.4 Discourse: Advocacy of a free-market system

During the process of open coding and in the second reading (Price, 2005) of the text which was against the textan interesting finding emerged: implementation of an over-simplistic description of the economic systems in South Africa. In asking questions on the positioning of the text and whose interests were being promoted, a pattern surfaced. Evidence of this was

seen in text A on page 64, where there is a clear reductionist discourse to favour one economic system over the others (Table 4.1).

	Free-market system	Mixed system	Centrally-planned system
Ownership of and control of production factors	Production factors are individually owned and controlled. There is private ownership.	Ownership of production factors is both in government's and private hands. Government may own basic industries like SABC, ESKOM; but private ownership is allowed as in the case of local shops, butcheries, Old Mutual, etc.	The State owns and controls all the production factors.
Consumers	There is freedom of choice: individuals determine standard of living in relation to own abilities.	There is freedom of choice, except in the case of State enterprises where products' prices and quality are accepted, e.g. ESKOM, TELKOM.	There is no choice, and the State decides on the goods and services to be produced and the standard of living.
Competition	Free competition between entrepreneurs backed by law.	No competition between State-controlled businesses, e.g. ESKOM.	No competition.
Land ownership	Private ownership of land is allowed	Mostly owned by the State.	Government owns all the land.

	except for areas owned as public property by the government, e.g. military areas.		
Labour	Free choice of employment and labour tends to be efficient because profit-seeking is the motive.	Free choice exists and government also influences job opportunities.	State is the sole employer.
Government involvement	Government is limited because any government restriction of any of the freedoms will hamper efficiency. Government comes in to protect consumers.	Government develops broad economic policy and individual freedoms are allowed within this framework, e.g. GEAR policy.	The government plans and implements all economic activities.
Prices of goods and services	Determined by market forces, i.e. demand and supply.	Government determines prices in government sector of economy.	The government determines all prices of goods and services.

Table 4.1: Economic systems of the world

Only three kinds of economic environments are discussed in the table, as if these are the only kinds of truth that the author wants to portray about the economy. The three types of economic systems are the free market system, the mixed system and the centrally-planned

system. The three are described in a comparative discourse and the centrally-planned system is more negatively projected than the others. This intended effect is created with the use of foregrounding, backgrounding, assumptions, negative insinuations and modality. The freemarket system is foregrounded as it is placed first in the table. The centrally-planned system is backgrounded with limited information provided, whereas the free market system has an expanded description. Evidence of this is seen in the column describing land ownership. The free market description states: *Private ownership of land is allowed except for areas owned as public property by the government* while the description of land ownership under the centrally-planned system succinctly states: *Government owns all the land*.

The centrally-planned system is also described in negative terms through negative insinuations. The author has made a conscious choice of negative linguistic cues, which is demonstrated by the use of these definite modal adjectives (*the State owns and controls all the production factors: no choice; no freedom*) and clearly shows the deficient discourse in relation to freedom of choice in the centrally planned system. There has been a deliberate omission of positive elements of the centrally planned system. In contrast, the mixed system and the free-market system are described in positive and attractive terms (*freedom of choice; profit is a basic right; individual freedoms are allowed*). The use of the word *freedom* has positive and appealing connotations and is a concept of ideology relating to the prevailing Constitution of South Africa, where the rights of people are deeply valued. In addition, the free-market system offers liberation from the lack of freedom seen in the centrally planned system. So this lexical selection shows the now familiar persuasive presentation of capitalism as being good, liberating and legitimate. Profit-making is presented as a noble and accepted goal and value and it is fine to pursue profit. Individual freedom for personal gain and advancement, self-centredness as opposed to community advancement and *ubuntu* are shown as acceptable and normal. This forthright declaration is likely to reinforce the ideology that profit-making is normal and natural.

When describing the role of the government further down the table, there is an insinuation that State controlled enterprises and nationalised assets will become inefficient, as opposed to

the efficiency of labour and employment in the free-market system (*any government restriction will hamper efficiency; free choice of employment and labour tend to be efficient*). Efficiency is presented as a neutral, noble and value-free phenomenon and goal, yet efficiency can lead to redundancy of human capital, job losses, poverty and other kinds of trauma like humiliation and deprivation. Efficiency ensures that a product is produced at the lowest cost in order to make maximum profit. There is a notable silence and omission of facts detailing the negative effects of efficiency.

The choice of the phrase *free choice* assumes that employment is equally accessible to everyone, but this is not the case. The movement of labour and access to jobs always depends on availability of labour, skills and competence. These factors allow for freedom of movement. In deeply unequal societies where skills and competence are not equally distributed across the workforce, people are not free as the author suggests. In fact this is a restricted freedom. In the activity that follows the description of the above economic systems, the author entrenches a position of favouring the market system. The first question is phrased in such a way as to call for reasons for low productivity in the centrally planned system: *Give two reasons why productivity is usually low in the centrally planned system* (text A, p. 65).

There are also assumptions that the author makes which are pronounced as facts. This is seen in the descriptions of employers, producers and consumers in the free-market system when the writer states that making a profit is a basic right. There is also a complete absence of any modality (*Profit-motive is lacking*) when the author describes factually, aided by the use of the verb *is* in the present tense, the roles of the different role-players in the centrally planned system. In selecting this knowledge that the author deems acceptable for students, the deeper sub-text of bias towards the free-market system is passed on. These selections thus become part of the taken-for-granted assumptions which are transferred as facts. What is being transmitted is the notion that the centrally planned system is not an attractive and viable option. The lack of adjectives and adverbs adds to the negative picture portrayed. This lexical selection emphasises the negative aspects of a State-controlled economy. In contrast, the choice of words used contributes to the establishment of a positive mental image of free

enterprise and further emphasises the polarisation between the State-controlled economy and the free-market system.

In text C on page 5 only two economic systems are briefly summarised: capitalism and communism.

Who owns the factors of production?

There are two main economic systems in the world. Their policies are either used as they are, or in combination.

Capitalism *[emphasis added]* *is when production takes*

Place to satisfy the wants of the community

and to make a profit:

Resources are owned by people or businesses.

Capital (money) is provided by banks, businesses and individuals.

With labour people are allowed to decide for themselves who their employers and employees will be.

Entrepreneurs decide what to produce according to the wants of the community and they are rewarded with profits.

Communism *[emphasis added]* *is the economic system*

whereby the government plans, implements and manages

all economic activities:

Resources are owned by the government.

Capital is provided by the government.

The government decides what work people do as they are the only employer.

There are no entrepreneurs as management positions are held by government officials. Although profit is not pursued, any profit that incidentally arises goes to the government.

With the use of the persuasive and appealing words *satisfy*; *rewarded with profits* and *people are allowed to decide for themselves*, the authors demonstrate their preference for the economic system of capitalism. On the other hand, the description of communism is couched in business-like terms, as can be seen in the sentence *The government decides what work people do as they are the only employer* (l 22, 23). The absence of the freedom of choice is juxtapositioned against the freedom of choice that people have in capitalism, where people are allowed to decide for themselves who their employer and employees will be (l 10-12).

