Ideological representations of entrepreneurship in high school economic and management sciences textbooks

by

Willard Morgan

Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

Master's in Education

(Curriculum Studies)

Faculty of Education

University of the Free State

Supervisor: Dr C. D. Martin

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Declaration

I, **Willard Morgan**, student number 2012125767, declare that this thesis, ***Ideological representations of entrepreneurship in high school economic and management sciences textbooks*** submitted for the qualification, **Master's in Education** at the University of the Free State, is my own independent work.

All the references that I have used have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete referencing.

I further declare that this work has not previously been submitted by me at another university or faculty for the purpose of obtaining a qualification.

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Abstract

In keeping with international trends, various policy initiatives have been proposed in South Africa to reform education practices and equip learners with the ability to become critical-thinking citizens. One such reform was the inclusion of Economic and Management Sciences (EMS) as a subject in the curriculum in the late 1990s. EMS which is a uniquely South African creation, was introduced to address a particular agenda; namely, to enable learners to understand the wealth-creation process and develop entrepreneurial dispositions. Accordingly, the programmed curriculum evident in EMS textbooks was designed to meet these official curriculum objectives that would create an entrepreneurial culture, which in turn would stimulate economic growth. Of importance to this study is the representation of entrepreneurship within these textbooks. Considering that textbooks are carriers of more than content information, it should also reflect particular values and ideologies. It is of particular importance to examine these textbooks given the important role textbooks are expected to fulfil in the South African classroom. This study aims to examine the hegemonic and ideological discourse surrounding entrepreneurship in EMS textbooks.

A qualitative research approach was employed for this study with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) being adopted as the methodological framework to reveal how the content in the selected EMS textbooks represent particular ideological orientations. The prevailing discourses that emerged from the study were the veiled neutrality of female entrepreneurs, the stereotypical position of female- owned enterprises, racially apathetic discourse, other-presentation of Black entrepreneurs, the enterprising self, misconceptions of intelligence and abilities, and a one-sided representation of ownership of resources. The key finding of this study was the representation of the entrepreneur as being a white, capitalist male, deeply invested with neoliberal values. As a result, learners may be negatively affected by the messages passed on to them through these textbooks. Curriculum materials in schools should be selected with care, sensitivity, and consideration to ensure an equitable pedagogy is adopted.

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List of Acronyms

CAPS	Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DoBE	Department of Basic Education
DoE	Department of Education
EMS	Economic and Management Sciences
FET	Further Education and Training
NCS	National Curriculum Statement
OBE	Outcomes Based Education
SME	Small and Medium sized Enterprises
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1. INTRODUCTION

This study explores the ideological representations of entrepreneurship in Grade 7 Economic and Management Sciences (EMS) textbooks. I was particularly interested in the representation of entrepreneurs in Grade 7 EMS textbooks with respect to gender, race and social class. To situate the study I begin with a brief outline of the research landscape of ideological representations of entrepreneurship and textbook research. This outline provides the background and rationale for the study, as well as the aims and research questions that guided the study. To understand the data, an outline of the theoretical and methodological framework, which was used as an explanatory and analytical lens, was briefly sketched. I then conclude with a synopsis of the thesis and navigate the links between the ensuing chapters.

1.2. BACKGROUND

Following South Africa's first democratic election in 1994, the Government, now led by the African National Congress (ANC) sought to create a society that was equal, just and would empower its people to be effective citizens (Chisholm, 2003). One of the tools for bringing about this change was education (Lucen & Ramsuran, 1997). Subsequently, numerous policy initiatives and curriculum-related reforms were set in motion to democratise education (Pillay, 2013). The initial reform initiative aimed to purge the school curriculum (syllabus) of content inherited from the apartheid government that was racially offensive and out-of-date (Jansen, 1999). The introduction of continuous assessment (CA) followed by being included in the most ambitious curriculum innovation in the South African education landscape; namely, the Government's introduction of outcomes-based-education [OBE] (Rasool, 1999). According to Jansen (1997), OBE made remarkable

development in curriculum reform, educational legislation, policy development and providing new ways of educating. Professor Jansen (1998) however, also added a much-needed dose of practicality and realism and became an important figure in the debate around OBE (Christie, 1997). Jansen together with other scholars laid bare the major failings of OBE: the complexity of the model and of its language (Jansen, 1998), the problems of time-management in the delivery of the curriculum (Chisholm, Motala & Vally, 2003), the need for highly qualified teachers (Jansen, 1997), the burden of administration in terms of assessments (Muller, 1996), and the difficulty of funding the resources needed to aid teachers to enhance the quality of lessons (Waghid, 2001).

Following the robust debate which involved administrators, educational organisations and teachers, the Minister of Basic Education, Angie Motshekga, and other education officials were persuaded to get involved and modify it (OBE). The introduction of the current curriculum, Schooling 2025, was the result of this intervention - also commonly referred to as the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement [CAPS] (DBE, 2010). The curriculum aimed to overcome the challenges and ills of OBE and address issues of quality education for all (DBE, 2010).

Throughout the numerous policy initiatives and changes, equity and redress continued to rank highly on the national agenda in post-apartheid South Africa (Green & Naidoo, 2008). Of specific interest to this study is the introduction by the new dispensation of economic literacy and basic entrepreneurship skills which sought to reduce unemployment and advance the development of small businesses.

Entrepreneurship education (EE) was formally introduced into the South African school curriculum, which became embedded in the subject Economic and Management Sciences (EMS) which was included in the school curriculum in the late 1990s (Du Toit, 2016). A uniquely South African creation, EMS was introduced to address a particular agenda; namely, to enable learners to understand the wealth-creation process and develop entrepreneurial dispositions (David, 2012;

DBE, 2011). Consequently, the programmatic curriculum, evident in EMS textbooks, was designed to meet these official curriculum objectives that would create an entrepreneurial culture, which in turn would stimulate economic growth (Maistry & David, 2017; Chimucheka, 2014). From a curriculum model perspective, textbooks are supposedly considered as authentic sources of knowledge to be conveyed in the classroom as the curriculum intends (Pillay, 2013). As such, textbooks represent the potentially implemented curriculum, seen as the link between aims and reality (Valverde, Bianchi, Wolfe, Schmidt, & Houang, 2002). This written curriculum (textbooks) links the intended curriculum (expressed in the National Curriculum Statements [NCS, 2011]) to the implemented curriculum that is actually articulated in the classroom (Swanepoel, 2010). Accordingly, the textbook as a resource for the intended and implemented curriculum is the focus of this study.

There has been research conducted that has explored the ways in which discourses around entrepreneurship education are perceived by high school learners, as well as how they are [re]constructed in policy documents and curriculum texts in South Africa (Bux, 2016; Steenekamp, 2013; Zungu, 2002). In 2002, Zungu conducted a critical analysis of the EMS curriculum in secondary schools, and its relevance to the needs of the corporate world. The researcher found that the lack of participation by relevant stakeholders in the development of a curriculum led to little congruence between what is taught and the world of work. Contrary to issues of under-resourcing and poor communication between business and education as contributors to the unemployability of school-leavers, entrepreneurship was cited as critically important in reconstruction, development and economic growth (Zungu, 2002).

Steenekamp (2013) who studied the positive influence that *ad hoc* entrepreneurship education and training programmes had on young learners in the South African secondary school curriculum, referred to the positioning of entrepreneurship as a ‘magical genie’ (2013:10). Entrepreneurship, equated to a mythical ‘genie in a bottle‘, that is believed to fulfil the wishes of the person who

frees it from the confines its' lamp or bottle, is seen as being capable of healing the many growing socio economic ills in South Africa. More recently, Bux (2016) looked at the impact that entrepreneurship education programmes had on the mind-set of South African youth, grades 10 to 12, through a quantitative study, distributing 1200 Likert scale questionnaires. Of these, 381 were used to assess entrepreneurship education programmes that was of a longer duration, and 637 assessed the short entrepreneurship education programme. Recommendations from this study centred on an overarching finding that entrepreneurship education be introduced as a compulsory subject in grades 10-12 by the Department of Basic Education (DBE).

There has been a paucity of research that has focused on the ways in which representations of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs are constructed in textbooks with specific reference to **race, class and gender**, all of which are of particular interest to this study. Davids (2012) for example looked at ideologies in EMS textbooks, while Pillay (2013, 2017) researched issues of gender in Business studies textbooks and scholars such as Maistry & Ramdhani (2010) have delved into work on integrating social responsibility into entrepreneurship education.

Maistry and David (2017) maintain that a hidden ideology within South African EMS textbooks facilitates a particular socio-political and socio-economic agenda. Masquerading behind the pretence of democracy and organisational reform, the language used by the free market, that is now firmly entrenched in discourse practices, can be said "to embody new and perhaps more hegemonic techniques of control" (Simpson & Mayr, 2010:97). For example, in terms of gender representation, men are still portrayed in a wider range of occupational roles as well as occupying more positions of leadership in economic, corporate and Government institutions (Maistry & Pillay, 2014). In addition, with regards to entrepreneurship in particular, there appears to be a distinct and uncritical glamorisation of entrepreneurship as the answer to the poverty crisis that, most especially, faces underdeveloped nations (Barbosa & Ferreira, 2015).

In the context of South Africa, there is “little contention around the importance of textbooks” (Maistry & David, 2017:102). In the DoE (2009: 6), the publication of *Curriculum News* 2010 highlighted the importance of textbooks in the statement that “textbooks play a vital part in teaching and learning”. Additionally, the latest objectives of the DoE (2009), as incorporated in *Schooling 2025,* re-centres the textbook as a crucial resource in teaching and learning. However, whilst textbooks are responsible for 90% of content that students are taught, little critical attention is given to the ideological source of their production (Apple, 1988). Pingel (1999:5) affirms that in addition to the transmission of facts, textbooks also inscribe the socio-political norms of society upon learners’ consciousness; in this sense, textbooks not only *“*convey facts, but [they] also spread ideologies*”*. As this information which is held to be most authoritative is a direct result of hegemonic and power relations, it is naïve to accept the information transmitted in textbooks as “neutral” (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991:897).

Considering the important role that textbooks are envisaged as playing in the South African classroom and the important role they play in shaping and socialising students, this study aims to explore the ideological representations of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship present in EMS textbooks (Crawford, 2003). The focus of this study is on the textual and visual depiction of the entrepreneur in five textbooks. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is adopted by this study to understand the representation of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship with regards to gender, race and social class and the possible reasons for these representations being permeated throughout texts.

1.3. RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

As a high school teacher teaching commercial subjects, that included Accounting, Business studies, Economics and EMS, I have always been particularly triggered by and interested in issues of youth unemployment. Youth in South Africa aged between 15-24 have been identified as the most vulnerable, with levels of

unemployment increasing from 32,4% in 2018 to 55,2% in the first quarter of 2019 (World Bank, 2018; Stats SA, 2019).

Finding that efforts as a teacher were not far-reaching, I specialised in entrepreneurship education at schools across the country for several years, providing workshops on behalf of a private financial training company, to encourage entrepreneurial activity amongst secondary school youth. Throughout this experience a silence existed around what constituted an entrepreneur in the South African context. The idea of entrepreneurship only seemed to resonate with a handful of students. This disassociation raised questions and prompted an interest as to how these representations around race, gender and class were or were not being constructed.

These questions and experience in school had initially led me to question teachers and their role in teaching entrepreneurship. My initial reading around entrepreneurship education indicated that not only were teachers themselves not specifically trained to be entrepreneurial, but that research in EMS education, specifically in the context of South African schools, was scarce (North, 2002; Herbel-Eisenmann, 2007; America, 2014). Regardless, this new discipline was introduced to prepare pupils to be entrepreneurial, which would address problems caused by high rates of poverty, and youth and graduate unemployment; yet according to the World bank (2018), South Africa is the most unequal country amongst 149 others, with ever-increasing unemployment amongst youth (Stats SA, 2019).

Reading more around topics such as entrepreneurial skills, economics and business management and their inclusion in the school curriculum, I found that several scholars questioned not only the content, but also the programmes and impact thereof in secondary schools (Steenekamp, 2013; Chimucheka, 2014; Clifford, 2014; Sirelkhatim & Gangi, 2015; Bux, 2016; Du Toit, 2016).

These initial forays into the research around entrepreneurship education served as a motivation for me to conduct the study, and were significant in my decision to

focus on representations in textbooks. In keeping with the earlier work of Apple and Christian-Smith (1991:1) around bias in textbooks, they stated that “little attention has been paid to the one artefact that plays such a major role in defining whose culture is taught in the textbook”.

Bernstein (1990) maintains that the subject-content in textbooks is always the result of the process of transmission and selection and therefore to a large degree, textbooks are carriers of particular ideologies and values that can be seen as powerful forces which embody as well as reinforce or [re]construct particular discourses (Johnsen, 1999; Selander & Skjelbred, 2004; Svendsen & Svendsen, 2014). Teachers who are generally not trained critical linguists, may unwittingly pass on information that contains hidden concepts propagated by the economic policies and ideologies of the ruling party (David, 2012). In addition, the South African education system faces challenges such as an ageing teacher- population, shrinking budgets for equipment and supplies, and increases in class sizes that are likely to contribute to the ongoing dependence on textbooks (Farragher & Yore, 1997). It is therefore imperative that more consideration is given to the critical-analysis of the contents of these books.

1.4. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

In order to explore the ways in which entrepreneurship is ideologically represented, the following objectives have relevance:

- Explore the construction of entrepreneurship in grade 7 EMS textbooks.
- Theorise ideological representations of entrepreneurship in grade 7 EMS textbooks.

1.5. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study aimed to understand how entrepreneurship was constructed in Grade 7 EMS textbooks, and the ideologies embedded within this construction. This research explores the ideological representations of entrepreneurship embedded within current EMS textbooks. To understand the extent to which ideology is reflected and reinforced in EMS textbooks, this research endeavoured to answer the following questions:

- How is entrepreneurship constructed in textbooks in Grade 7 EMS textbooks?
- What ideological representations of entrepreneurship are evident in Grade 7 EMS textbooks?
- Why do these ideologies of entrepreneurship permeate contemporary EMS textbooks in the way in that it does?

1.6. OUTLINE OF THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study was located within a post-structuralist theoretical framework and adopted critical discourse analysis (CDA) as an analytical strategy.

1.6.1. Theoretical Framework

To attempt to answer the questions raised by this research study, I employed post-structuralism as a lens that would allow me to see beyond what was represented at face value in the EMS textbooks. By focusing on the ambiguities and gaps in the system of meaning, this paradigm goes beyond merely understanding or explaining ideological representations of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship in EMS textbooks; instead, it probes the “discovered regularity” and finds meaning there (Harcourt, 2007:17).

Post-structuralism, as Geuss (1981) explains, is a style of critical theory that has the ambition of realising the kind of knowledge that "gives agents a kind of knowledge inherently productive of enlightenment and emancipation" (ibid. 1981:2). According to Baxter (2002), post-structuralism is a research orientation that requires suspending the quest for truth and accepting a lack of closure which reveals "an appreciation of diversity and richness of its competing perspectives" (ibid. 2002:17). This post-structural perspective provided possibilities to consider representations of entrepreneurship as being fluid, resisting truths and rigid, fixed boundaries and deliberately trying to see these representations in textbooks in new and different ways.

1.6.2. Methodological Framework

This research aims to understand the construction of entrepreneurship and the ideologies embedded within this construction. Consequently, a qualitative approach that places a greater emphasis on the depth and quality of information is applied to this study (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). This suits the study's intention of developing an incisive understanding of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs as they have been represented in South African Grade 7 EMS textbooks.

To understand how entrepreneurship has been constructed, CDA is used. Fairclough (1989:20) defines CDA as an interdisciplinary approach to studying discourse that sees "language as a form of social practice" and focuses specifically on the ways that text and talk reproduce social and political domination. CDA is rooted in both critical linguistics and poststructuralist discourse theory (Luke, 1997). Luke (1997), as well as Fairclough and Wodak (1997) view CDA as a modern approach to studying discourses and language in social institutions that view language not only as used by society, but constructed by society. In particular, CDA is useful to this research study as it allows the study to go beyond describing a discourse, by analysing how and why a discourse is produced (David, 2012). It assumes that "language is invested" and "not a neutral tool for transmitting a

message" (Pillay, 2013:40). This approach allows for this study to ascertain the real meaning, both overt and hidden, behind the text and images used to represent entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship in high school EMS textbooks (Apple, 1988; McGregor, 2003).

Fairclough (2003) views CDA as a comprehensive textual analysis which explicitly includes the combination of inter-discursive analysis of text, linguistics and other methods of semiotic analysis. The method of CDA used in the study followed the guidelines offered by Fairclough (2000) which entailed describing, interpreting and explaining both the text and visual information as illustrated in figure 1.1 below.

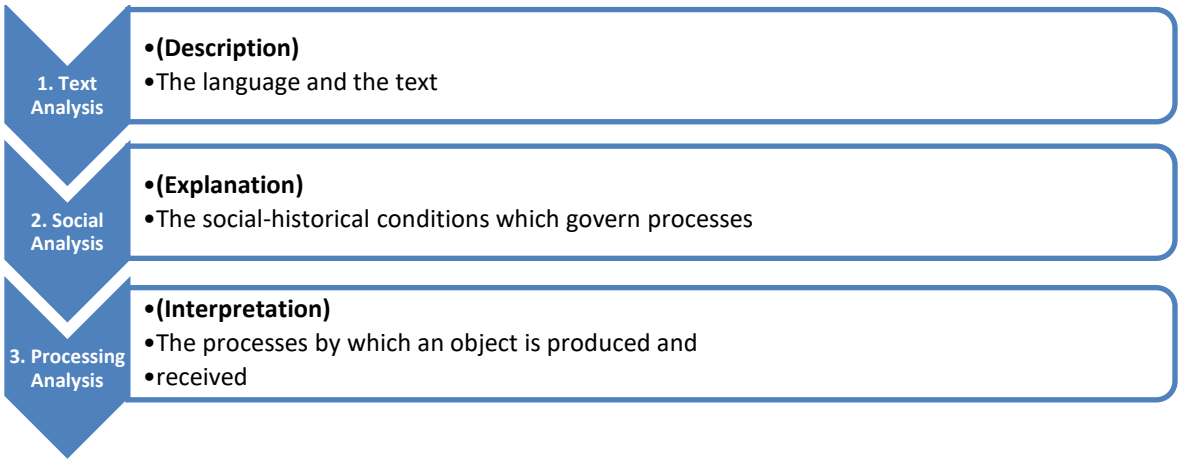


Figure1.1: Three dimensions of CDA (Fairclough, 2000)

The data used for this study was generated through a discourse analysis of documents. Documents such as textbooks in this case, contain words (text) and visuals (images) that yield rich data through quotations, excerpts or entire passages that are organised into categories, case examples and major themes (Bowen, 2009).

Purposive sampling was used to select the five grade 7 EMS textbooks based on "their typicality or possession of the particular characteristics being sought" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007:106). Grade 7, in particular, was selected as the

first entrepreneurship group; that is, because it was first introduced in this grade. In the analysis of data, the work of McKinney (2005) on textbooks for diverse learners was particularly useful in conducting the quantitative content analysis. The work of McGregor (2003) and Price (2005) created a structure within which to apply Fairclough's (2000) Critical Discourse Analysis [CDA] and Halliday's Systematic Functional Linguistics [SFL] (1985) using Huckins' (1997) extended CDA protocol.

1.7. OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

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

Chapter 2 focuses on reviewing the literature relevant to this study. I begin by defining entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship education (EE), discussing the importance of EE and then locating EE in South African secondary school EMS textbooks. Thereafter, I looked at textbooks and origins of textbook research, followed by a review of related literature that underpinned this study by interrogating the key issues raised by these writers. In so doing, this chapter also examines the assumption that school textbooks can be seen as a form of hegemony and social control, as they have the potential to promote certain ideologies such as capitalism and neoliberalism (Collison, 2003; Ferguson, Collison, Power, & Stevenson, 2005; Ferguson, Collison, Power & Stevenson, 2009).

Chapter 3 unpacks the research design and methodology for the study, and elaborates on the choice of CDA as my methodology. The chapter includes a conversation around the theoretical underpinnings of the chosen design and methodology, and goes on to discuss sampling, ethics and issues of trustworthiness.

Chapter 4 presents the analysis of data in textbooks. Once interpreted, the themes that emerged from the analysis are explored.

Chapter 5 concludes the dissertation by revealing how entrepreneurs are represented in the textbooks, and discusses the findings in relation to the existing body of knowledge deliberated in Chapter 2. The implications of this study draw the chapter and thesis to a close.

1.8. CONCLUSION

This chapter introduced and provided an outline of the purpose and rationale behind this study. The background was presented, along with an initial indication of the research design and methodology, thereafter concluding with a brief synopsis of each chapter of this dissertation. The next chapter (2) provides a review of the literature relevant to entrepreneurship education, textbook-research, and the use of textbooks to construct representations.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

A literature review is seen as the building blocks of all educational research because it contextualises the study in relation to “what has been done before” as well as the “strengths and weaknesses of existing studies” (Boote & Beile, 2005:3). In addition, Creswell (2013) states that a review of the literature provides the rationale for the research and allows one to position one’s study within current literature.

This chapter provides a review of the research that focuses on ideological representations of entrepreneurship in EMS textbooks.

I start by defining Entrepreneurship Education (EE) from a broader global perspective and then I narrow the discussion to its current place in South African secondary school Economic and Management Sciences (EMS) textbooks. The chapter then goes on to discuss textbook research in terms of the importance of textbooks as a primary source to educate learners. This leads to the exploration of research that examines ideology in textbooks, after which a review of studies conducted by South African researchers ensues. Following this, I narrow my focus onto ideology, specifically in EMS textbooks. The chapter concludes by reflecting on the inferences of the literature review for the present study as well as the conceptual framework that underpins it.

2.2 ENTREPRENEURSHIP EDUCATION

2.2.1 Defining Entrepreneurship

In order to define EE, it is imperative that one has an understanding of the construct and construction of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship is still a developing field around which there is no consensus; as such, it has struggled to come to an absolute definition of itself (Higgins & Galloway, 2014; Audretsch, Kuratko & Link,

2015; Moodley, 2017). Although the debates around defining entrepreneurship are beyond the scope of this study, it is important to note that Entrepreneurship continues “to have a different meaning to different people” (Lackéus, 2015:9). Although the term entrepreneur has been used for more than 200 years "there has been total confusion over the definition" (Lambing & Kuehl, 2000:14).

Jonsson (2014) goes further to point out that contemporary academic literature about entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs is not grounded in one unified theoretical framework. It is in Jonsson’s (2017) later work that we find that the lack of certainty starts at the conversation around the founding of the concept. Sources such as *Webster’s Online Dictionary* (2015) suggest that the term *entrepreneur* was *“*first defined by Richard Cantillon” in his book, *Essai sur la nature du commerce en general* (1755), where he defines the term *“entreprendre”* as any general undertaking of a business (Peneder, 2009:80). Jonsson (2017) suggests that one only needs to look at sources in French dictionaries, to realise that the origins of the terms *entreprendre* and *entrepreneur* in French, preceded Cantillons’ writing. Some examples of the word *entrepreneur,* dating back to the 15th century, can be seen in *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français 1330-1500*. In Jonsson’s (2017) search for the original documents in the *Making of Modern Economy* collection, 705 different pamphlets and books were identified, in which the term *entreprendre was used* to describe both entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial activity, as well as a further 123 other works that used the term *entrepreneur* years before Cantillon’s *Essai* was publication in 1755. This “misattributed” origin of the term *entrepreneur* implicitly suggest that entrepreneurship as a concept is linked to the industrial age (Jonsson, 2017).

Researchers such as Landes, Mokyr & Baumol (2012) however, maintain that there should be “no doubt that the concepts of enterprise and entrepreneurs are older than recorded written human history” (Jonsson 2017:17). The writers of earlier times, whose works are preserved in the *Making of the Modern World* database of historical economics documents, “knew in their bones that survival

depended on initiative, creativity, stewardship and risk-taking" (Jonsson 2017:17). Thus concepts such as innovative entrepreneurship can be traced further back than the industrial age when entrepreneurship was considered as achieving one's objectives by "finding creative ways" regardless of what those may be (Landes, Mokyr, & Baumol, 2012; Baumol, 2010:155).

This stands in stark contrast to narrower definitions used by researchers such as Van Aardt and Van Aardt (1997:4) who cite the *Oxford English Dictionary* in defining the entrepreneur as someone "who organises, manages, and assumes the risks of a business enterprise". Other researchers such as Shane & Venkataraman (2000:219) define entrepreneurship as "a process that involves the discovery, evaluation, and exploitation of opportunities to introduce new products, services, processes, ways of organizing, or markets". Other definitions consider the notion of innovation as a key quality of entrepreneurship. This is in keeping with Schumpeter's (1954) perspective that entrepreneurship involves innovations that result in new combinations and ultimately spur creative destruction where these newly created ventures, goods or services can hurt existing goods, services or businesses (Shane, 2003). According to Kirzner (1997), the entrepreneur is an individual who is alert to trade opportunities. The entrepreneur is able to identify suppliers as well as customers and acts as the intermediary who is able to realise profit out of this intermediary function (Deakins & Freel, 2006). This reinforces Zimmerer and Scarborough's (2005) observation that entrepreneurs are new businesses or combinations that have come about in the face of risk and uncertainty in order to achieve profit and growth.

It follows that there is strong disagreement around issues of definition regarding entrepreneurship with its two quite differing views (a wide and a narrow view) on what is meant by entrepreneurship and consequently entrepreneurship education (Mwasalwiba, 2010; Sirelkhatim & Gangi, 2015; Lackéus, 2015). Due to the risk of misunderstanding and causing confusion Lackéus (2015:9) advises that "any discussion on entrepreneurial education needs to start with clarifying which

definition is used". Based on the narrow definition, entrepreneurship is about becoming an entrepreneur, which is associated with self-employment, opportunity identification, venture- creation, business development and growth (Mahieu, 2006; QAA, 2012). According to the wider definition, entrepreneurship is about becoming entrepreneurial; that is, action-orientated, creative, initiative-taking, personal development and self-reliance (Lackéus, 2015). This choice of definition and approach is significant due to the profound effect that this has on educational objectives, course-content-design, student assessment procedures, target audiences and teaching methods (Mwasalwiba, 2010).

Research shows that the narrower definition of entrepreneurship that emphasises the creation of new organisations and ensures students are prepared for the world of work, may place restrictions on students and the teaching community alike (Jonsson, 2017). As stated by the European Commission (2013), members of the public - teachers in particular - are inclined to associate EE only with business, which leads to the use of a definition that is ineffective because it is too constricted (2013:6, 40). Conversely, broad definitions of entrepreneurship emphasise not only the creation of new business ventures, but go further to highlight attitudes and behaviours that are considered of value in various contexts (Gibb, 2002). This broader definition views EE as a process which allows learners to acquire a more diverse set of competencies which is ultimately of greater benefit to the individual, society and the economy, as these competencies extend beyond business and are applicable in every aspect of people's lives (EU Budapest Agenda, 2011:8).

2.2.2 Defining Entrepreneurship Education

According to Hynes and Richardson (2007:733), the examination of various definitions uncovers a common theme; that EE is more than educating people about starting a business, and should seek to equip graduates with the "knowledge, skills and competencies to engage in a more enterprising, innovative and flexible manner in a changing workplace environment."

This supports an earlier position by Gibb (1993) that the union between education and entrepreneurship must accept and recognise the line of thought that human behaviour is an essential foundation for the phenomenon of entrepreneurship education. For Gibb (1993), entrepreneurship and EE are about human behaviour, and as such, he proposed that this behaviour, which is reinforced by certain attributes and skills, is of significance in the context of education (2007a). Based on this viewpoint, Gibb (2008:6) defined entrepreneurship for the purpose of education as:

> [B]ehaviours, skills and attributes applied individually and/or collectively to help individuals and organisations of all kinds to create, cope with and enjoy change and innovation involving higher levels of uncertainty and complexity as a means of achieving personal fulfilment and organisation effectiveness.

Several researchers share this broader definition. Azubuike (2010), for example, conceptualised EE as the type of education that deals with acquisition of ideas and skills which transforms an individual into being self-reliant through self-employment. He argued that EE prepared people, youth especially, to be enterprising, responsible individuals who become entrepreneurial or entrepreneurial thinkers that ultimately make meaningful contributions to economic development and subsequently to sustainable national security. Osakwe (2011) affirms this view of EE as the development of personal skills and qualities that enable an individual to gain an understanding of how the economy works and the knowledge to react to these market forces. In keeping with this view, Ojeifo (2012) defines the term *entrepreneurship education*, as formal training required to obtain knowledge, skills and attitudes, which could direct human and material capitals towards business objectives for self-reliance. These self-reliant citizens ultimately foster security for both the individual and community (Ojeifo, 2012).

Ndedi (2012:60) provides a view of EE that is informed by the South African context:

> EE [is a tool that] seeks to prepare people, particularly youth, to be responsible, enterprising individuals who become entrepreneurs or entrepreneurial thinkers by immersing them in real-life learning experiences where they can take risks, manage the results, and learn from the outcomes.

Although these definitions, or the lack of a clear definition, do not describe EE in so much as they dictate the content that should be taught, it emphasizes what Gibb (2007a: 2-3) refers to as “the desired outcomes for an entrepreneurial culture through education”.

2.2.3 Importance of Entrepreneurship Education

Due its important role in society, EE has been widely recognised as one of the fastest emerging areas of education globally (Du Toit, 2016; Mwasalwiba, 2010). Beyond creating a culture of entrepreneurship, the most common reason that EE is promoted by researchers and experts, is that entrepreneurship considered to be a major driver of job-creation and hence economic growth (Volkmann, Wilson, Mariotti, Rabuzzi, Vyakarnam & Sepulveda, 2009; Jones & Iredale, 2010).

These arguments align with the narrow definition of entrepreneurship, which focuses on the economic benefits of entrepreneurial education; and the outcome that is most commonly desired by such an educational intervention which envisages that students will eventually end up crafting new businesses that in turn grow and generate jobs. These conclusions are supported by empirical studies. A study at the University of Arizona, for example, found that students who majored in entrepreneurship earned an annual income 27 per cent (27%) higher than that of standard MBAs and other business majors (Charney & Libecap, 2000). The same study also found that not only do the alumni from entrepreneurship programmes start more new businesses compared to their peers, they also develop more new products. Another study by Botha, Nieman and Van Vuuren

(2006) found female entrepreneurs who had received entrepreneurial training showed an increase in profit, productivity and the reported number of employees.

Sirelkhatim and Gangi (2015:2) affirm the implicit assumption that providing EE generates employment opportunities, promotes economic growth and “enhances economic development at large”; thus, EE ranks high on policy agendas of many countries (Chimucheka, 2014; Du Toit, 2016).

Internationally, studies have raised concerns around how this narrow view of the role EE promotes and uncritically supports exploitative capitalism and neoliberalism (Ferguson et al., 2009; Zhang, 2012). Maistry and David (2017) affirm this ideological obfuscation that masks the curriculum. Hence, South Africa’s relatively young romance with neoconservative-neoliberal economic discourse has been given effect in school textbooks (Harvey, 2007; Zizek, 2011).

Clifford (2014) asserts that EE is the type of education that interests students who view operating their own ventures as an opportunity of generating wealth for a successful life. This Maistry and David (2017:103) cite as being “used relentlessly by governments around the world to further a new capitalist agenda masquerading as democracy and social consciousness”. Maistry and David (2017) go on to question the misconception that entrepreneurship is the remedy to social ills through economic growth.

Steenekamp (2013) used the analogy of EE as a genie in the bottle, where South Africa’s contemporary challenges are explicated to create a stage that presents entrepreneurship as the ‘magical genie’. The SME or small and medium sized enterprise sector is portrayed as the ’bottle’, capable of redressing the country’s ills through youth empowerment. In EE, practices of personal wealth-accumulation, entrepreneurial choices, and unencumbered free trade, common to capitalism and neoliberalism, positions the entrepreneur as the ‘magical genie’ and insidiously effects our ways of thought, economic practices, and we become

pervasive to the point of being a naturalised way to construe the world (Collison, 2003; Harvey, 2007).