It is quite clear that the authors are portraying the economic system of capitalism as the more attractive, even in the foregrounding of the explanation. There seems to be an oversimplification of the actual reality of these two economic systems. It seems that the authors make use of the simplified models of the real world. This is a deliberate ploy to manipulate the readers and to paint an attractive picture of the economic system of capitalism. The omission of any disadvantage or negative consequences of capitalism further leads the reader to a particular orientation or way of thinking. The rhetorical device of persuasion is thus used to persuade readers of this particular position.

In the selected chapters of text B, there is no overt mention of capitalism, communism or any other economic systems. However, a close CDA in the chapter on power relations in the economy reveals a hidden message. The use of the word *power* in the title registers the implication that some entity is in power while other entities are less powerful or powerless. On page 39 there is evidence of exactly who is the powerful entity:

If people feel safe and secure, they will work hard at developing the country. If this happens, there will be fewer crimes and greater productivity, Also, people who have jobs can buy products. This helps businesses grow and leads to economic growth.

Capitalism is the encouragement of working for a wage to promote consumerism and capital accumulation. So from the paragraph above, it is evident that the economic system of capitalism is favoured to achieve economic growth in this country.

4.4.1 Concluding analysis

The findings from the above analysis of data show that there is evidence that the writers of all three textbooks advocate the economic systems of the free-market and capitalism. Clearly they favour these systems over the economic systems of communism and the mixed-market systems. This intended effect is created with the use of foregrounding, backgrounding, assumptions, negative insinuations and modality. Both the systems of the free-market and capitalism are described in positive and appealing terms, while the economic systems of communism and the centrally planned state are negatively portrayed. This finding is corroborated by evidence from the texts, and is seen in the next discourse.

4.5 Discourse: Reinforcing the hegemonic positioning of business

In this discourse there is clear evidence of the hegemonic role that business plays. In the opening paragraph of this chapter in text B on page 35, a boxed insert on what the learner is expected to know is foregrounded. In lines 1, 4 and 5 a selective voice seems to come across in the use of the words

*You **will** (emphasis added) be assessed (l 1)*

*You **will** have achieved the assessment standard when you **are** able to --- (l 4, 5)*

This register of single imperatives convey a message which implies that the writers are the authoritative voices with the more legitimate and significant point of view. The use of the word *will* also shows the degree of certainty that the writers have on this issue and the tone of this chapter is set with this use of modality. The use of the second person *you* entrenches this view of certainty and significance on the part of the authors, as *you* is registered as being

regarded as having a less reliable or less significant knowledge, until *you* are able to understand their more legitimate view of power relations within the economy.

In the same text on page 39 the subheading boldly states the relationship between the government and producers, but in the following eight paragraphs only the role of the government is highlighted.

The relationship between the government and producers

The government is made up --- is also responsible for the smooth running of the country.

In a democratic country like South Africa, all the adults in the country--- as well as the rights of its citizens.

One of the government's important roles--- and are not exploited.

The government also plays an important role--- education, housing and health services.

The government also makes rules--- to protect shared resources, such as the natural environment.

Examples of other laws are the labour laws that protect workers, and the price controls on basic products such as maize meal and milk. If people feel safe and secure, they will work hard at developing the country. If this happens, there will be fewer crimes and greater productivity. Also, people who have jobs can buy products. This helps businesses grow and leads to economic growth.

The government also provides---maintain law and order.

The government needs money to provide people and businesses with the services they need. This money comes from taxes. The government has to work out a fair tax system based--- percentage of their income.

Of the eight paragraphs, six begin with or have the phrase *the government* foregrounded. No mention is made of producers. This seems to be a deliberate way of emphasising in this foregrounding the role of the government. In the second paragraph the writers present the fact that South Africa is a democratic country and all the adults in the country elect the government, which makes the following statements seem as if the sentiments of the writers are shared by all the adults of this country. In these instances where the government is foregrounded, the government is portrayed as playing a dominant role of being the active agent while the people and producers are made to be the passive recipients. However, this is propaganda as this is not what is seen in the evidence of the text.

In the sixth paragraph, sweeping statements are authoritatively asserted:

If people feel safe and secure, they will work hard at developing the country. If this happens, there will be fewer crimes and greater productivity. --- Also people who have jobs can buy products. This helps businesses grow and leads to economic growth (p. 39, l 21-25).

The use of the two conjunctions (*if, if*) and the adverb (*also*) provides cohesion to the writers' argument, which builds up to the final declaration that what leads to economic growth is growing businesses. There is also an implied assumption that crime is committed by people who do not work hard and that crime is committed by the unemployed- a sweeping generalisation that ignores the reality of the diverse causes of crime in South Africa. The use of the present tense confidently pronounces statements as if they are undisputed facts. With the use of the phrase *fewer crimes*, there is an emotional appeal to the need for safety and security in humans – but not for the benefit of human beings, but so that business will grow.

The hidden subtext is therefore that ultimately the focus is on business. So the dominant force is business and not government as is overtly stated. There is an appeal to people to hold government accountable to these values, and if people do this as citizens then business will grow and thrive. There will be economic growth, but not for all people. The ultimate beneficiary is business and capitalists. This economic discourse suggests a neoliberal middle-class economic discourse based on the assumption that economic growth can be achieved if

there are rules and laws made by the government. The neoliberal discourse also emphasises that efficiency and hard work lead to greater wealth accumulation. The text seems to encourage material consumption, as the economic growth of a country, as seen from the viewpoint of the text, is largely dependent on making money to spend money. All that's needed then is that people should work harder at developing the country, once again reinforcing the assumption that hard work leads to economic success for everyone, irrespective of ability.

In the first line in textbook C, on page 19, the economic power relationships are made to seem as if they are dynamic and have human qualities. This is seen in the sentence:

*The economic power relationships between households, businesses and government **find expression** (emphasis added) in the flows of the economic cycle.*

This is an example of a nominalisation where a verb is converted into a noun (*expression* instead of 'expresses'). The economic power relationship is humanised and has become a grammatical metaphor. This nominalisation (*find expression*) distinctly builds a representation of power relationships as a living entity being in power. This seems incongruent amidst the highly technical and specialised vocabulary found on the rest of the page. The vocabulary is typical of the rewards of capitalism, for example:

*Households have power because they own the factors of production. They receive **wages, interest, dividends** (emphasis added) and rent in exchange for the services of the resources, labour, capital, entrepreneurship and land. (p. 19)*

These terms are also taken-for-granted expressions assumed to be common sense notions and presuppositions that take certain things for granted. The learner is therefore unlikely to question what is known to be common knowledge. This also adds to the air of authority which the writers have adopted. To the learner therefore these become indisputable facts because they appear in the textbook. This is presented as having no alternative, thus preventing the learners from an important learning experience of looking at alternative viewpoints.

The use of the modal verbs in the same paragraph

*Businesses **will** close down* (line 7) [emphasis added]

*They **can** also withhold the services* (line 8) [emphasis added],

portray the writers as having a strong certainty about what the outcome will be if households do not spend their income on buying the goods and services provided by businesses. This paragraph seems to give households the upper hand over businesses in this relationship in the foregrounding of the topic sentence,

Households have power because they own the factors of production (line 3).

But in the next paragraph business is seen as having power over the government and households as the words and phrases used create a picture of the government and households as at the mercy of business because,

If their profits drop they have to lay off labour and households suffer. If they earn little profit, government suffers because it receives less in taxes (lines 15-17).

This now shows us where the real power lies; not in government nor with the people but with business. Business is set up as the indispensable pillar that must be preserved and guarded by the signalling of negative consequences of not doing this.

There is silence on the concept of how government suffers and whose idea of suffering it is. Who really suffers – is it the government or the households? Is this the only way that government gets money, through taxes? There is a notable omission of facts to present a one-sided view.

4.5.1 Concluding analysis

From analysis of the above sections, business is seen as having power over the government and households, and this is evidence of the hegemony of business in South Africa. The ultimate beneficiary of economic activity is business and capitalists. The lexical selection of

cohesive devices, nominalisation, modality, assumptions and presuppositions are used to great effect to show business as the important mainstay of this relationship between the government, households and business.

4.6 Discourse: Deficient service provisioning is normal

A discourse that is also evident in a close analysis of the selected texts is one that portrays poverty and deficient service provisioning in certain communities as normal. An example of this is found in text C on page 6:

After apartheid ended in 1994, the new government of South Africa sought to provide for basic needs such as running water, electricity, housing and infrastructure for hospitals, police and schools in all communities.

This has been a slow process and although much has been accomplished, there are unfortunately still communities in South Africa that lack these basic services. As a result, many communities have realised that it is up to them to take the initiative and provide for their own needs.

The phrase *sought to provide* introduces a sense of limited obligation on the part of the State to actually provide. It diminishes the need for the provision of basic services from certainty to the realm of possibility. It suggests to the reader that it is acceptable and reasonable even if this did not come to fruition, as it presents the State's intention with non-committal tentativeness. The use of the modal adjective, *many*, contributes to the assumption that the lack of basic services is an expected reality faced in communities. Therefore the poorer communities will lack efficient services. The author instructively places the onus of service provision away from the State and to the community. There is extremely mild criticism of the State in the phrase that is an insinuation. In fact this sentence carries a double meaning that *this has been a slow process* but at the same time absolving the State from all blame (*much has been accomplished*). Therefore, as a consequence of this *slow process*, there is an attempt to shift the responsibility of service provisioning onto the community.

Implicit in this lexical choice is the idea of self-accountability as opposed to social provisioning by the State. The unquantifiable and relativeness of the words 'slow' and 'much' does not present the reader with an opportunity to critique the so named 'slowness' or how 'much' is much, and as such the reader is resigned to accept this looseness of description of what is essentially a fundamental human right. The phrase *although much has been accomplished* is directly contradicted by evidence in the same text, when it is seen in the experience of the rural family in the case study that there is no provision of basic services. This assumption of the normalcy of the lack of State provisioning is shown on page 8 of the same text:

I live with my grandparents in a village in a rural area of KwaZulu-Natal. My family owns some goats and we have a small vegetable patch. My sister and I look after the goats and fetch water for the household from the river 2km away every day. At night my grandmother cooks our food on the fire outside --- We usually eat mealie meal and vegetables. Our hut is one room where we all sleep together. It has a thatch roof that leaks when it rains. My older brother passes on his clothes to when they do not fit him anymore. Sometimes, I walk to school 5km away but most days I stay at home to help my grandparents. My parents work in the city. They visit and send money when they can.

This is evidence that there is an absence of basic services which is presented as normal and uncontested. The grandmother cooking on an outside fire also feeds into the realities that many people in rural areas do not have basic services like electricity, piped water and sanitation. There is obviously no electricity or piped water provided in this rural area, and the family is also subject to the elements (*roof that leaks when it rains*) over which they have no control. Again this deficiency of service provisioning, simply presented as this is how the world is, adds to the discourse of regularising this normalcy.

The absence of direct words of dissatisfaction is a demonstration of an uncontested acceptance of this poverty and hardship. Two things that are also taken for granted in this rural community are the hand-me-downs that the boy has to wear and the fact that the

thatched roof leaks when it rains. These two facts, stated in a manner-of-fact way reify, the normalcy of poverty and deficient service provisioning.

The use of the modal adverb *sometimes* in the description of the boy's infrequent attendance at school indicates that this is also a taken-for-granted reality in the rural area. The absence of the boy's parents in the examples also presents the issue of migrant labour that is also stated in a way that shows that this is a normal occurrence in the South African rural area. The uncontested acceptance of the grandparents' role in the rearing of children is clearly shown in the absence of words of discontent.

4.6.1 Concluding analysis

The absence of basic services as clearly seen in the above analysis is presented as normal and uncontested. The assumption that the lack of basic services is an expected reality faced in communities is taken-for-granted. This is evident by the lack of direct words of dissatisfaction, which is a demonstration of an uncontested acceptance of this poverty and hardship.

4.7 Discourse: Business and production take precedence over the environment

An important issue surfaced during the open-coding process. Even though it is extremely important, not much space was given to this discourse in all three textbooks. This was the discourse of the impact of business on the environment. In text B, on page 9, the title of the paragraph boldly states: *Impact of needs and wants on the environment* (line 20). The paragraph that follows consists of five sentences, and it is only in the last two that there is evidence of the impact on the environment:

Many of the resources we use to produce goods and services come from our natural environment. For example, consider the wood and metal --- from the earth. However,

sometimes the production of goods and services damages the natural environment. For example, some factories pollute the air and water with the waste products from the production process.

The preceding lines briefly state that many goods and services come from trees and from the metals in the earth. So even though the title alludes to the impact on the environment, very little is made of the fact that the natural environment is damaged in the production of goods and services. The damage seems to be backgrounded. In doing this the text diminishes the importance of environmental impact issues in the overall economic scheme of provision of goods and services. It seems as if the needs and wants of people weigh more heavily and are seen as more important.

The use of the words *sometimes* and *some*, as indicated in the previous discourse above, dilutes the impact that industry has on the environment. The choice of the words ‘some’ and ‘sometimes’ as opposed to ‘many’ and ‘often’ portrays the corporate sector as relatively non-complicit in the degradation of the world’s environment, as opposed to projecting the notion that the very act of exploitation of natural resources for production upsets the balance of the natural environment in every instance.

In the lead up to this subheading there is clear evidence that the preservation of the environment is of lesser importance than the satisfaction of people’s needs and wants. What is posited in the extract below is not the preservation of the environment for the sake of preservation, but rather the preservation of the environment so that it can serve and *satisfy* man for an extended period of time:

Because resources are limited, we have to choose how best to use them. We have to be careful how we use the resources we have so that we can continue to satisfy our needs and wants.

The economic rhetoric of ‘needs and wants’ seems to hide the reality that people and the environment will suffer the consequences of capitalism, namely the fulfilment of needs and wants at the expense of the environment and consequently people as well. Ferguson et al. (2009) would call this dissimulation, the concealing or obscuring of an unpalatable issue to make it seem more harmless than it really is. The use of hedges as in *sometimes* (line 27) and *some factories* (line 28), avoids naming exactly which types of factories and businesses are responsible. The nominalisation of the verb (produce) to *production* (line 27) also serves to hide the agent responsible for the damage. The nominalisation of the verb ‘to produce’ deliberately hides the types of businesses and factories responsible for the pollution.