Alberti, Sciascia and Poli (2004:5) identify three main drivers of EE: “the government, students and the business world”. Burger, O’Neill and Mahadea (2005) concur with Jack and Anderson (1999) in stating that the expectations of government are that EE would contribute to the creation of jobs, economic growth, enhancement of skills and ultimately eradicating poverty through the growth of an entrepreneurial culture. Business however expect EE “to develop a general understanding of basic business issues, creative work attitudes and an entrepreneurial approach among learners” (Jack & Anderson, 1999:112). Practising entrepreneurs on the other hand want EE to provide them with the skills to dominate the market, the skills and competencies to expand and maximise their businesses, and aid in solving problems that are unique to their businesses (Burger et al., 2005). Finally, students are said to expect EE to contribute towards them starting new ventures and cultivating the skills necessary to be employable in larger firms (Jack & Anderson, 1999).

Several studies note the positive impact entrepreneurship courses have on learners’ views of entrepreneurship. Research by Waldmann (1997) pointed out that EE in high schools would have a significant bearing on the number of students seriously considering establishing their own business after graduating. Kolvereid and Moen (1997) affirm that graduates of entrepreneurship courses are more intent on pursuing an entrepreneurial venture than graduates from other business-related courses. In Hong Kong, Cheung (2008a, 2008b, 2008c) confirmed that EE was effective in teaching secondary school learners about various aspects related to work. Cheung (2012) adds that EE allows student to understand business in terms of purpose, structure and the interrelationship with society and other sectors of the economy.

One can argue that these three drivers (government, businesses and learners) are questionable as the focus is on the narrower definition of what constitutes EE. Only by applying a broader definition of EE can we find societal value-creation such as self-reliant citizenship, building of relationships, decision-making skills, and student engagement, as reasons for including EE in the curriculum (Nakkula, Lutyens, Pineda, Dray, Gaytan & Hugulay, 2004; Moberg, 2014a, 2014b). Although there is a paucity of research conducted using this broad definition of entrepreneurship, there is a less common but increasing prominence given to the effects entrepreneurial activities can have on students perceived engagement, motivation and relevancy in education (Lackéus, 2015). Lackéus (2015:18) classifies these as “rarely stated reasons for entrepreneurial education” that are promising for schools (i.e. creativity, joy, engagement as well as addressing societal challenges).

Entrepreneurial education has been identified by several scholars as having the potential to encourage and increase the perceived relevancy of subjects taught to learners by improving motivation, engagement at school, and alleviating challenges of student boredom and dropping out (Nakkula et al., 2004; Mahieu, 2006; Moberg, 2014a, 2014b). Charney and Libecap (2000:1) affirm this position that EE provides learners with an integrated and enriching educational experience because people are allowed to incorporate “accounting, economics, finance, marketing and other business disciplines”.

Lastly, entrepreneurial education has been positioned as an avenue to empower both people and organisations to produce social value that is for the public good because of the part entrepreneurship could potentially play in addressing societal challenges (Austin, Stevenson & Wei-Skillern, 2006; Volkmann et al., 2009; Rae, 2010). Tracey and Phillips (2007) refer to this as a booming student interest in social entrepreneurship, where the will of young people from around the world to engage with and solve societal challenges is high (Youniss, Bales, Christmas-Best, Diversi, Mclaughlin & Silbereisen, 2002). Here, according to Spinosa, Flores

and Dreyfus (1999), entrepreneurship can serve as a tool young people could use to attempt to be societal history-makers. This interest if mobilised within the curriculum, can drive deep-learning and put theoretical knowledge to practice meaningfully (Lackéus, Lundqvist, Williams & Middleton, 2013).

2.2.4 Locating Entrepreneurship within Education (Schools)

Globally EE has become one of the fastest emerging areas in education; however, without a clear definition of EE as explained in the previous discussion, different countries have incorporated EE differently (Du Toit, 2016). This section briefly discusses these varying approaches, but focuses much of the discussion on the South African context and the inclusion of entrepreneurship in the learning (subject) area Economic and management sciences.

Uganda introduced entrepreneurship skills education as a curriculum innovation in primary, secondary, and tertiary education in 2003, with the intention of making education more responsive to the needs of society; specifically the eradication of unemployment and poverty (Jimmy, Stephen & Richard, 2014). The Namibian Government introduced entrepreneurship into Namibian secondary education in 2005, and gradually implemented entrepreneurship as an optional subject in lower secondary education, that is, Grades 8-10, from 2008 to 2010. The main objective was to address the country's high youth unemployment (Larsen & Nagel, 2013). Similarly, in Kenya, where youth account for 33% of unemployed people, Otuya, Kibas and Otuya (2013) argue for the teaching of entrepreneurship as a compulsory subject throughout all levels of the education system.

Further afield, European nations have come to a broad consensus about the merits of entrepreneurship being included in the education system. Here, the belief in an entrepreneurial society's economic value started in the 1990s and has since

initiated a trend aimed at including EE in all levels of education throughout Europe and in other OECD countries (Mahieu, 2006; Dahlstedt & Hertzberg, 2013). However, based on a recent study by the European Commission, countries have specific EE strategies for every region, which vary in intensity, and range from overarching national educational strategies to sporadic independent initiatives (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2016).

Sweden is one of the countries that has embraced a nationwide strategy to implement EE in general education. Investigations into school entrepreneurship projects between 2000 and 2005 by Leffler (2009) and Mahieu (2006) both concluded that there was conceptual confusion on what EE comprised of. Subsequently, the Swedish curriculum underwent major revisions in 2011 which explicitly included Entrepreneurship across compulsory school, preschool classes and the recreation centres which aimed to unite the attempts at EE (Van Dijk & Mensch, 2015).

Finland is another country where entrepreneurship has been highlighted within the broader education strategy. The five-year development plan for education and research (2011-2016) aimed to promote entrepreneurship across all levels of education, and to improve the cooperation between education and work (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2016). In the case of general upper secondary schools, for example, Finland aimed to strengthen the entrepreneurial culture by "building and modelling practical connections and cooperation between upper secondary schools and the world of work" (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2016:61).

Countries such as Lithuania have pursued more specific strategies, such as Economic Literacy and Entrepreneurship Education and the National Program of Youth Entrepreneurship Education and Encouragement for 2008-2012 aimed at strengthening the focus on entrepreneurship and financial management at all levels of school.

In South Africa, the Economic Management Sciences curriculum comprises of three main topics: the economy, financial literacy, and entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship is defined as “entrepreneurial skills and knowledge needed to manage self and environment effectively”, and fits into the broader topics of the subject EMS in Grade 7 (America, 2014:160), the first year of the Senior Phase (Grades 7-9).

Teaching time allocation for each topic is as follows:

- Entrepreneurship – 30%
- Financial literacy – 40%
- The economy – 30%

Within Entrepreneurship, the following sub-topics are covered in the Senior Phase:

Sub-topics	
1.	Entrepreneurial skills and knowledge
2.	Businesses
3.	Factors of production
4.	Forms of ownership
5.	Sectors of the economy
6.	Levels and functions of management
7.	Functions of a business
8.	Business plan

(DoBE, 2011:9)

The sub-topics, within Entrepreneurship, are further detailed for each year in the Senior Phase, as outlined below:

Grade	Sub-topic
Grade 7	The entrepreneur; starting a business; businesses; and an Entrepreneurs' Day
Grade 8	Factors of production; forms of ownership; levels of management; and functions of management
Grade 9	Sectors of the economy; functions of a business; and a business plan

(DoBE, 2011:11)

The information above depicts the focus for the different year groups. In Grade 7, the focus of the curriculum is on defining the entrepreneur and entrepreneurship, and starting business ventures. In Grade 8 and 9 the focus shifts to managing these businesses within the broader economic sectors. In order to give visibility to the ideological representations of entrepreneurship, this study focuses on Grade 7 Economic and Management Sciences as this is where the construct of entrepreneurship is introduced and defined for learners.

2.3 TEXTBOOK RESEARCH

2.3.1 What is a Textbook?

Simply put, a textbook is defined as a book written specifically "for the purpose of teaching and/or learning" (Okeeffe, 2013:2). These learning instruments are usually employed to support programmes of instruction in schools and other institutions (Pillay, 2013). Within these programmes of instruction, textbooks identify and order content in a manner that students can follow to explore the material; this includes attempts to structure classrooms lessons with exercises and activities that are suitable (Pillay, 2013). As illustrated in Figure 2.1 below, textbooks represent the potentially implemented curriculum, the link between aims and reality, the intended and implemented curriculum (Schmidt, McKnight,

Valverde, Houang, & Wiley, 1997; Valverde, Bianchi, Wolfe, Schmidt, & Houang, 2002).

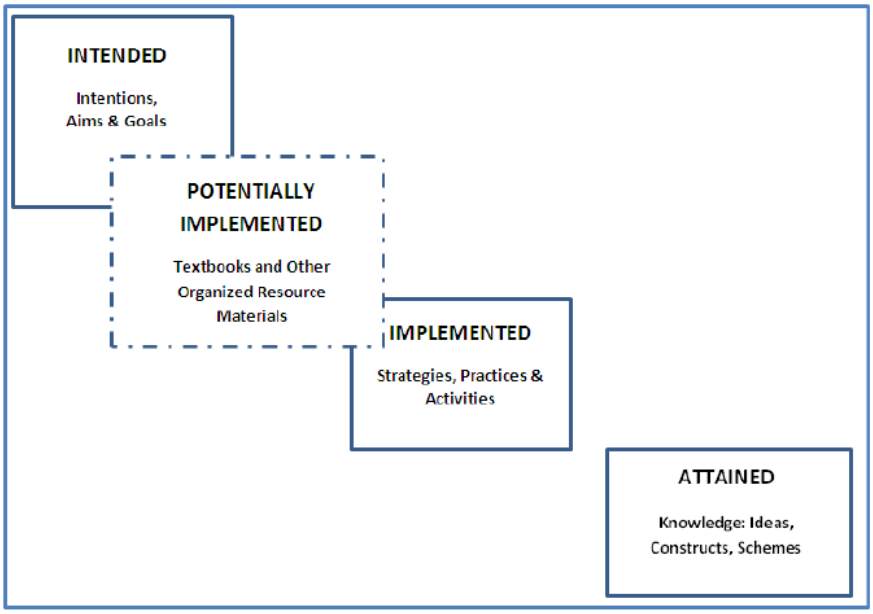


Figure 2.1: Textbooks and Tripartite Model (Valverde et al., 2002:13)

In Figure 2.1 above, Valverde et al (2002:13) views the intended curriculum as formed by the national policy and education system, i.e. "*content standards, curriculum guides, frameworks or other such documents*" (Ibid: 2002:9). The combination of the teacher and classroom practice accounts for the implemented curriculum (Ibid: 2002). Within this approach, the potentially implemented curriculum is affected primarily by the use of textbooks over other organised resources and materials (Ibid: 2002).

For the purpose of the study we see textbooks based on the role it fulfils, as described by Valverde (2002:2):

> *Textbooks are artefacts. They are a part of schooling that many stakeholders have the chance to examine and understand (or misunderstand). In most classrooms they are the physical tools most*

intimately connected to teaching and learning. Textbooks are designed to translate the abstractions of curriculum policy into operations that teachers and students can carry out. They are intended as mediators between the intentions of the designers of curriculum policy and the teachers that provide instruction in classrooms. Their precise mediating role may vary according to the specifics of different nations, educational systems and classrooms. Their great importance is constant.

2.3.2 Textbook Research: A Brief History

Mikk, (2000: 77) states that "textbook analysis dates back to 900 AD when Talmudists counted words and ideas in texts". Textbook revision as it was known in Europe and the United States in the late nineteenth century, began out of concern by educationists who recognised the manipulation of historical images for nationalistic purposes through flawed and biased representations of other countries in textbooks (Pratt, 1984; Schissler, 1989; Pingel, 2010).

In 1922, following the First World War (WW1) an International Committee for Intellectual Co-operation was organised by the League of the Nations with the intention of understanding how textbooks (history textbooks in particular) could be improved to assist in combatting international conflict through advancing international understanding (Auerbach, 1965). This led to the passing of the "Casares Resolution", adopted in 1926 by the League of the Nations and that ultimately recommended that countries exchange textbooks so as to identify any aspects that could lead to controversy (Dean, Hartman & Katzen, 1983).

Urged by an attempt to "calm down the conflicts between the powerful forces in Europe which led to the Great War" this work was carried on by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) which aimed to reduce political conflict by creating a new foundation for co-operation as a political goal (Pingel, 1998:38). In 1949, UNESCO subsequently published a guide proposing criteria for textbook evaluation based on accuracy, balance, fairness

and world-mindedness (Pingel, 1999). This seminal handbook on textbook research methodology provided structured guidelines for textbook analysts, which included detailed methodologies and stages that could serve as an analytical instrument. However, these guidelines were not always used as intended, as all countries did not adhere to these guidelines. This was clearly the case in the use of textbooks during South Africa's apartheid era where textbooks were used as means of perpetuating the status quo and ideology of the apartheid regime and indoctrination to Christian Nationalist Education (Dean, Hartmann & Katzen, 1983; Hlatshwayo, 2000). Europe, however, used these guidelines to re-envision the system of state schooling in which curricula and textbooks were identified as active contributors to the development of modern democracy by providing a global perspective of citizenship that was promoted in both curricula and textbooks in the Western world throughout the sixties, seventies and eighties. (Johnsen, 1997).

Continuing in this tradition, Georg Eckert, a German historian and educationalist established the International Textbook Research Network in 1992. Consisting of textbook researchers from all over the world, this network played a significant role in helping textbook authors to improve not only the general textbook quality but looked at how textbooks were used, evaluated and analysed (Pingel, 2010). The International Textbook Research Network, has subsequently undertaken several "projects on human rights and identity construction in textbooks which have contributed significantly to improvement of textbooks and their related content" (Pillay, 2013:11).

Despite the significant changes in curricula and textbooks due to textbook research, Hohne (2003) argues that the lack of suitable guidelines and theoretical underpinnings according to which textbooks are identified as 'objects' of research, continues to be a major deficit in the field of textbook research. He further argues that Pingels' (1999) guidelines are inherently flawed as it is less likely to uncover the hidden and covert messages that reinforce and entrench stereotypes and ideologies within textbooks. The ideological representations and stereotypes inherent within Grade 7 textbooks are crucial to my study.

2.3.3 Ideologies in Textbooks

In keeping with the conceptualisation of the textbook as a cultural artefact (Gray, 2010; Wala, 2003), the primary premise of this study considers that the textbook should be understood as a document particularly powerful in establishing and maintaining dominant discourses.

According to Selander (1991) the textbook is an example of the mass media that is especially difficult to avoid in society. Unlike reading magazines or watching movies, which one can choose to do in your leisure time, the textbook is not a medium you choose. Textbooks are “chosen by the educational institutions” we attend during our youth and are considered to be authentic sources of knowledge that can be taught in the classroom as the curriculum intends (Pillay, 2013; Svendsen 2015:33). As De Castell, Luke & Luke (1989: vii) stated, textbooks are “an officially sanctioned, authorized version of human knowledge and culture”. They (textbooks) fulfil a vital role in education and are seen as the primary vehicle for transmitting scientific knowledge to students through argumentation, explanation, ideas, information, and persuasion (Muspratt, 2005). A view in keeping with the DOE, comments in its publication *Curriculum News 2010,* that “textbooks play a vital part in teaching and learning [and] must be used by teachers and learners to enhance their teaching and learning”.

Crucial as textbooks may be for the instructional materials they offer, questions have nonetheless been raised regarding their neutrality. This was highlighted at a UNESCO (2002) meeting where textbooks were characterised as overt indicators of both national education philosophy and national political orientation. As Hsiao and Cheng (2006) posit, any country’s education system can be significantly influenced by the ideology of the ruling political power. Consequently, because the selection of teaching materials is prejudiced by value judgements that reflect the ruling classes’ interests, educational textbooks cannot be “value neutral". Textbooks, to whichever degree, serve the purpose in education described by

French Marxist, Louis Althusser as *ideological state apparatuses* (ISAs) which legitimate the status quo in society – in their production, distribution and use as well as in the messages they portray – perpetuating the idea that class, gender and racial inequalities are "natural" and consequently unalterable (Merquior, 1986:152; Apple 1979; 1986).

As these textbooks do not categorically warrant their reputation as impartial tools simply teaching students about facts and skills, the implication is that critical issues are at risk in the textbook sector. As such, it should not be assumed that these textbooks represent Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship neutrally.

Apple and Christian-Smith add that:

> [T]exts are not simply "delivery systems" of "facts". They are … the result of political, economic and cultural activities, battles, and compromises. They are conceived, designed, and authored by people with real interest. They are published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources and power (1991:3)

Thus questions around what content must be taught and learnt is a political one and is the result of compromises made by competing interests (Werner, 1987; Eric, 2011). Content selection is made on "the basis of what one considers important" with the power to make these pronouncements about textbook knowledge residing in part with publishers who themselves are influenced by the Ministries of Educations' procedures of funding, adoption and evaluation (Werner, 1987). This is affirmed by Venezky (1992:437) who questioned how "from a single set of curriculum guidelines an infinite number of textbooks could be built, each with its own interpretation of the intent of the guidelines".

In figure 2.2 below, Eric (2011) demonstrates that textbooks are at the core of the process from the prescribed (intended) curriculum to the enacted (implemented) curriculum.

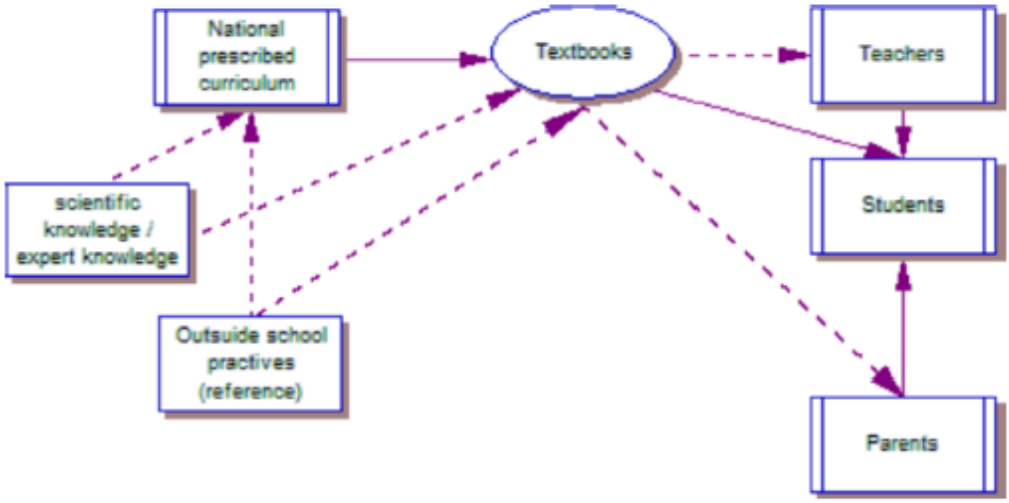


Figure 2.2: Textbooks are at the core of a process: from the prescribed curriculum to the enacted curriculum (Eric, 2011:4)

The figure 2.2 above uses arrows to indicate determining relationships and blurred relationships through dotted lines, illustrating that while the official curriculum determines the content of textbooks, textbooks influence teachers' practices and determine students' learning. From this perspective, the official textbooks 'tell' what students should learn and what teachers should teach. Eric (2011) notes that the production of textbooks from its conception, distribution, and use, is both politically and educationally a contentious and manipulative activity. This has warranted various research into representation in textbooks, discussed in the following section.

2.3.4 Research on Representations in Textbooks

Hall (1997) provides significant insights into the concept of representation in his book, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* where he states that:

> Representation is the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language. It is the link between concepts and language which enables us to refer to either the 'real' world of objects, people or events, or indeed to imaginary worlds of fictional objects, people and events (1997:17)

Hall observed the different levels in the way language is used to represent the world, distinguishing between the "*reflective approach*", the "*intentional approach*" and the "*constructionist approach*" to representation (1997:15). The questions raised by each of these levels of understanding are used in this study of textbooks. Does the language used simply reflect a meaning of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship which already exists out there in the world (reflective)? Does language only express what the textbook author wants to say – that is, her or his personally intended meaning (intentional)? Or has meaning been constructed in and through language (constructionist)? Work on representations in textbooks have been studied by various researches – we discuss some of the findings in this section.

According to Knudsen and Aatmoesbakken (2010), there has been significant growth in textbook research since the millennium, and can be categorised according to the approach used and whether this centres on process, application or product (Drotner, 2006; Olsen, 2005; Svensson, 2000). Process-orientated research focuses on the production and distribution of teaching resources, whereas application-orientated research focuses on *how* teaching resources are used in teaching (including issues such as access). Product-orientated research, on the other hand, focuses more specifically on *content* - its selection and

presentation (Johnsen, 1999). This study leans towards the latter, focusing specifically on textbooks as ideological texts (Apple & Christian-Schmidt, 1991), expressing wider social and paradigmatic patterns (Selander, 1991) and embedded in overall power relations (Knudsen, 2007).

Several studies have conducted analyses of textbooks focusing on the construction of identities; for example, the marginalisation of specific groups or cultures (Gulliver, 2010; Harper, 2012; De los Heros, 2009; Xiong & Qian, 2012) and the reinforcement of gender structures (Gungor & Prins, 2010). Gender however, dominates research on representations in textbooks (Brindle & Arnot 1999; Evans & Davies 2000; Freebody & Baker 1985; Witt 1996). Notions such as gender relations, sexism, woman and gender or sexual stereotypes, have been analysed in textbooks in Europe and Canada since the 1960s and 1970s (Pingel, 1999).

The next section of this literature review, discusses broader studies which include gender as well as representations of race and class (Clawson & Kegler 2000; Hallinan 1994; Sleeter & Grant 1991). South African research has been active in gender representation discussions and this will be part of the review on broader studies which will round up this debate.

2.3.5 Broad Representational Studies

In Heros' (2009) study of National Language Curriculum discourse, the research considered how subtexts or hidden discourses are indirectly brought into the text by the use of certain keywords. Heros (2009) used the language textbook, *Talento* to examine language ideologies toward the regional varieties of Spanish. In this study, using Halliday's (1985) Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), Heros (2009) studied grammatical features of text samples.

Heros (2009) found that the officially approved textbook *Talento*, showed no evidence of support for the language diversity of the country. According to Heros (2009), the textbook reveals a hidden curriculum, which advocates that the indigenous regional varieties of Spanish are inferior to standard Spanish. This despite the educational law in Peru emphasising that the main goal in language teaching is to establish a respect for the indigenous languages and 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. Heros (2009), following this, pronounces that this an example of how power that is symbolically conferred on standard Spanish, and power that is withheld from varieties of Spanish, is deemed incorrect. Findings of this study explored how the obscured discourses of the free market system and capitalism were allowed legitimacy through the use of foregrounding and topicalisation, which were particularly pertinent to my present study.

Sleeter and Grant (1991) conducted a rare study which combined an analysis of the representation of gender, disability, race, and social class to question how textbook writers and publishers select in knowledge. They examined forty-seven textbooks in Mathematics, Reading and Language Arts, Science and Social Studies used in Grades 1 through to Grade 8 in North America. Sleeter and Grant (1991) looked at how diverse groups are portrayed to children in school, the selection of knowledge, and whether children were exposed to challenges in oppression and discrimination.

The authors argue that students are only presented with one version of reality in classrooms, which is taught through textbooks. Students may accept or reject this particular worldview, 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; and that textbooks promote social control when some knowledge gets “selected in” and others “selected out” (Sleeter & Grant, 1991). 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).

In their study, Sleeter and Grant (1991:91) found that 50 to 80 per cent (50% - 80%) of the characters in these textbooks were white Americans and that diversity in terms of social-class was largely lacking, with an overwhelming dominance of characters from the middle-class or “people wearing clothing, occupying houses, and using speech commonly associated with the middle class”. Of the fourteen books studied, four showed females and males as equally numerically represented, while the other ten displayed a predominance of males that ranged from 55 to 75 per cent (55% - 75%) of characters. Sex-stereotyped roles were common, “with females as worriers, nurturers, concerned about their appearance, afraid and needing males to rescue them” while “males appear brave, needing to prove themselves, and desiring power” (Sleeter & grant, 1991:90). Representations of disability were essentially absent in the textbooks. Sleeter and Grant thus concluded that “treatment of diversity in textbooks has not improved much over the past fifteen years or so” (1991: 101).

A later study of race in American Government College textbooks by Clawson and Kegler (2000:179) produced equally problematic findings which portrayed poverty as an exclusively “black” problem, and that these textbooks perpetuated “other stereotypical images of the poor”.

Given the prejudice, hidden agendas, and manipulative nature of those in control, textbooks should therefore be incisively interrogated. If they fail to expose learners to multiple perspectives, as evident in the analysis in the present study of the Grade seven EMS textbooks, then these textbooks may lead to development of knowledge which is legitimated by those with economic power.

Jaeger (2012:86) in her study of a 4th grade reader labels this move as a neoliberal twist to an old theme because “you can expect to move from inferior to superior

status whatever your origins". She expounds in her research that the text promotes values that inculcate students to support the economic and social structures in North America. Students learn, incorrectly, that the economic and social structures are fair and open and that they will succeed, provided if they merely "work hard, comply, be good, don't ask for help".

In her study, Jaeger (2012: 87) provides a case study of "the 4th grade Open Court text," which has become the "most influential reading" programme in America since the passing of *No Child Left Behind (NCLB)* legislation. The first chapter importantly provides not only an overview of the McGraw-Hill Companies, but the relationship as publisher to the *Open Court* programme and NCLB legislation. In so doing, the author intends to clearly establish McGraw-Hill's corporate agenda and the major education impact on a programme such as *Open Court*. Following a description of the specific methods employed, Jaeger provides two sets of findings - the first relates to the culture of success promoted by the textbook, and the second establishes the inaccessibility of this text for the students who are most likely to encounter it in their classrooms.

The vision of the world offered to 4th graders by the *Open Court* text is one of achievement and success - financial and otherwise. In nearly 75% of the selections, success/failure are meaningful constructs, and of these, success is achieved nearly 90% of the time (Jaeger, 2012: 82). Virtually every character is a success and virtually every characterless piece describes ways of becoming successful. The vast majority of characters work hard and, without exception, that hard work is rewarded, no matter their circumstances. In most cases obstacles to success are minimised. In about half the number of cases in which the achievement ideology - defined by MacLeod (2009:3) as the belief that society is "open and fair and full of opportunity" - is relevant, 85% of the texts support it.

The reader has no real sense of what these characters have overcome in order to be successful; the process seems to be one of relative ease. In addition, success tends to be an individualised outcome. Rarely do those who succeed benefit from

more than minimal support, and even more rarely is achievement the result of collaborative efforts.

In an ironic twist on the success/failure dichotomy, the selections in the *Open Court* textbook portray success as the norm; yet the text is so difficult that it positions even average readers as failures (Jaeger, 2012:88).

Thus, the secondary questions around the likelihood that readers - especially those readers in the poor, urban districts who most often adopt this programme - will be successful in accessing the material. Jaeger (2012) applies a readability formula to measure text difficulty, and ultimately finding text inappropriate for average readers, much less struggling ones. In so doing, this demonstrates how the *Open Court* text sets up “minoritised” students for failure in the educational system. It ensures some students are unable “to access the curriculum even as they constantly read about the success of others. Individual success is normalised and so they are, then, by definition abnormal” (Jaeger, 2012:85).

The author concludes the chapter by giving readers critical guideposts for thinking about how a text could guide students to embrace values that differ from the jaded ones promoted in North America’s economic and social systems. Following our apartheid past, South African research asks a very similar question, as Luke (2002:105) asks, "What would a counter-ideological text look like?"

2.3.6 Textbook Research in South Africa

Franz Auerbach was first to undertake a systematic study of textbooks in South Africa. His book was published in 1965 called “Power and Prejudice of South African Education: an enquiry into history textbooks and syllabuses in the Transvaal high schools of South Africa” (Auerbach, 1965). The study questioned whether textbooks were being used as a means of dividing the people in South Africa. By using the UNESCO guidelines on textbook analysis, Auerbach found

that education in then Transvaal (now known as Johannesburg) and therefore implicitly in broader South Africa, was used to spread societal divisions (Auerbach, 1965). In a review of this book which Walshe (1985:748) refers to as a “meticulous analysis of South African schools textbooks”, Walshe observes that the book illustrated the distortion, omission and stereotyping in textbooks and policy in South Africa.

Looking at the legitimation of the ideology of apartheid, a study by Dean, Hartmann and 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.

Janks (1993) who also focused on the period when apartheid was the dominant ideology in South Africa, studied the role language plays in shaping us, influencing our ideas and feelings in constructing positions for us, and the relationship between language and power. Janks (1993) used critical language awareness (CLA) as a strategy to make this often opaque relationship, transparent. Arguing that social institutions like schools and the media use language to maintain and defend the rules of society. Janks (1993) like Wallace (1992), Fairclough (1992) and Locke (2004), also believed that CLA can raise awareness of the ways in which texts can be used to reinforce particular ideologies and hegemonies.

Pillay (2013:13) observes, based on the work of Van Eeden (1997) that authors in South Africa "seem to be caught up in a political struggle, either personally or as observers*",* thus questions around how children learn and what is required to write a good textbook are obscured in political conflict. A professor in humanities at the North West University, Potchefstroom, South Africa, Van Eeden (1997: 98) documents numerous discussions and meetings to reinterpret, innovate and revitalise syllabi, "some of which are regarded as quite controversial, emotional and belonging to the so-called apartheid past". This Pillay (2013:13) deduces "reflects the political conflict that precludes informed and logical analysis by educationalists of syllabi and textbooks".

McKinney (2005) conducted a critical analysis of learning materials used in South African schools. 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. One assumption underpinning the analysis in this study is that all learners should be able to find themselves and their life worlds (or social worlds) represented in the books from which they learn.

McKinney (2005: 3-11) argued that textbook content can socialise children by legitimating cultural norms, official values and knowledge, and ultimately that textbooks are a representation of a selection of culture. The study analysed a total of 61 books: 51 Grade 1 readers consisting of 111 stories, Six Grade 7 Language textbooks, and 4 Grade 7 Natural Sciences textbooks.

In Grade 1 readers, McKinney (2005) determined that the representation of gender is uneven. Overall male characters continue to be over-represented as main characters in stories and in the images in the books – although there are some encouraging attempts to subvert gender stereotypes and to represent girls and boys in equal numbers. This finding echoes that of studies conducted on reading texts pre-1980 in North America, and of those conducted in Kenya, southern African countries and Pakistan.

Despite that the majority of the learner population in South Africa comprise of rural people, they are barely present whereas the middle to working-class constitute the social world in Grade 1 Readers. McKinney (2005:35) refers to “the disabled as being invisible” and draws our attention the dominance of the nuclear family in readers in a country where this is not the norm. Not one of the 111 stories depicted the very common practice of grandmothers raising children, or single working mothers or fathers (McKinney, 2005).

In Grade 7, Language books (with the exception of one book where Black people were completely absent), included Black characters who were generally well represented. In relation to gender, all but one book revealed a significant over-representation of male characters and rolemodels. Disabled characters were invisible in all but one text, and middle-class to working-class characters predominated in all books, with few poor people being depicted (McKinney, 2005:36).

Representations of gender, race, social class and rural/urban location (but not disability) was generally better in the Grade 7 Natural Sciences texts than in the Language texts. In all but one book, Black characters were in the majority, and at least two texts make an effort to depict racial interaction. Despite too many examples of gender stereotyping and males still outnumbering females, the gap was fairly small in all but one text. Similarly, attempts to represent rural settings and poor people are encouraging but remain marginal, when compared to the prevailing well-resourced, urban middle-class to working-class settings (McKinney, 2005:36).

Following several recommendations for teachers, publishers, education officials and researchers, McKinney (2005:37) concludes that despite progress made since the once Christian National Education system (of apartheid), we still have some distance to go in producing and encouraging the use of learning support material such as textbooks in addressing challenges and recognising diversity in South African education.

Some of the most recent insights on representations in South African textbooks, and fundamental to this study, include the work of Maistry & Pillay (2014) on Gender Representation in Contemporary Grade 10 Business Studies Textbooks and Davids (2012) on the exploration of the ideology in Economic and Management Sciences (EMS) textbooks. Recognising the key significance of textbooks in the South African classroom, and the important way in which they articulate a programmatic curriculum, Maistry and Pillay's study explored the gendered characteristics of Business Studies textbooks using CDA (Maistry & Pillay, 2014:75). In their analysis of two contemporary Grade 10 Business Studies textbooks, they made several findings concerning stereotyping, occupational roles, and the portrayal of "firstness" (Maistry & Pillay, 2014:79). In addition, they found that women were predominantly portrayed as low-skilled workers or in occupations that are regarded as "feminine", more males had been represented in leadership positions in government, economic and corporate institutions – this is congruent to

previous research (Pomerenke, Varner & Mallar, 1996; Helfat, 2006; Ferguson, 2008; Thomson & Otsuji, 2008; Maistry & Pillay, 2014:79).

Maistry and Pillay (2014:79) refer to “firstness” as the positioning of the male noun or pronoun ahead of the female noun or pronoun in sentences and conversation. According to their research, males took “firstness” 52 times in the two textbooks, and females only twice. Females were consistently relegated to second place after males, making men seem superior and more important than women. This reflects another part of the hidden curriculum in learning materials that foster polarised gender identities and promotes gender inequality.

Moreover, Maistry and Pillay’s (2014:88) findings revealed that the representation of gender is not neutral, and concluded that textbooks under investigation continued to “reinforce gender bias and disparity”. And because textbooks are viewed as powerful tools that deal with powerful concepts, and shape what teachers teach and learners learn, these messages passed on may negatively affect female learners. The goals of the *National Curriculum Statement (NCS)* for providing equitable and fair education for both genders may thus not be realised (Maistry & Pillay, 2014).

In a broader study, Davids (2012) explored the extent to which ideology is reflected and reinforced in three Grade 7 EMS textbooks. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with aspects taken from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) was used as the analytical framework, with findings showing that the selected EMS textbooks advanced particular ideologies which manifest through the selective use of language. Davids (2012) drew on the definition of ideology, 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 & Orminston-Smith, 1996; Knain, 2001). The study by Davids (2012) identified seven discourses representing worldviews:

i) Discourse: Stereotypical positioning of gender roles

ii) Discourse: Entrepreneurship leads to wealth creation

iii) Discourse: Advocacy of a freemarket system

iv) Discourse: Reinforcing the hegemonic positioning of business

v) Discourse: The economy and its impact on the environment

vi) Discourse: Deficient service provisioning is normal

vii) Discourse: Globalisation is natural and unproblematic

Davids (2012) concluded her analysis with two key findings; firstly, the subjugation of women as a flawed notion, and that women's success is contingent on males. Secondly, that the content of the selected textbooks is ideologically shaped to favour a neoliberal economy, and subsequently "textbooks are instruments of neoliberal propaganda, deeply invested with neoliberal values" (Davids, 2012:120).

2.4 POST-STRUCTURALISM AS A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

To investigate how representations of entrepreneurship are constructed in Grade 7 EMS textbooks, I considered a framework that would sit comfortably with my epistemological position, as well as my ontological viewpoint on how knowledge is attained. With this in mind, I positioned my study on representation within a post-structuralist paradigm. This positioning provided possibilities to consider representations as fluid and as produced through what is happening in a particular time and place, rather than being rigid and fixed. Post-structuralism, like any theory founded upon critique, would fall under the umbrella of critical theory (Pillay, 2013).

Philosopher, Michel Foucault, was one of the primary voices in this theory. Foucault (1981) questioned the validity of the model presented by structuralism which argued that human culture could be understood by means of structure.

Although Hall (1992), cited in Barker and Galasinski, (2001) points out that structuralism was important because it allowed for all forms of meaning-production, including lived experience, to be treated as texts. Post-structuralism, however, "by its very nature, raises questions as to how selves are constituted, how power-knowledge relations change across places, times, and in the context of different cultural, political and social contexts" (Wright, 2003:35).

The relation between power and discourse provides part of the answer to these questions. The concept of discourse provides an avenue to understand what resources are available to individuals as they make sense of the world, and of themselves in the world. Foucault (1981) asserted in his work on *"The Order of Discourse"* that discourses necessarily represented power, with different hierarchies of discourses. Some discourses have more power to persuade than others, and are reiterated more often across a wide range of sites, and/or by those who are believed to be experts.

According to Foucault (1981), power is not located primarily in structures or in state apparatus that are all-powerful, but in institutions which act as explicit sites where particular methods of power are channelled to be accepted by individuals in systematic ways. In this way a school for example, "through its architecture, curriculum, daily practices and its organisation, becomes a disciplinary site which draws on particular regimes of truth [discourses] to define what it does and legitimate its existence" (Wright, 2003:37).

By focusing on complexity and deliberately trying to see problems in new and different ways, post-structuralism resists truths, and rigid, fixed boundaries. This "thinking otherwise" allows for alternative views (Ball, 1998:81). It is "not a monolithic theory with a rigid and uniform set of assumptions" (Sondergaard, 2005:6), nor is it a "single theoretical framework" (Baxter, 2002:8). However, at the same time, it is not an "anything goes" (Baxter, 2002:8) approach to research.

There are “common principles” within post-structuralism that render it a “theoretical discourse in its own right” (Baxter, 2002:8). There are particular threads of post-structuralism that are most relevant to my focus on representations.

Firstly, post-structuralism “resists truths” or singular answers, and looks to multiple possibilities that may provide insights into a research problem (Gibson, 2013:62). This approach to research presents new and different ways (that may not have been considered before) of understanding the representations of entrepreneurship.

The second thread is that there is no one way to be, “no one fixed identity and no correct identity” (Gibson, 2013:64). Representations of entrepreneurship are thus multiple, diverse and always emerging. Rather than a fixed representation that entrepreneurship is located within, post-structuralism provides a lens to explore representations as constituted through a web of interconnected ways of being.

Third, representations are “constructed through discourses that are at play at particular points in time” (Gibson, 2013:64). This opens further possibilities to view representations of entrepreneurship as multiple, diverse and always emerging. When viewed through a poststructuralist framework, these representations have infinite possibilities. An entrepreneur might be of any gender, race or social class. In this study, post-structuralism provided scope for unsettling that which constitutes representations of entrepreneurship (Grieshaber & Cannella, 2001b; Hatch, 2002; Weedon, 1997, 1999). Researchers in keeping with post-structuralism as a theoretical base, do not claim to be capturing truths, instead they are concerned with how individuals, groups, cultures and institutions construct realities, and with what effects.

Following this conceptualisation of post-structuralism, I present the use of notions of discourse, ideology and hegemony, entrepreneurship, social class, race and gender to form the conceptual architecture for the research.

2.4.1 Discourse

The term *discourse* is central to CDA. Whereas language denotes more to the abstract set of patterns and rules which operate at the same time at different levels in the system (e.g. semantic, grammatical and phonological levels), discourse is seen as language in real context of use (Simpson & Mayr, 2010:5). Discourse operates above the level of grammar and semantics to "capture what happens when these language forms are played out in different social, political and cultural arenas" (Simpson & Mayr, 2010:5). In CDA, the broader ideas communicated by a text are referred to as "discourses" (Van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 2000; Wodak, 2001). In the sense described by Foucault (1981), these discourses can be thought of as models of the world as it provides a means to understand what resources are available to individuals as they make sense of the world, and themselves in the world. Foucault (1972: 49) describes discourse as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak". Discourses are not about objects; they constitute them, and in the practice of doing so, conceal their own intervention.

Gee (1990) who uses the term *Discourse* (with an upper-case "D") to emphasise that discourse is bigger than language, states that each context, environment or milieu, engages in a discourse that is particular to a said context and connected to specific subject matters or activities within that context. Gee (1996:131-139) adds an important point with regards to the way in which Discourse is allied to a particular social group's way of "being in the world"; this relates both to the notions of identity and belonging.

Within the context of the school, Gee (1990:4) asserts that:

> There is no such thing as 'reading' or 'writing', only reading or writing *something* (a text of a certain type) in a certain way with certain values, while at least appearing to think and feel in certain ways. We read and write only within a certain Discourse, never outside all of them.

Lemke (1995:10) states that each community "has its own system of intertextuality: its own set of important and valued texts, its own preferred discourses, and particularly its own habits of deciding which texts should be read in the context of which others, and why, and how". Van Dijk (1997b: 2-21) agrees that the critical element of discourse that separates it from a simple communicative event, or speech act, is that these acts or events happen "as part of more complex social events", meaning that discourse as social action occurs "within a framework of understanding, communication and interaction, which is in turn part of broader sociocultural structures and processes" (see also Wodak, 1996). Applying this definition of discourse calls on critical discourse analysts to focus on "concrete features of language to uncover distributions of power" (Mills, 2004:119).

2.4.2 Ideology

Ideology, which relates essentially to questions of power, is a key element of investigation in CDA (Hodge & Kress, 1979; Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995; Wodak, 1989; Van Dijk, 1998; Pingle, 1999; Kumaravadivelu, 1999; Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Blommaert, 2005; Heros, 2009). As stated by Van Dijk (2001:25), "if there is one notion often related to ideology, it is that of power". The term *ideology* was coined by French philosopher Destutt de Tracy in the early 1800s, but is more commonly associated with Karl Marx, and captured in one of his best known axioms: "the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas" (1965:61). Here Marx conceptualised ideology as an important means used by dominant forces in society, such as the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie or the royalty to exercise power over subordinate or dominated groups. This concept has since been more widely adopted to refer to the ways in which one's personal beliefs, value-systems and opinions intersect with the broader political and structures of the society in which they live (Simpson & Mayr, 2010). This informs an important assumption of this study, that unlike the 'liberal' view of language, where text is neutral, disinterested and seen as the natural outcome of free communicative interplay amongst individuals in society, instead language shapes and is shaped by society.

This study accepts that language is influenced by ideology and furthermore, that all texts (spoken or written) and even visual language, is inevitably determined and shaped by a web of socio-cultural practices and political beliefs. In this context, the ability to shape actions is power. A major concern of critical analysts, accordingly, is how texts can be representations of ideologies and can contribute to social relations of power and domination. This is evident in the very nature of textbooks as conveyors of information through shaped interaction between reader and writer, influence of the writer over the reader – and this is clearly an issue.

Marxist theorists like Althusser (1971), recognised explanations of how schooling transmits ideologies highlighting the role of ideological state apparatuses such as schools, churches and the media in reinforcing ideologies. Bowles and Gintis (1976) gave a historical account of the relationship between schooling and industrial capitalism in America in their educational research in the 1970s, and observed that the ideological function of the school is determined by the economic needs of the country.

Of school curriculums, Da Silva (1999:1) agrees that it (curriculum) “is always [an] authorised representation” that implicitly legitimates and disseminates a certain ideology, and adds that if the influential role of textbooks on learners’ mentality is accepted, then the way textbooks portray the various people in the target society and the way those people are shown to communicate will directly affect business students’ worldview. Of further concern, and why the CDA approach is so critical to this study of EMS textbooks, is that these norms of conduct and ideology (amongst others) are usually disseminated without learners’ awareness of being exposed to such views. The learner is effectively exposed to a hidden curriculum (Skelton, 1997; Skelton & Francis, 2009).

Most critical scholars, such as Fairclough (2003), recognise that these worldviews or ideologies become most effective when naturalised and taken for granted, and this in turn forms the link to the Gramscian Theory of Hegemony. According to Van Dijk (2004: 355), hegemony is established when power is established through

“norms, habits and even a quiet general consensus”. Hegemony is for Fairclough the perfect partner to ideology.

2.4.3 Hegemony

Hegemony is explained as how the dominant parties in society can remain dominant and still have the support of the subordinate groups (Lull, 2000). According to Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000), this state of affairs is attainable, according to the notion of hegemony, as dominant groups use the various existing channels in society to produce and circulate ideas. Textbooks play a significant role in this production and transmission of ideas, as they are influenced by the interest of the powerful in society who aim to maintain both their status and culture by continuously reproducing ideas formulated by their superior group. For these superior groups to maintain and retain these positions of power, their system of supremacy and culture of power must be accepted by the subordinate groups (Lull, 2000).

For the purposes of my study, I adopted the sense of ideology and hegemony as perceived by several writers, as ideas, values and beliefs which engrain the dominance of the powerful over the less powerful, and a worldview transmitted by language which impacts what is written and how it is written (Giddens, 1993; Cross & Orminston-Smith, 1996; Knain, 2001). It is thus important for this study to reveal, through CDA, how certain ideologies around entrepreneurship are disseminated through discourses embedded in EMS textbooks.

2.4.4 Entrepreneurship as a Social Construct

Entrepreneurship as any social construct is a notion or idea that appears to be natural and obvious to people but remains largely an invention built up from knowledge from many diverse constituent parts that can be put together in a variety

of ways depending on “the will, purpose and intention of its creator” (Smith, 2006:1). Smith (2006:1) makes an important observation, that “entrepreneurship is an abstract, mental concept that is difficult to directly observe” and “instead, one should deduce and interpret it”. As such, the research focuses on the entrepreneur and representations thereof. According to Smith (2006:1), the “manifestation [of entrepreneurship] are discernible in the words, actions, behaviour and appearance of persons who practise it, and in the literature pertaining to it.” This is of notable significance to this study, as throughout this research project the terms *entrepreneur* and *entrepreneurship* are used interchangeably - the entrepreneur is ultimately the person, and entrepreneurship the action of this particular person.

Van Leeuwen (1996:54) suggests that people (social actors) can be categorised in two basic ways: “functionalization” and “identification”. Functionalisation occurs when social actors are referred to in terms of what they do; that is, by their social activity or occupation. Identification occurs when social actors are defined “not in terms of what they do, but in terms of what they, more or less permanently, or unavoidably, are” (Van Leeuwen, 1996:54). For the purpose of this study, the entrepreneur is both *functionalised* in terms of what the individual does, and *identified* based on classification (social class) and physical identification (race and gender).

Classification and physical identification are two of three sub-categories of ‘identification’ recognised by Van Leeuwen (1996). When ‘classified’, the identity of the social actors is defined in terms of the major categories by means of which a given society or institution differentiates between classes of people. Social actors can, for example, be classified in terms of age, gender, provenance, class, race or religion. Physical identification represents social actors in terms of their physical characteristics, providing them with a unique identity (e.g. short, tall).

This relationship between the entrepreneur and the abstract entrepreneurship is evident in research conducted by Maistry and David (2017) and Maistry and Pillay (2014). Maistry and Pillay’s (2014) study of representations of sole proprietorship

in Grade 10 Business Studies textbooks found men were characterised in both textbooks as successful and powerful owners of businesses. In this study, males were represented 58 times as sole proprietors, whereas there was only one instance of a woman as a business owner. Entrepreneurship in this instance is perceived as a typically male construct.

According to Maistry and David (2017), entrepreneurship in contemporary entrepreneurship literature, is uncritically glamorised as the answer to the crisis of poverty particularly in underdeveloped nations. The entrepreneur is seen as heroic, successful and pre-occupied with rewards and individual self-advancement and not concerned with societal welfare (Barbosa & Ferreira, 2015).

Additionally, through careful and deliberate use of lexical constructions such as endurance, passion, love, commitment, and perseverance the entrepreneurs is seen as someone to aspire to (da Costa & Saraiva, 2012). Consequently entrepreneurship is "discernible in the words, actions, behaviour and appearance of persons who practice it" (Smith, 2006:1)*:* male, passion, love, commitment, and the answer to poverty and unemployment.

2.4.5 Class as a Social Construct

It is important to preface this discussion with an explanation of how social class, although interrelated, differs from other commonly cited and operationalised dimensions of identity such as gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, sexuality and religion (Block, 2015). Fraser (1995) explains this distinction of social class as struggles related to 'recognition', a term she borrows from Taylor (1994). Fraser (1995) and Fraser and Honneth (2003:10) saw 'recognition' as being about "an ideal reciprocal relationship between subjects in which each sees the other as an equal and also separate from it". Whereas social class falls within the realm of what Fraser calls *'*redistribution*',* that is, the experiences of "collective subjects of injustice [who] are classes or class-like collectives, … defined economically by a

distinctive relation to the market or the means of production" (Fraser & Honneth 2003:14). The main point here is that social class is unlike dimensions of identity like gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, sexuality, and religion - it is first and foremost about the distribution and redistribution of material resources. However, notwithstanding this base in the material world, social class is about a wide range of experiences in the day-to-day lives of people.

Based on this understanding by Fraser (1995), Block (2015) provides an ambitious view of what constitutes the key dimensions of social class, influenced by the work of Karl Marx (1867-1976) and Max Weber (1922-1968) to more recent conceptualisations by Thompson (1963-1980) and Bourdieu (1984), among others.

The dimensions of class encompass elements of both class in itself, and class for itself (Marx, 1844 -1988), where the former refers to real, lived class experiences, such as work conditions, standard of living, financial situation, spatial relations and life chances, and the latter refers to "class consciousness", or "the subjective awareness people have of their class interests and conditions for advancing them" (Wright, 2005:22). Block also incorporates elements of Weber's notion of status, as "the effective claim to social esteem in terms of positive or negative privileges , [which] is typically founded on (a) style of life …, (b) formal education … and (c) hereditary or occupational prestige" (Weber, 1922-1968: 305–306). Essentially Block's key dimensions of social class (provided in Table 2.1 below) constitutes a constellation of dimensions, embraced by the notion, now fairly well accepted in sociological circles that "social class is a multi-dimensional construct [and] that classes are not merely economic phenomena but are also profoundly concerned with forms of social reproduction and cultural distinction" (Savage, Devine, Cunningham, Taylor, Li, Hjellbrekke & Miles, 2013:223).

Table 2.1: Key dimensions of class (based on Block, 2012, 2014)

Dimensions	Description

Property	Material possessions such as land, housing, electronic devices, clothing, books, art, etc.
Wealth	Disposable income and patrimony (e.g. what owned property is worth in financial terms).
Occupation	The kind of work done: information-based or manual, specialised or unskilled, etc.
Place of residence	The type of neighbourhood one lives in (poor, working class, middle-class, gated community, an area in the process of gentrification) or the type of dwelling (individual house, flat, caravan).
Education	The level of schooling attained and the acquired cultural capital one has at any point in time.
Social networking	Middle-class people tend to socialise with middle-class people, working-class people with working-class people, etc.
Consumption patterns	Shopping at a supermarket that is “cost-cutting” or one that sells “healthy”, organic products. Buying particular goods and brands.
Symbolic behaviour	Including body movement, clothes worn, how one speaks, how one eats, pastimes engaged in, etc.
Mobility	The means, disposition, time and knowledge necessary for travel.
Life chances	Quality of life in terms of personal comfort, access to preventive medicine, life expectancy, etc.

Economic phenomena that is concerned with the distribution and redistribution of material resources is, however, especially worthy of consideration alongside Block's key dimensions of social class when considering the South African context. According to the World Bank (2018), South Africa is the most inequitable country in the world. The recent *Living Conditions Survey 2014/15* found that compared to 149 countries, South Africa's Gini coefficient, which measures the unequal distribution of wealth, is the highest. The report from the World Bank found that 70.9 per cent of the nation's wealth rests with the top 1 percent of South Africans, while collectively the bottom 60 per cent control only 7 per cent of the country's assets.

For this reason a South African perspective to the discussion of class is consulted in this study. Schotte, Zizzamia and Leibbrandt (2017) provide a multi-layered class model that differentiates five social classes in South Africa as:

(i) the chronic poor, characterised by high poverty persistence;
(ii) the transient poor, who have above average chances of escaping poverty;
(iii) the non-poor but vulnerable, whose basic needs are currently being met but who face above average risks of slipping into poverty;
(iv) the middle class, who are in a better position to maintain a non-poor standard of living even in the event of negative shocks such as sudden retrenchment; and
(v) the elite, whose living standards situate them far above the average.

As much as this study is concerned with forms of social reproduction and cultural distinction, considerations around class remain primarily an economic issue.

2.4.6 Race as a Social Construct

Dimensions such as race (and gender) fall into the realm of recognition and respect for differences in societies around the world that are increasingly multicultural, what Fraser (1995) has on occasion called 'identity politics'.

In the 1940s ideas about racial inequity were limited to systems of thought that adhered to theories of biological inferiority and superiority (Blauner, 1995). This divided human beings according to physical differences or phenotype, such as skin colour and biological ancestry, thus leading to perceptions of superior and inferior human races. From the 1970s, activists and academics concerned with race and racism have produced a range of sustained critiques; political, scientific, and sociological, contesting the belief in the existence of separate human races, and the associated notion that race is a scientific or biological fact, a reified object or thing that can be quantified or measured as it were a real entity (Apple, 2001; Warmington, 2009).

Scholars have since formulated conceptions of racism that demonstrates a complex and multidimensional aspect of societies that is connected to other forms of social oppression, all of which are discursively mediated and linked to the material world through both political and social institutions of inclusionary/exclusionary power and through the consequences resulting from the defence and reproduction of this power (Dei, 1996; Miles, 1989; May, 1999; Essed & Goldberg, 2002;). Block (2012, 2014, 2015) and Fraser (1995) assert that racism and sexism, along with other social movements (ageism, homophobia) are distinct forms of oppression with their own dynamics, apart from those of class although they may interact with class oppression.

The acceptance that race is a social construct is now so widely recognised among the anti-racism scholars and activists that the pseudo-scientific assertion that race exists as an objective, biological fact has been cheapened “to something bordering occult status” (Warmington, 2009: 282). The idea that race is a social construct draws attention to the idea that ‘race’ is a social-historical construct which was used to justify imperialistic regimes and practices, and to enable the exploitation and subordination of blacks by whites. For example, in South Africa the notion of race was entrenched within apartheid policy such as the *Population Registration Act (1950)* which required all inhabitants of South Africa to be registered and

classified according to his or her racial characteristics. This produced fixed and stable categories to classify people as white, coloured, Indian and native (renamed ‘Bantu’ and later ‘Black’).

This study of racial representations in EMS textbooks aligns itself to a view held by Montgomery (2005:428) that racism is not just a singular and extraordinary problem ‘‘in them’’ (i.e. racists), but a complex set of relations constituting ‘‘normal’’ everyday life in and around “us”. By no means is there now consensus on what racism is or means; however, it is certainly widely understood that racism produces horrid social conditions and lived realities for its objects and that it also empowers, bestows unfair advantage, and procures privilege for its benefactors through the devaluation of the other (Memmi, 2000; Bryan, 2012). This study aims to explore the discursive practices of naming, patterning, and ordering knowledge about racism and to determine what the effect of such transmissions of racism might be in relation to the representation of the entrepreneur and entrepreneurship (Foucault, 1972, 1994).

2.4.7 Gender as a Social Construct

Pillay (2017) views gender as a social construct and notes that any differences between genders are the result of particular social constructions. As a social process, knowledge about gender is constructed uniquely and individually in various ways, through multiple experiences and contexts. Kessler and McKenna (1978: 174 & 178) make an argument for the concept of gender as a social construct:

> What does it mean to be a woman or a man? It initially begins with where your head is, with your own identity, then internalising and reflecting those things that are consistent with that identity, and acting upon the world in ways that are consistent with those identifications. [B]eing a woman is pretty much as I thought it would be.

Gender cannot therefore be automatically assumed from attention to sexual difference (Carter & Steiner, 2004). While sex is fixed, gender and gendered behaviour can succumb to social change via social engineering (Dunphy, 2000). Seen as a social construction, gender impacts on upbringing, social conditioning, social relations and personal choice. Norms of masculinity and femininity which are reproduced and regulated by society may justify inequalities and reinforce power structures and power relations. A social constructionist approach to viewing and understanding gender therefore includes a focus on the way gender constructions involve power relations whereby one gender, or gender norm, may be constructed as more preferable and powerful than the other (Dunphy, 2000).

Paechter (1998) maintains that sex and gender are important to our personal identity and fundamental to the way we perceive both ourselves and others. For Paechter (1989), gender is usually ascribed to babies on the basis of perceived anatomical distinction, and assumptions of a child's future are more to do with social and cultural values than with the direct consequences of these bodily features.

Sex refers to the biological and physiological differences between male and female (Russo & Green, 1993). The term 'sex' signifies physical differentiation between the biological male and the biological female, and most people are born (except for a few ambiguous cases) as one sex or another (Minas, 1993). Hence, when an infant is born, the infant comes to be labelled 'boy' or 'girl' depending on their sex (Russo & Green, 1993). Individuals are then socialised according to specific gender expectations and roles (Martin, 1989). Consequently biological males and biological females learn to take on masculine and feminine roles respectively. They are socialised to think and act according to these roles (Martin, 1989).

Foucault's (1989) critique of the assumption that sex is a biological fact has also underpinned the growing discontent with the sex/gender distinction. For him 'sex'

owes its existence to particular scientific and non-scientific discourses. He demonstrated how the idea of sex:

> [took] form in the different strategies of power…[by grouping] together, in an artificial unity, anatomical elements, biological functions, conducts, sensations, and pleasures, and [how] it enabled one to make use of this fictitious unity as a causal principle, an omnipresent meaning, a secret to be discovered everywhere. (Foucault, 1989:152–154)

These criticisms suggest that gender is not merely a social construction tethered to 'sex' which is a given and fixed; rather, sex is itself a social construction.

Butler (1990) likewise asserts that humans are 'citing' gender norms that permeate society, mediated by a heteronormative discourse that describes masculinity and femininity as stable, natural, and mutually exclusive, but when people fail in their imitation of gender norms, they are simultaneously excluded from being socially recognised as fully human.

Throughout my study I will draw on this construction of gender to enhance my exploration of gender representation in entrepreneurship texts. This construction of gender seeks to challenge dominant understandings about gender which are typically rooted in the assumption that masculinity and femininity are 'natural' outcomes of being male and female respectively. My study will provide a critical examination of the way gender is represented in textbooks, and provide possible explanations as to this occurrence.

2.5 IMPLICATIONS OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW

As seen in the review of the concept of entrepreneurship and EE, there is a clear definitional issue which stems from the origins of the use of the terms and has led to a lack of a unified theoretical framework. The risk for confusion and misunderstanding is thus significant (Mwasalwiba, 2010; Jonsson, 2014;

Sirelkhatim & Gangi, 2015; Lackéus, 2015). This confusion and lack of clarity is evident in the critical analysis of textbooks by Pillay (2013, 2017) who studied gender representation and David (2012) who explored ideologies in EMS textbooks. Both studies found significant cases of misrepresentations of gender and class (Pillay, 2013, 2017; David, 2012).

In addition, broader representational studies were reviewed, looking at issues of race, gender and class, much of which are carried out at university level and the private sector, but a glaring gap exists in school textbooks, let alone in the field of entrepreneurship. This is where my study will hopefully address the gap, by investigating this specific topic in five South African Grade 7 EMS textbooks. Drawing insights from the above studies and the constructions of entrepreneurship, social class, race and gender, I will examine representational issues around race, gender, and class through the use of CDA which I adopted as a methodology in the chapter to follow.

2.6 CONCLUSION

To understand the construct and constructions of entrepreneurship, I began this chapter by reviewing the definitions of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship education. Despite a lack of agreement around defining entrepreneurship, narrow and broad constructions of the term emerged from the literature. The importance of entrepreneurship education was discussed hereafter, including its introduction in formal schooling, internationally and in the South African context. The review and analysis of the literature narrowed the focus on the importance of the textbook as a key pedagogical tool in the classroom. This included the following issues: the origins of textbook research that contextualised textbooks as the medium through which instruction is given, and textbooks as representations of ideology and how the representations have been studied both broadly, globally and more specifically in several South African studies.

Lastly, I provide a synopsis of the conceptual framework used in this study, including dissecting the key constructs of race, gender, class and entrepreneurship to understand how certain representations of the entrepreneur were dominant while others are backgrounded or omitted.

CHAPTER 3 A METHODOLOGICAL ANALYTIC TO RESEARCHING ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN EMS TEXTBOOKS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, I provided a review of literature on textbook-analysis by focusing on research conducted on representations in textbooks. I then interrogated research conducted on South African textbooks and reviewed the relevant constructs within a post-structural framework. This chapter makes explicit the methodological approach as well as the decisions I took to carry out this research. I begin this chapter with a brief history of the emergence of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a research methodology. Thereafter, I link the literature review of the previous chapter with a discussion on CDA as the methodological framework for this research. I then detail the method of data production, namely CDA, as outlined by Fairclough (2000) and the extended CDA protocol of Huckin (1997). This section includes a description of the sample for the research, explaining how purposive sampling was used in selecting the textbooks studied as well as issues of trustworthiness. This then leads to a section on reflexivity where I show the different ways in which I negotiated the complexities of my role as a researcher. Next, I provide an outline of ethical issues considered before, during and after data production. I conclude the chapter by discussing the limitations which were experienced in the study.

3.2 THE RISE OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

In recent years CDA has emerged as a *"*heterogeneous research strategy*"* that is epistemologically connected to critical theory, post-structuralism, and social constructionism (Rossi, Tinning, McGuaig, Sima & Hunter 2009:77). Its scholarly roots owe much to the work of Althusser (1971) and Gramsci (1971), whose underpinning emancipatory ethic is acknowledged in most of the work on critical

discourse analysts (Rossi et al, 2009). Hence, CDA is rooted in a critical study of language which sees language incorporating relations of power and social practice. Some of the tenets of CDA can be traced back to Marx who influenced social theorists like Gramsci, Althusser and Habermas. Frequent references are made to Habermas, whose critical theory (1973) shows an interest in "ideology and the social subject" (Fairclough, 1992:7). Habermas's (1973) critical theory underlines the importance of the need to understand social problems of ideology and power relationships reinforced in written texts. Habermas (1973) maintained that words are never separate from a situation but draw their meanings from the contexts in which they are based.

Seminal works by Kress and Hodge (1979) and Fowler, Hodge, Kress and Trew (1979) focused on issues such as how language perpetuated power and ideology. Kress and Hodge (1979), who first used the phrase critical linguistics, believed that discourses mirror and reproduce established structures in society. Hence, CDA has since then become an important part of discourse analysis as it aims to:

> [S]ystematically 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, 1995:132).

Analysts such as Fairclough (1995), Van Dijk (1997) and Wodak (1996) pioneered and propelled the successes of CDA. Fairclough's book, *Language and Power* (1989), is commonly considered to be one of the founding texts of CDA. Here he used CDA to analyse British political discourse in the rhetoric of Thatcher's (Margaret Thatcher, previous prime minister of the United Kingdom) speeches as well as the changing characteristics of the economic and social discourses of late modernity. The work of Fairclough thus provides an avenue with which to chart the emergence of the term *Critical Discourse Analysis.*

Fairclough did not incorporate the term “CDA” in this book nor his 1992 book, *Discourse and Social Change*, but outlined ‘critical approaches’ to discourse analysis. These critical approaches included Althusserian approaches to the study of ideology and “critical linguistics” (Fowler et al., 1979). Althusser argued that ideology has a material existence: it *“*always exists in an apparatus and in practice, or practices*”* and that ideology *“*functions in such a way that it recruits subject by interpellation or hailing*”* (Althusser, 1971: 166-174).

Initially, Fairclough identified his approach to a study of language as ‘critical language study’ (CLS) and reviewed a range of mainstream approaches, including linguistics, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, cognitive psychology, artificial intelligence, conversation analysis and discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1989, 1992a, 1995c). Although he argued that language study could benefit from all these areas, he also pointed to the limitations of these critical perspective. For example, Fairclough (1989, 1995c) criticised the individualism promoted in pragmatics, the positivist aspects of sociolinguistics, and a lack of consideration for context in conversation analysis.

Attempting to overcome these limitations, Fairclough (1989:10) distinguished his approach as *“*an alternative orientation*”*, not just another method of language study. This *“*social theory of discourse*”* was Fairclough’s endeavour to *“*bring together linguistically-oriented discourse analysis and social and political thought relevant to discourse and language*”* (Fairclough, 1992a: 92). In his edited book *Critical Language Awareness*, Fairclough (1992b) used the term ‘critical discourse analysis’ but did not specially abbreviate it to ‘CDA’ but positioned ‘critical discourse analysis’ as a form of CLS. A decisive terminological shift took place three years later when Fairclough published his book *Critical Discourse Analysis* (Fairclough, 1995). The use of the definite article in the subtitle, ***The*** *critical study of language,* was symbolic: it was as if the multiplicity of ‘critical approaches’, which were outlined in Fairclough (1992a), had coalesced into a uniformity which could be identified as “the critical study” (Billig 2002:35). As Fairclough (1992a: 9) writes

*"*critical*",* this "implies showing connections and causes that are hidden" (Billig, 2002:36).

Fundamentally, a critical discourse approach is characterised by its consideration of the relationship between language and society in order to understand *"*the relations between discourse, power, dominance, [and] social inequality*"* (Van Dijk, 1993:249). Thus, the vector of CDA is formed by the intersection of language, discourse, and social structure. Central to the process of pursuing CDA, is looking at the choices of words and grammar in texts in order to discover underlying discourse(s) and ideologies.