Business is absolved from blame in text C, and people in rural areas are portrayed as responsible for environmental degradation. This is seen on page 2:

*In rural areas people with unsatisfied needs turn to the environment to satisfy their needs. They harvest berries and edible plants, they hunt and fish, chop down trees, and plant crops. In doing these things they **often** harm the environment, for example, by exterminating plants and animals and causing soil erosion. [added emphasis]*

The use of the strong modal adverb *often* places the blame on people in rural areas by indicating that this is a natural practice in the rural areas, and that it is only in the rural areas that people harm the environment. Once again modality is used to disguise the writers’ deliberate intention to simplistically lay the burden of blame for environmental degradation at the door of the poor living in rural areas. Two paragraphs later, modality is used once again to reinforce the fact that little blame is accorded to business in the use of a weaker modal adverb in direct contrast to when the people in the rural areas were blamed for the degradation of the environment:

*However, those who produce the supplies to meet the demand **sometimes** (emphasis added) also harm the environment by pollution and the over-exploitation of natural resources, such as fish and minerals.*

The canonisation of these statements is disturbing, as only one version of the truth is given. Because these statements appear in the textbook, students will accept them as actual reality. There is a complete omission and silence on the role that industry plays in the harming of the environment. This is the only mention of the impact of needs and wants on the environment in the three selected chapters of this text. Little mention of the environment occurs in text A. None of the selected chapters contain any reference to the impact of economics on the environment. The impact of business on the environment is not even alluded to.

4.7.1. Concluding analysis

From the above evidence it is clear that not much emphasis is placed on protecting the environment from the ravages of business. Very little mention is made of the fact that pursuit of economic wealth can be at the expense of the environment. With the use of modality, backgrounding, nominalisation and omissions, the writers show that the environment is of lesser importance than the satisfaction of people's needs and wants. The issue of the protection of the environment is downplayed and this portrayal clearly shows that the writers of the textbooks do not deem this aspect of this moral issue important enough.

4.8 Discourse: Globalisation is natural and unproblematic

A significant idea arose through the process of open coding, although this theme was found to be present in the selected chapters of only two of the textbooks (A and C) in the sample. In textbook C on page 19 two sentences register a new phenomenon, globalisation:

*Increasing profits encourage them to produce more than is required locally.
Surpluses are exported to foreign countries.*

Globalisation is seen as a natural consequence and objective of economic progress. International trade as present in the extract is not driven by any humanitarian or social imperative but by the need for increasing profits. There is an assumption that this is the

natural consequence of successful businesses, irrespective of its impact on people and communities in both the exporting and the importing country. An omission in the text is any explanation that in producing surplus, businesses apply more of a country's resources than they needed to; thus compromising the long-term sustainability of such resources. The immediacy of profit-making and surplus production is presented as an uncontested necessity for international trade.

The writer of text A firmly advocates trade on a global scale, and simplistically states that it is a way of raising revenue for the government so that the needs of citizens can be satisfied. This linear causality and rationality trivialises the complexity of the foreign exchange, tax collection and redistribution process, as it presents it as unproblematic and smooth. The authors glibly posit a position or stance that a rising tide lifts all boats. In other words, economic growth naturally leads to prosperity and a better standard of living for all is presented as fact. The factuality of the statement is enhanced through the use of the present tense. Evidence of this is seen on page 13 of text A:

*It [the country] **needs** to link with other countries to promote and increase trade, and exchange ideas and expertise. The more goods and services locally produced **are** sold abroad, the more work opportunities are generated for the citizens, and likewise the more revenue **is** obtained by the government from the people by way of taxes in order to **satisfy** the citizens' needs. A country's standard of living **is** determined by the amount of goods and services the country produces. [emphasis added]*

Another instance where the objective of competing in a global economy is taken for granted is found in text A, on page 21:

Quality is also important in your business if you are to compete in the world economy where foreigners will become part of the local market.

An assumption is made that competing in the global economy is a desirable and sought-after objective for greater wealth accumulation. There is complete silence on the consequences of globalisation, viz. that costs will have to be decreased so that goods can be competitively

marketed in other countries. For costs to be decreased, staff will be paid lower salaries, which in turn will impact families and communities.

A further example in textbook C in the chapter on entrepreneurship reifies this concept of globalisation as a taken-for-granted consequence and desired objective of business. This is seen in the sentence:

Kaross products are sold at shops and galleries throughout South Africa and are also exported.

The fact that these products are exported with the global recognition of the product gives the final stamp of approval to entrepreneurship and the creation of wealth.

4.8.1 Concluding analysis

With the use of assumptions, omissions and the present tense of verbs, globalisation is seen as a natural consequence in the pursuit of wealth accumulation. The positive results of globalisation are emphasised. There is no mention of the negative consequences of the impact of globalisation on employees and in turn on their families and communities.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the presentation of the findings of the data analysis of a sample of three EMS textbooks. The aim was to explore the ideologies (if any) manifested in these textbooks and how these ideologies were manifested. The analysis was based on the framework of CDA using the analytical instrument I adapted using Fairclough (2000) and McGregor (2003).

The analysis of data revealed evidence of seven main discourses, which I then used as categories to present the findings. The seven discourses were: the stereotypical positioning of gender roles; entrepreneurship leads to wealth creation; the advocacy of a free-market system; reinforcing the hegemonic positioning of business; deficient service provisioning is normal; business and production takes precedence over the environment; and finally that globalisation is natural and unproblematic.

In the next chapter I conclude this study by discussing the implications of the findings, which revealed that the ideology of neoliberalism permeated the three selected chapters of the sample of textbooks analysed. Therefore the next chapter focuses on the key findings and in so doing also addresses the implications thereof as a result of this study.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

In chapter four an analysis of the selected chapters of the sampled textbooks was presented, the findings being in response to the research purpose to explore the ideology manifested in three Economic and Management Sciences textbooks. Critical discourse analysis was used as the analytical framework, and the findings showed that the selected EMS textbooks advance particular ideologies which manifest through the selective use of language. In this chapter I first present a recapitulation of the focus of this study, the literature reviewed and the methodology used, and then the key findings that emerged together with the implications of these.

5.2 The review of the literature

As stated in the first chapter, a post-apartheid curriculum was introduced in South Africa in 1997 to redress the imbalances created in the education of previously disadvantaged learners. However it was clear by 2007 that the aims of this curriculum were not being achieved, as evident from the high rate of failures at matriculation level, the great number of pupils not completing schooling and the poor performance of Grade 3 and Grade 6 pupils when compared to their peers around the world. Major measures have been set in place to address these problems over the next fifteen years, the introduction of better quality textbooks being the latest. Textbooks are now seen as a key resource in facilitating learner achievement in South Africa. Given the important role that this resource is envisaged as playing, it is disturbing that there has not been much research into the content of these textbooks in the GET band of education in post-apartheid South Africa. This study hopes to initiate and stimulate scholarship in this field.

In the review of literature textbooks were found to have a selected knowledge that writers of textbooks deem necessary to be transferred to potential readers. This selection of knowledge reflects authorial bias. Apple & Christian-Smith (1991), Sleeter & Grant (1991), Loewen (1995) and Barnard (2001) found that students are presented with only one version of a reality. This can be regarded as a form of social control. Another important finding was that of gender bias. Textbooks from different subjects were examined (Sleeter & Grant, 1991; Loewen, 1995; Feiner, 1993; Tietz, 2007) and it was found that gender bias is still present in them. Race and class biases are also concerns in many of the articles reviewed. Writers (Dean et al., 1985; Loewen, 1995; Barnard, 2001; Heros, 2009; McKinney, 2005) found that a great deal of coverage was given to dominant groups in society and very little to dominated groups.