Critical Linguistics (CL) set out to demonstrate that grammatical and semantic forms can be used as *"*ideological instruments to make meaning in texts and to categorise and classify events, people and things*"* (Simpson & Mayr, 2010:50). Therefore, the close analysis of texts can reveal their underlying ideology. The term critical linguistics (CL) was coined in the late 1970s by Roger Fowler and his colleagues in their seminal publication *Language and Control* (Fowler et al., 1979), which then provided new and challenging approaches to the study of language. Kress (1989), for example, used school geography books to show how certain agents and actions are suppressed allowing the capitalist motives for 'assessing the productivity' in a particular region to be backgrounded. Kress (1989) argued that language is a form of social practice, intertwined with how we act and how we maintain and regulate our societies. People seeking to promote and naturalise particular world views, certain kinds of practices, ideas, values and identities, use language to make them appear natural and common-sense.

Early critical linguists had however been criticised for treating texts as products, while "giving very little attention to the processes of producing and interpreting texts as well as disregarding that texts can have different meanings to different readers*"* (Simpson & Mayr, 2010:51). A possible limitation that Fairclough (1992) expressed was that the interconnectedness of language, power and ideology are not conceived broadly enough. By this, Fairclough implied the whole argumentative and narrative fabric of a text should be significant up and above the

features of grammar, semantics and vocabulary that are within the normal purview of CL. Conversely and what is of importance to this study and many scholars working within CDA, is CL's development of a theory of language as a social practice, where "the rules and norms that govern linguistic behaviour have a social function, origin and meaning" (Hodge & Kress 1993:204). Fundamentally, CDA has emerged as a method that offers "not only a description and interpretation of discourses in social context but also explains why and how discourses work" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999:16). In the section that follows, I discuss the research design that was used in the study.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

3.3.1 A Qualitative Approach

This research aims to understand the ways in which entrepreneurship is constructed and the ideologies embedded within this construction. Consequently, a qualitative approach was most suitable for this study as it emphasises quality and depth of information (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). Creswell and Poth (2018:45) refer to this as "a complex detailed understanding of the issue". It suits the intention of this study, which is to develop an in-depth as opposed to a broad understanding of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs as represented in Grade 7 EMS textbooks in South Africa (Henning, Van Rensburg & Smit, 2004). Furthermore, qualitative methods emphasise understanding, interpretation, observation in natural settings, and closeness to data with a sort of insider view which allows the researcher to interpret the findings and reach conclusions usually not detectable when using a quantitative method (Ghauri, Grønhaug & Kristianslund, 1995; Creswell & Poth, 2018).

This study explores representation and ideologies in its attempt to seek deeper knowledge and understanding of the topic, to which qualitative approach is best suited. As Anderson (1998:90) comments, "the intent (of qualitative research) is to

uncover the implicit meaning in a particular situation from one or more perspectives". For this study a qualitative approach allowed me to question the representation of Entrepreneurship in Grade 7 EMS textbooks in South Africa. As Lichtman (2006) contends, that although the focus is on a smaller amount of data than with a quantitative method, the researcher is able to conclude a lot about a little. Therefore, I consider the use of a qualitative method favourable when the objective is to seek deeper knowledge and understanding of the topic as framed in my research questions.

Although a qualitative study provides more flexibility to explore ideological representations in the texts selected for this study, the study will rely heavily on providing data with a rich and broad meaning, exploring several critical issues such as representations of race, class and gender, while considering varying potential interpretations as influenced by various social factors.

3.3.2 CDA as Methodology

In this section, I explain how I used the CDA model as outlined by Fairclough (2000) and Huckin's (1997) extended CDA protocol to understand how entrepreneurship was constructed in Grade 7 EMS textbooks. An imperative to this study is Fairclough's working model of CDA and the three frameworks (See Figure 3.2). The model perceives discourse as *text* (whether spoken or written), as *discourse practice* and as *social practice.* Broadly speaking, Fairclough's framework does not only explore the text itself, but also how it is produced and interpreted within a larger social context. Any discursive 'event' (i.e. any instance of discourse) is therefore simultaneously a three-dimensional phenomenon:

- it is a piece of spoken or written text,
- an instance of discourse practice, and
- instance of social practice (Simpson & Mayr, 2010:53).

Defined by Fairclough (2003:2) as an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse, CDA views *"*language as a form of social practice*"* and focuses on the way social and political domination is reproduced by text and talk. Rooted in critical linguistics, CDA goes beyond describing a discourse, by analysing *"***why** and **how** a discourse is produced" (David, 2012:42). Accordingly, CDA, by assuming that language is invested and not a neutral tool for transmitting a message, is suitable for this study's purpose of figuring out the real meaning behind the written and spoken word (the overt and hidden meaning) related to entrepreneurship education (Pillay, 2013, 2017).

For this study, CDA has been adopted as a multimodal discourse analytical tool because of its focus on the significance of language in the construction of hegemonic ideologies. As such, CDA allows the researcher to engage with both the textual and visual aspects of the textbooks, thus extending and deepening the analysis and understanding of the representation of entrepreneurs in the textbooks. Fairclough (2003) maintains that CDA enables detailed textual analysis, which specifically includes a combination of inter-discursive analysis of texts and linguistic and other forms of semiotic analysis. The approach to CDA used in this study follows the guidelines offered by Fairclough (2000) which consist mainly of describing, interpreting and explaining both text and visual data (See Figure 3.1 below).

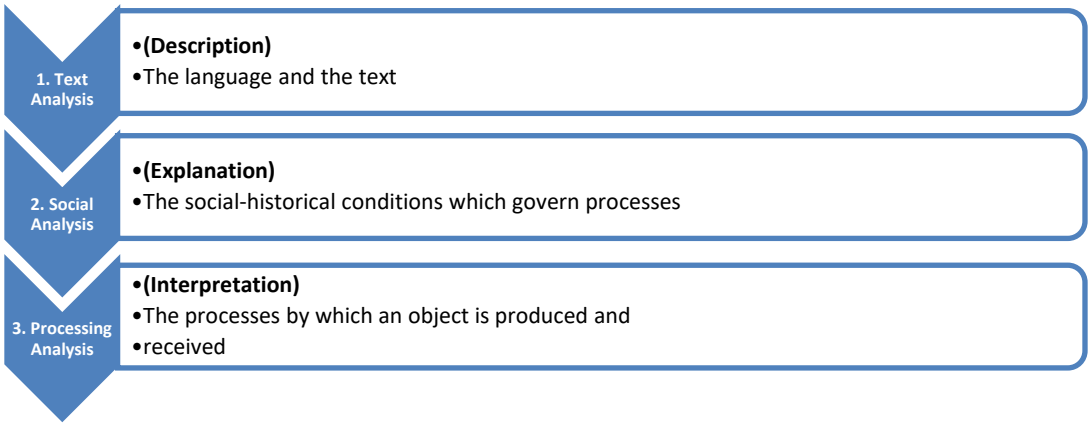


Figure 3.1: Three dimensions of CDA (Fairclough, 2000)

Based on Fairclough's (1989, 1995) model, CDA entails three interconnected processes of analysis which are linked to three interconnected dimensions of discourse. These three dimensions are:

- the object of analysis (including verbal, visual, or verbal-visual texts);
- the processes by which the object is produced and received (writing/speaking/designing and reading/listening/viewing) by human subjects; and
- the socio-historical conditions that govern these processes.

As mentioned above, Fairclough (1989, 1995) maintains that each of these dimensions require different kinds of analysis (See Figure 3.1):

1. description (text analysis);

2. interpretation (processing analysis); and

3. explanation (social analysis).

For example, in trying to understand gender positioning within EMS textbooks, the following example illustrates the different dimensions as depicted above:

1. Text analysis refers to analysing the signs that constitute texts. The use of pronouns such as *they* or *them* were analysed in relation to the absence of *he, she* or other gendered terminology.
2. This understanding of *he* or *she* as gendered terminology allows one to explore processes of production and reception. The ways in which texts work to position readers to construct an ideal reading position of *he* or *she*.
3. Explaining the use of or omission of such text would speak to the socio-historical conditions that govern the text. For example, in different historical moments the use of the word, *he* was acceptable. However, in contemporary times this might be considered sexist and exclusionary.

Janks (2010) points out that this approach is useful in that it allows the analyst to focus on the signifiers that make up the text, the specific linguistic selections, their juxta-positioning, their sequencing and their layout. In addition, to understand that these choices are tied to the conditions of possibility, it also requires that the historical determination of these selections be recognised. In other words, these texts are manifestations of socially regulated discourses and that the processes of production and reception are socially and historically constructed. Fairclough's approach to CDA is so useful in that it provides multiple points of analytic entry. It does not matter which kind of analysis one begins with, as long as they are all included and are shown to be mutually explanatory. It is in the interconnections that the analyst finds interesting patterns and disjunctions that need to be described, interpreted and explained.

3.3.2.1 The three-part analytic model

In this research I use a three-part analytical model for working with texts. Fairclough's method of CDA thus allows for simultaneity, captured in a model that embeds the three different kinds of analysis, one inside the other [See Figure 3.2] (Fairclough, 1995:98). The embedding of the boxes in Figure 3.2 "emphasises the interdependence of these dimensions and the intricate moving backwards and forwards between the different types of analysis" (Janks, 1997:330). If one pictures the boxes three-dimensionally nesting within each other, as in the image below, one can easily see the interdependence of Fairclough's boxes of analysis. Rather than thinking of them as concentric circles, the dimensions of analysis require each box be re-inserted into its interconnected place and therefore that no box can be examined without a relation to the other (Janks, 1997).

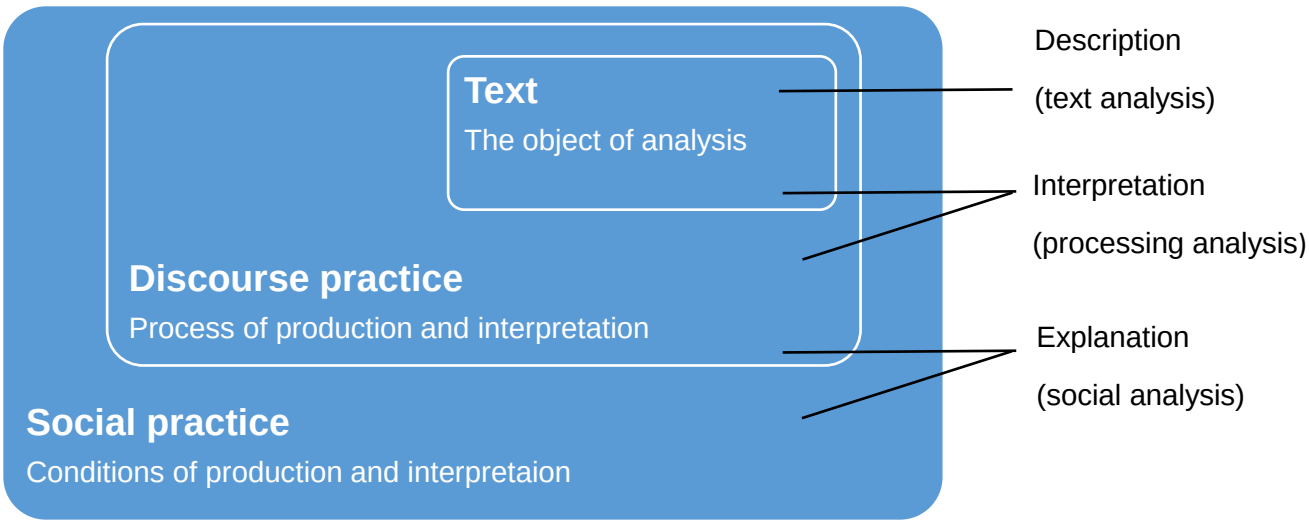


Figure 3.2: Three dimensions of CDA (Fairclough, 1995:98)

In Figure 3.2 the different dimensions include the following:

The first part of the model, namely the 'text' dimension, looks at analysing the language of the texts and includes features such as:

- Choices and patterns in vocabulary (e.g. wording and metaphor)
- Grammar (e.g. the use of passive verbs as opposed to active structures in different text reports; the use of modal verbs)
- Cohesion (e.g. conjunctions; the use of synonyms and antonyms) and text structure (e.g. turn-taking in spoken interaction).
-

In addition, I made use of Halliday's systematic functional linguistics [SFL] (1985), which allowed me to analyse the text based on the three functions of language:

a) Representational – how languages serve to interpret the world (transitivity, types of verbs)
b) Interpersonal - how relations are evident in language in the texts as well as feelings, attitudes and judgements of the writer (mood and modality established)

c) Textual - how language created discourse through its manipulation and selection of words; namely, the thematic structure of the text (Halliday, 1985; Halliday & Hasan, 1989; Heros, 2009).

In Fairclough's second part, the discourse practice dimension looks at the texts' production, distribution and consumption; that is, how texts are interpreted, reproduced and transformed by people. Here the text is seen as the link to its wider social context, implying that in analysing vocabulary, grammar and text structure, we pay attention to intertextuality - the way other texts influence the construction of the given text.

Finally, the third dimension (or the outer box) refers to social practice which explores the conditions at levels of society from which text arise and questions whether a particular social practice or hegemony is portrayed by the text (Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui & Joseph, 2005). Fairclough applies Gramsci's concept of hegemony (1971) to distinguish that it is goes beyond simply dominating subordinate groups, but instead about integrating them to the moral, political and cultural values of the dominant groups with their consent to do so.

For example, in my study, to understand how women were constructed as entrepreneurs in the textbooks, I looked at the grammar used to describe female entrepreneurs, patterns in their description, the verbs that were used and how female entrepreneurs were visually represented. What emerged from this analysis was that women were constructed as small-scale business owners who had to borrow money from male family members. As such it can be construed that women are constructed as lacking independence and who need help from males to be successful. This perpetuates the hegemonic positioning of women as inferior to men.

3.3.3 The Research Sample

In order to explore the ideological representations of entrepreneurship in Grade 7 EMS textbooks, I chose samples from certain chapters in Grade 7 textbooks that

focused on entrepreneurship. Although entrepreneurship is included throughout EMS in grades 7, 8 and 9 (Senior phase), Grade 7 was explicitly selected as entrepreneurship is introduced for the first time in Grade 7. Kumar (2005) defines sampling as the selection of a small part of a whole, normally the representative of a population (i.e. the whole potential area of study). Considering the crucial role that data, and therefore data gathering play in contributing to a better understanding of the theoretical framework, it is important to employ a good qualitative sampling strategy (Creswell, 2013).

Purposive sampling of five grade 7 EMS textbooks was used in this research on the basis of their "typicality or possession of the particular characteristics being sought" - representations of entrepreneurship (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007: 106). A purposeful sample, according to Creswell and Poth (2018:148) "best informs the researcher about the research problem under examination" through its intentional selection of a representative group. To ensure this in-depth study of representations of entrepreneurship, five of the eleven EMS books available nationally for Grade 7, were purposively selected for this study:

A. Study and Master Economic and Management Sciences Grade 7
B. Top Class Economic and Management Sciences Grade 7 Learner's Book
C. Oxford Successful Economic and Management Sciences Grade 7 Learner's Book
D. Economic and Management Sciences TODAY Grade 7 Learner's Book
E. Economic and Management Sciences Grade 7 Classic.

The data generated from this study emerged from the chapters that focused on entrepreneurship education. The textbooks considered are endorsed by the DoE and designed to satisfy the specifications provided by the Minister of Education. Moreover, they are readily available, used widely, easily accessible, and reasonably comparable. In addition, these books are from reputable publishers (as listed above) who have garnered a reputation for quality, both in terms of representation of the curriculum and in terms of thorough content. To ensure a

critical analysis of the textbooks, the textbooks were required to be of high quality, rather than to critique textbooks that could already be perceived as comparatively mediocre and by implication already under criticism.

3.3.4 Data Production

This research used discourse analysis of documents namely, textbooks, which is considered as a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents, as the data production technique (Bowen, 2009). Documentary analysis is about locating, interpreting, analysing and drawing conclusions about the documented evidence presented (Duffy, 2010; Fitzgerald, 2012). Fitzgerald (2012:302) refers to the meaning-making of documents as "involving literal or surface reading as well as both content and textual analysis". Content analysis represents a form of quantitative analysis, counting the number of times particular words or images are used. Textual analysis on the other hand refers to deriving and understanding from the qualitative significance of the words or images. Documents such as textbooks in this case, contain text (words) and images that yield rich data through excerpts, quotations or entire passages that are then organised into major themes, categories and case examples (Bowen, 2009). Documents as stated by Bowen (2009) provide not only background and context, but also additional questions to be asked and supplementary data. As this research focuses on textbooks, document analysis is particularly suited to intensive qualitative studies by producing rich descriptions of a single phenomenon or programme, such as entrepreneurship (Yin, 2011).

3.3.5 Data Analysis

The data analysis combined the use of the basic steps of CDA as outlined by McGregor (2003) and Price (2005) respectively, content analysis of McKinney

(2005), the application of the extended CDA protocol (Huckin, 1997) and Halliday's systematic functional linguistics (SFL) (1985) as well as the process of open coding in developing the final themes. This is illustrated in the diagram below:

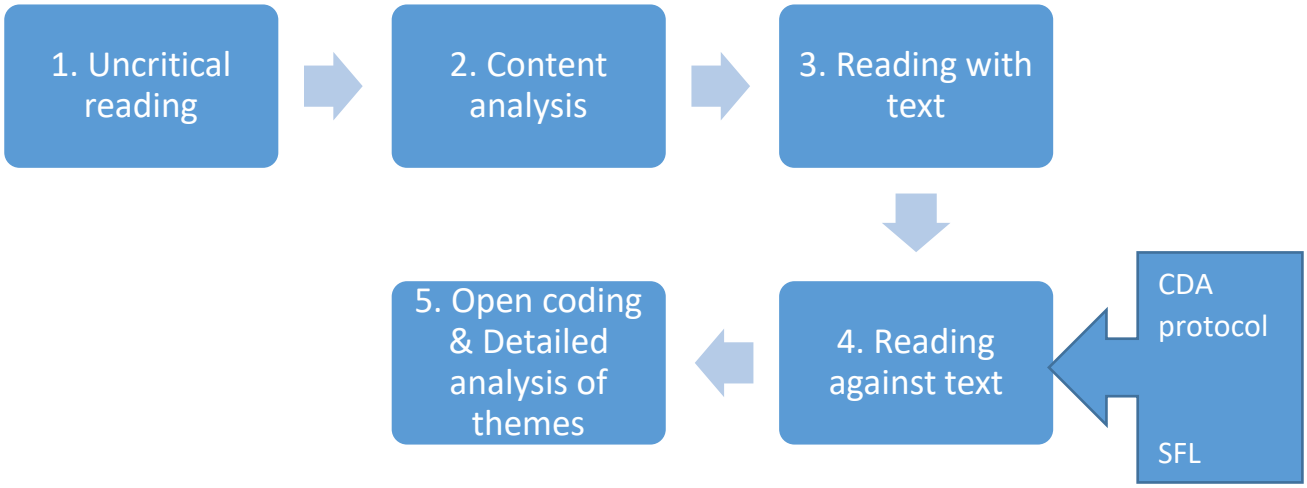


Figure 3.3: Data analysis process

The following steps outline my analysis of the five EMS textbooks.

Step 1:

McGregor (2003) who outlines basic steps for using CDA, guided my initial analysis. Here, I read the chapters selected in the textbook in an uncritical or non-discriminating manner to familiarise myself with the text.

Step 2:

Due to the size of the sample, I wanted to get a more accurate overview of the text and images, quantitatively. I applied content analysis, where characters were identified and counted according to the three types of representation being studied: gender, race and social class. The analysis tables used categorised all characters

and images in the selected text and then specifically those represented as entrepreneurs in the same text. The analysis table (Appendix 1) was adapted from the work of McKinney (2005) in her work on *'Textbooks for diverse learners'.* An example of the table used is provided in Table 3.1 below:

Table 3.1: Sample content analysis of information

VISUAL ANALYSIS	**Book 1**	**Book 2**	**Book 3**
No. of images	13	14	33
Pictures (real life)	6	14	10
Cartoons/illustrations	7	0	23
Total no. of Entrepreneurs in unit	8	3	18
	Page number (no of images)		
No. of female entrepreneurs in pictures, actions/roles	110 (1) 115 (1) 139(3)		92(3) 100(1) 106(1) 108(1) 115(1) 122(2)
No. of male entrepreneurs in pictures, actions/roles	109 (3) 119 (1)	67(2)	90 (1) 91 (1) 92(3)

			100(2) 108(1) 115(1) 122(1)
No. of black entrepreneurs in pictures, actions/roles	110 (1) 115 (1) 119 (1)		90 (1) 92(3) 100(1) 106(1) 108(2) 115(2) 122(2)
No. of white entrepreneurs in pictures, actions/roles	109 (3) 139(3)	67(1) 70(1)	91 (1) 92(1) 100(2)
No. of coloured entrepreneurs in pictures, actions/roles			92(1)

Table 3.1 above shows an example of the number of visual images depicted in different books. In relation to the above table, there was one Black entrepreneur depicted on page 110 of Book 1, none in Book 2, and several images of Black entrepreneurs in Book 3, on pages, 90, 92, 100, 106, 108, 115 and 122.

Step 3:

I then re-read the chapters selected in order to identify ‘units of meaning’ in the text. Price (2005) calls this “reading with the text” to try and understand the writers’ positioning and why they wrote in the way they did. In order to facilitate this, I photocopied the relevant chapters so that I was able to mark the information in the relevant textbooks without defacing the textbooks. I marked and underlined what I thought would be useful for the next phase of the analysis.

Step 4:

Price (2005:7) suggests that in the second reading, the researcher should read *“*against*”* the text using CDA to oppose the *“*text’s apparent naturalness*”*. I used both the extended CDA protocol (Huckin, 1997) and Halliday’s systematic functional linguistics (SFL) (1985) to inform my reading ‘against’ the text.

The extended CDA protocol (see Table 3.2) provides a structure to analyse the choices and patterns in vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure; and in so doing start to question the positioning of the text in terms of whose interests are being promoted and whose interests are being ignored, and the possible consequences of this positioning. Halliday’s systemic functional linguistics [SFL] (1985) assisted here as there was a particular emphasis on a close observation of the role of language in the construction of hegemonic ideologies.

In order to study the text in relation to other textbooks - what Glaser (1965) termed intertextuality - I divided the chapters according to the three distinctions/sub-headings already provided in all textbooks and read across the themes (below) to establish any general patterns:

- The entrepreneur
- Starting a business
- Entrepreneurs’ day

In addition to the three categories above, the use of case studies by the authors emerged as a fourth category. These case studies were common to all textbooks but they also stood out as a site for authors to express more choice in who and what was represented. To analyse the case studies inherent within the texts, I revisited Step 2 (content analysis). Appendix 2 provides a detailed analysis of the different representation of entrepreneurship as evident in the case studies in the textbooks.

The focus of this case study analysis, (as in Step 2 above) was to assess the representation of gender, race and social class, where textbook authors have full control of the selections they make based on their own ideological assumptions of what they wish to foreground and legitimate.

Step 5:

From the above analyses and reading ‘against’ the text, themes emerged which were framed into a coherent whole. To look for the perspective being presented within these themes, I closely analysed the sentences, phrases and words, looking (amongst others) for language that conveyed power relations, insinuations, and tone. Table 3.2 provides a broad outline of how the numbered features were interpreted (Huckin, 1997).

Feature	Further explanation	Example
1.1. Backgrounding	The ultimate form of backgrounding is omission, or leaving relevant information out of a text. In some cases, such textual silences are of a broad ideological sort (Remlinger, 2002); in others, they are more deliberate. In any case, what is left unsaid is often more important than what is said.	Textbook B, page 67: Factors preventing women from running successful businesses are insufficiently explained and thus backgrounded, whereas male success is foregrounded.
1.2. Foregrounding	Giving importance to parts of a text, either by their physical placement or size, or by the emphasis given to them through word-choice or syntactic structure (Foucault, 2000).	Textbook A, page 110: Image portraying a woman selling snacks to office staff from a cooler box, not a formal business place. The caption under the image foregrounds positioning of female entrepreneurs; *"this entrepreneur is running her own small business"*.
2. Embellishments	Non-linguistic aspects of a text, such as graphics or sound effects. They draw attention and thus make a quick and powerful impression.	Textbook D, page 85: An image is used of a failing Black-owned business embellishing the deficit positioning of a Black-owned business as being unsuccessful,

Feature	Further explanation	Example
3.Taken-for-granted word or phrase	Words or phrases or assumed to be a common-sense notions; can also be seen as a presumption that certain things are automatically the case. A reader is thus not likely to question what is presented as common knowledge, having no alternative beyond what has been stated; where the reader assigns a meaning without considering any other possibility because people are products of their cultures, experiences and society.	Textbook B, page 72: The franchiser Neil Evans' ability access *"a lot of his own money"* to start his business, but also being able to access loans from the bank is taken as granted.
4. Insinuations	Subtle suggestive assertions, carrying double meanings. When the facts, or the way the facts are presented are challenged, the originator of the discourse can readily deny any culpability. This ability to deny any intention to mislead gives the originator of the discourse a distinct advantage.	Textbook B, page 66: In a statement, the author's selection of words such as *many people* insinuate (to the readers) that unemployment is an avoidable reality for South Africans.

Feature	Further explanation	Example
5. Assumptions	Statements implying that what is written is true or sure to happen, with no factual proof. Fairclough (2003) identifies three types of assumptions: existential assumptions (assuming what exists), propositional assumptions (assuming what can be), and value assumptions (assuming that something is good). Assumptions are predominantly imperative when looking at ideology; as ideology can be transmitted when there are meanings which are conveyed as commonly received facts.	Textbook A, page 110: The ability of entrepreneurs to access capital is written as an existential assumption of what is.

Table 3.2: Extended CDA protocol with illustrative text extracts (Adapted: Huckin, 1997 & Pillay, 2012)

To generate meanings and ideas that would help me understand the data, open coding or micro-analysis was used to do a detailed analysis providing more than one possible meaning of the data. Strauss and Corbin (1990:61) regard this as a *"*process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualising and categorising data*"*. Using this line-by-line coding forces the analyst to verify and saturate categories, minimises missing an important category, and ensures grounding of data categories beyond mere impressionism (Glaser & Barney, 1992).

This process helped me to break down parts of the text into discrete units, and to label the parts of texts into categories. Doing this on a line-by-line basis, I asked

many questions about the data, and where possible drew comparisons and similarities between the different textbooks used. For example, what assumptions are being made about female entrepreneurs in the textbooks, how are male entrepreneurs portrayed in the textbooks, and how are Black entrepreneurs represented in the textbooks? (See Appendix 3 for a list of questions) Moving back-and-forth between the three boxes (explained earlier in this chapter) of Fairclough (1995), I firstly described the text by trying to understand the writers' positioning and why they wrote in the way that they did (Pillay, 2013, 2017); secondly, I interpreted the text by looking at how these texts reproduce or transform the status quo in society, and finally I attempted to provide an explanation of these interpretations to add depth to my findings by looking at the social and political conditions in the textual production.

From this coding process, seven discourses emerged:

1. Veiled neutrality of female entrepreneurs
2. Stereotypical position of female-owned enterprises
3. Racially apathetic discourse
4. Other-presentation of Black entrepreneurs
5. The enterprising self
6. Misconceptions of intelligence and abilities
7. One-sided representation of ownership of resources.

3.4 TRUSTWORTHINESS

The trustworthiness of qualitative research is often questioned by quantitative researchers and some readers because the traditional concepts of validity and reliability are addressed differently between the two research approaches (Shenton 2004; Marshall & Rossman, 2014; Kalu & Bwalya, 2017). Kalu and Bwalya (2017) state that there are many ways of ensuring rigour in research.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) identify four criteria that can be used to determine the trustworthiness of the qualitative data produced: credibility (internal validity), transferability (external validity/generalisation), dependability (reliability), and confirmability (objectivity) (Shenton, 2004; Elo, Kääriäinen, Kanste, Pölkki, Utriainen & Kyngäs, 2014; Kalu & Bwalya, 2017).

Credibility refers to accuracy of findings and how the researcher attempts to demonstrate that a true picture of the phenomenon is being presented (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Dependability on the other hand, refers to stability of the research findings. To ensure credibility and dependability of the data produced, I made use of multiple discourse analytics from Huckin (1997), Fairclough (2003), McGregor (2003), McKinney (2005), Price (2005), David (2012) and Pillay (2013, 2017). These analytics enabled me to make valid inferences from the texts and create new insights to better understand representations of entrepreneurship in EMS textbooks.

In addition, I presented my methodological analytic and my data analysis to the Special Interest Groups (SIG) at the University of the Free State (UFS). This space allowed for an audit trail where academics were able to critique my analytical procedures and the key decisions that I made to make sense of the data (Holloway & Wheeler, 2009). And this went some way to ensuring credibility and dependability of the research process.

To ensure confirmability I made explicit all the methodological choices that I used in the study and provided a detailed outline of the research process. Transferability refers to the potential for extrapolation and relies on the reasoning that findings can be generalised or transferred to other settings or groups. However, my intention was not to extrapolate findings to other contexts; it was to understand how the textbooks that I purposively selected provided me with a means of understanding how entrepreneurship was represented in those texts.

3.5 REFLEXIVITY AND MY ROLE AS RESEARCHER

According to Palaganas, Sanchez, Molintas, and Caricativo, (2017), conducting qualitative research changes one in many ways, especially when one's positionality is challenged. Reflexivity allows researchers *to "*acknowledge the changes brought about in themselves as a result of the research process and how these changes have affected the research process*"* (Palaganas et al., 2017:426).

The term *'reflexivity'* is poorly described, elusive and its value neglected by most researchers who focus on other varied approaches to enhance the rigour of their work. Barusch, Gringeri and George (2011:7) investigated and identified several strategies used by qualitative researchers to augment the thoroughness of their work and subsequently wrote:

> The absence of reflexivity in this sample of recently published social work articles is surprising. Perhaps the authors feared it would be unprofessional or intrusive to disclose their personal characteristics, or perhaps they thought personal disclosure would be inconsistent with editorial demands.

Adopting Van der Reit's position to *"*treat the process of reflexivity as an opportunity to enrich your own research and improve the lives of people*"* (2012:32), I considered it important to understand my own subjectivity and how this shaped the research process. Qualitative researchers according to Jootun, McGhee and Marland (2009:45), are prone to a degree of subjectivity since the "interpretation of the participants' behaviour and collected data is influenced by the values, beliefs, experience and interest of the researcher". "Reflexivity contributes to making the research process open and transparent", thus developing an awareness of myself as a researcher from the research topic through to choices I made regarding writing up of the research project, is important in qualitative research (Palaganas et al., 2017:431).

This does not suggest that being aware of one's subjectivity will ensure objectivity or value-free research. Instead, I suggest that my subjectivity is a social

construction through interactions with others in different contexts and is not a fixed category, which is in keeping with the theoretical framework adopted in this study where I understand the representations of entrepreneurship in textbooks to be discursively produced in different times and in different spaces.

As an educational researcher, former high school EMS teacher, former entrepreneurship facilitator, student and teacher educator, I bring with me particular assumptions, beliefs, histories and values about entrepreneurship education. Aligned with post structural research, I consider it important to reflect on my positionality as a researcher and teacher educator in order to *"*strengthen the epistemological moorings*"* of the study (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:46). Questioning and understanding my own assumptions proved to be one of the most challenging experiences in this study; questioning the blank and blind spots in my own understanding of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship education. As such, this questioning of my assumptions revealed an early indication of my partiality towards defending the role of the teacher in delivering entrepreneurship education. Therefore, this study was my way of adopting a more critical approach towards textbook-analysis, rather than focusing on teachers themselves and the way in which they taught entrepreneurship. This allowed me to separate the teacher from the textbook thereby ensuring that I did not assign certain subjectivities and positionalities to teachers, such as racist or classist or sexist. In addition, this research also became a means through which my own assumptions was interrogated and went some way to contributing towards my own pedagogical transformation,

Questions around social justice and representations within these textbooks were awakened by readings of Hooks (1994), quoted in Specia and Osman (2015:197), who stated that the *"*knowledge they were supposed to soak up bore no relation to how they lived or behaved*"*. Other readings included that of Freire (2000), Van Dijk (1993, 1997b, 1998, 2004), Foucault (2000), Fairclough (1989, 1992b, 1995b, 2000, 2003), Wodak (1989, 1996, 2001), and Luke (1997, 2002). These works were instrumental in reframing and broadening my understanding of

representations - representations as social practice and discourse. Additionally, post-structuralism as a theoretical lens and CDA as a methodology, allowed me go beyond the text, beyond the regularity which sparked my interest in this study to question this regularity and find meaning behind this. Through these choices I was able to view language, not as isolated instances, but as a means of social construction that shapes and is shaped by society.

3.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Although this research does not deal with people, but textbooks, ethical issues are still of concern. This research complied with all the ethical considerations required by the University of the Free State and its Faculty of Education Ethics Review Committee. In keeping with the research policy of the university through which this study was conducted, ethical clearance was applied for and was granted with full approval by the Education Ethics Committee of the University of the Free State [Reference UFS-HSD2018/1473] (See page iii for copy). In addition, these textbooks, which already exist in the public domain, are given pseudonyms to avoid any potentially damaging ethical issues.

3.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

A limitation of this study was the large sample of EMS textbooks that was used as opposed to limiting the sample to make the study manageable. Reading the text, intertextually, that is reading with other books became challenging to manage. As a result I divided the chapters into the three predominant themes and read these themes intertextually.

In addition, there was always the risk (referred to in the discussion on reflexivity) of researcher bias when analysing the data, as researchers draw on their personal

experiences which can influence the analysis process. Corbin and Strauss (2008) however agree with Finlay (2002), who sees this as a valuable tool. Arguing that total objectivity cannot be realised in any qualitative study, as researchers approach their studies from a specific perspective influenced by his or her social and cultural experiences.

3.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the method and methodological choices regarding the study of ideological representations of entrepreneurship. This study followed a qualitative approach to understand how representations of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship take the form they do in textbooks. Methodologically, Fairclough's (2002) conception of CDA is explored and applied in this study. The CDA methods used follows the guidelines offered by Fairclough (2000) which consist mainly of describing, interpreting and explaining both text and visual data.

To analyse the data generated from the purposively sampled Grade 7 EMS textbooks, this study combined the use of various tools. This included McGregor's (2003) and Price's (2005) basic steps of CDA, the content analysis of McKinney (2005), the application of the extended CDA protocol (Huckin, 1997), and Halliday's systematic functional linguistics (SFL) as well as the process of open coding in developing the final themes to be discussed in chapter 4. This chapter concludes with a discussion on issues of trustworthiness and ethical considerations.

CHAPTER 4 DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter (3) focused on my methodological journey and outlined how I used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to make sense of ideological representations of entrepreneurship in EMS textbooks. As such, the previous chapter (3) set the stage for this empirical chapter and brings together the conceptual, methodological and analytical framework that was used to guide me in this analytic journey. I used a CDA framework as set out by Fairclough (1989, 1992), Huckin (1997) and SFL of Halliday (1985), which I adapted to make relevant for this study. Moreover, CDA proved useful as a methodological analytic as I was able to explore issues of power and ideology which were embedded in texts. This helped me understand how ideologies were formed through the social experiences of the authors of the texts (David, 2012; Maistry & David, 2017).

This chapter presents the findings of the textual analysis of five Grade 7 EMS textbooks (See section 3.3.3). The analysis provides a critical discussion of the ideological discourses that emerged from the data to answer the following research questions:

- *How is entrepreneurship constructed in textbooks in Grade 7 EMS textbooks?*
- *What ideological representations of entrepreneurship are evident in Grade 7 EMS textbooks?*
- *Why do these ideologies of entrepreneurship permeate contemporary EMS textbooks in the way in that it does?*

From the analysis of the data, the following key discourses emerged from the ideological representations of gender, race and social class:

Ideological representation	Discourse
Gender	Veiled neutrality of female entrepreneurs
	Stereotypical positioning of female entrepreneurs
Race	Racially-apathetic discourse
	Other-presentation of Black entrepreneurs
Class	The enterprising self
	Misconceptions of intelligence and abilities
	One-sided representation of ownership of resources

4.2 IDEOLOGICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF GENDER

The predominant themes which emerged from the critical discourse analysis of five EMS textbooks in relation to representation of gender, were the v*eiled neutrality of female entrepreneurs,* and *stereotypical positioning of female entrepreneurs*.

4.2.1 Veiled Neutrality of Female Entrepreneurs

The following discussion will demonstrate how the authors used the term *entrepreneurship* from a position of neutrality. In four of the textbooks, the definition of an entrepreneur begins without specific reference to any particular gender. Entrepreneurs have been defined in neutral terms in the following ways:

Textbook A, page 110:

> *"An entrepreneur is a person who invests in, organises and runs a business, with the aim of making a profit. Usually entrepreneurs take a risk to do this. Most entrepreneurs run small, medium or micro enterprises (*SMMEs*)."*

Textbook B, page 66:

> *"An entrepreneur is a person who starts his or her own business. An entrepreneur must first identify a business opportunity, create and organise the capital and resources of the business, and then make a product or provide a service. This involves taking risks as it will be necessary to invest money into the new business venture."*

Textbook C, page 91:

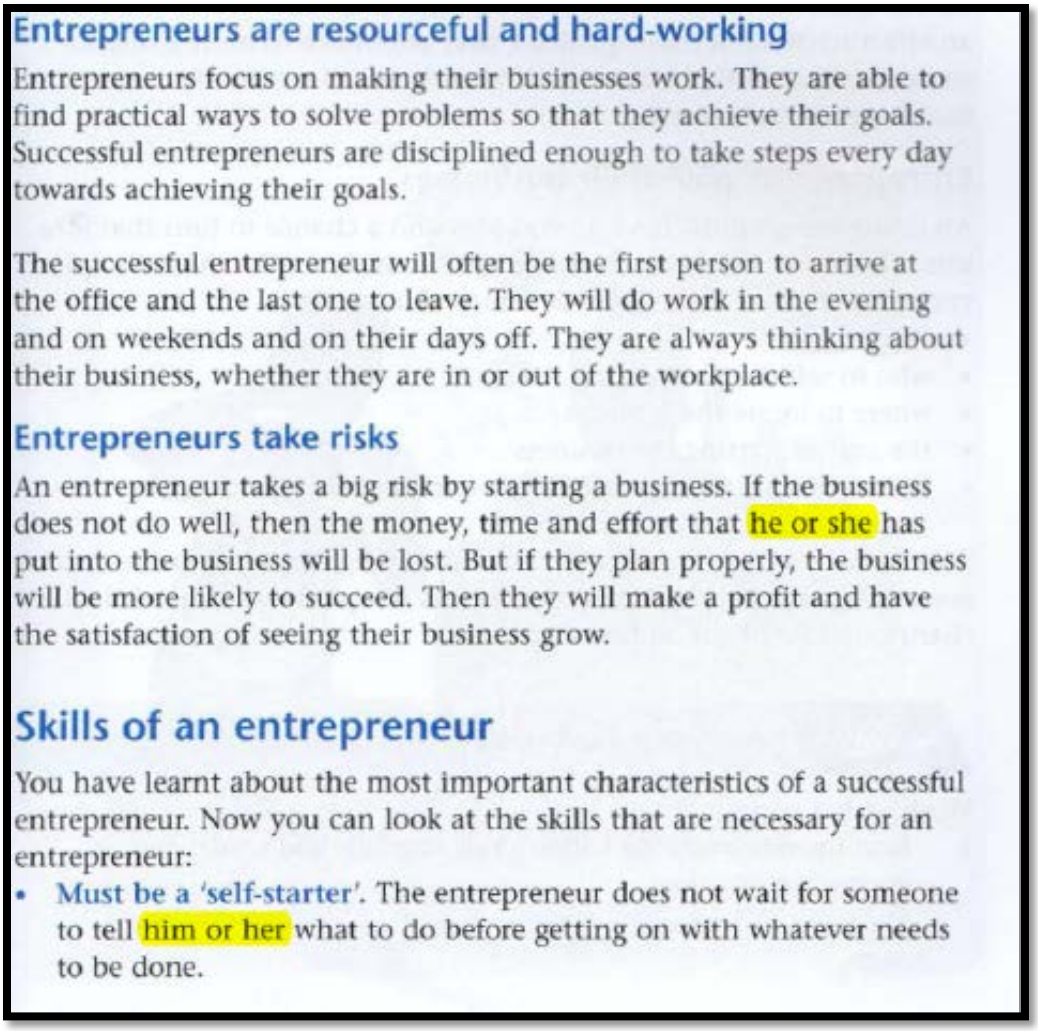
> *"An entrepreneur is a person who owns and runs their own business and assumes all the risks and rewards for the business venture. An entrepreneur is the person with the skills and knowledge to use the other factors of production to produce a useful good or service that can be sold at a profit to consumers. The entrepreneur can either start a business or buy an existing business. Entrepreneurs work for themselves and create their own jobs. An entrepreneur takes a calculated risk by investing money in a business opportunity in order to make a profit. They are people who can identify opportunities and have the skills to turn an opportunity into a successful venture".*

Textbook D, page 82:

> *"An entrepreneur (a French word, pronounced ahn-tre-pra-ner) is someone who recognises a need in a community and starts a business to meet that need. An entrepreneur is the person who takes all the risks: they put money into the business and have to make all the important decisions to make that business work."*

Of the five textbooks analysed, all the books (barring one) show clear attempts to present themselves as gender neutral in terms of the language used and the deliberate choice of words. In each of the above cases, the respective authors' definition of an entrepreneur is a statement that can stand on its own without a gender context, using a normalised strategy (Fairclough, 2003). For example, in textbook A, an entrepreneur is defined as *a person who invests in, organises and runs a business, with the aim of making a profit*. Pronouns are removed and presented as facts with no reference to gender at this point (Pillay, 2013, 2017). Entrepreneurs are thus presented as genderless. Additionally, pronouns such as *person, they, themselves, their* or *the entrepreneur* are used throughout the text, thus neutralising the gender identity of the entrepreneur. For example, in textbook C, the entrepreneur is seen as a *person who owns and runs their own business and assumes all the risks and rewards for the business venture.*

However, there were instances where the authors attempted to present gender-neutral texts by using the words *'he or she".* For example, in Textbook D, the authors define an entrepreneur as "*a person who starts his or her own business".* On rare occasions, for the sake of good grammar, the terms "*he or she"* (or other versions thereof, his/hers) also appear in the main text; that is, not in case studies, examples, descriptions of images or activities used, such as the example from textbook D, page 83 shown below:



Entrepreneurs are resourceful and hard-working

Entrepreneurs focus on making their businesses work. They are able to find practical ways to solve problems so that they achieve their goals. Successful entrepreneurs are disciplined enough to take steps every day towards achieving their goals.

The successful entrepreneur will often be the first person to arrive at the office and the last one to leave. They will do work in the evening and on weekends and on their days off. They are always thinking about their business, whether they are in or out of the workplace.

Entrepreneurs take risks

An entrepreneur takes a big risk by starting a business. If the business does not do well, then the money, time and effort that he or she has put into the business will be lost. But if they plan properly, the business will be more likely to succeed. Then they will make a profit and have the satisfaction of seeing their business grow.

Skills of an entrepreneur

You have learnt about the most important characteristics of a successful entrepreneur. Now you can look at the skills that are necessary for an entrepreneur:

- Must be a 'self-starter'. The entrepreneur does not wait for someone to tell him or her what to do before getting on with whatever needs to be done.

Figure 4.1: Use of 'he' or 'she', 'him' or 'her'

This use of gendered pronouns occurs in one instance in textbook A (page 111) and textbook B (page 66), and four times in textbook D (page 83, 84), and textbook E (page 53). Although used minimally, what is evident from the use of *him* or *her* or *he* or *she* is what Pillay and Maistry (2017) refer to as the 'firstness' of male as automatic ordering. 'Firstness' refers to the linguistic feature where one particular gender is foregrounded (Pillay & Maistry 2013). For example, the automatic ordering of the words *him* and *he* to appear first, suggests prioritising men ahead of women, and reinforces the second-place status of women (Pillay & Maistry,

2017). This ‘firstness’ of pronouns is another feature of language where gender discrimination can easily be observed (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003).

The text and visual images also demonstrate a distinct shift from neutrality to foregrounding masculinity. The authors of textbook E initially define the entrepreneur in gender neutral terms and then move towards a more masculine definition:

> *The word entrepreneur comes from the French word ‘Entre’, which means ‘to enter’. The entrepreneur ‘enters’ into the business world by starting his own business.*

The statements above reveal a clear shift in defining the entrepreneur from a genderless neutral position:

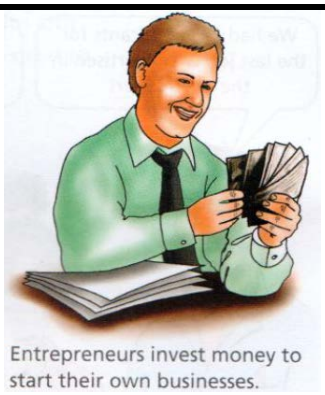
> *[The word entrepreneur comes from the French word ‘Entre’, which means ‘to enter’].*

towards a masculine construction of what constitutes an entrepreneur:

> *[The entrepreneur ‘enters’ into the business world by starting his own business”].*

In this way, the entrepreneur is foregrounded as male, thus situating entrepreneurship within a male domain.

The visual texts also reveal a distinct shift from a genderless orientation where the authors use male illustrations to foreground the image of an entrepreneur. In three of the five textbooks analysed, the authors firstly define an entrepreneur and then use a male graphical image to foreground the representation of the entrepreneur [as male] (see Figure 4.2). Text and images intersect to give a male orientation in the authors’ projection of what initially began as a gender-neutral concept.



Textbook C | Textbook D | Textbook E

Figure 4.2: Foregrounded male association with an entrepreneur

The merging of text and image is portrayed as normal. However, it sends out a veiled message that entrepreneurs are essentially male. Whilst the authors could have used both male and female images, they made conscious and deliberate choices to use only the male images. This "veiled neutrality" on the part of the authors initially defines the entrepreneur in gender-neutral terms; however, its subsequent visual presentation renders it as non-neutral and associated with a particular gender. Learners who read and use these textbooks are exposed to the concept of entrepreneurship in a way that moves from neutrality to strong associations with males. This is likely to reinforce stereotypes that entrepreneurship is a male domain.

4.2.2 Stereotypical Positioning of Female Entrepreneurs

In analysing the portrayal of men and women as entrepreneurs in both texts and images, some stark differences between men and women began to emerge in terms of the size, type and success of entrepreneurial ventures. All the EMS textbooks portrayed women in traditional, stereotypical, biased and sexist ways. Men were frequently described as powerful, hugely successful business owners.

On the other hand, when women were portrayed, they were usually constructed in deficit positioning of small scale business owners.

An example of this can be found in textbook D on page 82, which shows the image of a young girl, who realistically might be seen as too young to represent a venture of serious success as a micro-business owner (see Figure 4.3 below). More problematic is that this image is juxtaposed alongside an elderly male in a business that is clearly more established.

Figure 4.3: Juxtaposition of the male and female entrepreneur

In textbook A, on page 110, female entrepreneurs are projected as being informal and less important; and this diminishes the status of female entrepreneurs (Figure 4.4). Despite women being portrayed as entrepreneurs, the figure below shows that "traditionally gendered discourses position women as inferior in the entrepreneurship discourse" and in the social order at large (Bobrowska & Conrad, 2017: 1).

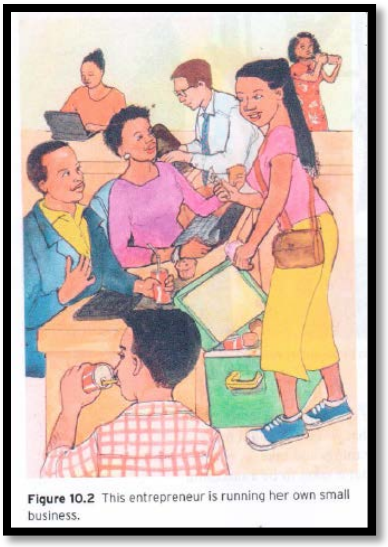


Figure 4.4: Female entrepreneur running a small business

The image shows a women selling snacks to office staff from a cooler box, and not at a formal place of business. This diminished status of females is further exacerbated by the caption under the image which reads:

"*This entrepreneur is running her own small business".*

This representation of a woman '*running her own small business'* reinforces an implicit cynicism in the competency and education levels of women. The implication is that women are not competent and skilful enough to be able to run a large-scale business. As argued by Pillay (2017), this misinterpretation of women's capacity to run successful businesses is likely to leave female learners feeling marginalised, and could serve as a deterrent to them (as females) becoming large-scale business owners.

Furthermore, the image below (textbook A, page 115) shows the small business owner as being engaged in stereotypically female orientated activities such as shopping and cooking.

Figure 4.5: Women making sandwiches

The images above reveal the small business women's link to the domestic sphere and her achievements are framed in relation to her domestic responsibilities, and the balance between the two (Christofi, Hamilton, & Larty, 2009).

As such, the image of the small business entrepreneur reinforces a female's link to the "domestic sphere and positions her at the interface between the public and private sphere" (Hamilton, 2013:92). This so-called "mumpreneur" invokes and reinforces the nurturing role and responsibilities of women in relation to their skills in economic activities (McRobbie, 2009:49). Furthermore, as argued by Bobrowska and Conrad (2017:4), this discourse of the "mumpreneur" is in conflict with the discourse on entrepreneurship as being a women (mum) and an entrepreneur at the same time, means that one has to position oneself simultaneously in regard to two conflicting discourses.

In chapter 2, I showed how entrepreneurship was offered as part of EMS to redress economic inequities of the past and to create access to economic opportunities. However, the image of the 'mumpreneur' depicted above, is an example of how women are disempowered by these very discourses of empowerment. Additionally, this dominant ideology negates the economic contribution that women make and serve to identify women as non-economic agents (Hamilton, 2013). The 'mumpreneur' reinforces the dual identity that women play in society – from private to public. Through this hidden text, learners learn that this is a perfectly acceptable situation. Also, the authors of the texts do little to challenge these assumptions and thus perpetuate ideological assumptions of gender roles in society.

This image of male business owners as being largely successful is however reinforced through both the imagery and the case study activities in the textbooks that were analysed. For example, in textbook B page 67, the success of males is embellished by these photographs, one of an iconic South African entrepreneur Mark Shuttleworth, presented alongside a caption that reads successful.

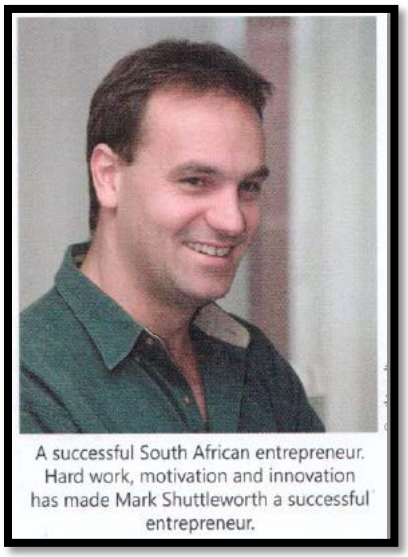


Figure 4.6: Successful South African entrepreneur, Mark Shuttleworth

Neil Evans, a lesser known entrepreneur (Figure 4.7), but male, is also described as owning a '*franchise restaurant'* that is a '*profitable business'*. These

descriptions stand in direct contrast to words such as ‘small business owner’ used to describe the female entrepreneur.

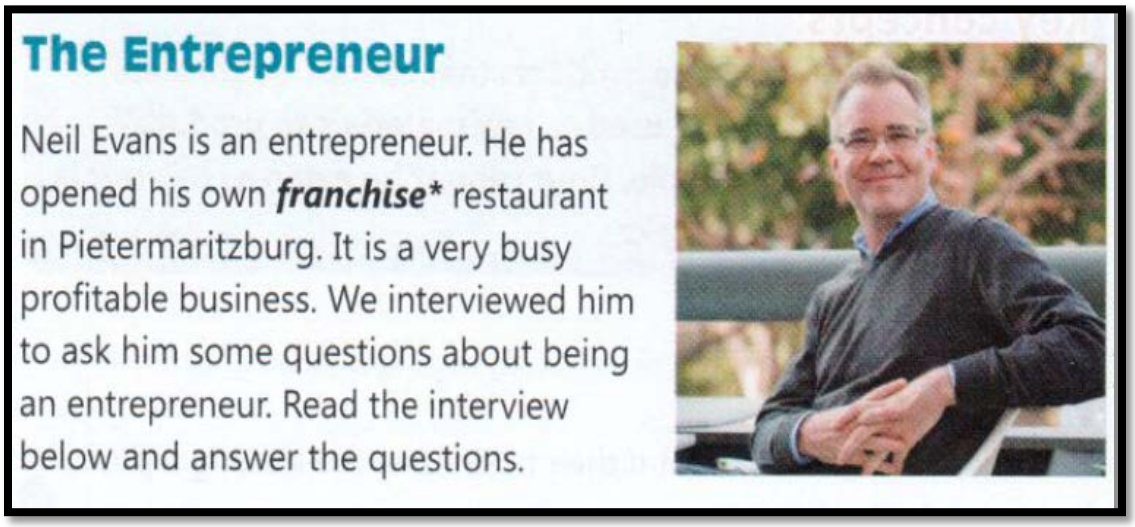
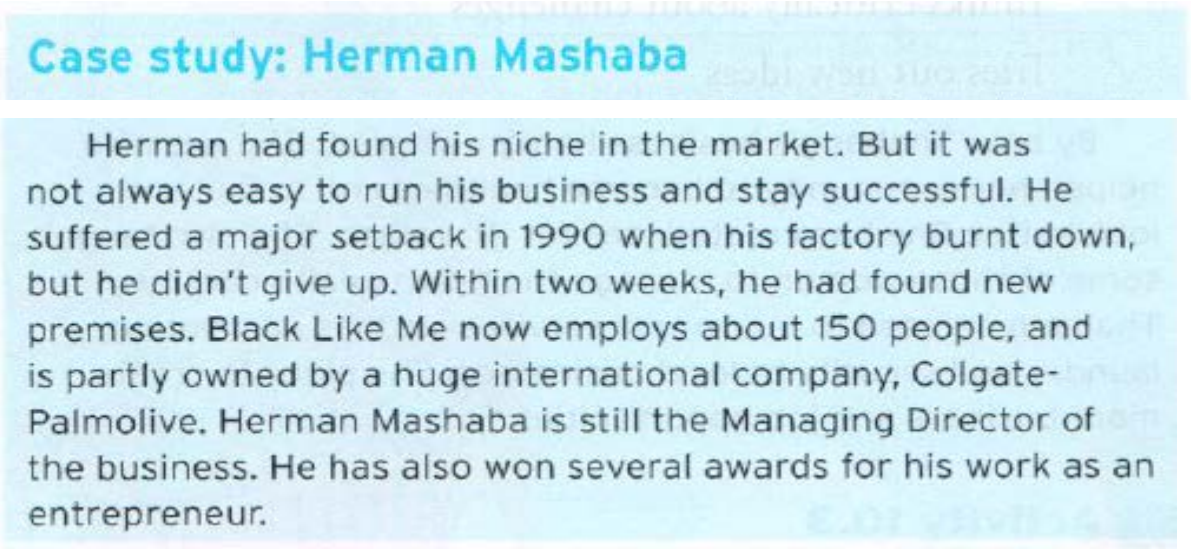


Figure 4.7: Small business owner, Neil Evans

These representations of the entrepreneur are dominated by the experiences of men which Radu and Redien-Collot (2008) refer to as a ‘figurative core’ of entrepreneurs. They identify the figurative core of entrepreneurs as being naturalised and endowed with specific characteristics such as innovators, successful, capable, competent, hard workers and individualistic. For learners, the “entrepreneurial myth remains resolutely male” and contributes to an understanding that the normative entrepreneur is male (Nicholson & Anderson, 2005:163).

Throughout the respective chapters, the depiction of males as successful entrepreneurs, and women as less successful is sustained in the case studies. Of the seven case studies examined, three of these focused on a Black female starting her own small business positioned as a local South African business. Of concern is that two of these women entrepreneurs were fictional characters. The male case studies however presented three accounts of successful non-fictional South African business men. This is an example of how “women are made invisible and their histories and realities are erased” (Hamilton, 2013:91). In so doing, the

text marginalises the economic contribution of women, thereby establishing a "habit of obscuring women's economic activities" (Beachy, Craig & Owens 2006:8). Female learners reading these texts are denied seeing and reading about strong role-models to associate with and to emulate.



Case study: Herman Mashaba

Herman had found his niche in the market. But it was not always easy to run his business and stay successful. He suffered a major setback in 1990 when his factory burnt down, but he didn't give up. Within two weeks, he had found new premises. Black Like Me now employs about 150 people, and is partly owned by a huge international company, Colgate-Palmolive. Herman Mashaba is still the Managing Director of the business. He has also won several awards for his work as an entrepreneur.

Figure 4.8: Excerpt 1 from the case study: Herman Mashaba

A case study about South African business icon, Herman Mashaba (textbook A, page 112) encapsulates this theme of deficit positioning of women entrepreneurs that runs across all the case studies. Foregrounded as a successful entrepreneur who established a business that is now "*partly owned by a huge international company, Colgate-Palmolive*". This narrative is further entrenched as he is regarded as someone who "*suffered a major setback*" but *"he didn't give up"*.

In addition, the case studies introduces males as having powerful titles, such as "*Managing Director of a huge and successful business"*.

Women, on the other hand, as demonstrated in the case study that follows that of Herman Mashaba (textbook A, page 113), are immediately positioned as smaller, less successful entrepreneurs.

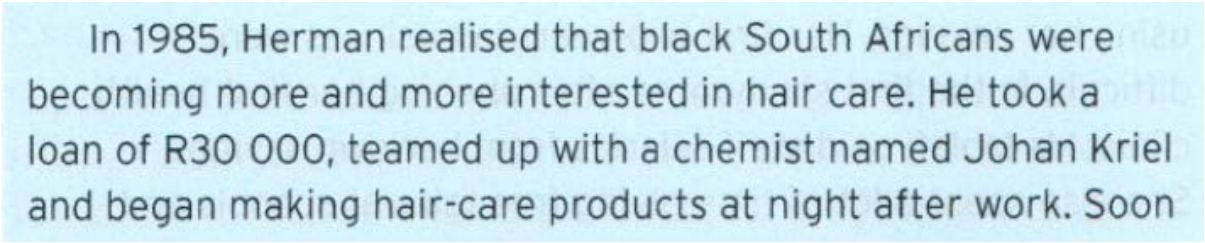
Case study: Thabang Molefi

Thabang is a herbalist and beauty therapist. She opened The Roots Healthcare Centre, the first health spa in Soweto, in 2002. Today, her business has branches in three South African provinces and in a neighbouring country. She even has a mobile unit that brings beauty and healthcare to communities in rural areas.

Figure 4.9 Excerpt 1 from case study: Thabang Molefi

Thabang Molefi is a female entrepreneur who, unlike the previous case study, is introduced as a "*herbalist and beauty therapist*" who "*has branches in three South African provinces and in a neighbouring country*". By this, she too is a successful business owner, a managing director and no longer only a therapist, yet defined as such. These texts perpetuate a message to learners that executive and senior positions in business are gendered to favour males. Moreover, women's roles in the business sphere are trivialised regardless of their success.

This power-dynamics continue to play out in discussions around access to finance and loans, which are referred to in both case studies. For a man, access to a loan, (albeit that he was a Black man in apartheid South Africa in 1985) is taken-for-granted (as indicated below: "*He took a loan of R30 000…").*



In 1985, Herman realised that black South Africans were becoming more and more interested in hair care. He took a loan of R30 000, teamed up with a chemist named Johan Kriel and began making hair-care products at night after work. Soon

Figure 4.10: Excerpt 2 from case study: Herman Mashaba

On the other hand, Thabang Molefi (post-apartheid, in 2002) is presented to the reader as unable to get a bank loan as shown in the statement: *"She tried to get a bank loan… She couldn't get a loan…"*. This reinforces the deficit positioning of women in business in terms of access to finance, perpetuation of inequality, and contribution to the social order that women are inferior to men.

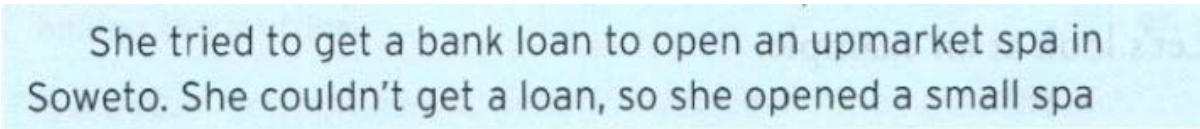
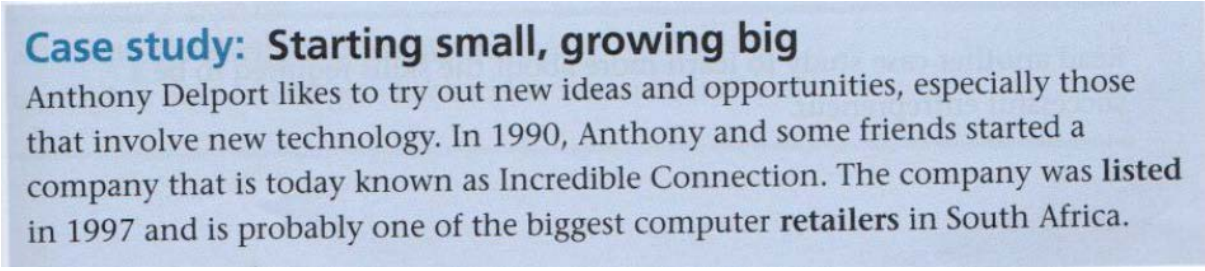

She tried to get a bank loan to open an upmarket spa in Soweto. She couldn't get a loan, so she opened a small spa

Figure 4.11: Excerpt 2 from case study: Thabang Molefi

This same [mis]representation plays out in textbook C (page 95) in a similarly problematic fashion. Two case studies (one male and one female) are presented in the chapter on Entrepreneurship, where a closer analysis reveals a distinct male bias. In the first of the two case studies, a male entrepreneur is immediately positioned as being in charge of a large "*listed*" company. "**Listed"** is embellished through emboldened text-type glorifying the listing of a publicly traded company on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.


Case study: Starting small, growing big

Anthony Delport likes to try out new ideas and opportunities, especially those that involve new technology. In 1990, Anthony and some friends started a company that is today known as Incredible Connection. The company was **listed** in 1997 and is probably one of the biggest computer **retailers** in South Africa.

Figure 4.12: Excerpt from case study: Starting small, growing big

Sheila Radebe who is the central figure in the second case study is represented as a businesswoman who "… *makes **ethnically decorated** jewellery that includes necklaces, rings, earrings and beaded costume jewellery".*

Case study: Following the family example

Sheila Radebe knew that she wanted to own her own business since her days as a jewellery design student at Wits Technikon. Sheila is the owner of African Jewels in Pretoria, a business that manufactures and exports jewellery. The business makes **ethnically decorated** jewellery that includes necklaces, rings, earrings and beaded costume jewellery.

Figure 4.13: Excerpt from case study: Following the family example

The foregrounded representations in the case studies above, differ significantly. The female entrepreneur is positioned as a smaller craft business owner whilst her male counterpart is glorified as a hugely successful global technology business magnate. Pillay (2013) refers to this representation of women in small businesses as reinforcing an implicit scepticism about women's competency. Female students reading this are likely to feel marginalised by this misrepresentation of women which could deter them from becoming owners of businesses in these large industries.

The issue of finance and females being incapable of funding their own ventures without loans is implicit again in the statement, "*the banks did not want to give Sheila a loan so her father and brother became partners in her business by giving her the necessary finance".* This reinforces the perception that females are not able to access the same financial opportunities as men. Additionally, the notion of dependency on others: *"her father and brother became partners in her business by giving her the necessary finance"* is foregrounded to help her succeed. The selection of words "*father"* and "*brother"* associated with the words *"necessary"* perpetuates the assumption that females need males in order to be successful in their entrepreneurial endeavours. Furthermore, this text portrays women and men in stereotypical, biased and sexist ways. Females are presented as helpless, needy and powerless ('*the banks did not want to give Sheila a loan');* and men are seen as powerful ('*her father and brother became partners in her business by giving her the necessary finance')*. This reinforces the taken-for-granted assumption that men do not need to depend on others to be successful, and are able to create conditions for women to be successful. David (2012:71) refers to the

way that authors present information as painting an image of males as omnipotent, “intervening to assist the less powerful female*”.* These case studies distort the perception of female entrepreneurs presented to learners who read the textbook, implying that women are not competent to own, fund and run large businesses, and must be dependent on males to forge ahead in life.