These writers found that students are presented with a version of knowledge that maintains and perpetuates stereotypical images. The body of literature reviewed also revealed that the content in Accounting and Business Education textbooks can be considered a form of social control and hegemony, as they have the potential to promote ideologies – and especially ideologies that promote capitalism and neoliberalism. Writers (McPhail, 1999; Collison, 2003; Ferguson et al., 2005; Ferguson et al., 2009) argued that Business Education textbooks predispose students to serve the interests of capitalism. The danger that lurks is that textbooks are seen as authoritative presenters of unquestionable and uncontestable knowledge. Thus the selection of knowledge in textbooks is seen to be legitimate, and textbooks can thus function as political hegemonic devices of propaganda and indoctrination (Myers, 1992; Brown & Guilding, 1993; Moore, 2002; Crawford, 2003). The section on the review of literature concluded with the finding that there is a dearth of research on South African Business Education and Economics textbooks, especially in the GET band of education. This study therefore set out to address this gap.

5.3 Methodology

I applied a qualitative critical discourse analysis adopting and adapting the framework of Fairclough (2000) and McGregor (2003). This consisted of CDA with aspects taken from

Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday, 1985) or SFL. I drew on the analytical tools of CDA and SFL because of their focus on the observation of how language plays an important role in the construction of hegemonic ideologies. The definition of ideology that I drew upon was largely constructed from that as perceived by many writers as being ideas, values and beliefs which entrench the dominance of the more powerful over the less powerful or a view of the world transmitted by language which influences what is written and how it is written (Giddens, 1993; Cross & Ormiston-Smith, 1996; Knain, 2001).

While CDA can also focus on symbols, visual images, and other forms of semiosis (signs and symbols) as means of discourse, this study was largely limited to analysing the written text. The reason I chose to use CDA is because it enables the researcher to unearth hidden ideologies and sub-texts from the seemingly innocuous language. CDA is also a useful tool which can be used to understand the relationship between power and ideology and language. Like many CDA analysts, I adopted SFL as an analytical tool because language is examined in relation to its functionality within the social world, that is, meaning is portrayed as the result of the writer's lexical selection. The use of CDA therefore assisted in the revelation of how certain ideologies are dispersed through the education system at the micro level of EMS textbooks (closer to the individual) and the macro level (more distant from the individual) of a social agenda of the political elites. I continually drew on the vocabulary that is common to CDA, which includes the notions of hegemony, ideology, power, dominance and gender and class discrimination to enhance the exploration of ideologies in this study.

The features of language that I focused on were drawn from Fairclough (1992) as simplified in the primer by McGregor (2003, p. 5): foregrounding, backgrounding and topicalisation, embellishments, assumptions, insinuations, silences and omissions, nominalisation, modality, and register. The use of the above framework of features was a useful tool to help me examine power relationships and ideologies embedded in the selected texts. In analysing the data, I chose to do a qualitative study because it allowed for a rich description of data that could have many possible meanings, and also allowed me to give an in-depth description of the authors' interpretations of economic phenomena. The textbooks that were selected were three Grade 7 EMS texts selected from a wide range that are currently in use in schools

managed by the Department of Education in KwaZulu-Natal. All these textbooks have been approved by the DoE and were published in South Africa. I limited myself to these textbooks to keep the study manageable.

I chose to analyse only three chapters the textbooks because a complete CDA of the entire textbook would probably be impossible to achieve in the time required to complete this study. The three selected textbooks are also used extensively in the school in which I teach. Although textbooks are public documents, the selected textbooks were given pseudonyms, and named as textbooks A, B and C to avoid any ethical issues that could arise.

5.4 Discussion of findings

This study focused on examining the ideologies inherent in the sample of three Grade 7 EMS textbooks. Following the analysis of the data, seven discourses representing worldviews were identified. The discussion that follows focuses on these discourses.

5.4.1 Discourse: Stereotypical positioning of gender roles

A major finding in the analysis was the stereotypical positioning of gender, which is likely to influence readers. All three EMS textbooks portrayed women in traditional stereotypical, biased and sexist representations. Evidence of this was seen in both the written text and the pictorial depictions where women were depicted in traditional domestic roles and in imbalanced and biased settings. This imbalance and bias was evidenced by depictions of women having careers but still being responsible for the running of their homes. Women were seen as straddling a dual identity of mother as homemaker and as having jobs outside the home. Apple (1988) describes this practice as the reality of women having a “double relation to wage labour. They are both paid and unpaid workers” (p. 21). This was projected

in almost an unchallenged way in which women should be leading their lives as a necessary life choice.

In contrast, the lifestyle of men is depicted as that of professional with no domestic component. Textbooks are projecting the notion that it is normal for women to be working and to come home and be responsible for the domestic chores. This gets reified and reinforced and almost infused in the psyche of the reader that this kind of lifestyle is acceptable and normal. In contrast, men are presented as being defined in terms of having formal jobs. The textbooks do not portray them as having any domestic involvement. Males were represented as having jobs outside the home but not having to share the responsibility of chores in the home. No adult males were portrayed as helping with domestic chores. Patriarchal gender ideology dictates that the home and tending the domestic space is the domain of women (Miraftab, 2004).

Men were represented as strong, competent and powerful with the capability of being in positions of authority. This was a recurring phenomenon in both text and graphics. What this does is to continuously reify the image of a powerful man, as the reader is constantly inundated with this image of strong masculine figures, and this is linked to the notions of success and confidence. The value that comes through is that success is most likely to be achieved by strong, powerful men. This can also be prejudicial against men who are not so strong. Women were often shown as helpless and powerless, lacking the capability to become individual successful businesswomen. While there were examples of women represented as successful entrepreneurs, the pervasive subtext was that women needed the support of men to help them achieve success. The ultimate effect was to legitimate the ideology that successful women only achieved success when in partnership with others or when being mentored by strong and capable men.

The subtext and implication of this is that young female readers of these texts are likely to believe that their success depends on them being in partnership and contract with some other powerful men. Although the texts show elements of women as successful entrepreneurs, this success always seems to be depicted as dependent on males who seem to be fuelling this

success rather than the individual efforts and achievement of women. There was a deliberate silence on women presented as strong and capable or holding positions of power and authority.

The textbooks also relied upon stereotypes to illustrate economic phenomena. Women in these texts were represented in ways that reinforced and replicated a gender bias that maintained the ideology of a deficit positioning of women in society. Males were shown in stereotypical representations as having the necessary characteristics for running efficient and successful entrepreneurial ventures, and the writers of all three textbooks did very little to dislodge these stereotypical representations.