4.2.3 Concluding Remarks

The deliberate diction throughout the sample represents a normalised strategy (Fairclough, 2003) to present the term *entrepreneur* as one that can stand on its own without a gender context. To neutralise the *entrepreneur,* pronouns such as person, they, themselves or the entrepreneur are used throughout the text. However, this neutrality is unveiled by a distinct shift by all the authors from neutrality to an embellishment through images and text to represent the entrepreneur and entrepreneurship as masculine concepts. A deeper analysis of the use of the pronouns; *he* or *she* reinforces the ‘firstness’ of men through automatic ordering and the underlying assumption that men are more important than women

Throughout the text and images men are depicted and described as powerful, hugely successful business owners. Women, however, are never afforded the same status in any of the many opportunities that they are presented in the text. Women in South Africa represent only 4.7% of entrepreneurs, and men make up the rest. This difference in entrepreneurial aspirations is attributed by some scholars to self-efficacy, and that a lack of appropriate role-models is reflected in the perceived entrepreneurial self-efficacy of women (Jones, 2014; McGee, Peterson, Mueller & Sequiera, 2009; Wilson, Kickul and Marlino, 2007; Peterman & Kennedy, 2003; Zimmerman, 1995). The obvious lack of positive female role-models for young female students is further compounded by stereotypical assumptions embedded in the text and images.

When women were portrayed as entrepreneurs, they were depicted as either smaller in scale, subsistence-based, or their representations limited to that of

women within typically domestic, feminine spaces. According to Chinomon and Maziriri (2015) who studied the challenges facing women entrepreneurs in South Africa, gender-bias, gender stereotyping or sex discrimination was clearly identified as hindering women entrepreneurs from being successful. Women such as Mandipaka (2014) pointed out, that women still struggle to enjoy the same rights and advantages as South African men. In a male-dominated society women face problems such as the reluctance of banks to provide credit, lack of support, and negative socio-cultural attitudes which limit them from active economic participation (Sinha, 2005; Mitchell, 2004; Valla, 2001).

In addition to the implications that women are less competent and successful than men, women are depicted as dependant on men for success and access to entrepreneurship. The patriarchy embedded within these texts present as being normal for females, and reinforce (and disseminate) these discriminatory values amongst male and female learners reading these books.

4.3 REPRESENTATION OF RACE

Two distinct themes arise from the study pertaining to race. Firstly, the silence around issues of race is construed on the surface as being neutral, but a deeper analysis reveals a rhetoric of racial apathy. Secondly, when Black people are represented, it emerges from the text that they are negatively *"othered"* by author(s).

4.3.1 Racially Apathetic Discourse

The analysis of textbooks revealed only one instance, throughout all the textbooks, where race was used to describe an entrepreneur, Herman Mashaba (textbook A, page 112).

> *"During this time, he had to find ways around the harsh laws that stopped black people from moving about freely in South Africa…"*

The reference to Black people is couched within a subtle suggestive inference, made to the country's problematic history that softens and backgrounds racial inequality. The words racial discrimination and apartheid are avoided and instead the choice of words *"harsh laws"* backgrounds the reality of *"this time"* to Black entrepreneurs such as Herman and distances the reader from the impact of racial inequality. This limited explanation of the consequences of apartheid, especially in the context of entrepreneurship in relation to business for Black people is problematic and reinforces Forman's notion of racial apathy (Forman, 2004; Forman & Lewis, 2006; Forman & Lewis, 2015). Forman (2004:44) defines racial apathy as "indifference toward societal racial and ethnic inequality and lack of engagement with race-related social issues".

This lack of engagement with 'race-related social issues' is most apparent in the silence in all the textbooks that have neatly skirted the issue of racial inequality. Due to the unique extent of racial discrimination in South Africa and the far-reaching consequences of a racially-ordered apartheid society and economy, this silence presents as an intentional omission and expression of racial apathy present in the text (World Bank, 2014). Racial apathy as Forman and Lewis (2006:177) point out is "not only the lack of care about racial inequality and unwillingness to address it" but strategically avoiding contact with marginalised groups (Forman, 2004; Forman & Lewis, 2015). As opposed to contradicting racial inequality, it is presented to learners reading these textbooks as a natural by-product of those who hold power over others (Brown, Bento, Gorman, Koku & Culver, 2019).

An image used to introduce the chapter on entrepreneurship in textbook C, page 90, (figure 4.14 below), demonstrates how this racial apathy is presented through the visuals selected by the authors.

Figure 4.14: Small business owner

The use of this image is an example of persuasive semiotic modality to foreground the entrepreneur as smiling and happy, with a sense of what Brown et al. (2019) referred to as the 'nonchalance' of racial apathy. Furthermore, the entrepreneur against the background image of his clearly small, home-based, informal business shows a sense of acceptance of the status quo. This type of business is stereotypical of what South Africans would call 'township business'. These contemporary townships are a result of forced removals of Blacks from cities to the peripheries of the city by the then apartheid government, the effects of which will be felt for centuries to come (Hikido, 2018). Residents in townships face daily challenges in relation to high crime rates and civil unrest due to the lack of infrastructure such as housing and basic services that further hinder employment opportunities and economic activity (Jürgens, Donaldson, Rule & Bähr, 2013). The use of such imagery reinforces racially apathetic discourse that normalises racial inequality as an acceptable reality to readers of these texts.

4.3.2 Other-Presentation of Black Entrepreneurs

Through a content analysis of the visual representations of entrepreneurs, the results clearly indicate that only two racial demographics dominate the discussion.

This is evident in the seven case studies presented across the five textbooks. Of the seven case studies, five black and two white entrepreneurs feature in the case studies. This representation of only two racial groups by the authors is perpetuated by the visual images used to represent entrepreneurs. See extract from the content analysis conducted in table 4.1 below (full table available in Appendix 1).

Of the 40 images used to represent entrepreneurs, 52.5% are Black entrepreneurs, 42.5% White, 2.5% Coloured and 2.5% Indian/Asian. It is worthwhile noting that this is not representative of South Africa's multi-racial demographics. According to *Statistics South Africa* (2018), black Africans make up 80,9%, coloured 8,8%, white 7,8% and Indian/Asian the remaining 2,5%. Numerically the representation of race is problematically skewed. While the Indian/Asian representation in textbooks is aligned to the demographic of the country, Blacks and Coloureds are under-represented while Whites are over-represented and almost equal to black entrepreneurs to reinforce the perception of two dominant racial groups.

Table 4.1: Content analysis of race representation through images

Descriptor	Book 1	Book 2	Book 3	Book 4	Book 5	Total	%
No. of black entrepreneurs in pictures, actions/roles	110 (1) 115 (1) 119 (1)		90 (1) 92(3) 100(1) 106(1) 108(2) 115(2) 122(2)	82 (1) 84 (1) 85 (2) 88 (1)	56 (1)	21	52,5% [21/40]
No. of white entrepreneurs in pictures, actions/roles	109 (3) 139 (3)	67 (1) 70 (1)	91 (1) 92 (1) 100 (2)	82 (1) 84 (1)	58 (3)	17	42,5% [17/40]
No. of coloured entrepreneurs in pictures, actions/roles			92(1)			1	2,5% [1/40]
No. of Indian/ Asian entrepreneurs in pictures, actions/roles		67(1)				1	2,5% [1/40]
Totals	**9**	**3**	**17**	**7**	**4**	**40**	

*Page number (number of entrepreneurs)

This distinction marks the first indication of what Van Dijk (1992) refers to as the positive self-representation of white people and negative other-presentation. According to Van Dijk (1994), dominant groups in general, and elites in particular, have control over their own representation. Through media such as the news or textbooks, minorities are portrayed with a bias that could influence the public at large by communicating models that are consistent with prevailing prejudicial social representations (Van Dijk, 1994). This ideological shift away from expressions of blatant antipathy and presence of new or symbolic racism in contemporary society, which is enacted more subtly in everyday situations, becomes most apparent when text or images are read intertextually; that is, in relation to other texts or discourses (Bennett, 2018). The comparison of two images, figures 4.15 and 4.16 below, from textbooks A and D respectively demonstrate this. Symbolic or what is called 'modern' racism appears as less blatant, yet by comparing with similar texts, it confirms the subtle dominance of one group over another through inferiorisation, marginalisation and/or exclusion of groups (Van Dijk, 1994).

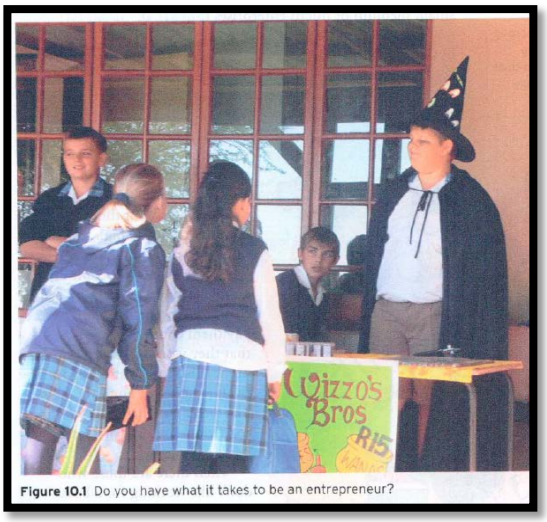


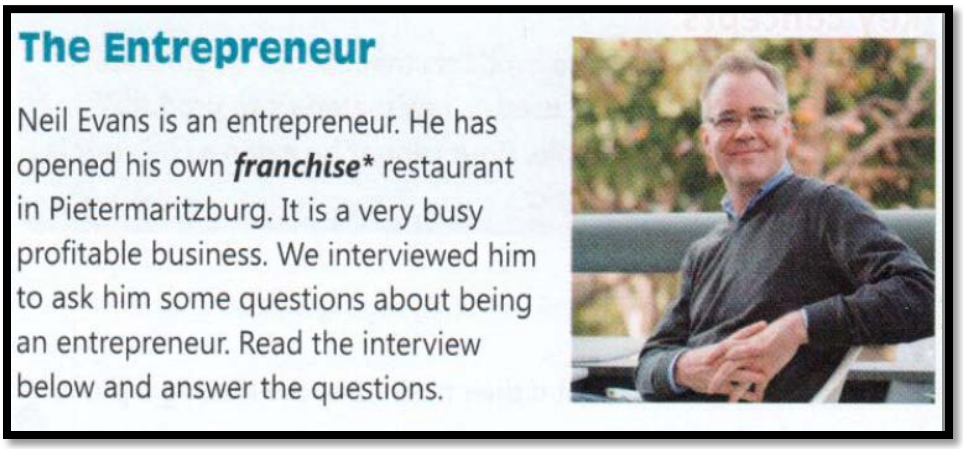
Figure 10.1 Do you have what it takes to be an entrepreneur?

Figure 4.15 Learners at an entrepreneurs' day

Figure 4.16 Learners at an unsuccessful entrepreneurs' day

The image in textbook A (page 109), figure 4.15 shows the positive representation of young white entrepreneurs at a school entrepreneurs' day. Despite their age, they display confidence and superiority through their body language. The stance of the learner on the right and the boy with arms folded on the left illustrates determination and confidence to achieve success thereby reinforcing the ideology of a positive self-representation. Juxtaposed against figure 4.16 (textbook D, page 85), which shows a pair of Black learners at a similar entrepreneurs' day but are portrayed as unsuccessful with their products described as having gone bad. These images perpetuate a stereotype to readers that white people are confident and subsequently successful. An opportunity is missed here to promote a similarly positive representation of Black entrepreneurs for Black learners. This perpetuates racial apathy.

Positive representation of whiteness (when they are presented) however is pervasive in the majority of the textbooks. In the two instances where white entrepreneurs feature in case studies, both are foregrounded as profitable and successful respectively.



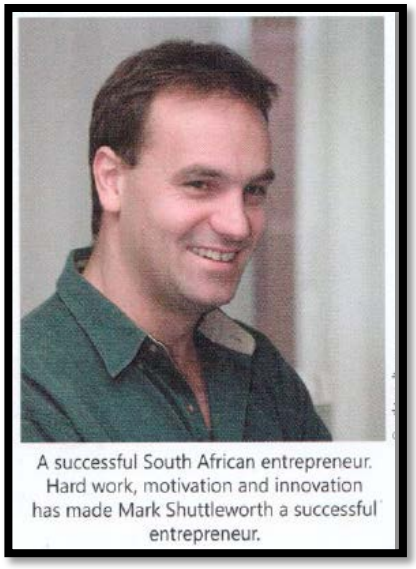


Figure 4.17 Profitable and successful white entrepreneurs

While the structural racism that disadvantages Black South African entrepreneurs is silenced, similarly the systemic privilege enjoyed by white South Africans and the relationship to their success is overlooked by authors (Hikido, 2018). Instead their positive representation persists throughout the textbooks. Figure 4.18 from textbook B (page 73) does well to depict this thinking through the author(s) selection of images and the embellished caption that accompanies the image.

Figure 4.18 Representation of different people

Despite the caption *different people*, the images clearly indicate only white people at different ages as the representation of all people. According to *Statistics South Africa's* living conditions survey (2015), Black African-headed households account for over half (52,8%) of all household consumption expenditure, yet the images only portray the white demographic.

However, what makes this insinuation more problematic and demonstrates the pervasive nature of the systemic privilege afforded to white people in South Africa is through the words *different wants* and the associated images. The representation of class and lifestyle in these images speak to white households who earn the highest average incomes (R444 446 per annum), which is roughly 4,5 times larger than Black African-headed households and 3 times larger than the average national income (Stats SA, 2015). These images are not representative of South African demographics but infer to learners reading these textbooks that "whiteness" is normal and an acceptable representation of all South Africans.

Moreover, and amidst this silence around systemic white privilege, what is foregrounded through insinuations, assumptions and stereotyping is a negative perception of Black entrepreneurs. In textbook A, page 112, the authors deliberately select information which portrays the Black entrepreneur (Herman Mashaba) negatively:

"He became good at avoiding the police".

This is the second such selection of discourse used by the author to juxtapose, not only Herman Mashaba but all Black people at the time, as they were bound by the same reality, stereotyping them as victims who become villainous in order to access what was considered a given for white South Africans.

> *"From the age of thirteen, he gambled every weekend so that he would have money to pay his school fees."*

This rhetoric of suffering, having been a victim or like Herman *"brought up in the poor rural village of Ramotswe, where life was very harsh"* is reinforced in a second

case study in the same book about a herbalist Thabang Molefi. Thabang (textbook A, page 115) is presented as a herbalist who *"helped her community to become healthier".* This community being Soweto, the largest Black community in South Africa (Business Tech, 2016) is negatively stereotyped in this instance as being 'unhealthy'. This reiterates clichés about townships as places of poverty and despair, and in so doing backgrounds and distances the legacy of the colonial and apartheid era (Iqani, 2015).

Further to this, Thabang and Sheila Radebe in textbook C (page 95) are cited as being people who were denied a loan by the bank, with the latter being forced to borrow from family members to start the business. No reason or evidence or explanation for the refusal of the loans is provided, implying to the reader that Black entrepreneurs are not in a position to access finance.

4.3.3 Concluding Remarks

The silence around race and race-related issues across all textbooks is a clear indication of a racially apathetic orientation by the authors. The textbooks avoid the issue of racial inequality and demonstrate an unwillingness to engage with the far-reaching consequences of South Africa's apartheid history, and instead present the disadvantages faced by Black people as normal and acceptable.

White people on the other hand, who are a minority in South Africa are over-represented in the text as entrepreneurs, and the systemic economic privilege they enjoy is presented as a taken-for-granted truth. The positive representation of whiteness permeates throughout the textbooks while all Black entrepreneurs are presented with a rhetoric of suffering or disadvantage that goes unexplained and presented to learners reading these books as natural.

4.4 REPRESENTATION OF CLASS IN EMS TEXTBOOKS

As discussed in chapter two, the analysis of social class is primarily concerned with issues of redistribution related to the market or means of production, unlike dimensions of gender and race, which are struggles related to 'recognition' (Fraser & Honneth 2003:14). Class, however, is not a fixed social category, extremely difficult to define in any context and consequently, as with any socially constructed concept is open to varied interpretations (Anderson, Dodd & Jack, 2009; Iqani, 2015). French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) seminal work on social class differentiates between economic capital (wealth and income), cultural capital (the ability to appreciate and engage with cultural goods, and credentials institutionalised through educational success), and social capital (contacts and connections which allow people to draw on their social networks) to draw distinctions in representations of class.

These aspects of class representations are interwoven and presented under the themes:

- The enterprising self
- Misconceptions of intelligence and abilities
- Obscured ownership of resources

4.4.1 The Enterprising Self

Rose (1999) sees the notion of enterprising self, tying in with various moral models of the good life. According to Rose (1999:54), the enterprising self will make an "enterprise of his/her life, seek to maximise his/her own human capital, and seek to shape him/herself in order to become that which he/she wishes to be". Additionally, Komulainen, Korhonen and Räty (2009) maintain that the notion of the enterprising self, comprises of a certain way of seeing oneself (self-

relationship). This includes conceptions of entrepreneurial abilities such as initiative, independence, risk-taking, self-reliance, and self-responsibility (Räty & Snellman, 1998; Komulainen, Korhonen & Räty, 2009). The promotion of the enterprising self as a moral principle in textbooks demonstrates ambivalent and contradictory dimensions which endorse personal properties such as exploitation, greed and monetising human relationship, yet positions other personal properties of benevolence, humility and seeking security as deviant (Komulainen, Korhonen & Räty, 2009).

A recurring message across all textbooks positions self-employment for working-class communities positively as opposed to being formally employed, as a more favourable option to the working-class already formally employed. The implication is that being self-employed is an activity that all working class individuals should aspire to. The negative ramifications (both material and psychological) that plague self-employment is almost silent in the messages across the textbooks (Maistry & David, 2017). Consequently, the blatant flaunting of this choice between being self-employed and formally employed can be construed as reckless and problematic. According to García-Sánchez, Van der Torn, Rodriguez-Bailon and Willis (2018), certain ideologies provide narratives that allow people to make sense of their unequal realities and in so doing accept and tolerate these inequalities (Castillo, 2012a; Castillo, 2012b; Willis, Rodríguez-Bailón, López-Rodríguez, & García-Sánchez, 2015; Trump, 2017).

This is demonstrated most blatantly in textbook A (page 110) in the following passage:

> *"Many feel that the job they have doesn't pay them enough money … but the money they make always goes to the business that employs them. They may feel that their working conditions are bad, or that their job is boring. Then there are those who don't like working for a boss. … They also like to decide what work they do, when they do it and how they do it."*

The choice of the word *they* and *their* separates this person from both the working class and the corporate elite who own businesses and "*employs them".* The assumption is made that working-class individuals are satisfied with low pay, unfavourable working conditions and a lack of stimulus and excitement as opposed to an employer who reaps the financial rewards (Maistry & David, 2017). There is an overt silence of the many pitfalls of ownership and the lack of stability in choosing to be self-employed and independent.

The same message is conveyed in the visual images of textbook C (page 92). In the section entitled, "Reasons Why People Become Entrepreneurs" we see how persuasive scare tactics are used through visual texts to suggest to the potential reader that "entrepreneurship is the only likely pathway to success in the given social context" (Maistry & David, 2017:106):

Figure 4.19: Reasons why people become entrepreneurs

The individuals illustrated in figure 4.19 above, are used to represent an authoritative voice romanticising entrepreneurship as a self-enterprising endeavour as opposed to formal employment, which might lead to unhappiness, boredom, financial instability, lack of control and autonomy. Furthermore, the overt assumption is that entrepreneurship is more likely to be stimulating, less frustrating

and boring, highly paid and less authoritative as opposed to working for an employer who '*gets all the money'*. These visual representations legitimate the hegemony of the "positive benefits of entrepreneurship, with no reference to the risks and challenges associated with entrepreneurship" (Maistry & David, 2017: 107). Common afflictions associated with entrepreneurship such as anxiety, depression, fatigue, and stress are completely backgrounded implying to the reader that entrepreneurship is less strenuous and demanding than formal employment (Ibid, 2017).

A further hidden message is communicated in the statements, *'I work so hard but the company gets all the money, and, I don't like other people telling me what to do.'* These statements communicate that workers are powerless in negotiating a share of the income that business generates even though they '*work so hard but the company gets all the money*'. As argued by Maistry and David, (2017:107), this message could work to "signal the likely benefits of power that comes with being an entrepreneur, in a context where workers' rights and power to negotiate are weak". This is likely to legitimate the enterprising self as more powerful and appealing as opposed to being an employee, which seems less powerful and less appealing.

In textbooks A and B, the choice of being an entrepreneur is juxtaposed against an alternative of unemployment, thereby normalising unemployment as if it is a choice. Unemployment in South Africa is hardest to address because it is structural, implying that the economy is unable to provide employment for the total or potential labour force and reflects social challenges such as poverty, and race and gender inequality (Cloete, 2015). The threat of unemployment is used by authors in the following texts to convince readers that in South Africa, entrepreneurship is the pathway to employment and economic activity. It is existentially assumed (Fairclough, 2003) and overtly emphasised to potential readers that unemployment is the inevitable reality in South Africa and that entrepreneurship is the solution to unemployment.

Textbook A, page 110:

“People decide to start their own business for different reasons. There are high levels of unemployment in South Africa, which means many people are unable to find work.”

Textbook B, page 66:

“For many people, starting a business is the only way to make a living as they cannot find employment elsewhere.”

The selection of words such as ‘*many people’* imply that unemployment is an avoidable reality for many South Africans. Entrepreneurship on the other hand is seen as positive and desirable but also a possibility for all who choose to not fall into the *‘many’*. The obligation appears to be on the individual to find a way out of this economic impasse. There is no attempt in the text to explain the role of the State or of established businesses in providing opportunities for economic livelihood. Moreover, there is complete silence on the economic, structural and historical context of South Africa’s unemployment figures which have consistently measured above 20%, and currently sits at 29% - one of the highest in the world (Ranchhod, 2019; *StatsSA,* 2019). In so doing, the implication to readers of these texts, is that pursuits of wealth, personal prosperity and self-advancement will alleviate life’s problems. Harvey (2007) refers to this as the superficial concept of individual personal prosperity. The author(s) of the textbooks romanticise entrepreneurship despite current research that poverty, access to capital and levels of education severely hamper entrepreneurial start-ups (Kelly, Singer & Herrington, 2016). This discursive practice of explicit manipulation and distortion of content, Zizek (2011:55) refers to as a “constituted ideology*”,* which readers need to be deeply sceptical of. Learners are forced to make decisions without having sufficient knowledge at their disposal, thereby perpetuating the cycle of inequality.

Additionally, the authors of the textbooks present with a degree of certainty that entrepreneurship is profitable. However, as argued by Visagie (2013), in South

Africa, the affluent middle-class constitute 30% of the population, the elite or upper class 4%, and the remaining overwhelming majority are steeped in poverty or at high risk of falling into poverty. The recurring subtext presents a taken-for-granted assumption that not only is entrepreneurship profitable, but that the ability to take these risks is equitable, regardless of poverty and access to financial support and capital.

Textbook A (page 110):

> *"An entrepreneur is a person who invests in, organizes and runs a business, with the aim of making a profit. Usually entrepreneurs take a risk to do this."*

Textbook B (page 67):

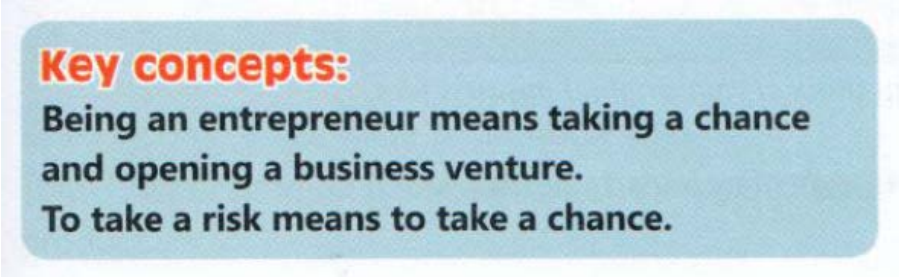


Figure 4.20: Key concept: Risk

Textbook B (page 67):

> *"Risk taking – Entrepreneurs need to be prepared to take calculated risks or they will not expand their business and move forward".*

Textbook: C (page 91):

> *"An entrepreneur is a person who owns and runs their own business and assumes all the risks and rewards for the business venture".*
>
> *"An entrepreneur takes a calculated risk by investing money in a business opportunity in order to make a profit."*

Textbook: E (page 53):

“An entrepreneur is a risk taker who likes challenges”.

“An entrepreneur is profit-orientated, is a hard worker and has a lot of initiative so he or she needs to be very organised”.

The above texts reveal an uncritical “glamorisation of entrepreneurship” (Barbosa & Ferreira, 2015:3). The view that entrepreneurship is the answer to the poverty crisis in South Africa, is mythical and downplays the oppressive structures in society that prevent the poor from rising above the cycle of inequality and oppression. Considering the advocacy of profit by authors throughout the text, while disregarding risk as a hindering factor of the enterprising self, resonates of the capitalistic insensitivity to the unemployed. These risks and challenges associated with entrepreneurship are covert and elusive. The positioning of these statements speaks to the reality of wealth- creation as being a righteous production of modernity by the middle and upper-classes who are in possession of material goods or educational capital that enable them to take the risks mentioned (Nicholson & Anderson, 2005). This is evident in the excerpts below.

In textbook B, page 70 and 71 respectively, the entrepreneur, Neil Evans is interviewed and says:

“It took a great deal of courage to start the business as I had to risk a lot of my own money.”

“I have some training from UNISA and Varsity College. The courses I studied guided me in how to plan and organise my business and manage my finances.”

“Before I opened the restaurant, I had to buy a large amount of capital equipment, such as stoves, fridges and furniture.”

In textbook D, page 85 (figure 4.21 below) the young entrepreneur Richard Bopape is positioned as having had access to capital in the form of savings as well capital goods.

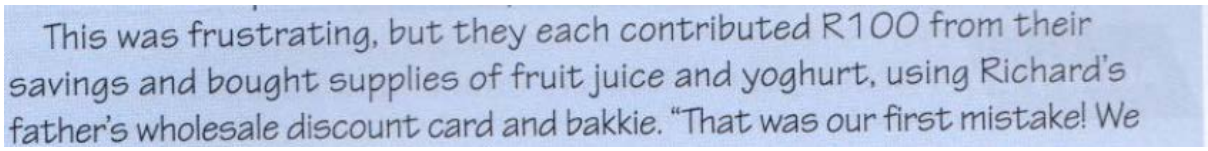

This was frustrating, but they each contributed R100 from their savings and bought supplies of fruit juice and yoghurt, using Richard's father's wholesale discount card and bakkie. "That was our first mistake! We

Figure 4.21: Excerpt 1 from case study: Tuckshop ideals

Although risk is mentioned superficially throughout all the texts, little or no mention is made of the cost of this risk. The myth portrayed by authors, is that when "faced with adversity, one's 'natural' business acumen [or instinct] and existing everyday knowledge is sufficient to take on the risks [financial and other] that one could face" (Maistry & David, 2017: 107). There are silences around the psychological and financial trauma and devastation that accompany the failure of entrepreneurial ventures. Additionally, there is no mention of high start-up failure rates, the challenges of globalisation, competition or any other challenges that businesses face. By backgrounding risks such as failure, the author(s) select information that is ideologically convenient to a neoliberal inclination and present the entrepreneur as the friendly face of capitalism that creates wealth, employment and ultimately economic growth (Bechhofer & Elliot, 1981; Dodd & Anderson, 2007; Maistry & David, 2017).

4.4.2 Misconceptions of Skills and Abilities

The school and textbooks are regarded as components of a neutral environment that provide students with equal opportunities to develop entrepreneurial competencies (Pillay, 2013; David, 2012). Yet, there is an overt assertion by author(s) across all textbooks that entrepreneurs are good students who have had access to tertiary qualifications and training. This construction of the entrepreneur as a 'good' student who has academic skills and theoretical abilities is considered in isolation from context and reinforces hierarchical social positioning in society that entrepreneurs must be in a position to obtain tertiary qualifications and training

(Korhonen, Komulainen, Räty, Mattanen & Hirva, 2016). These assertions influence and categorise the way students can make sense of themselves, their positions at school, in their working lives, and as entrepreneurs (O'Flynn & Petersen, 2007; Korhonen et al., 2016), and this is foregrounded in all textbooks which provide lists of 'skills' required by an entrepreneur. Collins Online Dictionary (2019) refers to skills as an activity which requires special training and knowledge to enable one to do something well. Unlike a characteristic, which is an inherent trait, skills in the instances of these textbooks speak to a middle-class person who has been educated or trained, formally or through exposure and experience, which promotes executing something well (Collins Online Dictionary, 2019).

In textbook B page 68, entrepreneurial skills such as marketing, management and financial skills are embellished through the use of the graphic below (full list provided in Appendix 5).

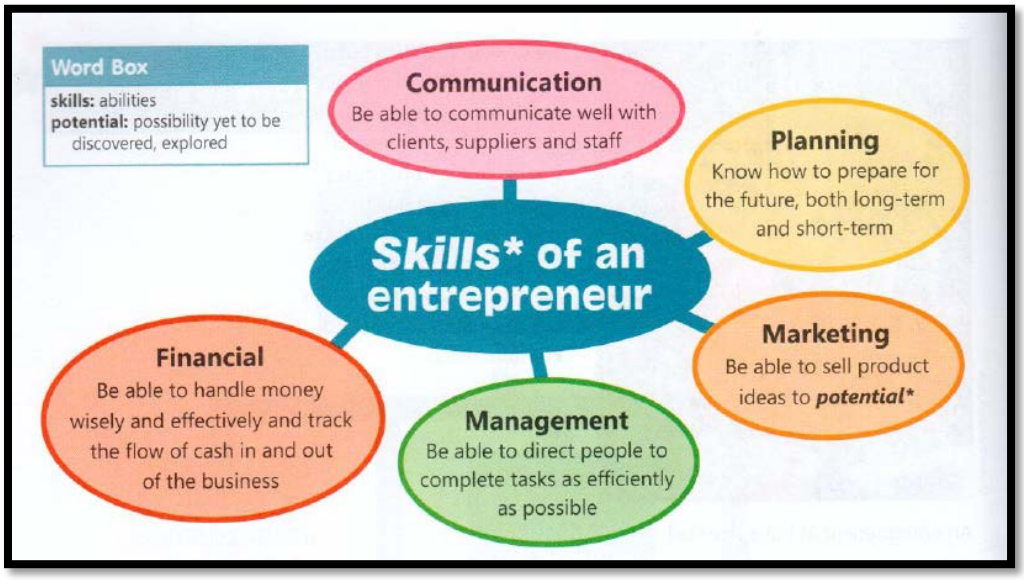


Figure 4.22: Embellishment of the skills of an entrepreneur

For students and teachers using these textbooks, boundaries are set that ground entrepreneurship within business and economic overtones and overlook the

sectors of society that are not necessarily engaged with the values and goals of the economy (Korhonen, Komulainen & Räty, 2012). The author(s) select knowledge that subtly excludes the sectors of society and their related values and aims which speak to “community-oriented activity, community welfare, democratic participation, empowerment or the reduction of social exclusion” (Korhonen, Komulainen & Räty, 2012: 2).

The need for additional education or training is foregrounded in the same manner in textbook B (page 68) in an activity where students are required to interview an entrepreneur and ask the question:

“*What training have you had to run your own business?*”

The author(s) suggested answer to this question is modelled in a case study three pages later (textbook B, page 71), through a modal construction where a franchiser is positioned as an authority to hedge this claim by the textbook author(s) that an entrepreneur requires formal training. The case study takes the form of questions and answers posed to the ‘entrepreneur’, one of which (see figure 4.23 below) foregrounds that the entrepreneur received “*…some training from UNISA and Varsity College”* and that these courses “*guided me in how to plan and organise my business and manage my finances. Some of the courses were also in marketing and these have been useful as I constantly have to market the business”.*

The author(s) selection of such case studies reinforces an assumption that there is an association between educational qualifications, formal training and being an entrepreneur.

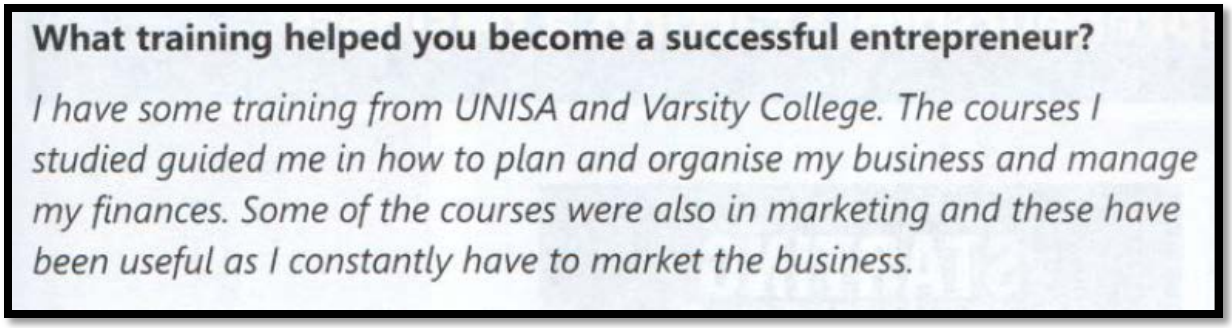


Figure 4.23: Excerpt from Activity: The entrepreneur

These misconceptions of intelligence and ability are also foregrounded in both the case studies in textbook A, page 112 and page 113 respectively. Herman Mashaba (page 112) is introduced as having *studied at the University of Limpopo* in the first case study and Thabang Molefi (page 113) as having *trained abroad in London* in the second. This normalisation of entrepreneurs as being highly educated exists in textbook E, page 57 (figure 4.24 below), where the entrepreneur Xoli Mbali is represented as a university student starting her own business.

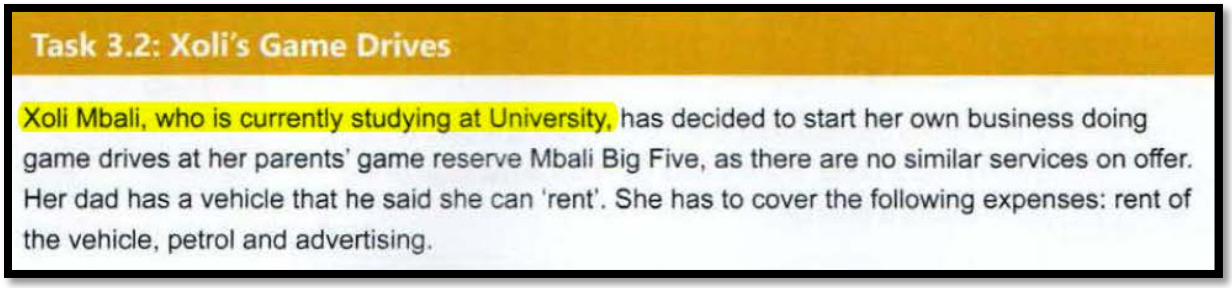


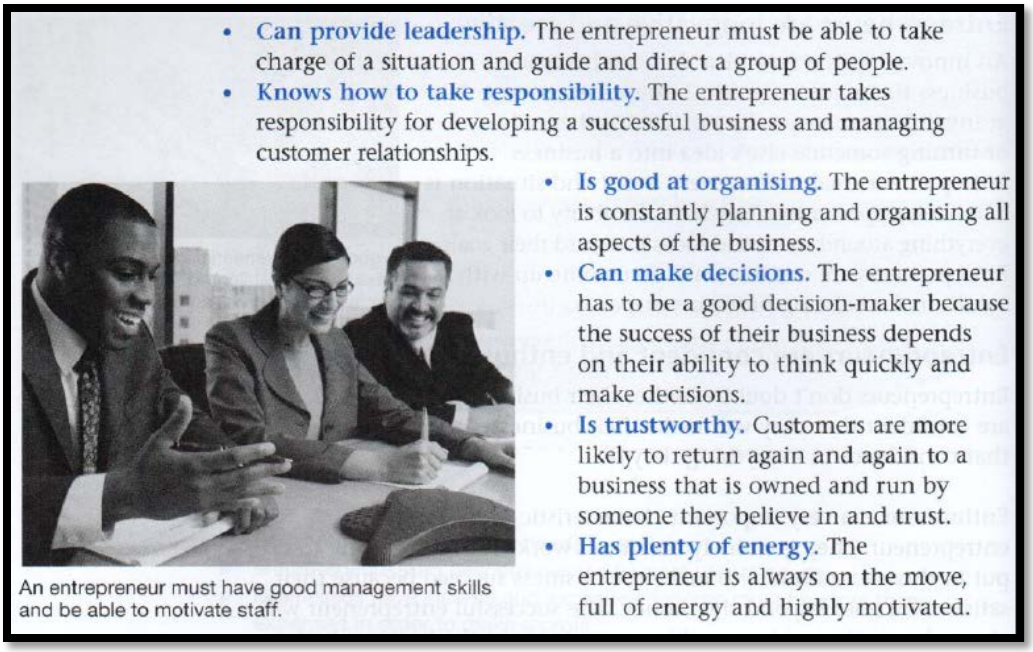
Figure 4.24: Xoli's Game Drives

Sheila Radebe, the entrepreneur in the case study in textbook C (page 93), is similarly represented as having acquired formal further education and training in the statement:

"…wanted to own her own business since her days as a jewellery design student at Wits Technikon."

In South Africa the issue of limited access to higher education to those who are different based on their material, cultural and social positions came under severe scrutiny and lead to the largest student-led mass student protest in the form of the 2015-2016 #*FeesMustFall* movement (Langa, 2016; Ndelu, 2016). At the heart of these protests was a need for free education, with students across the country arguing against the commodification of education and a higher education landscape that reproduced racial, class and institutional hierarchies (Langa, 2016; Ndelu, 2016). Thus, foregrounding this need for further education and training, especially at formal institutions such as universities, is recklessly used by the author(s) and is detached from the South African context; and the reality of those social classes in South Africa who have limited or no access to further education and training. The use of educational attainment as a social and cultural indicator perpetuates social class inequalities and presents to readers a skewed reality of the classed requirements of successful entrepreneurs (Savage et al., 2013).

Textbook D (Page 84) uses images (see figure 4.25 below) of three formally dressed, executive business people alongside the list of skills needed to be an entrepreneur forming an association in the mind of the reader of the image and skills needed to be an entrepreneur. This combination of text and visual representation entrenches the pervasive stereotype of the entrepreneur as a middle or upper-class business person.



- **Can provide leadership.** The entrepreneur must be able to take charge of a situation and guide and direct a group of people.
- **Knows how to take responsibility.** The entrepreneur takes responsibility for developing a successful business and managing customer relationships.

An entrepreneur must have good management skills and be able to motivate staff.

- **Is good at organising.** The entrepreneur is constantly planning and organising all aspects of the business.
- **Can make decisions.** The entrepreneur has to be a good decision-maker because the success of their business depends on their ability to think quickly and make decisions.
- **Is trustworthy.** Customers are more likely to return again and again to a business that is owned and run by someone they believe in and trust.
- **Has plenty of energy.** The entrepreneur is always on the move, full of energy and highly motivated.

Figure 4.25: Stereotypical image of business people as entrepreneurs

Furthermore, a case study on page 85 of textbook D (see figure 4.26 below) features a schoolboy, Richard Bopape as an entrepreneur running a tuckshop at school. The overt insinuation that the authors project is that this story is relatable to school-going readers and is positioned within the broader South African class landscape. This is especially pronounced in the diction describing his father's business as being in the *nearby Alexandra Township and* Richard attending a *boarding school* in *Sandton.* Townships under apartheid law were designated areas on the city peripheries for Blacks who were forcibly removed from urban areas; these townships are still characterised by underdeveloped infrastructure, poor education, pitiable healthcare and a lack of job opportunities (Hikido, 2018). The text however is contradictory and positions this entrepreneur as attending a boarding school in the very affluent area of Sandton in South Africa's economic hub, Gauteng (Mawere, 2018). The text positions his father as having the entrepreneurial skills to be able to send Richard to a middle- class school in the suburbs, which is a positioning of the privileged beyond the reality of rural and working-class South African children.

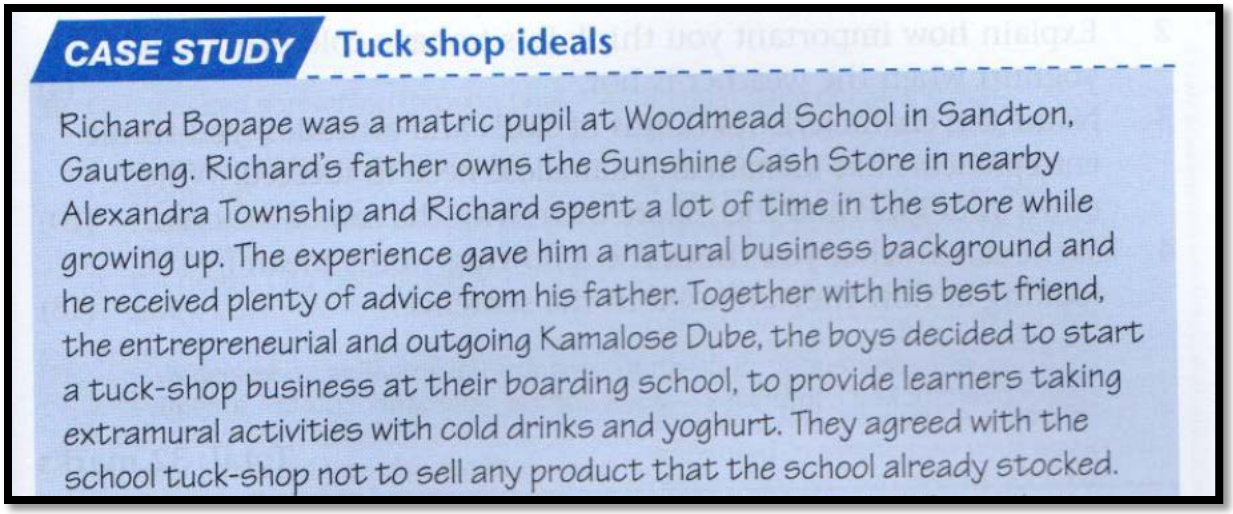


Figure 4.26: Excerpt 2 from case study: Tuckshop ideals

In addition, there are contrasting statements around Richard's experience gained in his father's store through the following statement by the author:

"… Richard spent a lot of time in the store while growing up. The experience gave him a natural business background ..."

The above excerpt reveals the privilege that Richard has acquired by spending '*a lot of time in the store while growing up'* and this '*experience gave him a natural business background*'. There is a contradiction here that Richard might not have had the natural business background, but he acquired entrepreneurial skills through experience. Experience is not easily gained by the working-class who do not have access to this same opportunity. The covert message clearly speaks to those in the middle or upper- class of South African society, yet seems to normalise the entrepreneur as one whom the working-class reader can associate with.

4.4.3 One-sided Representation of Ownership

By ownership of resources, we refer to Bourdieu's (1984) classification of economic capital, wealth and income; or as refined by Fraser and Honneth (2003) it refers to redistribution related to the market or means of production: labour, capital and natural resources. This study in particular, identified assumptions, stereotyping, topicalisation, insinuations and embellishments around labour or job-creation, and the ownership and access to finance.

One rhetoric that permeates throughout all textbooks is around entrepreneurship as a source of job-creation, and as such it implies the ability to employ others. Textbook A (page 110) presents problematic, contradictory statements in this regard:

> *In South Africa, small businesses make up about 98% of all the businesses in the country. Small businesses employ more than half of the country's workers. However, many of the people who run these small businesses only make just enough money to survive. In a country that has many jobless people, it is a good idea to help people start their own businesses. If these businesses grow, they will employ more people.*

The first statement which is topicalised by being placed at the beginning of the paragraph states that *small businesses make up about 98% of all the businesses in the country.* The word "*about"* uses modal construction to facilitate manipulation of the claim that *98%* of all businesses are small businesses (Palmquist, 1999).

While studies such as a 2016 report by *The Small Business Institute [SBI] (SEDA,* 2016) affirm that 98.5% of the South Africa's economy is reliant on small and medium-sized enterprises (SMME) - these figures are misleading without context. According to the Department of Trade and Industry [DTI] (2005), SMMEs encompass a very broad range of firms, formal and informally registered. A clear

class distinction exists between formal and informal sectors in the economy. According to reports such as the SBI (SEDA, 2016) the formal sector is more educated, has higher income generation, and exists within urban provinces such as Gauteng and the Western Cape, while the opposite is the case for the rural-based informal businesses. The latter which includes survivalist, self-employed people who come from the poorest of the population, are concentrated at this lower end of the spectrum (Berry, Von Blottnitz, Cassim, Kesper, Rajaratnam, & Van Sevenster, 2002; SEDA, 2016). The lack of context provides a skewed perspective to readers regarding the entrepreneurs' capacity to own resources such as labour. This skewed representation is further compounded by the supporting claims made by the author(s) that:

"*Small businesses employ more than half of the country's workers. However, many of the people who run these small businesses only make just enough money to survive."*

The small business owner is positioned as "*many of these people*". This is a vague statement which seems to create two identities; one which is successful and employs half of the country, and the second which barely survives. These sweeping statements which position small businesses as heroic job-creators rely on distortion of facts to mislead the reader. According to a report by the SBI (SEDA, 2016), South African SMME's create employment for 28% and the balance are self-employed survivalist businesses. The report further echoes findings by Kerr, Wittenberg and Arrow (2013) that large firms contribute more to net employment growth and shows that 56% of jobs created in South Africa are from 1,000 larger employers, Government included (SEDA, 2016). Contrary to the message conveyed by the author, Dhanah (2016) points out that South Africa's scenario is the opposite - despite the rise in small businesses, unemployment has simultaneously been on the increase.

The authors remain silent around the informal economy that provides livelihoods for millions of people in South Africa; or the struggles small-scale businesses face to remain sustainable in the presence of established businesses (Shevel, 2012; Dhanah, 2016). Any working-class reader whose interest is not necessarily in growth (as many entrepreneurs are) but with maintaining and running a small manageable venture that would support their families or allow them to live out their creativity and passion, are excluded from this conversation. The author(s) select knowledge that excludes the sectors of society and their related values and aims which speak to "community-oriented activity, community welfare, democratic participation, empowerment or the reduction of social exclusion" (Korhonen, Komulainen & Räty, 2012:2)

Textbook B (page 67) in figure 4.27 below, similarly foregrounds the entrepreneur as having two identities. Favourably as "*large businesses"* that lead to wealth creation and "*also employ large numbers of people"* in one instance, and as "*survivalist entrepreneurs*" in the second instance.

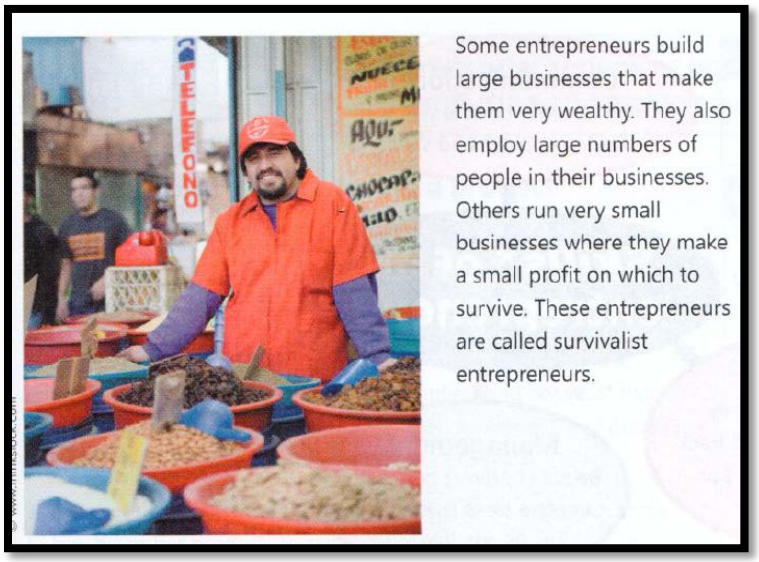
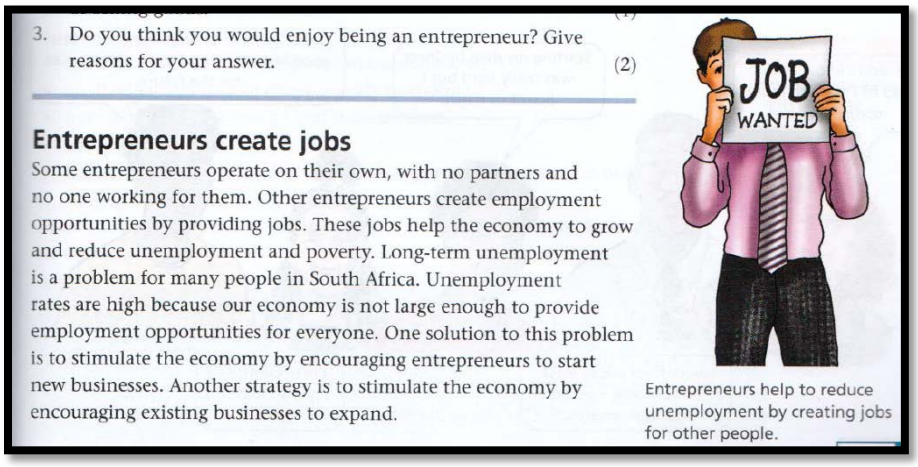


Figure 4.27: An entrepreneur at his spice stall

No supporting information is provided to understand or explain survivalist entrepreneurs, their place in the economy, and how they have come to be. These

necessity or survivalist entrepreneurs are pushed into entrepreneurship, and unlike the 'successful' entrepreneurs they are being compared to, have less available to them in terms of time, capital or knowledge-based resources (Block, Kohn, Miller & Ullrich, 2015). This is overlooked and by the authors who present these entrepreneurs only as the 'othered' unprofitable alternative to the middle-class aspiration of wealth creation. This stereotype is reinforced in the minds of the readers of these books by the use of an image of an entrepreneur at his spice stall to accompany this text. This entrepreneur, who is a survivalist entrepreneur is pictured smiling, portraying a sense of acceptance and satisfaction with his working-class or survivalist entrepreneur status.

"Entrepreneurs create jobs" is embellished in the heading in Textbook C (page 91), figure 4.28 below. This entire sub--section is dedicated to a discussion on the role entrepreneurs play in employing others.



3. Do you think you would enjoy being an entrepreneur? Give reasons for your answer. (2)

Entrepreneurs create jobs

Some entrepreneurs operate on their own, with no partners and no one working for them. Other entrepreneurs create employment opportunities by providing jobs. These jobs help the economy to grow and reduce unemployment and poverty. Long-term unemployment is a problem for many people in South Africa. Unemployment rates are high because our economy is not large enough to provide employment opportunities for everyone. One solution to this problem is to stimulate the economy by encouraging entrepreneurs to start new businesses. Another strategy is to stimulate the economy by encouraging existing businesses to expand.

Entrepreneurs help to reduce unemployment by creating jobs for other people.

Figure 4.28: Entrepreneurs create jobs

The discussion positions the entrepreneur as the heroic saviours of the country's economic woes who *create employment opportunities by providing jobs.* While some explanations are offered for South Africa's high unemployment rates, the authors' presentation of the information and linguistic selection, urges readers to accept that this is the way things are in South Africa as indicated in the following statement;

“Long-term unemployment is a problem for many people in South Africa”

Little to no acknowledgment is made of the large proportion of potential working South Africans who have been affected by the laws of apartheid and its crushing governing system in the country until the early 1990s (Stones, 2013). The use of the modal adjective, *many*, contributes to the insinuation that unemployment is a choice made by the individual and that starting *new businesses* as a way out of unemployment is a change brought about by the individual. While the power of individual agency that may reside in learners is acknowledged and recognised, those whose agency is less profound could be subjected to what Maistry and David (2017:109) refer to as a “*process of systematic psychological blackmail”.* The constructions of the inevitability of unemployment and inability to be entrepreneurs could instil in learners a sense of lacking, deficiency and feeling of inadequacy, should they not take up what the text proposes. This scare-tactic is reinforced by the author(s) selection of an image of a well-dressed person holding up a sign that says “*job wanted”*. The association with cardboard signs that panhandlers and the homeless use to make their pleas to passers-by demonstrates attempts by the author(s) to obscure the reductive fashion with which unemployment and poverty are dealt with and subtly and covertly suggest to learners that the threats of unemployment are not linked to class (Rose, 2015; Maistry & David, 2017). Yet, as stated by Dean (1999), decisions concerning occupations for the mainstream population are affected by questions that are purely economic as well as status, convenience, social, and location-based.

The author(s) however, have remained tight-lipped around the position of privilege successful entrepreneurs have which provides access to finance to set up their businesses; while the vast inequalities that exist in the socio-economic arena of South Africa’s apartheid legacy (David, 2012) will haunt survivalists for many years to come, unless the powers-that-be revolutionise the capitalistic system to speedily uplift the downtrodden.

Textbook D (page 82) similarly foregrounded and promoted the message of the heroic entrepreneur in figure 4.29 below.

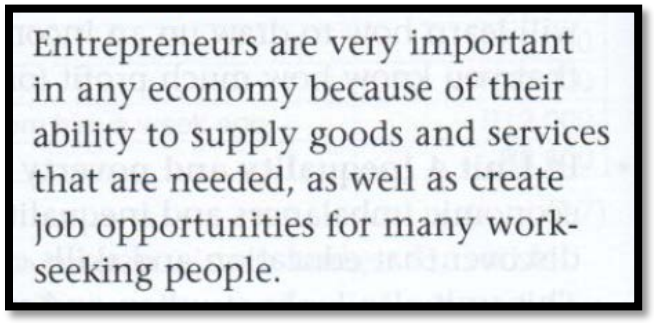


Figure 4.29: Entrepreneurs are very important in any economy

Here the entrepreneur is introduced as being "*very important in any economy"* who provides goods and services "*as well as create job opportunities for work seeking people".*

The uncritical promotion of neoliberal, capitalist ideals by the author have the latent potential to inculcate in students a worldview that draws on particular values and assumptions of capitalism through middle-class norms of self-interest and wealth creation (Zhang, 2012, Maistry & David, 2017). *Work seeking people* are however negatively positioned as dependent on the classed entrepreneur to create employment, an agenda that benefits a few but does little to illuminate inequality or offer mechanisms for individual and societal emancipation.

Figure 4.30 below taken from textbook E (page 53) demonstrates the pervasiveness of the rhetoric of entrepreneurship as the solution to South Africa's unemployment challenges.

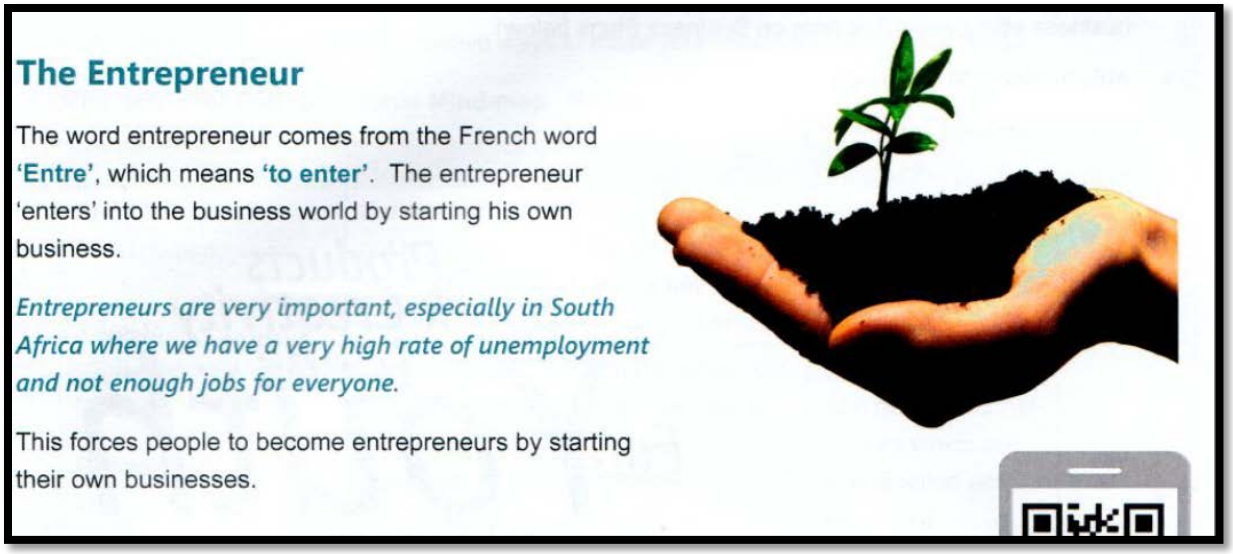


Figure 4.30: Text embellishing South Africa's unemployment woes

The author(s) through a similar choice of words to those used in textbook D (page 82) echo similar sentiments that job-creation is a normalised or natural consequence of entrepreneurship. The spacing and embellished blue and emboldened text; *"Entrepreneurs are very important ….enough jobs for everyone",* position the taken-for-granted fact of South Africa's high rate of unemployment and lack of *jobs for everyone* as a natural inevitability. The natural reference is a sly inference or manipulation by the author(s') selection of visual imagery to accompany the text. The image in figure 4.30 above shows a fresh plant sprouting from the soil, held in a hand which one would deduce is the entrepreneur. This image of the hand reinforces the notion that entrepreneurs are responsible for growth or hold growth in their hands, but goes further to normalise to the reader, that this a natural and organic process. The representation of the entrepreneur is removed from the "reality of life in South Africa in terms of the unevenness of the economic and business terrain, and of differing capabilities, acumen, access to finance and opportunities that pupils in urban and rural South Africa are exposed to" (Maistry & David, 2017:108).

A second narrative of the entrepreneur as belonging to a certain class who owns or controls the means of production, centres around the assumption by authors

that entrepreneurs have access to finance and therefore that it is a 'normalised' position to be able to supply capital (Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Fairclough, 2003). There is a notable omission of the difficulty that new entrepreneurs experience in the process of accessing finance. In these texts, the ability to access capital is foregrounded as a given, presented as taken-for-granted reality and written as a propositional assumption.

The following sentences, situated in close proximity to one another in the introductory text of textbook A (page 110) present the entrepreneur as:

> *"An entrepreneur is a person who invests in…"*

> *"Entrepreneurs generally supply capital for their business"*

In both sentences the phrasing is used to present access to capital as a common sense notion and that this is automatically the case. In addition, the diction (specific choice of words), over which the author has control, makes problematic assertions involving the reader. *"Invests*" speaks to those who have disposable income; and "*generally'* in the second sentence presents this as an existential assumption, assuming what exists (Fairclough, 2003). The reader is thus not likely to question what is presented as common knowledge and is at risk of not seeing an alternative beyond what has been stated.

A similar scenario is presented in textbook B (page 66). The ability to access capital is stated as taken-for-granted in the explanatory, introductory text, in the following phrases:

> *"An entrepreneur must….and organize the capital and resources of the business…"*

> *"… it will be necessary to invest money into the new business venture."*

The authors of the text intentionally or by omission backgrounds the realities of the economic terrain in South Africa with regards to the different modes of access to finance afforded to different classes (Maistry & David, 2017). This warns us of how

ideology uses reductive simplification of real problems to blur the “background noise” and present to readers of these textbooks a utopian dream Zizek (2011:5).

4.4.4 Concluding Remarks

The textbook authors glorify and romanticise entrepreneurship in a rather unquestioning and nonchalant way, using what Catano (2001:122) refers to as the “middle-class rhetoric of upward mobility as part of the entrepreneurial myth”. For Catano (2001: 34), “myths are active engagements and visible enactments of cultural doxa used to present an attractive portrait of oneself” - in this case, the entrepreneurial middle class. On the issue of employment, there is little evidence in the literature that “entrepreneurship really provides a mechanism for people to support a family better than employment”, for most working-class people (Smith 2006: 130). Unemployment is represented as a normalised reality of South African society with little possibility for structural unemployment. The hegemonic position of entrepreneurship as the only alternative to unemployment is presented as an inevitable fact, while being a part of the working-class is positioned as an undesirable aspiration to readers of these textbooks.

Throughout the textual analyses entrepreneurs are represented not only as educated, but as highly skilled, and in the majority of instances, have tertiary qualifications. This is problematic in the South African context as it excludes hierarchical social positions and classes and assumes that further education and training is accessible to all or even the majority. While there is no acknowledgement of differences or promotion of students ‘natural’ talents, the recurring narrative is that the good student is one with academic talent and theoretical abilities, thus reinforcing an association between educational attainment and entrepreneurship. The use of educational attainment as a social and cultural indicator perpetuates social class inequalities and presents to readers a skewed reality of the classed requirements of successful entrepreneurs.

4.5 CONCLUSION

The findings indicate that gender inequalities are evident in the Economic and Management Science textbooks for Grade 7 learners. Despite attempts at creating gender-neutral texts, the fusion of images, case studies and activities, reveals this neutrality as being veiled. Female entrepreneurs were stereotypically positioned as small-scale business people in typically feminine occupations such as jewelry-making and hospitality services, whereas men, in contrast, are depicted as high status, large and successful.

Similarly, there seems to be silence around issues of racism within the majority of texts; however, these do not correlate with other representational choices made by authors in the use of images and case studies, which whether intentionally or inadvertently, place Black business in a deficit position of being inferior to white entrepreneurs. Lastly, there is an overt promotion of a capitalist, middle-class agenda across all the textbooks analysed in this study. Assumptions and taken-for-granted sweeping statements of education, privilege to employment, interest and ability to employ others, pursuit of profit, and access to capital do not speak to or represent the interest of the predominant poor, poverty-stricken and working-class members of South African society.

Having discussed the main themes emerging from the data, the next section presents a synthesis of the data and the theoretical understandings.

CHAPTER 5 SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter four, I analysed the selected content of the sampled textbooks to explore the ideology of entrepreneurs manifested in five Economic and Management Sciences textbooks. Critical discourse analysis, discussed in chapter three, was used as the methodology to analyse the data. Findings from the analysis showed that particular representations, which manifest through the selective use of language, are advanced in the selected EMS textbooks.

In this chapter, I first present an overview of the study and a discussion of the literature reviewed and the methodology used. Thereafter, I discuss the key findings that emerged including the limitations and implications of the study. This chapter concludes with suggestions for addressing the challenges that emerge from the findings, and for future research.

5.2 OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Chapter 1

This chapter introduced the study and outlined the post-apartheid (South Africa's institutionalised system of racial segregation from 1948 to 1991) curriculum that was introduced in South Africa to redress the imbalances and overcome the ills of an unjust and unequal education system. The initial reform initiative aimed to purge the curriculum of "racially offensive and out-dated content" inherited from the apartheid government; however, the most ambitious curriculum innovation in the South African education landscape was the introduction of OBE (Jansen, 1999; Rasool, 1999). The OBE system was heavily criticised by educationalists such as Jansen (1995), Spady (1999) and Christie (2000) who ultimately called for its scrapping. In response to this, Minister of Education, Angie Motshekga introduced

a new curriculum, Schooling 2025, which would modify and overcome the challenges but not completely replace OBE (Pillay, 2013). Of the major measures that have been established to improve the quality of teaching and learning for all, the refocus on the textbook as central resource for teaching and learning is the latest. This was affirmed in the DoE's (2010: 6) publication "Curriculum News for 2010", where the importance of textbooks was highlighted in the comment, "textbooks play a vital part in teaching and learning [and thus] must be used by teachers and learners to enhance their teaching and learning". Based on this, the chapter goes further to discuss the role prescribed textbooks play in shaping and socialising students; as such, Pingel (1998:5) points out that textbooks not only "convey facts, but [they] also spread ideologies".

Given the importance of the textbook being associated as a critical resource, it is of concern to this study that there has not been much research into the content of these textbooks in the subject EMS. Set against this backdrop, I critically explored the representations of entrepreneurship in EMS textbooks. This chapter also outlined the rationale for the study, research questions, theoretical and methodological framework, and the structure of the chapters to follow.