This subjugation of women I refer to as a flawed notion of the contingency of women's success, that is, women's success is contingent on males. This corroborated the findings of Feiner (1993), McKinney (2005) and Tietz (2007) that gender bias and the stratification of gender roles in textbooks were a replication of stereotypes embedded in society. The taken-for-granted assumptions transmit a mode of ideology that reinforces role stratification. This stratification or fragmentation (by linguistically and pictorially separating gender groups), as identified by Ferguson, et al. (2009), reifies the state of affairs as socially and naturally acceptable. This seems to be an ideologically biased discourse which may have an obvious impact on the young audience as it can influence them mentally. Thus this can become a shared conviction. This in turn can eventually result in a taken-for-granted assumption, which can have harmful societal consequences in the present South African society, which is still largely patriarchal.

Given South Africa's recent political context and its strong move to constitutionalise gender equality, we are finding that the textbook industry and writers only pay lip service to this. They have not embraced and embodied this ideal with any overt and clear evidence. Two of the selected textbooks were recent editions. Textbook B was a revised 2009 edition and textbook C was a 2010 revised edition. The writers of the textbooks presented pupils with no

alternative explanations and depictions and presented an unbalanced treatment of gender issues which perpetuated and maintained stereotypes and inferences implied by the data.

The omission of presentation of a range of explanations to pupils also narrows their learning experiences and presents them with a skewed version of the economy. This has the potential to perpetuate particular notions, as these are presented as acceptable and unchallenged. Pupils may internalise these social beliefs and values that males are more capable of holding positions of power and authority, which can have consequences for women in our society.

These stereotypes about the roles, potential and competence of women will continue to be entrenched, and it will be difficult to break the discourse of patriarchy. Writers of textbooks should be sensitive to the value systems, ideologies and subtexts of what they write. A way to prevent the specific example of stereotypes and gender bias, according to Tietz (2007), would be to depict males and females in textbooks in roles which are non-stereotypical, thus raising students' awareness of gender-related issues and equity. Otherwise the reinforced traditional gender stereotyping and prejudice can contribute to the limited awareness in pupils of gender stereotyping, prejudice and bias, and legitimise role stratification in South African society.

As in McKinney's (2005) work, the findings of the present study of South African EMS textbooks show that the textbook industry still has some way to go in the production of learning support materials which effectively address the challenges of integration, inequality and exclusion in post-apartheid South Africa.

5.4.2 Discourse: Entrepreneurship leads to wealth creation

The second major discourse revealed in the analysis of the texts presented a taken-for-granted assumption that entrepreneurial success is a certainty and is the route to take for the accumulation of wealth. The writers romanticise the concept of entrepreneurship, yet current research shows that entrepreneurial ventures fail monthly (Shevel, 2012). This provides a false consciousness of entrepreneurial success. All three textbooks in the sample portrayed entrepreneurship in ways that legitimise the accumulation of wealth. Entrepreneurship was seen as positive and desirable with its description of being empowering, profitable and profit-

seeking. The only hope for a prosperous future, as presented by all three textbooks, lies in entrepreneurship.

The authors presented the image of entrepreneurship as being successful in every instance in an effort to persuade pupils to believe this concept of success. This was clearly corroborated by the evidence, which revealed that entrepreneurial success can only be inevitable - irrespective of the size of the business, the age of the entrepreneur and the situation of the business venture. The notion that any business can succeed irrespective of size projects the myth that in the business world size does not matter. However, in reality size does matter as small-scale businesses struggle to remain sustainable in the presence of established businesses (Shevel, 2012).

The textbooks also project the impression that profit-making and competition are acceptable and desirable values. The presentation of information instils as acceptable a profit motive in young readers. This was seen in the representation of a young schoolboy depicted as already being a successful entrepreneur. Furthermore, the textbooks insinuate that size does not matter when it comes to the creation of wealth. Potential readers may be influenced by this notion that if the young boy can run a successful business, anyone else can.

Moreover, the school (as a representation of where education occurs) is presented as a legitimate, unquestioned site for profiteering, and thus schooling in this instance legitimises the practice of wealth accumulation. This raises the fundamental question of how society sees education. It detracts from the purpose of education, which is to develop the social consciousness and ethics of learners (Nussbaum, 2011). The school is thus seen as a neoliberal State apparatus to not only perpetuate the value system of the elite but also legitimate the values of the free market system.

The process of personal wealth creation is also legitimated by using words and phrases that give a positive connotation to wealth creation. *Ubuntu* is a term that generally refers to interaction in the community which unselfishly benefits others. So the writers of this text use

this concept of community aspirations and a positive value system to link it to the superficial concept of individual personal prosperity (Harvey, 2007), to persuade readers that the pursuit of wealth, personal prosperity and self-advancement are values that should be pursued.

The concept of unemployment is also used to convince readers that in South Africa entrepreneurship is the answer to unemployment. Potential readers are clearly told that this is the inevitable reality in South Africa: long-term unemployment is something that you have to live with unless you become an entrepreneur. The presentation of the information and the linguistic selection urges readers that this is the way things are in South Africa. Poverty, unemployment, failure and working for others are seen as undesirable. On the other hand, entrepreneurship is seen as positive and desirable. The linguistic selection of pronouns is also used to great effect to show that entrepreneurship and the creation of wealth are socially desirable. Evidence of this was seen when two social identities were constructed in the text with the use of *they* and *you*. The use of *they* constructed the entrepreneurs as more powerful and successful, while the use of *you* implied that if you're not an entrepreneur you are uncreative and without initiative. This reinforced who was included (*they*) and who was excluded (*you*). This reinforces the writers' belief that entrepreneurs belong in and are 'good' for society, aided by the omission of and silence on the negative consequences of entrepreneurship.

What was also glaringly obvious in these textbooks was the silence on or exclusion of information that showed that most of the examples of successful entrepreneurs were in a position of privilege, which allowed them access to finance to set up their businesses. The textbooks also conveyed the implicit impression that success is dependent on hard work and effort. Thus these textbooks seem to be positioned within a neoliberal value system which places value on efficiency, personal wealth accumulation and self-advancement (Harvey, 2007; Maistry, 2012; Zhang, 2012). The economically fittest in society thrive in the pursuit of wealth. According to Maistry (2012), this accumulation of personal wealth appears persuasive and appealing to the untrained eye. This was further substantiated by evidence in all three textbooks when it was seen that there was a notable silence on the reality of life in South Africa with the unevenness of terrain and differing capabilities, acumen, access to finance and opportunities that pupils are exposed to. Claims about entrepreneurship

emphasised only the success and positive benefits of entrepreneurship, with very limited reference to the risks and challenges associated with entrepreneurship. Little attention was paid to the capabilities, human abilities, entrepreneurial challenges and the kind of devastation and trauma that are associated with the failure of entrepreneurial ventures. In fact there was complete silence on issues of trauma related to failure.

The analysis above serves to iterate that what is in the textbook is seen to be legitimate and mandated. All three textbooks failed to present pupils with alternate explanations of other financial models that could function well in Third World economies. Once again the failure of the textbooks to present a range of explanations to pupils narrows their learning experiences and presents them with a distorted version of the economy. Again there is the danger that pupils may internalise these social beliefs and values that perpetuate, reinforce and reify personal wealth accumulation.