Chapter 2

This chapter provided a review and analysis of the literature used for this study. To understand entrepreneurship education, the review started with an understanding of the construct and construction of entrepreneurship. While there is no consensus around defining entrepreneurship, what emerged was a narrow and broader construction of the term - the former attributed to the industrial revolution, and pursuits of profit and wealth-creation, whereas the latter dates back to the 15th century and is attributed to creativity, joy and engagement. Despite an ongoing definitional debate, the importance of entrepreneurship education is expressed throughout the literature, and as such, the subsequent introduction of entrepreneurship in formal schooling is also reviewed both internationally and in the South African school context. The literature review then narrows its focus by

considering the importance of the textbook as a key pedagogical tool in the classroom. In this regard, the following issues were covered: the origins of textbook research that contextualised textbooks as the medium through which instruction is given; textbooks as representations of ideology; and how the representations have been studied, both nationally and globally, and more specifically in several South African studies. The review of literature was important both in recognising the key academic discourses related to this study as well as identifying the gaps in knowledge, if any, and in so doing establish where this study is situated.

Chapter 2 also discussed post-structuralism as the conceptual framework and its relevance in contextualising the arguments made in relation to the objectives of this study. In addition, a conceptual framework was outlined for this study, drawing on concepts of discourse, ideology, and hegemony which were used to uncover the hidden meaning behind text and images. Class, gender, race and entrepreneurship as social constructs, were infused in the discussion to understand the representation of the entrepreneur that existed in the textbooks.

Chapter 3

In this chapter, I introduced, discussed and justified the method and methodological choices made in this study. The qualitative approach employed sought to understand how the representations of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship take the form they do in textbooks. To achieve this, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was employed as the methodological choice. The analysis of the generated data combined the use of the basic steps of CDA as outlined by McGregor (2003) and Price (2005), content analysis (McKinney, 2005), the application of the extended CDA protocol (Huckin, 1997), Halliday's systematic functional linguistics (SFL), and the process of open coding in developing the final themes. Finally, the research sample, together with issues of trustworthiness and ethical considerations, were discussed.

Chapter 4

In this chapter I presented, interpreted and analysed the data. This was carried out according to Fairclough's (2003) notion of describing, interpreting and explaining the text (and images) so as to recognise the role of language in representing the entrepreneur in the selected textbooks.

Chapter 5

This chapter discusses the findings that emerged. These were organised according to the central themes with reference to the related literature in chapter two. In addition, the summary, limitations to the study and suggestions for future research are provided.

5.3 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

My aim in this dissertation was to examine Grade 7 Economic and Management Sciences textbooks. Using poststructuralist theory as a foundation, and critical discourse analysis as a methodological tool, I sought to dissect the influence of dominant societal discourses upon the various texts.

This study views language as a means of social construction as language shapes and is shaped by society. As such, it also has the potential to deconstruct and alter certain social dynamics. Power is a key factor when one considers discourse. Thus, an important aspect in the analyses of the textbooks is the effect of discourses, dominant or otherwise; how they are exaggerated and in turn reflect, the societal discourses that shape and reshape so much of present-day society. Subject matter, use and/or formation of popular opinion, tone, modality, the pairing of certain formats with specific material - all of these are just a few of the means through which learners are persuasively and subtly familiarised with discourse-as-practice.

The central premise throughout appears to be that of veiled neutrality, where the dominant discourses were not overtly evident but slyly conveyed through insinuations, taken-for-granted assumptions, foregrounding and backgrounding through omission. This was apparent in the representations of gender, race and class as discussed in the sections that follow.

5.3.1 Representations of Gender

Despite a 'cleansing' of the text concerning references to male or female pronouns, a deeper analysis found that gender continued to be misrepresented, firstly through its veiled neutrality, and secondly through the stereotypical positioning of female entrepreneurs.

Discourse: Veiled neutrality

Throughout the textbooks that were studied, the authors initially used the term entrepreneurship from a position of neutrality - what Pillay (2013, 2017) refers to as a more masculine embellishment. Each textbook which was analysed began with the definition of an entrepreneur, where there was no specific reference to gender. Barring one textbook, there was no use of either male or female nouns or pronouns in the definition of an entrepreneur. The definition of an entrepreneur was positioned as a statement that could stand on its own without a gender context, which Fairclough (2003) referred to as a normalised strategy. Gendered pronouns were removed and instead neutral, non-gendered pronouns such as *person, they, themselves, their* or *the entrepreneur* were used. In doing so, the entrepreneurs were presented as genderless.

As the chapter on entrepreneurship progressed, there appeared to be a distinct shift from the above-mentioned attempts to present a genderless orientation. In three of the five textbooks, the authors provide a neutral definition of an entrepreneur and then go on to use a male graphical image to foreground this

terminology. Text and image were fused to give a male orientation in the authors' projection of what began as a gender-neutral concept. This fusion was portrayed as normal but it sends out a concealed message that entrepreneurs are portrayed with a male orientation. The authors could have used both male and female symbols yet they made a conscious and deliberate choice to use only the male symbol. This reflects *"veiled neutrality"* on the part of the authors who introduce entrepreneurship as being gender-neutral, but its subsequent presentation renders it as non-neutral and associated with a particular gender. To the reader, this reinforces the stereotype that entrepreneurship is a male domain.

In instances outside of defining the entrepreneur, and for the sake of good grammar, the authors attempted to present gender-neutral texts by making use of the words *'he or she"* (or other versions thereof, like 'his/hers'). But questions arose around the 'firstness' of pronouns. 'Firstness' is a feature of language where gender discrimination can easily be observed as one particular gender is foregrounded (Pillay & Maistry, 2013; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003). The automatic ordering of the words *him* and *he,* first, takes place once in textbook A (page 111) and textbook B (page 66) and four times in textbook D (page 83, 84) and textbook E (page 53). Although this has been used minimally, but when used, it perpetuates the veiled narrative that men are more valuable and prioritised ahead of women.

Discourse: Stereotypical positioning of the female entrepreneur

In the two instances that two textbooks (textbook A page 112 and 115, textbook D page 82) used images of females to associate with the definition of an entrepreneur, these images proved problematic and spoke to the second concern around the stereotypical positioning of female entrepreneurs. These females in the text were only represented in small-scale subsistence style entrepreneurial ventures. They were foregrounded through images creating a deficit position of female entrepreneurs compared to their male counterparts. In the texts, case

studies and images, some stark differences between men and women emerged in terms of the size, success and type of entrepreneurial ventures associated with women.

Men were frequently depicted and described as powerful, hugely successful with the capability of being in positions of authority. This was a recurring phenomenon in both text and graphics. Of the four male entrepreneurs used in case studies, three were shown to own large businesses, with finance and/or access to finance and based on real, non-fictional people that students can positively associate males with. In so doing, the authors contribute to an understanding that the normative entrepreneur is male and indicates to learners that the "entrepreneurial myth remains resolutely male" (Nicholson & Anderson, 2005:163).

This myth is reinforced in the textbooks by what David (2012:108) refers to "as a flawed notion" that "women's success is contingent on males". A female entrepreneur such as Shelia Radebe in textbook C (page 95) is presented as having being denied a loan by the bank but having received the necessary finance from her father and brother. This highlights not only that females are unable to access the same financial opportunities that men can, but also the notion of dependency of females on males.

The textbook demonstrated a deliberate silence around presenting women as strong and capable of individual success (without men) and instead legitimates an ideology that reinforces the stratification of gender roles. This corroborated the findings of several researchers that gender prejudices and gender-role-stratification present in textbooks, replicated stereotypes embedded in society (see: Feiner, 1993; McKinney, 2005; Tietz, 2007; David, 2012; Pillay, 2013). The implication of these taken-for-granted assumptions for young female readers is that they are likely to internalise the notion that they are not responsible for their individual success, or hold positions of power and authority.

This traditionally gendered discourse within entrepreneurship that positions women as inferior is further perpetuated through the use of fictional characters used to represent females (Bobrowska & Conrad, 2017). Of the three female entrepreneurs depicted, two were complete fictional characters which does little to encourage young female readers to associate women with success. The author(s) could have opted to use images of real, non-fictional, successful women as positive role-models for the readers of the textbook.

In addition, the images reveal an emphasis on the female entrepreneurs as being linked to the domestic sphere, where their achievements were framed in relation to their domestic responsibilities and the balance between the two (Christofi, Hamilton, & Larty, 2009). This so-called 'mumpreneur' invokes and reinforces the nurturing role and responsibilities of women in relation to their economic activity (McRobbie, 2009:49). In so doing, the ideology perpetuated negates the economic contribution that women make, and serves to identify women as non-economic agents (Hamilton, 2013).

Bobrowska and Conrad (2017:4) argue that this discourse of the 'mumpreneur' is in conflict with the discourse on entrepreneurship as being a women (mum) and an entrepreneur at the same time as it implies that "one has to position oneself simultaneously in regard to two conflicting discourses". Apple (1988:21) refers to this as the reality of women having a "double relation to wage labour: they are both paid and unpaid workers". The textbooks do very little to challenge these assumptions, hence they perpetuate the ideological assumptions of gender roles by reinforcing the dual identity that women play in society.

Much of this constructed perception was normalised, and thus came across as being the simple transmission of established facts. In reality, what was apparent was that these texts were refashioning and supporting older discourses which perpetuated a division of power between the sexes, with males frequently being depicted as being worthier of power and dominance than women. The complexity

of these discourses exposed itself in that most texts had female authors, who themselves emphasise these stereotypically male-held conceptions concerning representations of entrepreneurs. This separation of gender groups, as identified by Ferguson et al. (2009) reifies the discourse as natural and socially acceptable.

Textbook authors therefore need to be sensitive to the ideologies, value systems and subtexts of what they write, as learners may internalise these skewed views of male entrepreneurs being superior. This not only has negative consequences for women in our society, but it also reinforces a patriarchal value system for male readers. The discourse of patriarchy will thus continue to be entrenched should the stereotypes about the roles, potential, and competence of women persist.

5.3.2 Representations of Race

Considering South Africa's history of racial inequality perpetrated through the apartheid regime, race is one of the most emotive of social issues and "*continues to determine both social and economic inequalities*" (Nilsson, 2016). At face value, race seems to have been addressed in the textbooks studied through the inclusion of Black entrepreneurs both in the text and in the imagery employed. However through critical analysis of text and images, using the CDA framework, it becomes very apparent that the issue of race remains addressed only superficially. Hidden beneath the text (and images), two distinct and problematic discourses emerged in relation to race; that is, the authors' use of racially apathetic discourse, and the presentation of Black entrepreneurs as "other".

Discourse: Racially apathetic discourse

Twenty five years after the dawn of the 'new' South Africa, the discourse in these textbooks continue to raise questions around the transition from apartheid to a 'non-racial' constitutional democracy. Despite the far-reaching consequences and unique extent of racial discrimination in South Africa, authors have opted to be

silent on the legacy of apartheid, particularly in relation to the horrendous effects this has had on “non-white” entrepreneurs.

This silence presents as an intentional omission and expression of racial apathy present in the text. Racial apathy which is “indifference toward societal racial and ethnic inequality and lack of engagement with race-related social issues” facilitates the presentation of racial inequality as a natural by-product of those who hold power over others (Forman, 2004:44; Brown et al., 2019). The use of words such as “*harsh laws*” used in textbook A (page 112) to explain apartheid is an example of blatant antipathy that absolves whites of the responsibility for legislating and legitimating the inhumanity of racism (Brown et al. 2019). Instead of being critical and apologetic of these oppressive inequalities, stereotypical images such as the smiling Black entrepreneur standing in front of his township salon business (textbook C, page 90) are foregrounded to reinforce a nonchalance around white privilege thus normalising the brutal effects of racial inequality as being acceptable.

For learners reading these texts and more importantly the authors who write these texts, it is important to understand that racism is not “caused” by “race” and racist ideologies, but that they emerge to justify systemic racism (Cazenave, 2016). Similarly, the use of racially apathetic discourse by the dominant groups, legitimises the racial inequality embedded in social practices and structures (Doane, 2017). Through the intentional silence and lack of engagement with issues of race and racial inequality, learners reading these textbooks are taught to not care about racial inequality, but that this inequality is acceptable and ‘normal’. An opportunity is missed by the authors to increase the learners’ awareness of racial inequality so that they empower them to address issues of inequality in all facets of life, including business.

Discourse: “Other representation” of Black entrepreneurs

This study makes the observation through insinuations, assumptions and stereotyping that any entrepreneurial activity by a Black person is positioned as

“other” by textbook authors. This was most apparent when one considers the glorified representation of white entrepreneurs. Quantitatively, considering that textbooks should promote diversity by being representative of the South African demographic, the disproportionate presence of the white entrepreneur is of concern. Of the 40 images used to represent entrepreneurs in the textbooks, 52.5% were Black, 42.5% White, 2.5% Coloured and 2.5% Indian/Asian. Here the white demographic which is effectively a minority in South Africa at only 7,8% (Stats SA, 2018) of the population is represented almost equally to Black South Africans who constitute 80,1% of the country. The choices made by textbook authors create a perception of two dominant racial groups which not only elevates the status of white South Africans but in so doing, diminishes that of Black South Africans, as well as that of other minority groups.

In addition to the numeric misrepresentation, the predominant concern identified in the analysis was the overarching theme of power and success attributed to white entrepreneurs. It is of concern because not only is this theme absent from the Black narrative, but that the Black narrative is negatively represented through a rhetoric of suffering, cultural misappropriation, and associated with failure. Whiteness remains disproportionately present and continues to be presented as superior, while Black people and Black entrepreneurs continue to be represented as oppressed and challenged in terms of their individual backgrounds as well as issues related to entrepreneurship such as an inability to access finance. Amongst white counterparts access to finance was portrayed as a given, a taken-for-granted reality, without question or qualification. Images such as those of successful white entrepreneurs and struggling or failing Black entrepreneurs that were selected by authors perpetuate the stereotype that white people are confident and subsequently successful while Black entrepreneurs are not. Van Dijk (1992) refers to this as the positive self-representation of white people and negative ‘other-presentation’ of Black people. By portraying such bias through mass media such as textbooks, social representations such as prejudice are reinforced in readers of these textbooks. Although less blatant, this symbolic or modern racism confirms

the subtle dominance of one group over another through inferiorisation, marginalisation and/or exclusion. The discourse presented by the textbooks is indicative of the manipulative and pervasive nature of the systemic privilege afforded to white people in South Africa, while the structural racism that disadvantages Black South African entrepreneurs is silenced. This represents a missed opportunity by the authors to promote the intended values of education in the new dispensation which is driven and underpinned by the *South African Constitution* which states in its preamble the aim to "heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights" (DoE, 2001:1).

By continuing to associate white entrepreneurs (only) with success, the division of power between races will continue to be perpetuated. Learners reading these books will continue to perceive Black entrepreneurs as being challenged and disadvantaged while the positive representation of whiteness is presented as natural. A rich history of success and invention by Black entrepreneurs exists and should be used as important narratives of accomplished business ownership (Jones, 2017; Johnson, Burthey & Ghorm, 2008).

5.3.3. Representations of Class

Unlike the analysis of gender and race, social class is primarily concerned with issues of redistribution related to the market or means of production. Through foregrounding, omission, assumptions, insinuations and a register of modality, issues of class are identified through three discourses in the text and images; the enterprising self, misconceptions of intelligence and abilities, and the obscured ownership of resources.

Discourse: The enterprising self

While there were silences around the negative material and psychological ramifications that plague self-employment, conceptions of entrepreneurial abilities such as initiative, independence, risk-taking, self-reliance and self-responsibility were foregrounded across the textbooks. The enterprising self was promoted as a moral principle which endorsed personal properties such as exploitation, greed and monetising human relationships, while other personal properties of benevolence, humility and seeking security were vilified (Komulainen, Korhonen & Räty, 2009). Textbook authors glorified and glamorised entrepreneurship in a rather unquestioning way, using what Catano (2001:122) refers to as the "middle-class rhetoric of upward mobility as part of the entrepreneurial myth".

Within this discourse represented in textbooks, textbook authors presented two problematic positions. Profit and the pursuit of wealth was unapologetically romanticised whilst earning a wage was relentlessly disparaged. In most instances, these choices were juxtaposed through sly insinuations and taken-for-granted suppositions. For example, all the textbooks sampled portrayed entrepreneurship in such a way that the accumulation of wealth was legitimised. Words, phrases and images selected fostered a positive connotation to profit-seeking while those who were employed associated formal employment with unsatisfactory working conditions, poor remuneration and mundane or boring routines. Discussions around communal value systems were absent from the discourse. Instead young readers were encouraged to pursue personal prosperity and self-advancement. Additionally, there was further omission and silence by the authors about the negative consequences of entrepreneurship such as the risk of failure and cost of sacrificing a fixed wage for both the individual and the individual as part of a larger community, reinforcing instead that entrepreneurs belong to and are 'good' for society. The risk to learners is the assimilation and acceptance of this neoliberal ideology as being natural, ethical and moral.

By aiming to transform the passive citizens of welfare societies into active enterprising selves, entrepreneurship education reflects a neoliberal mentality of governance that aims to shape the subjectivities of students by instilling norms of self-management, self-reliance and individualism (Bragg, 2007). Within this neoliberal mentality of governance, "the self is situated as a product to be continually worked on, developed, and enhanced" (Korhonen, et al., 2012:4; O'Flynn & Petersen, 2007; Rose, 1999).

Entrepreneurialism from this viewpoint is seen as a private, competitive mission with only economic overtones. Entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship education are not necessarily associated with the values and goals of other sectors of society and their related values and aims, such as community-orientated activity, community welfare, democratic participation, empowerment or the reduction of social exclusion (Korhonen, et al. 2012; Woods & Woods, 2011; Leffler, 2009).

By focusing on individual qualities and abilities of an entrepreneur – such as activity, competitiveness, independence, need for achievement and willingness to take risks, researchers have shown that this sets an invisible norm that justifies middle-class values as a basis for entrepreneurship, and excludes others (Ahl, 2002; Bruni, Gherardi & Poggio, 2004; Komulainen, 2006; Mulholland, 1996).

Discourse: Misconceptions of intelligence and abilities

Throughout all the textbooks analysed, learners are told that one requires further education and training or exposure to work experience in order to be an entrepreneur. It can be argued that the "skills" that the textbooks prescribe for entrepreneurs are problematic and representative of a social class that has access to the required work experience and/or the means to afford the training required to acquire the requisite skill-set. In addition to these skills, the entrepreneurs used as examples and in case studies, are all presented as having obtained some form of university education, further distancing the average working-class school goer from considering or relating to entrepreneurship.

Textbook authors employ what Korhonen et al. (2012:10) refer to as the "discourse of a talented student as frame for potential future entrepreneurs". In so doing, learners are not measured on diligence or good learning, but on their talents as individuals and on notions of fixed abilities. Although research affirms that there is some overlap between being 'educated' and being 'entrepreneurial', education is not a prerequisite to being an entrepreneur (Faggian, Partridge & Malecki, 2016; Goetz & Freshwater, 2001; Evans & Leighton, 1989; Bates, 1993; Audretsch & Fritsch, 1994; Malecki, 1994; Bregger, 1996; Robson, 1998). This narrative, however, permeates the textbooks and emphasises not only that entrepreneurs should be educated, but that they should be well educated. This is problematic for the majority of South Africans who do not have access to opportunities such as higher education. This reflects the authors' class-specific concept of abilities and the notion of stable labour markets that can be differentiated based on social class where individuals are positioned differently contingent upon their abilities and social pedigree. According to Faggian, Partridge and Malecki (2016), schools, education and therefore textbooks and textbook authors' characterisations of the entrepreneur type of learner should potentially challenge these traditional, classed notions of a good and capable learner.

Discourse: The obscured ownership of resources

Fraser and Honneth (2003) refined Bourdieu's (1984) classification of social class to speak to redistribution related to the market or means of production; in particular labour and capital. A common thematic thread throughout the text in question is that entrepreneurship results in job-creation. This neoliberal, capitalist fallacy, which positions small businesses as heroic job-creators, was communicated as a taken-for- granted fact through assumptions and sweeping statements (Hamilton, 2013). Additionally, these statements and 'facts' were not qualified or placed in any appropriate context. There was no mention of the informal economy that constitutes small businesses or their role in the South African landscape or their inability to employ, as they themselves are small survivalist ventures. Authors of

the textbooks relied heavily on insinuation and existential assumption to distort and manipulate facts to mislead the reader into believing that entrepreneurship is a job-creator and that the growth of a business equates to increased employment. However, as argued by Davidsson (1989:209), many existing small firms however, “do not grow to any considerable extent; neither do they have an interest in growth”. The ability to employ others is a reality for the elite upper-class, an ambition for the aspirational middle-class. However, for the working-class individuals whose interest is not necessarily in growth (and employing others), but with maintaining and running a small venture that would support their families or allow them to live out their creativity and passion, they are excluded from this conversation. This rhetoric pervades all the textbooks in this study.

The ability to access capital was foregrounded as a given and presented as a taken-for-granted reality while there was a notable omission of the difficulty that entrepreneurs experience in the process of accessing finance. Authors intentionally positioned the entrepreneur as being able to invest money in a business through textual embellished images in some instances. Further questions were raised around the representation of race, gender and class, as the recurring message in the discourse was that white male entrepreneurs have access to personal finance and financial institutions while Black (and specifically Black female) entrepreneurs do not personally have funding available and/or denied access to bank loans. Considering the high levels of poverty and inequity in South Africa, exacerbated by the textual insinuations, subtleties, assumptions and stereotypes, the minority of learners reading these texts further distances them from those in the majority (working-class) in terms of associating themselves with the entrepreneur and entrepreneurship.

5.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The subject EMS is uniquely South African which meant that existing research was limited to the South African context, absenting itself from a broader, global perspective. Approaches by different countries with regards to entrepreneurship education were considered; however, there was little to compare in terms of studies of entrepreneurship in these countries' school textbooks.

The sample size provided its own limitation, not necessarily with regards to the number of textbooks used, but in terms of the narrow focus on the topic of entrepreneurship. The finding around representation could thus not be generalised to the entire textbook(s). Other topics within the textbooks could fulfil the multicultural representation requirements of policy documents better than the sections on entrepreneurship.

This study equipped me to portray the different representations of entrepreneurship in relation to gender, race and class. However, the study was limited as it did not examine how the intersection of these representations constructs the concept of entrepreneurship in particular ways. A further study is needed – one that looks at how the intersection of these representations creates a more nuanced understanding of entrepreneurship and the entrepreneur.

A final limitation that was beyond the scope of the study was how teachers actually use textbooks and how this is received by learners, as this may significantly influence how the ideologies around entrepreneurship are transmitted. Apple (1988) referred to this as a question of whether what is in the textbook is taught to learners, and is what is taught in reality is learned by pupils?

5.5 IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study presents possible implications for various stakeholders:

- *Education policymakers* should consider the study's findings in the drafting of policies to guide the introduction, development and implementation of curriculum innovations in the education system such it that removes bias and hidden ideologies which are unknowingly passed onto learners.
- *Publishers and material developers* should become aware of their biases, with a view to self-correction in the future. It is anticipated that this work will fill literature gaps concerning entrepreneurship text and textbooks, which may further enrich the studies of researchers in the future (Sirelkhatim & Gangi, 2015).
- *Teachers* should reflect on their approaches to teaching entrepreneurship and adjust accordingly where they or textbooks fall short, to ensure they effectively teach the subject using critical-reflection to dissect texts. Rather than rely heavily on prescribed textbooks, teachers should select additional readings, as part of critical discussions in lessons that could expose hidden perspectives of those whose interests are being served.
- Further research should explore how teacher-training programmes fully prepare future teachers to critically recognise ideological representations in teaching and learning materials such as textbooks.
- As this research is limited to a specific selection of textbooks, further research should analyse textbooks within the Commerce Department (Accounting, Business Studies, Economics, and Economic and Management Sciences). Other subjects in the General Education Training (GET), and the Further Education Training (FET) phases should also be critically appraised to expose hidden perspectives presented by authors.
- To determine whether the textbook content is actually taught to learners and whether what is taught is actually learned by pupils, further research should be conducted on how textbooks are used

in practice, and how they are interpreted, reproduced and transformed by those using them.

5.6 CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to explore the ideological representation of the entrepreneur and entrepreneurship in selected Grade 7 EMS high school textbooks available to South African teachers and learners for instruction. The key finding of this study was the representation of the entrepreneur as being a white, capitalist male deeply invested with neoliberal values. The Government, through the DoE (2016) with its Revised National Curriculum Statement (CAPS) goals, should strive for the provision of equitable and fair education for all – to date this has not been realised. As a result, learners may be negatively affected (and at risk by fossilising incorrect values) by the messages passed through the hidden subtexts in these textbooks. Consequently, curriculum material in schools, such as textbooks, should be selected after incisive perusals with sensitivity, care and consideration to ensure that an equitable pedagogy is adopted.

Additionally, this study argues that teachers, textbook authors and publishers should be attentive to the denial and masking of race, class and gender representations in textbooks. It calls for researchers, teachers, textbook authors and publishers to engage with contemporary debates in society around race, class and gender to challenge dominant and hegemonic discourses of entrepreneurship so as to promote a more transformative pedagogy in SA schools

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APPENDIX A: CONTENT ANALYSIS TABLE

Adapted from McKinney, 2005

Visual analysis

	Book 1	**Book 2**	**Book 3**	**Book 4**	**Book 5**
	Quantity (page)				
Total no. of Entrepreneurs in unit	8	3	18	8	4
No. of female entrepreneurs in pictures, actions/roles	#110 (1) #115 (1) Same person #139(3)		#92(3) #100(1) #106(1) #108(1) #115(1) #122(2)	82 (1) 84 (1) 88 (1)	56 (1) 58 (2)
No. of male entrepreneurs in pictures, actions/roles	#109 (3) #119 (1)	#67(2)	#90 (1) #91 (1) #92(3) #100(2) #108(1) #115(1) #122(1)	82 (1) 84 (2) 85 (2)	58 (1)
No. of black entrepreneurs in pictures, actions/roles	#110 (1) #115 (1) Same person #119 (1)		#90 (1) #92(3) #100(1) #106(1) #108(2) #115(2) #122(2)	82 (1) 84 (1) 85 (2) 88 (1)	56 (1)
No. of white entrepreneurs in pictures, actions/roles	#109 (3) #139(3)	#67(1) #70(1)	#91 (1) #92(1) #100(2)	82 (1) 84 (1)	58 (3)

No. of coloured entrepreneurs in pictures, actions/roles			#92(1)		
No. of Indian entrepreneurs in pictures, actions/roles		#67(1)			
No. of unclear actions			#92(5) #122(1) unclear race		
Are people of different races interacting together?	#109 No all white #110 Yes #139 Yes		#92 together but not interacting #100 Yes #106 black on black #108 together but not interacting	84 (3) yes	58 (3) No
No. of disabled and actions					
No. of rural/urban		#67(1) urban	#90 (1) rural #100 urban #106 unclear		
No. of upper-, middle-, working-class and poor	#109(3) middle class school #110 (1) office #139(3) middle class school	#67(1) street vendor	#91 (1) middle #100 middle/working	84 (3) middle to upper	58 (3) middle to office class
Social settings	#109(3) middle class school #110 (1) office #139(3) middle class school #127 two businesses #134 Eday stand		#100 office #106 in business #108 flea market #115 Eday stand	82 (2) street vendors 84 office 85 school tuckshop 88 in business	58 (3) meeting

APPENDIX B: CASE STUDY ANALYSIS TABLE

Book	Page	Detail	Male	Female	Other	White	Black	Other	Local	Global	Small	Big	Non-fiction	Fiction	Not clear
A	112	Herman Mashaba	X				X		X			X	X		
	113	Thabang Molefi (Dr)		X			X		X		X				X
B	70	Activity: Neil Evansx	X			X			X			X			X
C	93	Starting small, growing big	X			X			X			X	X		
	95	Following the family example		X			X		X		X				X
D	85	Tuck shop ideals	X				X		X		X		X		
E	57	Activity: Xoli Game drives		X			X		X		X			X	
TOTAL		7	4	3	0	2	5	0	7	0	5	2	3	1	3

APPENDIX C: LIST OF QUESTIONS

What, and how much, is in the text?

Identify and count key words/phrases

Identify, categorize, question.

Identify subjects and their activities.

- How are female entrepreneurs depicted in images?
- How are female entrepreneurs depicted in the text?
- How are male entrepreneurs depicted in images?
- How are male entrepreneurs depicted in the text?
- How are different racial groups depicted in images?
- How are different racial groups depicted in text?

Identify and consider relations between them.

- What is the ratio of female to male characters?
- Roles men/women are depicted in.
- What is the visual representation of men and women?
- What generic pronouns are used?
- How are women addressed?
- What is the frequency with which women precede men when both are referred to in a single phrase, and vice versa?

What does this begin to tell me?

- Who's text?
- Who's context?
- What argument is constructed about subjects?
- What view of the world, or social structure is constructed through the text?
- Who benefits or loses through this construction?
- How does this analysis relate to your analysis of other texts?

APPENDIX D: DETAILED TEXTUAL ANALYSIS NOTES

Book A

Book A 2/4.

Page Textbook Analysis: Textual.

Book 1: Study & Master.

Definition

110. Par. 1 Foreground: Money central focus.
Assumption: "...an idea makes money..."
Background: Broad def.

Par 2. Assumption (propositional). Entrep = job gen
Modality: "will".
Foregrounding: Cure to joblessness
SA's "98%" economy.
Register: Links 98% of economy to job/employment in SA, which is incorrect. Govt + Pvt sector.

Par. 3. Foregrounds: Profit
Background: Risk.

Par. 4. Assumption (propositional). ...generally supply the capital...

Page | Book: Book A

110 | Par. 4. Assumptions (existential) ... have control.
... positive mindset...

Par 5. Foreground: Unemployment related
to Entrepreneurship + Business
↳ Background: SA: past + present neoliberal dream.
Assumptions - Reasons for Entrepreneurship.
↳ Entrep pays more (Broad definition: employment etc)
Normative ↳ Money goes to business that employs them.

Book B

Book B. 2/4

Book 2 : Top Class

Textual analysis

Definition

66. Par. 1 Narrow definition

Foregrounded. Business as an economic activity. Not interest, pay etc.

Token for Capital: Risk

Assumption: Raising of capital. } Middle class assumption
Organising Resources } assumption

Par 2. Register: Entrep = solution to unemployment
+ Assumption

Assumptions (value): Being own boss.

" (Representation): Will earn a living.

Par 3. Assumption (Existential): large business = wealth + large employment

Registers: "Others are very..." positions as a choice between large & small and

Narrow def: obtain Profit as barometer.

Embellishment: Assoc. images foregrounds/promotes Survival entrep as happy (with choice).

Book C

BOOK C

Book 5 : Successful. (Oxford.

Textual analysis : Definition

82. * One short paragraph.

Relates to French origin – misappropriates

Traditional (broad) definition

foregrounds : community.

Omits : Profit.

L but includes risk

Assoc. with equally vague imagery.

& description : " ... matter how young or old ...

✓ Young black girl = lemonade stand.

Western .

✓ Old white male = selling produce ?

Characteristic

Narrow focus – supply G S S.

– create job opportunities

Book D

Book 3: Today · BOOK D 21/4.

Textual analysis : Definition

90. Par. 1 Narrow definition.
Foregrounds: ownership.
T-F-G : Risk & Rewards.
Foregrounds : Profit as incentive
Assumption : ...can either start a business or ....
These two options are equally possible in BM context.
Foregrounds : Individualism (Neoliberal) and.
job creation (industries).
Embellishment : "calculated risk"
↳ foregrounds risk assoc to profit

Par. 2 Reasons for....
N/A.

Par 3 Entrep. create jobs
Repeats Par. 1 by FOREGROUNDING.
- Individualism (Neoliberal) All on their own.
- Job creation. Indeed to Econ. growth + Employment

Book E

BOOK E.

Book 6 : Classic
Textual analysis : Definition

Par1
53. French entymology - Misappropriated "Entre" means "Enter" int business is inaccurate.

Par2
Foreground : Economic importance to SD → unemployment. and lack of job opportunities

Par3.
Established assumption: "This forces people. "

APPENDIX E: SKILLS TABLE

	Textbook A	Textbook B	Textbook C	Textbook D	Textbook E
1	Creative thinking	Communication	Case study - no list	Self-starter	Time management
2	Find opportunities	Planning		Provide leadership	Communication
3	Critical thinking	Marketing		Takes responsibility	Independence and ability to work in a team
4	Planning	Management		Good at organizing	Write a business plan
5	Resourceful	Financial		Makes decisions	Research effectively
6	Organise			Trustworthy	Creative problem solving
7				Plenty of energy	Multi task
8					Take responsibility and make decisions
9					Work under pressure