Textbooks thus become instruments of propaganda that promote the ideals of capitalism and neoliberalism, inculcating students with a particular worldview which draws on the values and assumptions of capitalism (Kelly & Pratt, 1994; McPhail 1999; Ferguson et al., 2005; Ferguson et al., 2009; Zhang, 2012). According to Ferguson et al. (2005) this can be viewed as indoctrination and propaganda, as students are not offered an alternate viewpoint which shows that there are other ways in which organised society can function, not necessarily just one based on an Anglo-Saxon capitalistic model. There is a need, as argued by Klammer (1990), Brown (1993) and Moore (2002), for pupils to be presented with different viewpoints, especially conflicting viewpoints, to help them gain more insight from a broader perspective. EMS textbooks therefore can serve as hegemonic tools as they are capable of influencing pupils, which in turn may lead to the assimilation and acceptance of the ideology of neoliberalism as being natural, ethical and moral.

5.4.3 Discourse: Advocacy of a freemarket system

The use of the framework of CDA brought to light another significant discourse, that all three textbooks advocate a free market capitalist economic system. The textbooks favour these systems over the economic systems of communism and the mixed-market system. This intended effect was created by using the techniques of foregrounding, backgrounding, assumptions, negative insinuations, register and modality. Both the systems of the freemarket and capitalism were described in positive and appealing terms, while the economic systems of communism and the centrally planned State were negatively portrayed. A reductionist discourse was used to favour one economic system over the others, that is, the freemarket system and capitalism over the mixed-market system and communism. This finding was corroborated by evidence from the texts. The centrally planned system was described in negative terms through negative insinuations. There was a deliberate omission of positive elements of the centrally planned system. In contrast, the mixed system and the freemarket system were described in positive and attractive terms. The lexical selection of positive phrases presented the economic system of capitalism as being good, liberating and legitimate. Profit-making was presented as a noble and acceptable goal and value, and pupils were given the message that it is fine to pursue profit.

These messages transmitted to pupils in the EMS textbooks are likely to reinforce the ideology that profit-making is normal and natural. As a result of the above finding, it is clear that all three textbooks are situated within a neoliberal value system. Neoliberalism, according to Harvey (2007), attacks the concept of social welfare and the notion of community. Individual freedom for personal gain and advancement and self-centredness as opposed to community advancement and *ubuntu* are shown as acceptable and normal. Neoliberalism proposes that “human well-being can best be advanced by the maximisation of entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterised by private property rights, individual liberty, unencumbered markets and free trade” (Harvey, 2007, p. 22).

The creation of policies by the government is aimed at ensuring that the market makes economic decisions, and the role of the government is limited to intervening when market forces need stimulating. The State only intervenes when there is a need for it to serve the interests of the market, develop competition and encourage community responsibility (Lawrence et al., 2012). The textbooks are completely silent on emotional and moral issues that could be developed to encourage accountability towards others. This silence mirrors McPhail's (1999) concerns about the lack of an ethical education which helps to foster compassion and empathy towards other individuals.

Neoliberalism was further evident in the assumptions that State-controlled enterprises and nationalised assets will become inefficient as opposed to the efficiency of labour and employment in the freemarket system. Efficiency is presented as a neutral, noble and value-free phenomenon and goal, yet efficiency can lead to redundancy of human capital, job losses, poverty and other kinds of trauma like humiliation and deprivation. Efficiency ensures that a product is produced at the lowest cost in order to make maximum profit. There is a notable silence on the negative effects of efficiency.

Neoliberalism emphasises that efficiency, self-discipline and hard work lead to greater wealth accumulation. Proponents of neoliberalism argue that the State lacks the ability to administer markets efficiently and in fact tends to place obstacles in the way of wealth accumulation and individual advancement, individual freedom, economic growth and economic renewal (Chomsky, 1999; Fairclough, 2003; Harvey, 2007; Maistry, 2012; Zhang, 2012). Neoliberal and capitalistic assumptions propose that the market is the most efficient instrument to manage the economy, and that the role of government is to create a good business climate rather than to look to the needs and well-being of the population at large (Harvey, 2007). This supports Chiapello and Fairclough when they echoed Marx's realisation that

capitalism in the general sense is capable of assuming highly variable historical forms, which continue to be capitalist through the continuity of a number of central features (wage-labour, competition, private property, orientation to capital accumulation, technical progress, the rampant commodification of all social activities) (2002, p. 187)

By debunking the lexical selection in these texts it can be seen that learners and readers can be easily deceived into embracing the dominant worldview (McGregor, 2003), which in this study is clearly revealed as neoliberalism. Again it can be seen that EMS textbooks can serve as hegemonic tools as they are capable of influencing pupils, which in turn may lead to the assimilation and acceptance of the ideology of neoliberalism as being natural, ethical and moral.

5.4.4 Discourse: Reinforcing the hegemonic positioning of business

Another important discourse that emerged from the critical analysis of textual information was that of the hegemonic positioning of business. Hegemony is the undue influence of one over the other, and this analysis provided evidence that business exerts an influence over the government and consumers. This message was transmitted through the use of foregrounding, nominalisations, assumptions and modality. The critical analysis of relevant aspects of the text revealed that the dominant power in society is business, and that businesses construct a form of reality that “favours their interests” (McGregor, 2003). The use of nominalisation was especially effective as it created a representation of power relationships as a living entity being in power. Business was seen to be the entity in power. Business was set up as the indispensable pillar that must be preserved and guarded by the signalling of the negative consequence of not doing this. The negative consequence was the laying off of labour, which results in the ‘suffering’ of households and government and an increase in crime levels if the productivity of the economy declines. This evidence in the text clearly shows that the real power lies not in government nor with the people, but with business. Although the government is overtly given much power in economic relationships, the critical analysis of data unveils the reality of this relationship. The dominant partner is business and not government as is openly stated. The ultimate beneficiary of economic activity is business and capitalists.

Thus the selection of information in these texts positions this discourse clearly as depicting the values of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism undermines the government bureaucracy by

advocating that the government can be an inefficient institution and their involvement in the economy should be limited to the protection of markets (Chomsky, 1999). In reality, the economic consequences of this system of neoliberalism can lead to a greater gap in the social and economic inequality between rich and poor. The message transmitted to learners is therefore likely to reinforce the assumption that business and hence the markets should be the dominant entity in South African society. Pupils are unlikely to question this message as the knowledge in the textbook is seen to be legitimate and mandated, and they may internalise these beliefs and values that reify the importance of business interests.

5.4.5 Discourse: The economy and its impact on the environment

The analysis of the three selected textbooks showed evidence that very little mention is made of the fact that the natural environment is damaged in the production of goods and services. By backgrounding concerns for the physical environment the text diminishes the importance of environmental impact issues in the overall economic scheme of provision of goods and services. The fulfilment of needs and wants seems to hide the reality that this is done at the expense of the environment and consequently of people too. Ferguson et al. (2009) would call this dissimulation, the concealing or obscuring of an unpalatable issue to make it seem more harmless than it really is. This finding shows that the message in the texts favours neoliberalism, as this system rationalises the scrapping of environmental regulations, which can lead to devastating consequences for the environment (Munasinge, 1999).

What was also clearly evident was that business was absolved from blame while people in the rural areas were specifically named as responsible for the degradation of the environment. This message is likely to be reified since only one version of the reality is given and pupils are not presented with alternate viewpoints. Readers are not presented with the perspective that economic growth can be achieved at the expense of the environment. They are not informed that economic growth and the economic fulfilment of needs and wants also lead to increased levels of pollution in the environment, which places the environment under great pressure. The result is that the poor are at greater risk, as they are adversely affected by the

rising levels of pollution, soil erosion and depletion of natural resources (Forstater, 2002). There are also indications (Lawrence et al., 2012; Chun, 2008) that this neoliberal slant is leading to climate change, which can have destructive consequences on food production and food security, which can lead to increased levels of poverty and despair.

5.4.6 Discourse: Deficient service provisioning is normal

A discourse that was also evident in a critical analysis of the selected texts was one that portrayed poverty and deficient service provisioning in certain communities as normal. There was an attempt to shift the responsibility for service provisioning away from the State and onto the community. By debunking the lexical selection, the findings revealed the idea of self-accountability as opposed to social provisioning by the State. The texts portrayed conflicting messages. This was evident when the level of accomplishment of basic services by the State was described as 'great'. This was directly contradicted by evidence in the text, when it was seen in the experience of the rural family that there was no provision of basic services. This absence of basic services was presented as normal and uncontested, and the assumption of the normalcy of a lack of State provisioning was clear.

Once again this positions the EMS textbooks in a neoliberal value system, since neoliberalism advocates the dismantling of public and social welfare programmes and service provisioning by the State (Miraftab, 2004; Chomsky, 1999). Thus this finding points to the close relationship between the government and a neoliberal ideology. According to Miraftab (2004), the adoption of neoliberal policies by the State has crippled the ability of the post-apartheid government to redress the inequalities of apartheid. The adoption of neoliberal policies affects and compromises the achievement of social justice and raising the socio-economic conditions of the poor and disadvantaged. The economic consequences can result in an increasing gap between the rich and poor and an increase in the deprivation of the poor, and it blurs the division between the public and private sectors (Miraftab, 2004; Chomsky, 1999).

5.4.7 Discourse: Globalisation is natural and unproblematic

The final discourse that emerged from the findings of the close critical analysis of the selected chapters of two texts was that globalisation is a natural and expected consequence of successful businesses. The objective of international trade was not driven by a humanitarian purpose, but by the need for increasing profits. The immediacy of profit-making and surplus production is presented as an uncontested necessity for international trade. This finding was revealed through the assumption that global trading is the expected objective of successful businesses, irrespective of its impact on people and communities in both the exporting and importing countries. There is complete silence on the consequences of globalisation, viz. that costs will have to be decreased so that goods can be competitively marketed in other countries. For costs to be decreased, staff will be paid lower salaries, which in turn will impact families and communities.

The omission of the consequences of globalisation reifies this concept. There is also silence on any explanation that in producing surplus, businesses apply more of a country's resources than they need to. This compromises the long-term sustainability of such resources. Furthermore, by placing resources in the hands of business, globalisation gives business greater power in the management of resources, which can lead to greater inequality. Therefore globalisation is an unjust feature of neoliberalism, as it advocates for more global market integration and less regulation of international trade (Miraftab, 2004). The neoliberal advocacy of globalisation has raised concerns that it is not economically and socially beneficial, as it is diametrically opposed to basic human needs (Chomsky, 1999; Harvey, 2007; Bone 2010; Lawrence et al., 2012). Critics of neoliberalism argue that neoliberalism has resulted in the dismantling of communal and personal well-being, and has undermined the stability of the socio-economic conditions and social cohesion of countries which have adopted this form of economic development (Chomsky, 1999; Harvey, 2007; Bone, 2010; Lawrence et al., 2012).

Once again, the textbooks are instruments of propaganda, as they propagate a worldview that reinforces and reifies profit-making and wealth acquisition. This message is likely to be reified since only one version of the reality is given, and pupils are not presented with alternate viewpoints. Because pupils are not presented with all the consequences of globalisation, they are given only this version of economic reality, which they are likely to internalise and perpetuate.

5.5 Limitations of the study

A major limitation was that at the time of this study there was a complete absence of any studies based on EMS textbooks in the South African classroom. An example of this was seen in the development of an analytical framework which suited the needs of this study. Although this was based on Fairclough's (2000) and McGregor's (2003) frameworks, this had to be adapted considerably to ensure that the coding of data resulted in the creation of discourses.

A further limitation was that I limited the study to only three EMS textbooks from a vast field to make the study manageable in terms of time and budget constraints. Another issue was that how textbooks are actually used by teachers and received by pupils may have a significant bearing on how the ideologies are transmitted, if they are at all. This prompts the question of whether what is in the textbook is taught to pupils, and is what is taught in reality learned by pupils? (Apple, 1988)

5.6 Implications and suggestions for further research

Knowledge is made available to pupils largely through the use of textbooks. Apple (1988) estimates that seventy percent of time spent in the classroom is based on text materials. However, too little critical attention is paid to the ideological source of its production.

Therefore this study has implications for further research areas, especially in the light of the neoliberal ideology transmitted in these textbooks. In the light of the findings of gender bias in the textbooks, this has major implications for teachers, policy makers, writers and producers of textbooks. There is a need for these stakeholders to be made aware of the hidden message of gender bias that can be transmitted to pupils.

Another implication arising from this study was whether the actual content in the textbook is taught to pupils, and is what is taught in reality learned by pupils. This study could therefore lead to another, on how EMS textbooks are used in the classroom. A further recommendation is that this study could lead to a further study based on the discourse of the EMS texts as discursive practice, exploring how EMS texts are interpreted, reproduced and transformed by people, i.e. the text's production, distribution, and how readers respond to the text.

The findings of this study should be useful to all role players involved in the education system. Educators should use critical language awareness to resist the power of print. This enables us to refuse to believe everything that is written, by asking critical questions. This thus increases awareness of what a text selects, hides or backgrounds. A critical discourse analysis can also help the educator to look at the obvious and taken-for-granted assumptions in critical ways, so that the ideological content of texts can be challenged.

5.7 Conclusion

The main purpose of this study was to explore the ideology that is manifested in selected Grade 7 EMS textbooks available to teachers and pupils in the GET band in South African classrooms. A key finding was the subjugation of women, which I referred to as a flawed notion of the contingency of women's success, that is, that women's success is contingent on males. Other key findings revealed that the content of the selected textbooks is ideologically shaped to favour a neoliberal economy, and that these textbooks are instruments of neoliberal propaganda as they are deeply invested with neoliberal values.

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13 September 2012

Mrs Rosheen David 210551777
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Mrs David

Protocol reference number: HSS/0856/01266
Project title: Ideology and textbooks: An exploration of the ideology in Economic and Management Sciences textbooks: A critical discourse analysis

EXPEDITED APPROVAL

I wish to inform you that your application has been granted Full Approval through an expedited review process.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully



Professor Steven Collings (Chair)

/pen

cc Supervisor: Dr S Maistry
cc Academic Leader: Dr MN Davids
cc School Admin: Ms S Naicker

Professor S Collings (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban, 4000, South Africa
Telephone: +27 (0)31 260 3587/3350 Facsimile: +27 (0)31 260 4609 Email: smbap@ukzn.ac.za / snythd@m.ukzn.ac.za
Founding Campuses: ■ Edgewood ■ Howard College ■ Medical School ■ Pietermaritzburg ■ Westville

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